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Rodově neutrální a rodově příznakový jazyk

Gender-neutral and gender-marked language

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Děkuji vedoucí své bakalářské práce, PhDr. Pavlíně Šaldové, Ph.D., za čas, který mi věnovala, její mimořádnou ochotu, laskavost a cenné rady.

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného či stejného titulu.

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I declare that the following BA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned, and that this thesis has not been used in the course of other university studies or in order to acquire the same or another type of diploma.

Prague, 17th January 2013

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Abstrakt

Bakalářská práce se zabývá problematikou rodově neutrálního vyjadřování v angličtině (tzv. *gender-neutral language*). V úvodní části je podán přehled o vzniku a vývoji této otázky, která je příčinou celé řady jazykových změn v oblasti lexika a gramatiky. Terčem dlouhodobé kritiky je přirozená inklinace anglického jazyka k bezpříznakovému užívání mužského rodu, což se projevuje především v oblasti tradičních profesí, přísloví či ustálených spojení. Teoretická část se dále zaměřuje na klasifikaci a detailní popis gramatických a lexikálních jazykových prostředků vyjadřující rod a vysvětluje klíčové termíny.

Empirická část je realizována na základě jazykového korpusu COCA, v němž byla zkoumána distribuce substantivních frází označující mužský a ženský rod (tzv. *dual gender nouns*), s ohledem na výskyt specifických rodově příznakových premodifikátorů. Cílem bylo zmapovat distribuci těchto jazykových prostředků u konkrétních substantiv a jejich kolokační tendence v současné americké angličtině.

Abstract

The present thesis deals with the issue of gender-neutral language. The initial part centres around the origin and development of this issue, which has caused a series of language changes in lexis and grammar. An object of long-term criticism is the natural inclination of the English language towards the default use of the masculine gender, which is reflected especially in areas such as traditional occupations, proverbs and collocations. The theoretical part also focuses on the classification and detailed description of grammatical and lexical means of expressing gender and explains the key terms.

The practical part is carried out on the basis of the data from the corpus COCA, in which the distribution of premodifying gender markers with specific dual gender nouns was examined. The project primarily maps these linguistic means in contemporary American English.

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List of abbreviations

COCA *Corpus of Contemporary American English*

sg. singular

pl. plural

fem. feminine (gender)

masc. masculine (gender)

F marker feminine marker

M marker masculine marker

acad. academic

[noun] lemma (all forms of a word)

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Chart 1: the classification of compound criteria

Table 1-15: the distribution of individual nouns with different gender markers

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Table 18: the frequency of coordination

1. INTRODUCTION

Some of the most significant recent changes in the English language have been driven by the desire to avoid the use of gender-biased language and the present thesis deals with the development and description of gender-neutral language in English. Since the 1960s this issue, frequently also called gender-inclusive or nonsexist language, has attracted considerable attention from feminist groups, scholars and general public.

The discussion is based on the assumption that the English language is traditionally described as male-dominated, which reflects both in grammar (for example, generic *he*) and vocabulary (for example, stereotyped words, phrases and proverbs). Therefore, mainly due to increasing public concern over equality between men and women, nowadays there is a general tendency to avoid gender-biased language and to use gender-neutral language instead. This requires the use of specific linguistic means - grammatical (generic *they*, disjunctive coordination, composite forms, etc.) as well as lexical means (careful reference to occupations, roles, groups, etc.). Some of these changes have been widely accepted. On the other hand, the decision of certain groups to eliminate sexist language has been so radical that the reader may come across rather awkward expressions, such as *sportsoneship* for *sportsmanship* or *POSSLQ* (person of the opposite sex sharing living quarters) for *housewife / domestic partner*.

The main aim of the present thesis is to examine the description of gender-neutral language in major grammars and language guides, and to analyze the distribution of gender markers with fifteen dual-gender head nouns in contemporary American English.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 SEXISM AND SEXIST LANGUAGE

Sexist language exists as a logical consequence of sexism in society. Sexism basically means that one gender is treated in a discriminatory manner, based on stereotyped images of each gender. For centuries women represented "the weaker sex", their social role being rather limited, and this fact inevitably reflected in the language – a male-dominated society requires a male-dominated language. However, with the calls for gender equality becoming louder, the language also comes to the fore. Sexism in language is described as "a bias through which patterns and references of male usage are taken to be normative, superordinate and positive, and those of women are taken to be deviant, subordinate and negative" (McArthur, 1998: 921).

Sexist language is widespread both in speech and writing, however, the attempts to avoid it have been far "more noticeable in writing than in speech", presumably because people are generally more aware of gender-biased language when writing than in speech (Crystal, 2007: 47). There is a simple reason behind this fact – when writing, the person tries to avoid discriminatory language as much as possible because he/she does have time for it, while in speech he/she pays less attention to sexist expressions and uses the language habitually. Furthermore, some gender-neutral expressions may sound rather "cumbersome" or cannot be communicated in speech at all.

2.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF GENDER-NEUTRAL LANGUAGE

Until the 1960s the issue of gender-neutral language was largely neglected. However, since then there has been strong social pressure from feminist and other groups to make the English language less biased against women, which is connected with the rise of the Second Wave Feminism. One of the first milestones of gender-neutral language was a document published in the United States by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission EEOC (1965), according to which it was illegal for an employer to publish a job announcement that showed a preference for or discouraged someone from applying for a job because of his/her sex. As a consequence, it was no longer possible to advertise jobs for *salesman*, *fireman* or *stewardess* and it was necessary to use gender-neutral terms *salesperson*, *firefighter* or *flight attendant* instead. Much of the associated language required additional changes as well (e.g. personal

and possessive pronouns). In 1970 the US government codified the use of the abbreviated title *Ms.*, which refers to a woman whose marital status is unknown. The title serves as a parallel to *Mr.*, which does not identify a man's status (McArthur, 1998: 921). The United Kingdom followed suit of the United States and published the Sex Discrimination Act in 1975, under which the Equal Opportunities Commission was set up to promote equality between men and women. Even though the document originally focused on employment, its influences have been significant in areas such as the media and education (Crystal, 2007: 391).

Since the 1980s there have been many changes in the use of non-sexist language, even though some of them have been in a form of recommendation rather than legislative norm. For instance, since 1979 major tropical storms in the United States could no longer be designated with female names alone and *Hurricane Harry* has become as likely as *Hurricane Hazel*. Many academic and professional organizations have published guidelines on gender-neutral language, including the American Psychological Association, the American Philosophical Association, the Modern Language Association and the American Medical Association. In 1980 Casey Miller and Kate Swift published *The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing*, which is considered a groundbreaking book in the study of gender-neutral language and has become an essential guide book for all American writers, editors and public speakers. (McArthur, 1998: 921)

From the above mentioned examples, one can easily conclude that nonsexist language attracts much more attention in the United States than in the United Kingdom. A possible reason might be that feminist groups have traditionally received more attention and support in the USA. Further, we should mention that not only the UK and the USA address this issue, but also other English-speaking countries are becoming increasingly aware of gender bias in their language (especially Canada, Australia and New Zealand).¹

To conclude, a great number of changes in language use have been introduced over the course of the past five decades. Some of them have been widely accepted by general public, while

¹ In 1988 *the Style Manual of the Commonwealth of Australia* was published, which included a detailed chapter, setting out means of avoiding sexist language. In 1990 Radio New Zealand banned words such as *fisherman*, *actress*, *mother tongue* or *bridesmaid* from its broadcast (Fowler, 2004: 705).

others have become a subject to laughter and open ridicule. As for relatively recent development of gender-neutral language, interesting neologisms have been suggested, such as to use *sportsoneship* for *sportsmanship*, *maintenance holes* for *manholes*, *director of nursing* for *matron* and many others. In the United States the most profound change occurred in the US Congress, where the traditional word *chairman* has been replaced by *the chair*. Finally, we should bear in mind that the tendency to use gender-neutral language does not influence only the present and future writing but also the past one. Probably the most eloquent illustration is the gender-neutral translation of the Bible, in which "God becomes *Sovereign One*, *Son of God* is called *Child of God* and *Mother Nature* is *Parental Nature*" (Goshgarian, 1986: 221).

2.3 CATEGORY OF GENDER

The word *gender* originates in Latin *genus* ("type", "kind" or "sort"). The grammatical category of English gender seems rather less significant compared to other Indo-European languages. Originally, Old English used to have a grammatical gender system, for example *the woman* (*se wīfman*) was masculine, *the sun* (*sēo sunne*) was feminine and *the land* (*þæt land*) was neuter. In fact, this system was very close to Modern German (*die Sonne* – feminine, *das Land* - neuter, but *die Frau* - feminine). However, this system underwent a subsequent loss in Early Middle English, mainly due to morphological, phonetic and psychological reasons. Modern English has a natural gender system and in fact, it makes few gender distinctions. If they are actually made, there is usually close correlation between the biological category "sex" and the grammatical category "gender" (Quirk et al., 1985: 89). At this point, it is necessary to clarify these two key terms, which are going to be used throughout the thesis – gender is a grammatical category and we distinguish masculine, feminine and neuter gender, while sex is an extralinguistic category, distinguishing between male and female sex.

Generally speaking, English gender is quite exceptional when compared to other (Indo-European) languages – males and females are referred to on the basis of their sex and inanimates are almost always neuter. This may be the reason why many English speakers struggle when learning a foreign language (for example, Spanish) as they find it difficult to associate, for example, *the table* (*la mesa*) with feminine or *the cucumber* (*el pepino*) with

masculine gender. However, when talking about entities, it would be wrong to generalize that they are all neuter. In some specific cases, English enables to "personify" inanimate entities. This is typical of spoken language (the speaker expresses his/her personal attitude to the object; also typical of cars, ships or buses)², poetry (here it functions as stylistic means and the gender is often derived from Latin) or journalism. Certain nouns (for example, *sea* or *world*) can be personified both as masculine or feminine.

