

**Univerzita Karlova**

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**Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky**

# **BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE**

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Prostředky rodově neutrální reference v odborném textu

Unmarked personal reference forms in academic texts

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**Klíčová slova:** reference, rodově neutrální reference, rodově neutrální zájmena, singulární they, kontrastivní výzkum

**Keywords:** reference, epicene reference, unmarked personal reference, epicene pronouns singular they, contrastive study

**Abstrakt:** Práce se zabývá pronominálními formami rodově neutrální reference v anglickém jazyce. V důsledku absence bezrodého neutrálního zájmena pro třetí osobu jednotného čísla v angličtině neexistuje jednotný, gramaticky i stylisticky univerzálně přijatelný způsob takovéto reference. V teoretické části jsou popsány různé v současnosti používané strategie, pronominální i jiné, například nahrazení zájmena určitým členem nebo opakování substantiva namísto použití zájmena. V druhé části je analyzováno dvě stě článků vydaných po roce 2009, z toho sto publikovaných ve Spojených Státech a sto v Austrálii nebo na Novém Zélandu. Články byly shromážděny manuálně prostřednictvím databáze ProQuest. Pracovní hypotézou bylo, že v australsko-novozélandských člancích se bude nejčastěji vyskytovat tzv. singulární *they*, zatímco v amerických bude převládat rodově neutrální *he*. Metody pronominální rodově neutrální reference byly posouzeny z hlediska použitého zájmena, shodnosti v textu, kolokací a publikace, ve které se článek objevil.

**Abstract:** The present study is concerned with pronominal forms of common-gender reference in the English language. Due to the lack of an epicene third person singular pronoun in English, there is no one both grammatically and stylistically accepted method of common-gender reference. The theoretical part elaborates on various commonly used contemporary strategies, pronominal or otherwise, for example substitution of the pronoun with the definite article or repetition of the head noun. In the second part, two hundred articles published after 2009, one hundred of which was published in the United States, the other hundred having been published in either Australia or New Zealand. The articles were collected manually via the ProQuest database. The working hypothesis stated that so-called singular *they* would occur most frequently in Australian/New Zealand-based articles, while US authors would most often opt for generic *he*. Methods of generic reference were catalogued based on the choice of pronoun, internal consistency within the text, the pronoun's collocates, and journal of origin.

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# 1. Introduction

For centuries, native speakers of English have struggled to agree on a common-gender third person pronoun. While some languages are properly equipped to unambiguously refer to one person without the need to specify gender (in Finnish, for example, using the third person singular pronoun *hän*, which can refer to both males and females), English speakers have had to find ways to compensate for the absence of such a pronoun. Sometimes the speaker or author substitutes with another pronoun, or other times non-pronominal strategies serve to avoid the conundrum. No consensus has been reached as to which is the grammatically and stylistically correct option. The aim of the present study is to analyze which pronouns are commonly used in latest academic texts and how.

The theoretical part of the study describes the numerous forms of common-gender, agender, or epicene reference. Firstly, we discuss the reasons why the formerly preferred generic *he* has fallen into disfavor, and introduce alternatives found in academic prose. In order to offer a thorough analysis of the problem, we also consider less widespread strategies mostly restricted to informal language and/or only certain communities; neologisms and borrowings fall into this category. The research is centered around two hundred peer-reviewed academic articles which contain the nouns *student/learner/teacher* and common-gender pronominal collocates. The US and Australian/New Zealand regions are compared through analysis of one hundred articles in each section to see if there are any significant differences in epicene reference. Numerous aspects of tokens of epicene reference are taken into account: the head noun, definiteness, date of publishing, journal, choice of pronoun, and the number of times the selected pronoun occurs following the same referent. All of the data is used to present a coherent summary of observed factors influencing the choice of pronoun. The goal of the study is to a) find out whether gender-neutral reference assumes a stable form in the language at this time, b) observe whether the language is currently moving towards an epicene standard, or whether the future of epicene reference is still uncertain, and c) provide statistical data for further research on the topic, which has been and thus will likely remain a long-term issue.