Duškova et al. (2006) point out an interesting hypothesis that inanimate objects generally associated with pleasant characteristics or feelings (e.g. *spring, nature, liberty, charity*, etc.) are feminine, whereas objects associated with something unpleasant are masculine (e.g. *vices, death, anger, war*, etc.), (Duškova et al., 2006: 87).

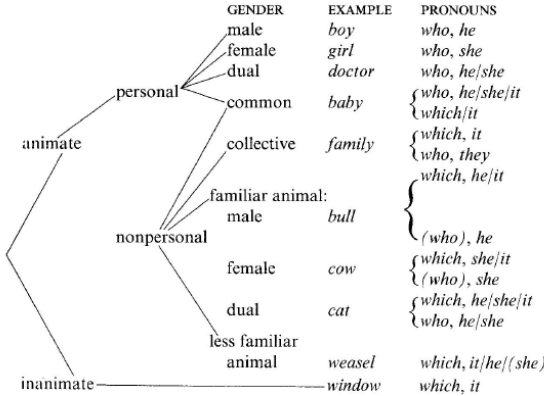


Figure 1: Gender classes (Quirk et al., 1985: 90)

COMMON GENDER

Theoretically speaking, the gender of common nouns is not limited to either sex and is classified according to their compatibility with the 3rd person singular pronouns. These nouns can be of single-gender, dual-gender and triple-gender, i.e. they are compatible with just one, with two or with all three of the core singular pronouns *he, she* and *it* (Huddleston, 2002: 489).

In some cases it can be difficult to distinguish what category a certain noun belongs to as illustrated by *diner*, which has two meanings 1. someone who is eating a meal, especially in a

² Still, there is considerable variation among speakers as to how widely they make use of this kind of personification. (Huddleston, 2002: 488)

restaurant 2. a small restaurant at the side of the road. According to the first definition, *diner* is a dual-gender noun (it can be compatible with either *he* or *she*), while according to the second one, *diner* is a single-gender noun (it can be compatible only with *it*). The following classification of common gender is based on Huddleston's *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, which we distinguishes the following six types of common nouns:

a) Single-gender masculine nouns

e.g. *bachelor, bridegroom, chap, monk, stepson, etc.*

This class contains *man* and a number of more or less colloquial synonyms.

b) Single-gender feminine nouns

e.g. *bride, lass, nun, spinster, stepdaughter, etc.*

This class is significantly larger than the last one: its members include not only feminine counterparts to the masculine in a) above, but also a fair number derived by suffixation from dual-gender nouns.

c) Single-gender neuter nouns

e.g. *arrival, beer, idea, sincerity, title, etc.*

This is the largest class, containing abstract nouns and concrete inanimates.

d) Dual-gender masculine/feminine nouns

e.g. *actor, dwarf, friend, nurse, poet, etc.*

This class is far larger than single-gender masculine and feminine classes put together. It contains words denoting humans without specification of sex. There are also a few nouns denoting non-humans, such as *god* or *angel*.

e) Dual gender masculine/neuter nouns

e.g. *brother, buck, drake, ram, stallion, etc.*

This is a relatively small class. It contains the names for males of various animal species (particularly farm animals), together with male kinship terms applicable to animals as well as to humans. With the kinship terms, the masculine pronoun is more likely than the neuter.

f) Dual gender feminine/neuter nouns

e.g. *boat, hen, lioness, mother, ship, etc.*

This class contains names for the female of various animals, female kinship terms matching to the male ones in e), and terms denoting *boats, cars* and the like.

g) Triple-gender nouns

e.g. *baby, child, frog, goat, snake, etc.*

This class contains a few words for young humans and terms denoting animals without specification of sex. *He* or *she* are less likely to be used for lower animals than higher ones (Huddleston, 2002: 490-491).

2.4 GRAMMATICAL MEANS OF EXPRESSING GENDER

Apart from lexical means, gender can be also expressed by various personal (*he, she* or *it*), possessive (*his, her* or *its*) and reflexive pronouns (*himself, herself* or *itself*). In addition, relative pronouns can also serve as means of expressing gender – *who/whom* referring to animate nouns and *which* to inanimate entities. Nevertheless, when the speaker wants to refer to people in general, i.e. to use a singular personal pronoun which would include both masculine and feminine, it gets rather complicated. English offers several possibilities, however, each of them is appropriate in different context and I will discuss them individually in the following subchapters. The classification is largely based on Huddleston's *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*.

2.4.1 Purportedly gender-neutral *he*

Gender-neutral *he* is used when the speaker refers to a noun of dual gender (*doctor, friend, teacher,...*) or the sex of the referent is unknown/irrelevant (Biber et al., 1999: 316). *He* has been traditionally viewed as grammatically correct in opposition to singular *they* and it is characteristic for relatively formal register. The use of this gender-neutral pronoun has received much attention due to the fact that the primary meaning of *he* is to refer to males, inevitably excluding females. Therefore, by many speakers it is regarded as one of the most evident signal of linguistic inequality and sexism.

[1] Each novelist aims to make a single novel of the material **he** has been given.
(Biber et al., 1999: 316)

2.4.2 Purportedly gender-neutral *she*

Gender-neutral *she* represents a relatively new concept and has been used only in limited context. It is used when the speaker refers to nouns of dual which can be of either sex, but it is

traditionally associated with females, for example when referring to a teacher, most speakers would use *she*.

There have been proposals to replace generic *he* (and *she*, respectively) by a newly invented singular pronoun which would include both masculine and feminine, such as in Persian *u*, which translates *he* and *she*. In fact, the very first such attempt to create a gender-inclusive singular pronoun (*thon* interpreted as "that one over there") was made by Charles Converse of Erie and it dates back to 1884, which clearly shows that English-speakers were aware of built-in masculine bias in their language even before the 1960s. Converse's pronoun has been long used in Scots and Northern English. Since then many artificial pronouns have been introduced, including *co*, *e/ir*, *et*, *han*, *hey*, *mef*, *na*, *per*, *ws/wself*, *ze/zon*, etc. (McArthur, 1998: 434). Nevertheless, it shall be mentioned that most of these pronouns have ended in failure as the general public has no interest in changing such a fundamental part of grammar.³

2.4.3 Alternating *he* and *she*

Some writers, being aware of gender-bias, switch between *he* and *she* in alternating sentences, paragraphs or chapters and this practice has been gaining acceptance. It is typical of books about child development (where the need for a generic pronoun is pervasive) and in academic journals (*The American Heritage Book of English Usage*, 1996: 178).

2.4.4 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination is represented by two forms – *he or she* and *she or he*. Due to its rather "clumsy" construction, disjunctive coordination is used only in limited contexts and is typical of relatively formal style.

- [2] A geologist studying fossiliferous rocks in the field needs only an average knowledge of paleontology in order to make a fairly accurate estimate of the epoch in which the rock **he or she** is studying belong. (Biber et al., 1999: 316)

2.4.5 Composite forms

Composition is represented by the following forms - *he/she*, *she/he* or *s/he*. It is a relatively new strategy how to simplify the coordination approach mentioned above. Composite forms are used only in limited context (especially academic texts).

³ Only *co* has been used in some American communes, *na* and *par* have been used by some science fiction novelists (Crystal, 2007: 46).

2.4.6 Singular *they*

The use of singular *they* is generally used in spoken (informal) language and it has a long tradition. In fact, it dates back to Middle English and therefore, we can find examples of singular *they* in Chaucer's or Shakespeare's literature. In the past many grammarians and scholars opposed the use of singular *they*, because of its non-agreement in number with the antecedent (Adami, 2009: 283). However, in recent years it has been acceptable also for other styles than informal, especially due to the decline in use of gender-neutral *he*.⁴ It is often connected with such antecedents as *everyone, someone, no one, each, every, either, etc.* Singular *they* has two reflexive forms – *themselves* and *themselves*. *Themselves* is morphologically marked as the plural, creating a number conflict with the singular antecedent, while the morphologically singular *themselves* is accepted only by a minority of speakers (dialect use) even though it has been attested in the standard dialect since the 1970s. Some grammarians (for example, the author of *Fowler's Modern English Usage*) argue that singular *they* is not grammatically correct and sounds rather "old-fashioned". Still, if singular *they* continues to gain acceptance, *themselves* may also become more common, much as *yourself* became common with singular *you* in the 17th century (McArthur, 1998: 434). It should be noted that there are also exceptions when we should avoid using singular *they*. This includes situations when the speaker refers to a strongly-individualized person (chief officers, ministers, etc.). In general, singular *they* is more common in British English.

- [3] Nobody likes to admit that **they** entertain very little, or that **they** rarely enjoy it when **they** do. (Biber et al., 1999: 317)

2.4.7 Avoidance

The avoidance strategy does not require a pronoun with an antecedent of the relevant kind. There are two grammatical devices to avoid the pronoun – the use of plural or agentless passive. The more common strategy is the use of a plural antecedent, however, it is not always possible due to the change of meaning of the original sentence. The other strategy is to rephrase the original sentence by using the agentless passive (if possible), leaving the agent implicit.

- [4] **Patients** should be told at the outset how much *they* will be required to pay. (Huddleston, 2002: 495)

⁴ Singular *they* is increasingly common especially in a legislative context.

- [5] People falsely accuse the media of a lot of things.
I think the media **is** falsely **accused** of a lot of things. (Biber et al., 1999: 414)

2.4.8 One

Indefinite numeral *one* can be also used for referring to people in general. Unlike singular *they*, *one* implies the inclusion of the speaker and is typically used in more formal styles. In informal styles, it is frequently replaced by the more informal *you* (Quirk et al., 1985: 112). *One* can also function as a possessive determiner (*one's*) or the reflexive pronoun (*oneself*). However, in traditional formal usage, it is considered inappropriate to mix *one* with other third person singular pronouns (Carter, 2006: 120).

- [6] **One** does not wish to repeat **oneself** unduly and the reader is referred to other parts of this book. (Biber et al., 1999: 354)

2.5 LEXICAL MEANS OF EXPRESSING GENDER

As previously mentioned, gender can be expressed by lexical means, being it distinctive vocabulary or "formal markers" (Biber et al., 1999: 312). The following classification is largely based on two major grammars - Biber's *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* and Curme's *English Grammar*.

2.5.1 THE USE OF DISTINCTIVE VOCABULARY

Biber (1999) claims there are many distinctive nouns which denote either male or female, many of them occurring in lexical pairs. These expressions typically describe family relationships (*father – mother, brother – sister, uncle – aunt, husband – wife*, etc.), social roles (*king – queen, earl – countess, gentleman – lady, bachelor – spinster/old maid*, etc.), occupations (*monk – nun, wizard – witch*, etc.) and animals (*bull – cow, drake – duck, dog – bitch, stallion – mare*, etc.). Still, in some cases (for example, *dog – bitch*) it is sometimes necessary to further specify which gender the speaker refers to as *dog* can "denote either sex" (Curme, 1947: 210).

2.5.2 COMPOUNDING WITH A GENDER-SPECIFIC ELEMENT

Biber (1999) labels this group as "compounds with gender specific elements" such as *man, woman, boy*, and *girl* (e.g. *sportsman – sportswoman, schoolboy – schoolgirl*). Unlike gender-specific markers, which are going to be mentioned further, these elements form the stem of the noun.

2.5.3 THE USE OF GENDER-SPECIFIC DERIVATIONAL ENDING

Suffixal gender marking is more frequent for feminine gender and includes suffixes *-ess* (e.g. *waitress, duchess, prioress*), *-ine* (e.g. *heroine, Josephine, Pauline*), *-ette* (e.g. *suffragette, usherette, majorette*), *-trix* (*aviatrix, administratrix*). Sometimes a change in the word root is also required as in *duke – duchess* or *tiger – tigress*. In some cases certain nouns with the suffixes mentioned above are perceived as pejorative.⁵ The only noun of masculine gender derived from female gender is *widower* (Huddleston, 2002: 1681).

2.5.4 THE USE OF GENDER-SPECIFIC MARKERS

This group includes gender markers such as *man, men, woman, women, male, female, boy, girl, gentleman, lady, maid, he* and *she* placed in front of the head noun. Biber uses the term "gender-specific premodification" (Biber et al., 1999: 312) and Dušková mentions several noun phrases (e.g. *boy friend, woman driver,...*) in the chapter titled "Plural of compounds", however this terminology raises the question whether, strictly speaking, the expressions such as *man doctor* or *female minister* should be treated as a free word combination with marked gender or a compound.

A compound is generally defined as a "word that is made of two other words" (Bauer, 2006: 719). According to Bauer, there "appear to be two fundamental approaches to the nature of a compound. The first sees a compound as a particular construction type, an entity with a formal definition. The second views a compound as a lexical unit meeting certain criteria" (*ibid.*). Theoretically speaking, compounds are assumed to show their status by meeting certain orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and/or semantic criteria. The following table presents the definitions of the individual criteria and possible counterarguments why gender-marked noun phrases should *not* be treated as compounds.

⁵ Certain terms denoting professions/occupations (e.g. *actress, poetess, manageress, sculptress*, etc.) suggest some difference in status and may imply lower standards or achievements. Therefore, these terms have been long recognized as disparaging and are rarely used. Additionally, the forms such as *jewess* or *negress* are avoided in most contexts as they involve sexual as well as racial bias. On the other hand, there are also certain terms which are in wide use and largely acceptable, e.g. *actress* or *waitress* (Huddleston, 2002: 1680-1681).

criteria	definition	counterargument	example
orthographic	Compounds are written as a single word.	There is a great variation in the writing of some two-word lexical items.	<i>man servant</i> or <i>manservant</i>
phonological	Compounds follow the compound stress rule, i.e. the word stress is on the initial element.	It is simplification, compound stress pattern are rather complex.	' <i>man</i> ' <i>leader</i>
morphological	Words acting as the modifier of a compound disallow inflection.	There are also examples which are marked for plural.	<i>woman driver</i> — <i>women drivers</i>
semantic	Compounds have a fully lexicalized meaning.	It is slightly problematic to distinguish whether a particular noun phrase shall be treated as a compound or whether it is a mere habitual collocation.	<i>woman doctor</i>
syntactic	Compounds are treated as a single unit, i.e. disallow syntactic processes such as separability, coordination or anaphora.	There are numerous examples in which both elements are separable.	<i>boy student</i> / <i>boy Geography student</i>

Chart 1: the classification of compound criteria (Bauer, 2006: 719-720)

We can conclude this part by stating that gender-marked noun phrases should not be generally defined as compounds, even though there may be some instances which can be treated as such (e.g. *man servant*). Whether to define a noun phrase as a free word combination or a compound is therefore, and to a large extent, a matter of convention.

Plural of nouns premodified by a gender marker

Dušková claims that compounds⁶ not containing a nominal element form the plural in a regular way – adding the ending *-(e)s* to the last element of the noun phrase (e.g. *merry-go-round – merry-go-rounds, take-off – take-offs*).⁷ If the compound consists of a noun serving as the head element, the plural is formed by adding the ending *-(e)s* to the noun (e.g. *looker-on – lookers-on, son-in-law – sons-in-law*).

If the compound consists of two nouns in apposition, i.e. one noun defines, classifies or modifies the other one, only the last noun forms the plural (e.g. *boy friend – boy friends, lady-singer – lady-singers*). There is, however, an exception in the case of compounds containing

⁶ Dušková labels this group as "compounds (kompozita)."

⁷ This statement seems rather oversimplified as there are many exceptions to this rule.

man or *woman*, where both elements are put into the plural (*manservant* – *menservants*, *woman driver* – *women drivers*). However, if the elements of a noun phrase are not in apposition, but in a different grammatical construction, *man* / *woman* do not form the plural, for instance, the plural of *woman-hater* (meaning "the person who hates woman or women") is *woman-haters* (Dušková et al., 2006: 43). The plural morphology thus reflects the various relations the "premodifying" *man* / *woman* may have to the head noun.

3. RESEARCH PART

3.1 OBJECTIVES

The research part of the thesis focuses on the distribution of gender markers with dual-gender head nouns in contemporary English. The main objective is to describe collocational preferences of selected dual gender nouns. We are interested in the proportion of individual gender markers, i.e. how frequently English speakers use gender markers and if there is any difference in the total distribution of markers denoting masculine and feminine gender, depending on the lexeme of the head noun. The distribution may be influenced by genre in which a particular gender marker appears, for instance, *female* (*male*) and *woman* (*man*) are typical of academic language and other forms of formal writing, while *lady* (*gentleman*) is more frequent in fiction and spoken language. However, it should be noted that the distribution does not depend only on genre, but also, in my opinion more importantly, on collocational preferences, i.e. if the words "co-occur more frequently than expected by chance" (Biber et al., 1999: 988).⁸

3.2 MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

To select an illustrative sample of dual gender nouns for the quantitative analysis, we searched for 15 most frequent dual gender nouns in *Word Frequencies in Written and Spoken English* by Geoffrey Leech et al. (2001).⁹ The frequency list produced the following dual gender nouns: *minister, person, patient, student, teacher, parent, manager, worker, officer, president, director, leader, secretary, doctor* and *player*. Originally, the list included *friend*, but as it is lexicalized with gender marker *girl* (*boy*, respectively), we decided to exclude it from the list and to replace it by the noun *player*, which is the sixteenth most frequent dual gender noun. Combinations of these nouns with different gender markers were searched for individually in the corpus. The following list of gender markers was completed on the basis of three major grammar books – Biber's *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, Curme's *English Grammar* and Dušková's *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*:

- *female*
- *lady*

⁸ Biber mentions the influence of collocability in his grammar, but he does not provide a further description.

⁹ Accessed online: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/bncfreq/lists/5_1_all_rank_noun.txt (July 2012)

- sg. *woman* / pl. *women*
- *girl*
- *maid*
- *she*

- *male*
- sg. *gentleman* / pl. *gentlemen*
- sg. *man* / pl. *men*
- *boy*
- *he*

The majority of gender markers denote a person's gender, but the marker *girl* (*boy*, respectively) also denote the status of a young person. The sample of dual gender nouns includes predominantly occupations or roles performed by adults, therefore, it can be expected that this gender marker would appear rarely. Nonetheless, in order to provide a complete overview, we included this marker as well.

The research was conducted in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), which is the largest freely-available corpus of English, containing more than 450 million words.¹⁰ Additionally, it allows the user to search for words in individual genres (spoken language, fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic language). As we wanted to find out the overall frequency of the noun, the display format "List" was selected. Each query consisted of a dual gender noun and its left gender marker collocate. Not only was it necessary to find the first left collocate, but we also had to take into account that some noun phrases can have their gender marker in the position of the second collocate (or even the third one), for example as in *male history student* or *woman deputy prime minister*. Further, it was necessary to ensure that the search was made for the particular noun in all its forms (number and genitive), entering a query in square brackets. Additionally, we used the "POS" filter, which was absolutely essential for nouns such as *parent* or *minister*, which can also operate as verbs. For instance, we entered the query "[male] [student].[nn*]" in order to find all the examples of dual gender noun *student* with gender marker *male* in the position of the first left collocate, "[male] * [student].[nn*]" of the second left collocate and "[male] * * [student].[nn*]" of the

¹⁰ Accessed online: <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/x.asp?w=1024&h=600> (December 2012)

third one. When examining the results, it was inevitable to decide which examples to include in the final results and why, i.e. find the right criteria. We decided to include only those nominal phrases whose gender marker directly premodifies the head noun and represents an inherent element. Conversely, we excluded those instances in which the gender marker was a part of a complex premodification (e.g. *black man president*), even though some of them may also function as gender markers, and other irrelevant cases, for example the noun phrases where the premodifier defines the object related to the head noun (e. g. *a men leader - a leader of men*).