## 2. Epicene pronouns in the English language

The English language differentiates between the male, female, and neuter notional gender, each of which has its corresponding personal and possessive pronouns for singular occurrences. For plural occurrences, English utilizes the universal plural pronoun *they*. However, due to the lack of grammatical gender this distinction becomes problematic in cases where the pronoun refers to an antecedent whose gender is unknown, ambiguous, or split between male and female or non-binary genders (while still grammatically singular). An epicene pronoun, then, is a pronoun used in precisely such cases, which covers both or all possible genders denoted by the antecedent. Since English has no native epicene pronoun that is universally accepted as both grammatically and notionally correct, speakers of the language resolve the issue individually with regards to style guides, their teachers' preferences, and their own perception of correctness (LaScotte, 2016: 62-63). The works referenced in this research list a multitude of possible solutions to the conundrum to be discussed below.

### 2.1. Movement for gender-neutral language

The fact that the use of generic *he* violates some sort of psycholinguistic standard is evidenced by speakers' having resorted to various alternatives at various times throughout history. Prominent English-language writers, such as William Shakespeare and Jane Austen, have themselves used singular *they* hundreds of years before "The Great He/She Battle" we are facing today, as early as in the fourteenth century (Adami, 2009: 282; LaScotte, 2016: 63). Brian D. Earp (2012: 5-6) claims that there is substantial psycholinguistic proof that male-centric language can and does have detrimental effects on women's psychology, which is one of the reasons feminists have been advocating the abolishment of male-centric language in the past decades. Usage of generic *he* in epicene contexts ultimately encourages, regardless of intent, the reader/listener to picture a male referent to the antecedent, which in turn may lead to women and gender non-conforming individuals subconsciously feeling underrepresented or absent from the discourse altogether. Succinctly put by Katie Wales (1996: 114), "the pronoun *he* is so crucially important for male reference in modern English, its prototypical indexical meaning, it is difficult to imagine it being used with absolutely no male connotations whatsoever, or as a true generic." Wales writes that the lack of gender concord of generic *he* in fact originated with the clear intention to alienate women from male-dominated discourse, for example in House of Lords debates or discourse targeting stereotypically male professions, and so the pronoun has been merely "pseudo-generic" (ibid.:

114). Research of the frequency of its use proves that generic masculine language has been on decline on academic, popular, and personal levels alike (Brian D. Earp, 2012: 14-16).

With sexist language being less acceptable now than ever before, rival strategies to the generic masculine are bound to appear to take its place. At the same time, the strife for grammatical as well as political correctness can lead to hypercorrections, such as usage of singular pronouns with plural antecedents as in “Trainees can select any combination of text instruction, video, and/or computer-based exercises. *He or she* controls the pace [...]” (Meyers, 1990: 228).<sup>1</sup> It is then no wonder that the decision of how to refer to a gender-neutral antecedent can vary greatly among speakers in different registers, contexts, media, or even regions.

## 2.2. Contemporary alternatives in English academic prose

The ongoing downfall of previously prescribed generic *he* is the main reason the search for a suitable epicene pronoun is relevant to academic prose today. Previously, following Latin tradition, generic *he* was most commonly used as an epicene pronoun and recommended by style guides as a pronoun separate from the singular masculine *he*, only sharing the same written and spoken form (Adami, 2009: 282). Following the feminist movement, the 1970’s saw the rise of alternatives to the generic masculine pronoun, since many perceived that generic *he* violates gender concord regardless (ibid.: 283).

Possible epicene pronoun candidates must bridge the gap between casual and academic language in order to be universally accepted, as both registers tend to exhibit different trends. Although discourse regarding the notional incorrectness of generic *he* has become more common in the last decades, grammarians have thus far never unequivocally endorsed alternatives long present in the language, such as the widely accepted singular *they* often labelled “nonstandard” or “for informal usage only” in handbooks (Siegal and Connolly, 2002: 23; Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 378; *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 2010: 215). Singular *they*, arguably the most common alternative especially in informal spoken language, has been in use for centuries and its growing prominence is therefore not the result of innovation but rather the result of its naturally filling the gap created by the decrease in use of generic *he*, as there is little opposition to *they* in comparison to invented common-gender pronouns (Balhorn, 2009: 393). The reason why singular *they* has never been prescribed is

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<sup>1</sup> Meyers (1990) also marks alternating masculine and feminine pronouns within a sentence as a hypercorrection; however, only six years later, in her essay *Personal Pronouns in Present-Day English*, Katie Wales lists alternating *he* and *she* as a perfectly acceptable gender-neutral alternative (1996: 119).