As previously mentioned, we also include the noun phrases which contain the second and third collocates and this fact leads us to the issue of premodification ordering, which is a relatively complicated issue as there are not universally valid rules which would firmly determine the order of premodifiers. Nevertheless, there are several rules which can be applied. First, the premodifiers describing objective qualities precede those describing subjective characteristics of the head noun. Second, the preferred order is "adjective — noun — head noun"¹¹ Third, the ordering of premodifiers is from inherent (premodifiers closely connected with the head noun in terms of semantics and placed closer to the head) to adherent premodifiers (freely connected with the head noun) (Dušková et al., 2006: 488). For instance, if we focus on the noun phrase *black female ministers*, *female* represents an inherent element (the phrase refers to ministers of female gender), while *black* represents an adherent one (the premodifier further specifies the female ministers). When analyzing the individual instances from the corpus, this issue needs to be taken into consideration.

Examining the results, we also observed that the individual gender markers frequently appear in different coordinating constructions, where the gender markers are linked with coordinating conjunctions, especially *and* and *or*. Thus, the secondary aim of our research is to describe the distribution of coordinating constructions. First, we had to define which instances of coordination to include and which ones to exclude. The criterion applied was that both gender markers (masculine and feminine) must relate to a shared head noun. For example, we included noun phrases such as *male and female patients*, *male versus female players* and *more common in male than in female patients*. On the other hand, we excluded

¹¹ Undoubtedly, the patterns are more complex, however, this pattern satisfies the needs of our research.

male patients and female patients as an instance of coordination because the head noun of each gender is explicitly mentioned. Both gender markers involved in the noun phrases are tabulated in the results as the first left collocates.

3.3 RESEARCH DATA

The data obtained from the corpus show the general distribution of gender markers with the selected dual-gender head nouns in contemporary English. The tables present the total occurrence number of the individual markers, the percentage share of this marker within its gender group, but also within all gender-marked noun phrases. It shall be stressed that the aim of our research is to compare general tendencies in the use of gender markers, thus, in order to draw sound conclusions, we are interested in the ratios, not in the absolute numbers. A discussion of the principal results follows.

3.3.1 The noun *minister*

Table 1: <i>minister</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	24	10	1	35	1	3	0	4	39
2nd L collocate	22	25	2	49	0	0	0	0	49
3rd L collocate	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Σ	47	35	3	85	1	3	0	4	89
% share from F/M markers	55.3	41.2	3.5	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both genders	52.8	39.3	3.4	95.5	1.1	3.4	0.0	4.5	–

The preceding table presents the distribution of the noun *minister* with different gender markers. It is apparent that *minister* appears more frequently with feminine markers (95.5 %) than masculine ones (4.5 %). As for the individual feminine markers overall, gender marker *woman* is the most frequent marker (55.3 %), followed by *female* (41.2 %). *Woman* appears more numerous in the position of the first left collocate, however the occurrence of *female* is slightly higher if we consider the second left collocates, which may be due to the high number of *female prime minister* (19), compared with *woman* appearing in various noun phrases (e.g. *woman prime minister*, *woman deputy minister*, *woman information minister*, etc.). In fact, there are several noun phrases used with both *female* and *woman*, such as *woman cabinet minister* and *female cabinet minister* (both used in newspaper). Other examples include the following:

- (1) If one of your churches, individual churches, decides that they wanna have a gay minister or a **woman minister** [...]
- (2) Margaret Thatcher, who came to power as the nation's first **female prime minister** in 1979 [...]

The singular marker *woman* occurs more frequently when compared with its plural counterpart. As a rule, singular markers generally appear with singular head nouns, while plural markers usually occur with head nouns in the plural. This rule applies only to cases when both elements are in apposition (see 2.5 "Plural of nouns premodified by a gender marker"). Thus, the higher number of singular marker can be justified by the uniqueness of this occupation or simply the fact the individual occurrences are connected with a particular situation, for instance *Bachelet was named Chile's first woman minister of defense*.

If we distinguish two different meanings of *minister* (a person involved in 1. politics or 2. religion), the distinction does not seem to influence the distribution of feminine markers as both markers *woman / female* are used with both meanings. However, if we consider the masculine gender, which is rare, 3 out of 4 occurrences are with *male* (all used in the second meaning) and only one with *men*, which seems to be allowed by being a part of coordination:

- (3) He carefully balances his team, seeking both secular clergy and monks, **men and women ministers** [...]

We also found some instances which we had to exclude (e.g. *a heroic black woman minister*, *women kidnap ministers*, *Commonwealth Women Affairs Ministers*), see "Material and methodology." We should pay attention to the contrast between the excluded example of *heroic black woman minister* and *black female minister*, which we did include. The first noun phrase contains the complex premodification *black woman* (trans. *černoška*), which is lexicalized, i.e. it is not possible to rephrase the first noun phrase as *heroic woman black minister*. In addition, we noticed two noun phrases which require further discussion – *black female ministers* and *female black ministers*, which is less frequent. In the first phrase the speaker refers to the black ministers out of all female ministers, while in the latter one he / she refers to all female ministers out of all black ones, the difference is in the subset the speaker refers to. Regarding the usual context of these noun phrases, it becomes obvious the first one would have a higher occurrence.

3.3.2 The noun *person*

Table 2: <i>person</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	2	38	0	40	0	45	0	45	85
2nd L collocate	1	7	0	8	0	6	0	6	14
3rd L collocate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	3	45	0	48	0	51	0	51	99
% share from F/M markers	6.3	93.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both genders	3.0	45.5	0.0	48.5	0.0	51.5	0.0	51.5	–

The noun *person* occurs almost equally with both feminine (48.5 %) and masculine markers (51.5 %). As for the individual markers in total, there is a strong preference to use markers *female* (93.7 %) and *male* (100 %). The limited number of *woman* is used only in the position of the first and second collocate. More specifically, *woman* occurs in the position of the first collocate only in the singular (2 instances of *woman person*) and the only occurrence of *woman* in the position of the second collocate is in the noun phrase *woman science person*.¹²

Gender markers are relatively frequent in coordination, there are 5 examples of coordination relation in total:

- (4) Results indicated an extremely high degree of association between the characteristics used to describe ideal **male and female persons** [...]

We also had to exclude some unwanted instances such as *female hits persons, are women persons?, the mystery man person, etc.*

3.3.3 The noun *patient*

Table 3: <i>patient</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	25	148	1	174	1	101	0	102	275
2nd L collocate	3	20	0	23	0	12	0	12	35
3rd L collocate	0	6	0	6	0	2	0	2	2
Σ	28	174	1	203	1	115	0	116	319
% share from F/M markers	13.8	85.7	0.5	100.0	0.9	99.1	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both genders	8.8	54.5	0.3	63.6	0.3	36.1	0.0	36.4	–

¹² Regarding this noun phrase, there are two possible meanings – a female scientist or a person studying woman science. Due to the fact the set expression for "woman science" is "women's science", we incline to the first interpretation.

The noun *patient* is more frequent with feminine markers (63.6 %) than masculine ones (36.4 %). As for the individual feminine markers, the majority are realized by *female* (85.7 %), followed by *woman* (13.8 %) and *lady* (0.5 %). Overall, there are 28 examples of *woman* – 4 with the singular and 24 with the plural (e.g. *women cancer patients*), all in the position of the first and second collocates. The only feminine marker in the position of the third collocate is *female*, such as in *female bypass surgery patients*. *Male* represents a vast majority of masculine gender markers (99.1 %), there is only one occurrence of *man patient* (*Two times I remember that men patients of mine*).

Gender-marked *patient* frequently appears in various forms of coordination (20 in total), for example:

- (5) NA from skin cells was collected from 11 **male and female patients** ages 2 to 56.
- (6) Lastly, the SIP, used in clinical sports medicine settings, has documented significantly higher total pain coping scores among **male versus female patients**.
- (7) Among patients <18 years of age, acute rickettsioses were more common in **male than in female patients**.

There were some obvious instances which had to be excluded (e.g. *medicine man patient*, *symptomatic men Patients and Methods*, etc.).

3.3.4 The noun *student*

Table 4: <i>student</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	∑ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	∑ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	169	1261	0	1457*	14	884	3	908*	2365
2nd L collocate	43	200	0	243*	0	108	0	108*	351
3rd L collocate	0	79	0	79*	0	35	0	35*	114
∑	212	1540	0	1779	14	1027	3	1051	2830
% share from F/M markers	11.9	86.6	0.0	100.0	1.3	97.8	0.3	100.0	–
% share from both markers	7.5	54.4	0.0	62.9	0.5	36.3	0.1	37.1	–

* The numbers of feminine and masculine markers also include the occurrence of *boy* (7) and *girl* (27).

The table presents the distribution of the noun *student* with different gender markers. In addition, there is also a limited occurrence of markers *girl* and *boy* not illustrated in this table, yet counted in the final results. Feminine markers are more frequent than masculine ones (62.9 % against 37.1 %). As for the individual feminine markers overall, *female* is by far the

most frequent (86.6 %), followed by *woman* (11.9 %) and *girl* (1.5 %). *Woman* appears more commonly in the plural (92 %) when compared with the singular (8 %) and there are two instances of number disagreement (*two woman students killed, the young woman students*; both in fiction). The overwhelming majority of masculine markers are represented by *male* (97.8 %), followed by *man* (1.3 %), *boy* (0.6 %), and *gentleman* (0.3 %). The marker *man* is only in the plural – the occurrence of coordination is 36 % (5 out of 14 noun phrases). The results obtained for the masculine gender include for instance *male social studies students* or *gentleman student of scientific subjects*.

The above mentioned gender markers are frequently in coordinating constructions (13 % of all instances). To be more specific, there are 190 coordination constructions in total – 183 times *male — female student(s)* or *female — male student(s)*, 5 times *women men student(s)* or *men — women student(s)* and twice *girl — boy student(s)*.

- (8) That's not necessarily so, say Eastern Michigan University researchers who found that **neither male nor female** students.
- (9) The reason for the imbalance of **women and men students** is not apparent.
- (10) [...] do not provide equal sports opportunities for **girl and boy students**.

The excluded noun phrases are *another woman – a student, female writing students, Gender and Ethnicity Women Students and Workers* (probably two titles, presumably in a chart) and many others instances irrelevant for our research.

3.3.5 The noun *teacher*

Table 5: <i>teacher</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	71	164	4	239	9	185	0	194	433
2nd L collocate	4	41	0	45	0	37	0	37	82
3rd L collocate	1	22	0	23	0	9	0	9	32
Σ	76	227	4	307	9	231	0	240	547
% share from F/M markers	24.8	73.9	1.3	100.0	3.8	96.2	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	13.9	41.5	0.7	56.1	1.6	42.3	0.0	43.9	–

The table presents the occurrence rates of the noun *teacher* with different gender markers. Feminine markers are more frequent than masculine ones (56.1 % against 43.9 %). Feminine gender is marked by *female* (73.9 %), *woman* (24.8 %) and *lady* (1.3 %). Focusing on the marker *woman*, we can conclude that the plural form is twice more frequent than the singular one. We also observe some instances of number disagreement in fictional writing (*woman*

teachers). However, in some cases it turns out to be a mere misspelling in the corpus.¹³ If we compare the different positions of the collocates, it becomes obvious that the further left the collocate stands from its head noun, the lower number of the collocates is. The same rule can be applied to both genders. The most numerous masculine marker is *male* (96.2 %), followed by *man* (3.8 %). They appear in noun phrases such as *male physical education teacher* or *the importance of men teachers*.

- (11) How was the negative behavior of **male and women teachers** graded by students' opinions?

We observed the gender markers commonly appear in the following coordination *male / female* (or vice versa), *man / woman* (or vice versa), *men / women* (or vice versa).

Surprisingly, the results also include 11 instances *male and women teachers*.¹⁴

We excluded all the cases in which the gender marker forms a part of the complex premodification and other irrelevant instances, e.g. *boy teacher* (a teacher of a boy / boys), *male student teacher* (a teacher of male students), etc.

3.3.6 The noun *parent*

Table 6: <i>parent</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	0	18	0	18	0	37	0	37	55
2nd L collocate	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2
3rd L collocate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	0	18	0	18	0	39	0	39	57
% share from F/M markers	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	0.0	31.6	0.0	30.9	0.0	68.4	0.0	69.1	–

The preceding table shows the distribution of the noun *parent* with different gender markers. Unlike previous dual gender nouns, it appears more numerous with masculine gender markers than feminine (68.4 % against 31.6 %). The proportion may be justified by the influence of gender stereotypes, i.e. women are generally regarded as those having main parental

¹³ For instance, the results include 3 occurrences of the title "A Plea for Married Woman Teachers." Having searched for this piece of writing in other sources, we found out it is originally titled "A Plea for Married Women Teachers.". Furthermore, the sentence "In exchange, a Siamese woman teachers Anna a traditional fan dance. " contains an obvious misspelling ("teaches" instead of "teachers")

¹⁴ It should be noted they are all from the same source, *Journal of Instructional Psychology* (acad.).

responsibility, while if a man has this kind of responsibility, it is viewed rather exceptional and it reflects in the language. The use of individual gender markers is very limited, the only markers are *male* and *female*.

- (12) Based on results of parents' gender show that 50 % of the sample was male parents and other 50% were **female parents**.

In total, the results include 6 instances of coordination, such as

- (13) There were **20 male and 16 female parent** fan participants, ranging in age from 30 to 50 years.

We excluded some unwanted instances, e.g. *female adolescents' parents* (the text informs about the role of parents whose daughters may be addicted to drugs).

3.3.7 The noun *manager*

Table 7: <i>manager</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	95	89	1	185	2	69	0	71	256
2nd L collocate	7	30	0	37	0	13	0	13	50
3rd L collocate	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Σ	102	120	1	223	2	82	0	84	307
% share from F/M markers	45.7	53.8	0.5	100.0	2.4	97.6	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	33.2	39.1	0.3	72.6	0.7	26.7	0.0	27.4	–

The table shows the distribution of the noun *manager* with different gender markers, which is more numerous with feminine markers (72.6 %) than masculine ones (27.4 %). As for the individual feminine markers overall, *female* is the most frequent marker (53.8 %), followed by *woman* (45.7 %) and *lady* (0.5 %). *Woman* appears 7 times more common in its plural form (e.g. *women branch managers*). There are three instances of number disagreement, all in academic language:

- (14) "I would not like to be directed by a **women manager** at my workplace " [...]
 (15) Men are considered to be successful managers, which leads to fewer numbers of **woman managers**, at higher ranks.

The majority of masculine markers are realized by *male* (97.6 %), such as in *male bank manager*. The marker *man* (2.4 %) appears only twice, always only as a part of coordination:

- (16) [...] the wage gap between **men and women managers** actually grew between 1995 and 2000.

Another form of a coordinating construction (12 in total) can be seen below:

- (17) Similarly, Donnell and Hall (1980) found higher levels of work motivation among **female than male managers**.

The excluded noun phrases are for example *women veterans program manager*. The number disagreement in this phrase reveals that *women* refers to *veteran*, not *manager*.

3.3.8 The noun *worker*

Table 8: <i>worker</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	177	121	1	299	7	101	0	108	407
2nd L collocate	46	117	11	174	0	46	0	46	220
3rd L collocate	2	13	0	15	0	4	0	4	19
Σ	225	251	12	488	7	151	0	158	646
% share from F/M markers	46.1	51.4	2.5	100.0	4.4	95.6	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	34.8	38.9	1.9	75.6	1.1	23.3	0.0	24.4	–

The table illustrates the distribution of the noun *worker* with different gender markers. It is apparent that *worker* is more common with feminine markers (75.6 %) than masculine ones (24.4 %). Focusing on the individual feminine markers overall, *female* is the most frequent marker (51.4 %), followed by *woman* (46.1 %) and *lady* (2.5 %). However, *woman* is more numerous in the position of the first left collocate, while the occurrence of *female* is much higher if we consider the second left collocates (e.g. *female migrant workers*, *female social workers*, *female office workers*). Additionally, there are several noun phrases used with both *female* and *woman*, such as *women garment workers* (3) and *female garment workers* (2).¹⁵ Concerning the gender marker *woman*, we find out the plural form prevails (94 %). There is one occurrence of number disagreement (*The painting Woman Workers shares this theme*), which shall be classified as grammatically incorrect. The vast majority of the masculine gender are realized by *male* (95.6 %), followed by *man* (4.4 %; all in the plural)¹⁶, such as in the following noun phrases *male feminist social workers*, *male construction workers*, *male blue-collar workers* or *full-time men workers*.

¹⁵ We need to take into consideration whether these noun phrases refer to "garment workers of female gender" or "workers of female/woman garment." As the texts largely discuss women's working conditions or comparison with their male peers, we can conclude *female* and *woman* shall be counted as gender markers.

¹⁶ 43 % of all instances of *man* only as a part of coordination (e.g. *another larger group of men and women workers*).

The results also include 13 examples of coordinating constructions:

- (18) The average difference in annual pay between **male and female workers**, he said, was a little more than \$1,000.
- (19) Major shifts have occurred in the composition of unionized workers; 49% of **female and 28% of male workers** are unionized.
- (20) As close as the collaboration between **men and women workers** can get at the office [...]

We excluded the cases irrelevant for our research, e.g. *female as workers, females and wingless workers, to produce TSL males requires insectary workers*, etc.

3.3.9 The noun *officer*

	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocates	71	132	2	205	0	79	1	80	285
2nd L collocates	22	86	3	111	0	30	0	30	141
3rd L collocates	3	14	0	17	0	3	0	3	20
Σ	96	232	5	333	0	112	1	113	446
% share from F/M markers	28.8	69.7	1.5	100.0	0.0	99.1	0.9	100.0	–
% share from both markers	21.5	52.0	1.1	74.6	0.0	25.2	0.2	25.4	–

The noun *officer* occurs more frequently with feminine markers (74.6 %) than masculine (25.4 %). Regarding the individual feminine markers overall, *female* is the most frequent marker (69.7 %), followed by *woman* (28.8 %). *Woman* is more frequent in the plural form (68 %) when contrasted with the singular, e.g. *women military technical officers, women police officers*, etc. There is also a limited occurrence of *lady* (1.5 %).¹⁷ The great majority of masculine markers are realized by the marker *male* (99.1 %), such as in *male air force officers* or *male C.I.A. officers*.

The results also include 6 examples of coordination:

- (21) [...] **one female and two male officers** who worked with the women.
- (22) [...] **male and female officers**, trained to work together from the very beginning.

Apart from a few random instances irrelevant for our research (e.g. *females, noncommissioned officers*), we did not exclude any other examples.