that it may also be considered ungrammatical. While generic *he* has become problematic due to its lack of agreement in gender, singular *they*, though gender-inclusive, does not agree in grammatical number with its antecedent (even though it may show notional number agreement with universal quantifier precedents such as *everyone*, *everybody*). Supporters of singular *they* justify their choice by turning to the history of the second person pronoun *you*, which used to have a singular counterpart in *thou* which has disappeared from modern English altogether, the argument being that singular *they* could very well undergo the same process in reverse (Adami, 2009: 283). Moreover, since generic *he* does not necessarily maintain notional number concord in all scenarios either, singular *they* may sometimes be more appropriate from a semantic point of view (Wales, 1996: 112). The continuous use of singular *they* in non-academic contexts may be attributed to the fact that native speakers of English tend to, “unlike grammarians, prefer the logic of meaning rather than of form” (ibid., 113).

Adami (2009) examines contemporary academic written language and notes several pronouns which have crossed the line to epicene usage to a lesser or greater extent. The first and still by far the most widely employed at the time of her conducting her research is generic *he*, followed by singular *they*, the *s/he* blend<sup>2</sup> and generic *she* respectively, as evidenced by the examples below:

- a) Every student must write *his* essay. (Adami, 2009: 284)
- b) No one felt that *they* had been misled. (ibid.: 297)
- c) Thus, the user acts on *his/her* own responsibility when executing *his/her* functions within *his/her* task domain. (Biber et al. 1999: 316)
- d) The requirements of the hermeneutic historian are rather different. *She* does not principally want to know what the data signify in themselves. (Adami, 2009: 296)

The *he or she* variant, although grammatically agreeable at first glance, is nonetheless not an ideal solution for several reasons. Firstly, if used too many times in succession, it renders the writing or utterance cumbersome, repetitive to the ear and eye, and difficult to parse (especially if the reflexive variants *himself or herself* or *him- or herself* are involved).

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<sup>2</sup> In Adami’s study, *s/he* is equated to the coordinated pronoun form *he or she* as its written equivalent. However, others have examined the two as separate strategies (Wales, 1996: 119). In his article “The Forewho—Neither a He, a She, nor an It,” Gordon Wood aptly comments that “The printed *s/he* on the model of *and/or* is unpronounceable and unspeakable. And surely there is no inspiration in *him/er* or *his-or-her*.” (1973: 158-159)

Secondly, it interrupts the flow of speech to a nigh-intolerable degree when used in tag questions (Wales, 1996: 122), cf.:

e) Everybody likes pizza, doesn't *he or she*? (ibid.)

*The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* dictates that *he or she* should only be used “as a last resort to avoid an unwanted assumption of maleness or femaleness in a general reference. [...] But preferred solutions are those that spare the reader of all traces of a writer’s struggle.” (Siegal and Connolly, 2002: 155) Moreover, some linguists have objected to the ordering of the pronouns, which, placing the masculine pronoun before the feminine, only affirms the priority of maleness over femaleness; some writers use *she or he* to subvert this paradigm (Wales, 1996: 121). Graphemic blends of the two pronouns such as *s/he* (or noun blends like *(wo)man*) face yet more criticism due to their fundamental unpronounceability (Tredinnick, 2008: 223); one might choose to say *s-slash-he*, *he-she*, or ‘*heesh*’ and not come any closer to a satisfying solution, since the pronunciation of such constructs is by design individual and does not abide by any established grammatical rules.

As a register much concerned with correctness, when struggling with the problem of the epicene, academic language is also prone to pronoun avoidance strategies. Wales writes that “the register of formal academic writing has tended to be conservative in its conventions; and, like other kinds of highly monitored or premeditated writing, is also one of the main surviving sites for an inheritance of prescriptive usages” (1996: 118). In order to omit the potentially offensive or grammatically incorrect pronoun, it is possible to adopt a non-pronominal approach and simply rephrase the utterance, consistently opting for the plural instead. See the difference in the following (ibid.: 131):

f) The creative writer often loses faith in *his* ideas. (generic *he*)

g) Creative writers often lose faith in *their* ideas. (plural rephrasing)