¹⁷ E.g. *The lady officer asks for my driver's license.* (fiction)

3.3.10 The noun *president*

Table 10: *president*

	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	∑ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	∑ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	149	170	1	320	1	17	0	18	338
2nd L collocate	13	23	0	36	0	2	0	2	38
3rd L collocate	1	5	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
∑	163	198	1	362	1	19	0	20	382
% share from F/M markers	45.0	54.7	0.3	100.0	5.0	95.0	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	42.7	51.7	0.3	94.7	0.3	5.0	0.0	5.3	–

The noun *president* occurs by far more commonly with feminine markers (94.7 %) than masculine ones (5.3 %). If we focus on the individual feminine markers, it becomes obvious *female* (54.7 %) is more widespread when contrasted with *woman* (45.0 %). The latter marker occurs more frequently in the singular, which may be caused by the unique status of this title (89 % for the singular versus 11 % for the plural). There are two possibly arguable instances of number disagreement (*a women president*), however, it almost seems to be used in a sense "a president able to fulfil hopes of his/her women voters", thus excluded. As for the masculine markers, the most of results are marked with *male* (95.0 %), followed by *man* (5.0 %, only in the plural).¹⁸

Overall, there are 4 cases of coordinating constructions:

- (23) Both **male and female presidents** established partnerships in taking care of the home and family.

There are a large number of instances which had to be excluded, such as *National Organization for Women President*, *the family man president*, *a black man president*, *the woman president Obama has chosen*, *an exclusive interview with the man president Obama wanted*, *man league president*, *why isn't this man president*, *fellow sax man president Bill Clinton* and many others.

3.3.11 The noun *director*

¹⁸ E.g. [...] they're far less likely than men presidents to be married and have children, and significantly more likely to hold an advanced degree. (magazine)

Table 11 - <i>director</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	77	47	0	124	3	10	0	13	137
2nd L collocate	10	27	0	37	0	2	0	2	39
3rd L collocate	0	17	0	17	0	2	0	2	19
Σ	87	91	0	178	3	14	0	17	195
% share from F/M markers	48.9	51.1	0.0	100.0	17.6	82.4	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	44.6	46.7	0.0	91.3	1.5	7.2	0.0	8.7	–

Director is much more common with feminine markers (91.3 %) than masculine ones (8.7 %). As for the individual gender markers overall, *female* represents the most frequent feminine marker (51.1 %), followed by *woman* (48.9 %). Concerning the collocate position, *woman* appears more frequent in the position of the first collocate (62 % for *woman* against 38 % for *female*), while the occurrence in the second collocate is opposite – 27 % for *woman* against 73 % for *female*.¹⁹ The third collocate is realized by *female* only. We attempted to find out the reason for this distribution and we formed a hypothesis the distribution may be influenced by the distinction in meaning of *director* (a person in charge of 1. a company/department or 2. a film/play/musical). However, this hypothesis was not confirmed as *female* (the first left collocate) appears 35 times in connection with film and 12 times with business, while *woman* appears 54 times with film and 13 times with business. The only conclusion we can draw is that this noun is predominantly used in its second definition.

- (24) But the culmination of her career was as a trailblazing **woman director** of low-budget melodramas (1953's *he Hitch-Hiker*) and TV's *the Untouchables*.
- (25) The film was nominated for an Academy Award, marking the first time a black **female director** had ever been nominated for an Oscar.

The singular marker *woman* in the position of the first collocate appears less frequent when compared with the plural marker *women* (36 % for the singular against 64 % for the plural). The occurrence for the second collocate is relatively analogous (40 % for the singular against 60 % for the plural). This distribution may be due to the fact that professionals of female

¹⁹ A relatively high occurrence of female athletic workers raises a question if we actually deal with "athletic directors of female gender" or "directors of female athletics." Examining the context in more detail, we found out the excerpted results support the first definition (e.g. *The success ratio of female athletic directors was greater than the success ratio of their male peers; challenges faced by female athletic directors could be discussed [...] instructors and students would be able to discuss the stereotypical images of women in collegiate administrative positions*).

gender (e.g. *directors*) are a relatively common topic in academic texts about feminism and they are referred to as a group, not individuals.

As for masculine markers, *male* is the most frequent (82.4 %), followed by *man* (17.6 %; 33.3 % for the singular versus 66.7 % for the plural; all used in the second meaning)²⁰ in the position of the first collocate. The only possible second and third collocates are realized by *male*.

(26) "Back in 1973 I was planning the regular meeting for our mostly **male regional sales directors**" he recalls.

It was necessary to exclude some unwanted instances such as *Pretty Woman director*, *Holy Man director*, *women group director*, etc. No case of coordination was discovered.

3.3.12 The noun *leader*

Table 12: <i>leader</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	111	73	1	186*	1	65	0	67*	253
2nd L collocate	13	20	1	57*	0	23	0	50*	107
3rd L collocate	0	1	0	6*	0	1	0	6*	12
Σ	124	94	2	249	1	89	0	123	372
% share from F/M markers	49.8	37.8	0.8	100.0	0.8	72.4	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	33.3	25.3	0.5	66.9	0.3	23.9	0.0	33.1	–

* The numbers of feminine and masculine markers also include the occurrence of *boy* (33) and *girl* (29).

The noun *leader* is twice more frequent with feminine markers (66.9 %) than masculine ones (33.1 %). There is also a relatively high occurrence of markers *girl* and *boy* not tabulated, yet counted in the final results. Regarding the individual feminine markers overall, gender marker *woman* is the most frequent one (49.8 %), followed by *female* (37.8 %), *girl* (11.6 %) and *lady* (0.8 %). *Woman* occurs more frequently in the position of the first left collocate, however, the occurrence of *female* is slightly higher if we consider the second collocate as the data clearly suggest *female* is used with a greater variety of noun phrases such as *female political leader*, *female government leader*, *female business leaders*, etc. *Woman* occurs in both the singular and the plural (the ratio being 9 % to 91 %). We also discovered one instance of number disagreement in *woman leaders' self-perceptions* (academic language).

²⁰ E.g. *Most men directors choose men to say these things.* (newspaper)

Unlike the previous dual gender nouns, *leader* is frequent with the marker *girl*, especially in the noun phrase *girl scout leader(s)*. Here we had to reassess the relations within a noun phrase. The majority of examples included in this research demonstrate the premodifiers usually classify the head noun. Yet, some noun phrases include premodifiers not operating as gender markers, but objects connected with the head noun. Therefore, we have to realize that the phrase *girl scout leader(s)* can be interpreted in two different ways – "a scout leader of girls" or "a girl leader of scouts." Similarly, *women leaders* may stand for "leaders of female gender" as well as "leaders of group of women." On the other hand, "a women leader" can be interpreted only as "a leader of women", which means that any number disagreement can serve as a signal of possible exclusion instance.

The results for masculine markers demonstrate the dominant role of *male* (72.4 %), followed by *boy* (26.8 %). The only occurrence of *man* (0.8 %) is only as a part of coordinating construction in *interactions among men and women leaders*.

Gender-marked *leader* often appears in coordination (11 in total), for example:

- (27) Two of the meta-analyses examined evaluations of **male and female leaders** [...]

We had to exclude a great number of irrelevant or unwanted instances, such as *Federation of Cuban Women leader*, *National Congress of Black Women leader*, *Girl Guide leader*, *Billionaire Boys Club leader*, *the man Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell described*, and many others, some of them being, to a certain extent, ambiguous (e.g. *women student leaders*).

3.3.13 The noun *secretary*

Table 13: <i>secretary</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocates	6	31	2	39	0	15	0	15	54
2nd L collocates	1	6	0	7	0	2	0	2	9
3rd L collocates	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	7	37	2	46	0	17	0	17	63
% share from F/M markers	15.2	80.4	4.4	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	11.1	58.7	3.2	73.0	0.0	27.0	0.0	27.0	–

The preceding table presents the distribution of the noun *secretary* with different gender markers. Feminine markers are almost 3 times more frequent than masculine ones (73.0 % against 27.0 %). Regarding the individual feminine markers, gender marker *female* is the most frequent marker (80.4 %), followed by *woman* (15.2 %), the occurrence of *lady* is marginal (4.4 %; only in spoken language and fiction). As previously mentioned, the singular marker *woman* tends to be used with a singular head noun and vice versa. However, the results also include an example of number disagreement (*the nation's first women secretary of state*).

- (28) We quickly found the correct door and behind it a rather prim, middle-aged **lady secretary**.
- (29) Under President George Bush, she was named the nation's **first female deputy secretary** of agriculture.

Regarding the lexical meaning of the word *secretary*, we attempted to distinguish its two different meanings (a person 1. working in an office performing general administration tasks or 2. working as the head of a department, for example in commercial environment, government, etc.).²¹ If we focus on the results in more detail, we find out that this noun is more common in the second meaning. Still, the ratio of the use *female* between the first and the second meaning is 32.4 % against 67.6 %, while the ratio of the the use *woman* is 14.3 % against 85.7 %, which can lead to the conclusion that there is a stronger preference to use *woman* than *female* in the second meaning.

The only masculine marker used is *male*. It should be noted that the vast majority of gender-marked noun phrases are used in the first meaning (14 out of 17), which again confirms our hypothesis that when an occupation does not conform to gender stereotypes, it reflects in the language (traditionally, men working in lower administration are relatively rare).

We excluded some instances such as *first black woman secretary of state*, *United Methodist Women secretary*, *the nation's first ladies Secretary of state*, etc. The results also included one example of coordinating construction (*male and female secretaries*).

²¹ It is frequently used with capital letters in this sense, e.g. *African-American Female Secretary of Energy*.