In addition to using a plural antecedent, the *Chicago Manual of Style* (2010: 302) introduces five other non-pronominal alternatives, some of which are, however, only applicable in specific contexts: omission of the pronoun, repetition of the antecedent noun, use of an article instead of a pronoun, use of the imperative mood, and radical rephrasing of the entire clause:

h) The programmer should update the records when data is transferred ~~to her~~ by the head office. (omission)

- i) A writer should be careful not to needlessly antagonize readers, because *the writer's* credibility will suffer. (repetition)
- j) A student accused of cheating must actively waive *the* right to have a guidance counselor present. (article)
- k) ~~A lifeguard must~~ keep a close watch over children while ~~he is~~ monitoring the pool. (imperative mood)
- l) A person who decides not to admit *he* lied will be considered honest until someone exposes *his* lie (generic *he*) → A person who denies lying will be considered honest until the lie is exposed<sup>3</sup>. (rephrasing)

The style guide only recommends using the coordinated form *he or she* sparingly. Nonetheless, Adami's diachronic analysis shows that although generic *he* is still used extensively, coordinated pronoun forms are used widely especially in British academic prose; American academic language tends to favor the aforementioned avoidance strategies instead (Adami, 2009: 302-3), presumably due to the influence of style guides. In total, we have gathered ten possible ways to refer to an epicene antecedent currently in use in academic prose to an extent dependent on context, regulations, and the author's preferences: generic *he*, generic *she*, singular *they*, disjunctive *he or she*, graphemic blends such as *(s)he*, omission, repetition of the noun, use of an article, use of the imperative mood, and plural rephrasing. Strategies may vary even within the same text, seeing as overuse of certain alternatives may lead to the writing becoming cumbersome.

### 2.3. Other alternatives in use in informal language

In addition to the means which we have already covered, registers less concerned with grammatical correctness have developed numerous other ways to combat the inherent gender bias of generic *he*. Dennis E. Baron's "The Epicene Pronoun: The Word That Failed" covers a wide range of neologisms gathered from speakers in various parts of the globe at various times throughout history such as *ze*, *hizer* or *thon* (2003: 88-96), none of which have ever entered common usage but the presence of which indicates a persistent and still unanswered need for a solution to the "his'er problem". The first documented open call for the invention of an epicene pronoun can be found in the November 1878 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, where the unknown author urges linguists to concern themselves less with spelling reforms

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<sup>3</sup> Here the example taken from the *Chicago Manual of Style* also uses the previously recommended strategy of replacing the pronoun with an article in *the lie is exposed*.

“long enough to coin us a word” (Baron, 2003: 85). However, the likelihood of a coined neologism being universally adopted in the future seems rather slim given the prevalence of generic *he* and singular *they* in a static, closed word class (ibid.: 87).

A particularly curious example of a neologism invented within a specific community presents itself in *co* (possessive *cos*, reflexive *coself*) used by speakers in the Virginia town of Twin Oaks. The pronoun, coined by Oakers four decades ago and still in use today, was created in accordance with the community’s ideology of unquestionable equality of the sexes in order to “rectify androcentric language practices” and to provide the ability to conceal a member’s gender, a key marker in such a small community (Flanigan, 2013: 27-28). In addition to using *co* as a pronoun by itself, for the same reasons, *co* is also used in traditionally gender-marked compounds such as *snowco* (snowman) or *cowco* (cowboy). This helps promote gender fluidity as well as gender equality and the practice is so deeply-rooted in Twin Oaks that children only learn gender-marked language once they come in contact with people outside of the community (ibid.: 35-36).

Given the lack of a prescribed epicene standard, informal language remains volatile and especially susceptible to variation in this regard. In 2016, Darren K. LaScotte conducted research on epicene references in non-academic written speech by posing free-response questions involving a generic antecedent, such as *the ideal student*, followed by a set of epicene-pronoun related questions to participants in a web survey. In the former case, respondents were not notified that it was their epicene pronoun(s) of choice that the research focused on, nor could they change their responses later, which was believed to yield the most authentic results (LaScotte, 2016: 66). LaScotte finds that in addition to generic *he* and singular *they*, indefinite *one* and generic use of second-person pronouns in place of third-person singular can also be found in texts written by respondents from the general public of various ages and educational backgrounds (2016: 65-66). In support of singular *they* as the sole correct epicene pronoun, some note that it is most appropriate not only due to its gender neutrality but also because it includes individuals of all genders, even those who fall outside of the gender binary. As such, research shows that in informal contexts the majority of speakers show a strong preference for singular *they* (LaScotte, 2016: 73; Balhorn, 2009).