3.3.14 The noun *doctor*

Table 14: <i>doctor</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	∑ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	∑ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	73	72	18	163	1	71	0	72	235
2nd L collocate	2	1	1	4	0	3	0	3	7
3rd L collocate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
∑	75	73	19	167	1	74	0	75	242
% share from F/M markers	44.9	43.7	11.4	100.0	1.3	98.7	0.0	100.0	–
% share from both markers	31.0	30.2	7.9	69.1	0.4	30.5	0.0	30.9	–

Doctor is more frequent with feminine markers (69.1 %) than masculine ones (30.9 %). As for the individual feminine gender markers, *woman* represents the most frequent feminine marker (44.9 %), closely followed by *female* (43.7 %) and *lady* (11.4 %). *Woman* is slightly more numerous in the singular (59 %) than in the plural (41 %), such as *woman medical doctor*, *attractive woman doctor*, *women military doctors*, etc. Unlike the previous dual gender nouns, *doctor* commonly occurs with *lady* as well, especially in fiction (e.g. *the nice lady doctor*). The overwhelming majority of masculine markers are realized by *male* (98.7 %). In addition, there appears one occurrence of *man*, which is also an example of number disagreement (*Women can't go to see man doctors*).

Furthermore, we attempted to find out whether there is any difference in the distribution of different gender markers in case we distinguish two possible meanings of *doctor* (a person who 1. treats ill people or 2. has earned a university degree), however, we found no constant tendencies. In fact, the occurrence of the second meaning is quite rare.

It was necessary to exclude some unwanted or irrelevant examples, such as *woman doctors had written off*, *that girl doctors had quite miraculously saved*, *the author of A Woman Doctors Guide to Skin Care* (misspelt *A Woman Doctor's Guide*), *white boy doctor* (the doctor of a white boy), etc.

The gender-marked *doctor* is also used as a part of a coordinating construction, as seen below:

- (30) Both **male and female doctors** say these developments are critically important to the health care industry.
- (31) Determine if you prefer a **female or male doctor**, and if you want a solo practitioner or someone who is part of a group.

3.3.15 The noun *player*

Table 15: <i>player</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>lady</i>	Σ fem. markers	<i>man</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>gentleman</i>	Σ masc. markers	TOTAL
1st L collocate	36	100	0	147*	7	66	1	78*	225
2nd L collocate	61	128	2	191*	1	85	0	86*	277
3rd L collocate	7	31	0	38*	0	15	0	15*	53
Σ	104	259	2	376	8	166	1	179	555
% share from F/M markers	27.7	68.9	0.5	100.0	4.5	92.7	0.6	100.0	–
% share from both markers	18.7	46.7	0.4	67.8	1.4	30.0	0.2	32.2	–

* The numbers of feminine and masculine markers also include the occurrence of *boy* (4) and *girl* (11).

The preceding table shows the distribution of the noun *player* with different gender markers, which is more widespread with feminine markers (67.8 %) than masculine ones (32.2 %). As for the individual markers, *female* is the most frequent marker (68.9 %), followed by *woman* (27.7 %), *girl* (2.9 %) and *lady* (0.5 %). *Woman* appears twice more common in its plural form (e.g. *women soccer players*). There is one instance of number disagreement (*women basketball player*), which we decided to exclude as *women* refers to *basketball*, not *player*. As previously mentioned, we can conclude that any case of number disagreement may be a signal of possible instance which needs to be excluded. The majority of masculine markers are realized by *male* (92.7 %), followed by *man* (4.5 %), *boy* (2.2 %) and *gentleman* (0.6 %). The marker *man* is used in the plural form only.²²

The instances of coordination are relatively varied in this noun (9 in total):

- (32) The data were collected by interviews of 45 **female and male players** during two summer softball seasons.
- (33) These statements indicate the players of both genders have differential expectations of the **female and male players**.
- (34) [...] they valued the participation of **men and women players** in tennis and basketball as ascetic and aesthetic experiences.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, we excluded the example in which the gender marker is a part of complex premodification (e.g. *women basketball player*).

²² E.g. *This win makes him one of the top U.S. men players in the country* [...]. (newspaper)

4. CONCLUSION

The practical part of the study focused on the analysis (both qualitative and quantitative) of the distribution of gender markers with dual-gender nouns. The main objective was to survey the collocational preferences of selected dual gender nouns for the respective gender markers.

Overall, 7139 noun phrases were examined. The results obtained from the corpus clearly indicate that feminine markers are generally more frequent when compared with masculine ones – the ratio being 69.5 % to 30.5 %. In some cases we found out that there may be a relationship between the use of gender markers and gender stereotypes in a sense that if the gender of a given person does not conform to gender stereotypes, the marking is used. For instance, men are not normally associated with parenting, thus the occurrence of the masculine gender markers with the noun *parent* is relatively high (at least when compared with other masculine gender-marked nouns in the sample). Conversely, the highest percentage of feminine gender markers is with the nouns *minister* (95.5 %), *president* (94.7 %) and *director* (90.8 %), which can be again justified by the fact women are not traditionally employed in leading positions (although this trend is slowly changing).

A detailed analysis of the data suggests there are six most frequent gender markers (three for each gender): *male – female*, *man / men – woman / women* and *gentleman – lady*. The other gender markers listed in "Material and methodology" appear with limited occurrence. Due to the fact there are some significant differences between both genders, the results are presented separately.

As for feminine gender, the results indicate the majority of dual-gender nouns collocate with the marker *female* (66.4 %). The second most frequent collocate is *woman* (30.7 %), which appears both in the singular (36.4 %) and the plural (63.6 %). The number seems to be influenced by the context in which a particular dual-gender noun appears, i.e. if the noun defines an unique position within society (for example, *president*), it tends to be used in the singular. On the other hand, if the noun relates to an individual who usually acts as a member of a group, the noun tends to occur in the plural (for example, *worker*). The results also reveal there are some random instances of number disagreement between the gender marker and the head noun, however, these frequently turned out not to be gender markers but premodifiers defining the object of a particular noun phrase (*a women president*). The instances of number

disagreement usually appear in less formal contexts and their number is not statistically significant. The third most common gender marker *lady* (1.8 %) appears to be limited only to fiction and magazines. The following table illustrates the preference of the individual nouns for the gender marker for each gender.

Table 16: the total frequency of feminine markers

order no.	<i>female</i>		<i>woman</i>		<i>lady</i>	
	noun	%	noun	%	noun	%
1	<i>parent</i>	100.0	<i>minister</i>	55.3	<i>doctor</i>	11.4
2	<i>person</i>	93.7	<i>leader</i>	49.8	<i>secretary</i>	4.4
3	<i>student</i>	86.6	<i>worker</i>	46.1	<i>minister</i>	3.5
4	<i>patient</i>	85.7	<i>director</i>	45.8	<i>worker</i>	2.5
5	<i>secretary</i>	80.4	<i>manager</i>	45.7	<i>officer</i>	1.5
6	<i>teacher</i>	73.9	<i>president</i>	45.0	<i>teacher</i>	1.3
7	<i>officer</i>	69.7	<i>doctor</i>	44.9	<i>leader</i>	0.8
8	<i>player</i>	68.9	<i>officer</i>	28.8	<i>player</i>	0.5
9	<i>president</i>	54.7	<i>player</i>	27.7	<i>patient</i>	0.5
10	<i>director</i>	54.2	<i>teacher</i>	24.8	<i>manager</i>	0.5
11	<i>manager</i>	53.8	<i>secretary</i>	15.2	<i>president</i>	0.3
12	<i>worker</i>	51.4	<i>patient</i>	13.8	<i>person</i>	0.0
13	<i>doctor</i>	43.7	<i>student</i>	11.9	<i>student</i>	0.0
14	<i>minister</i>	41.2	<i>person</i>	6.3	<i>parent</i>	0.0
15	<i>leader</i>	37.8	<i>parent</i>	0.0	<i>director</i>	0.0

Regarding masculine gender, the results suggest more "rigidity" in the use gender markers as *male* represents by far the most frequent marker (93.4 %), followed by *man* (4.5 %). Due to a relatively small number of *man*, we cannot apply the rule concerning the number distinction as well as we did in feminine gender. In total, the plural number prevails (the ratio being 9.3 % for the singular and 93.7 % for the plural). A possible explanation for a relatively low occurrence of *man* might be the fact it is polyfunctional, unlike *woman* (*man* can also function as the general human agent for generic reference). Unexpectedly, the third most frequent marker is not *gentleman* (0.1 %) but the gender marker *boy* (2.0 %).

Table 17: the total frequency of masculine markers

order no.	<i>male</i>		<i>man</i>		<i>gentleman</i>	
	noun	%	noun	%	noun	%
1	<i>person</i>	100.0	<i>minister</i>	25.0	<i>officer</i>	0.9
2	<i>parent</i>	100.0	<i>director</i>	17.6	<i>student</i>	0.3
3	<i>secretary</i>	100.0	<i>president</i>	5.0	<i>minister</i>	0.0

4	<i>officer</i>	99.1	<i>player</i>	4.5	<i>person</i>	0.0
5	<i>patient</i>	99.1	<i>worker</i>	4.4	<i>patient</i>	0.0
6	<i>doctor</i>	98.7	<i>teacher</i>	3.8	<i>teacher</i>	0.0
7	<i>student</i>	97.8	<i>manager</i>	2.4	<i>parent</i>	0.0
8	<i>manager</i>	97.6	<i>student</i>	1.3	<i>manager</i>	0.0
9	<i>teacher</i>	96.2	<i>doctor</i>	1.3	<i>worker</i>	0.0
10	<i>worker</i>	95.6	<i>patient</i>	0.9	<i>president</i>	0.0
11	<i>president</i>	95.0	<i>leader</i>	0.8	<i>director</i>	0.0
12	<i>player</i>	92.7	<i>person</i>	0.0	<i>leader</i>	0.0
13	<i>director</i>	82.4	<i>parent</i>	0.0	<i>secretary</i>	0.0
14	<i>minister</i>	75.0	<i>officer</i>	0.0	<i>doctor</i>	0.0
15	<i>leader</i>	72.4	<i>secretary</i>	0.0	<i>player</i>	0.0

On the question of coordination, we found out that there appear 293 instances of different coordinating constructions, forming 8.2 % of all gender-marked noun phrases of the research. The markers are linked with the following conjunctions and correlative pairs: *and*, *or*, *than*, *neither / nor* and *versus*. Unsurprisingly, the coordination of *male – female* appeared most frequent (80.5 %), followed by *female – male* (15.0 %), *man – woman* (3.5 %) and *woman – man* (1.0 %). Finally, we also observed a less expected coordinating construction *male and women teachers*. Sometimes, the coordination results in the use of the marker that could not be used as such on its own (e.g. *men and women ministers*). The table below shows the total frequency rates of the individual coordinating constructions.

Table 18: the frequency of coordination

	<i>female – male</i>	<i>male – female</i>	<i>woman – man</i>	<i>man – woman</i>	Σ
<i>minister</i>	0	0	0	1	1
<i>person</i>	1	4	0	0	5
<i>patient</i>	4	16	0	0	20
<i>student</i>	31	152	2	3	188
<i>teacher</i>	2	11	1	0	14
<i>parent</i>	0	6	0	0	6
<i>manager</i>	1	9	0	2	12
<i>worker</i>	1	10	0	2	13
<i>officer</i>	1	5	0	0	6
<i>president</i>	0	4	0	0	4
<i>director</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>leader</i>	0	10	0	1	11
<i>secretary</i>	0	1	0	0	1
<i>doctor</i>	1	2	0	0	3
<i>player</i>	2	6	0	1	9
Σ	44	236	3	10	293
%	15.0	80.5	1.0	3.5	100.0

The results of the study indicate that certain nouns (e.g. *parent* and *person*) tend to be used with only one marker, *male* or *female*. On the other hand, some nouns occur almost equally with both gender markers *female* and *woman* (e.g. *worker* and *doctor*, etc.).²³ The occurrence of gender markers can be also influenced by other factors – coordination, the distance from the head noun (the position of the second and third collocates) and genre.

To conclude this part, we would like to point out that there is a possible drawback of the research, which have been mentioned throughout the practical part, and that is ambiguity of some noun phrases such as *men student leaders*, in which the context did not provide an explanation whether we deal with "student leaders of masculine gender" or "leader of men students." For future research we could also recommend a larger sample of nouns, which would potentially strengthen the results of the present study.

²³ As previously explained, this applies only to feminine gender.

5. REFERENCES

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6. SUMMARY (SHRNUTÍ)

Bakalářská práce se zabývá otázkou rodově neutrálního vyjadřování v anglickém jazyce (tzv. *gender-neutral language*). V úvodní části je stručně zmíněn přístup k této problematice ze sociolingvistického hlediska, která se dostala do centra pozornosti až v 60. letech minulého století s nástupem tzv. druhé vlny feminismu. Terčem kritiky je přirozená inklinace anglického jazyka k mužskému rodu, což se projevuje v celé řadě jazykových výrazů, např. všeobecný lidský konatel *he* nebo výrazy typu *All men are created equal*. Následující podkapitola se detailněji věnuje popisu mluvnického rodu, který se může zdát v porovnání s ostatním indoevropskými jazyky relativně jednoduchý – většina neživotných substantiv je rodu středního, zatímco životná substantiva mohou být rodu mužského či ženského a jejich mluvnický rod odpovídá rodu přirozenému. Je zde také okrajově zmíněna personifikace neživotných substantiv, která se běžně používá například v krásné literatuře, žurnalistice, apod.

Rod může být v angličtině vyjádřen pomocí různých gramatických a lexikálních jazykových prostředků. Mezi gramatické prostředky řadíme rodově neutrální zájmena *he* a *she*, alternaci *he* a *she*, disjunktní koordinaci, kompozitní formy, singulární zájmeno *they*, užití pasivní konstrukce či neurčité číslovky *one* vyjadřující všeobecného lidského konatele (tzv. *general human agent*). Lexikální jazykové prostředky jsou popsány na základě Biberovo mluvnice *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* a Curmeho *English Grammar*, podle nichž jsme je rozdělili do následujících čtyř kategorií. První kategorie zahrnuje specifickou slovní zásobu, která označuje zástupce mužského a ženského rodu. Tyto výrazy jsou typické pro označení rodinných příslušníků (*mother – father*), sociálních rolí (*king – queen*), zaměstnání (*monk – nun*) a zvířat (*bull – cow*). Druhá kategorie obsahuje substantiva obsahující výrazy *man, woman, boy* a *girl* v pozici řídicího členu (např. *sportsman*). Třetí kategorie zahrnuje substantivní výrazy, které se liší pouze sufixem. V převážné většině případů se jedná o substantiva rodu ženského, která jsou odvozena od mužského pomocí derivačních sufixů *-ess, -ine, -ette* a *-trix* (např. *hero – heroine*). V poslední skupině jsou zahrnuta substantiva tvořená genderovými premodifikátory *male / female, gentleman / lady, man / woman, boy / girl* aj. Tato skupina představuje výchozí bod pro část empirickou, která bude popsána v následujících odstavcích. Následující praktická část se věnuje výzkumnému projektu zaměřeného na distribuci tzv. *gender-marked noun phrases* (substantivní fráze označující

mužský i ženský rod) s ohledem na výskyt specifických rodově příznakových premodifikátorů. Práce si kladla za cíl především analyzovat distribuci jednotlivých *markerů*.

Pro výzkum byl použit Korpus současné americké angličtiny (COCA), který je největším jazykovým korpusem dostupným online. Na základě frekvenčního slovníku *Word Frequencies in Written and Spoken English* byl vybrán vzorek 15 substantiv určených k bližší analýze - *minister, person, patient, student, teacher, parent, manager, worker, officer, president, director, leader, secretary, doctor* a *player*. Ke každému substantivu byly přiřazeny různé premodifikátory označující příslušné pohlaví – *male, female, man, woman, gentleman, lady, boy* a *girl*. Původní vzorek substantiv zahrnoval podstatné jméno *friend*, ale vzhledem k tomu, že slova *girlfriend* a *boyfriend* jsou lexikalizována, bylo toto substantivum ze vzorku vyloučeno a nahrazeno jiným – *player* (ve frekvenčním slovníku šestnácté v pořadí).

Analýzou dat z jazykového korpusu bylo zjištěno, že premodifikátory označující ženský rod jsou daleko více rozšířeny než ty, které označují rod mužský - v poměru 69,5 % ku 30,5 %. Důvodem může být skutečnost, že většina lidí používá rodově příznakový jazyk na základě genderových stereotypů. Dalo by se zjednodušeně říci, že rodové premodifikátory se mj. používají, pokud je role připisovaná dané osobě svým způsobem nečekaná či překvapující (např. *male parent*).

Nejčastějším premodifikátorem označujícím ženský rod je *female* (66,4 %), který je následován *woman* (30,7 %), *lady* (1,8 %) a *girl* (1,1 %). U některých substantiv je zřetelná tendence používat jen jediný premodifikátor (např. *female parents*), na druhou stranu u jiných substantiv se používají oba premodifikátory téměř vyrovnaně (např. *women workers* a *female workers*). *Lady* se objevuje jen omezeně, většinou v méně formálních kontextech. Výskyt premodifikátoru *girl* je minimální, což je způsobeno skutečností, že vyjadřuje nejenom pohlaví označovaného, ale i věkovou skupinu. Vzhledem k tomu, že většina substantiv ve vzorku představuje profese či funkce vykonávané dospělými osobami, je zřejmé, že výskyt tohoto premodifikátoru bude minimální.

Relativně překvapivým zjištěním byla rozdílná míra distribuce lemat *woman* – singulárový a plurálový tvar. Zásadní vliv na tuto distribuci má substantivum, ke kterému se vážou. Pokud například mluvíme o osobě, jejíž role je svým způsobem výjimečná (např. prezident, ministr,...), projevuje se zde tendence používat singulárový tvar. Na druhou stranu pokud mluvíme o osobě s ohledem na příslušnost k určité skupině, je tendence používat tvar plurálový. V několika ojedinělých případech se vyskytla neshoda v čísle, tj. singulárový

premodifikátor (*woman*) byl použit s plurálovým řídicím substantivem či naopak. Tyto příklady, které se většinou objevovaly v časopisech a fikci, byly klasifikovány jako gramaticky nesprávné. Výše uvedené závěry související s distribucí lemat platí i pro rod mužský.

Distribuce premodifikátorů označující mužský rod je v porovnání s ženským rodem podstatně „rigidnější“ – 93,4 % všech maskulinních markerů je realizováno pomocí *male*, ostatní premodifikátory jsou zastoupeny relativně omezeně – *man* (4,5 %), *boy* (2,0 %) a *gentleman* (0,1 %). Podstatně nižší výskyt premodifikátoru *man* oproti *woman* může být zdůvodněn jeho polyfunkčností (viz *man* jako prostředek vyjadřující všeobecného lidského konatele).

Rodově příznakové premodifikátory se často vyskytují v koordinaci (8,2 % z celkového počtu substantivních frází) spojené výrazy *and*, *or*, *than*, *neither / nor* a *versus*, přičemž nejčastější koordinační vazbou je *male – female* (80,5 %). Relativně překvapivým zjištěním byla skutečnost, že některé premodifikátory (*man*) se vyskytují pouze v rámci koordinační vazby, viz *men and women ministers*.

Závěrem je nutné připomenout, že vliv na distribuci mají nejen kolokační preference, ale i žánr, vzdálenost kolokátu od řídicího členu (v případě druhých a třetích kolokátů) a/nebo již zmíněné koordinační vazby.