Whether there is a strong link between the gender of the writer and their pronoun of choice remains unclear; while some have found that a statistically significant percentage of women are more likely to avoid the generic masculine and opt for alternative approaches (Meyers, 1990; Balhorn, 2009), more recent research contradicts this pattern (LaScotte, 2016). Singular *they* is especially common when following indefinite pronoun antecedents

such as *someone*, *anyone*, *everyone*, which by definition refer to a group of unknown (equally mixed) sexes and cannot be susceptible to gender bias unless used in a strictly single-sex context (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 378; Adami, 2009: 284, 288). As Balhorn (2009: 395) puts it, the “unsexed *they* reduces individuation” so that the referent serves only as an archetype of a certain class rather than a concrete specimen belonging to said class, which makes it optimal for use with indefinite pronoun antecedents. He also argues that while *they* normally functions as a plural third-person pronoun, its “notional plurality is not manifest” in epicene contexts. Universal quantifiers in particular corefer with *they* at overwhelmingly large rates, more so than existential quantifiers, due to their own notional plurality that can only be maintained using *they* (2009: 396), for example in:

m) Everybody remembers where *they* were when JFK was shot. (Biber et al., 1999: 316)

Balhorn finds that in contemporary journalistic prose, universal indefinite pronouns *everyone* and *everybody* form reference chains with singular *they* 89% of the time, while existential indefinite pronouns *anyone/-body* and *someone/-body* do so at a rate of 78% and 62%, respectively (2009: 397). Examples include:

n) If anyone finds *themselves* suffering from much the same symptoms, be warned. (Wales, 1996: 127)

o) A rarer use of ‘will’ is in declarative clauses which command someone to do something or insist that *they* do something. (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 378).

Conscious of the disagreement in number of singular *they*, some speakers of the language opt for using an altered, singular reflexive form *themselves* in epicene contexts, as in:

p) Sometimes there’s just a person by *themselves*. (Wales, 1996: 127)

This recently surfaced form is used only occasionally in spoken or written non-academic language and generally not regarded as grammatical, even though it is in fact older than the regular plural reflexive *themselves* and was common until the sixteenth century. It can be argued that the second-person singular reflexive *yourself* also coexisted alongside the then-proper *thyselves* as early as in the fourteenth century, when *you* had not yet been accepted as a singular pronoun (ibid.: 127).

It is worth noting, however, that generic antecedents do not necessarily require an epicene pronoun to follow. Sometimes the sex of the referent is known and the choice of pronoun falls to the writer, who may opt for a generic epicene pronoun (any of the insofar mentioned variants) for stylistic reasons, or the pronoun which factually corresponds to the sex of the known referent (Balhorn, 2009: 400). An example of a grammatically generic antecedent pointing to a known referent presents itself as follows:

q) [...] His publisher hands him the manuscript of a book by a teenage AIDS patient in the Midwest. The book [...] is clearly the work of someone puzzled by *his* lot in life. (ibid.)

Although one might choose to phrase the latter sentence as *someone puzzled by their* or even *his or her lot in life* (among other alternatives), in this instance *someone* does not refer to a generic member of a class of people, but rather calls back to the already identified *teenage AIDS patient*, whom the coreferent *he* reveals to be of male gender.

Alternatively, it is possible for the referent to be unidentified but be known to come from a single-gender class due to contextual limitations where one of the sexes simply is not the subject of discourse, as for example in this sentence describing a Japanese soldier in World War II, all of whom were male:

r) He had read one of the leaflets Americans were distributing in artillery shells that promised that anyone who gave up would get *his* wounds treated and *his* stomach filled. (ibid.)

Thus we can conclude that the problematic of the epicene pronoun currently has no single suitable solution. Instead the appropriate measures in any given sentence are dependent on context and stylistic suitability as well as grammatical restrictions.



### 3. Material and method

#### 3.1. Material

All data used in the present study were gathered using the ProQuest collection of databases. The vast majority of articles were picked from the multidisciplinary ProQuest Central database, which contains full-text periodicals covering all major subject areas published from 1970 onward. Among others, the topics include political science, criminal justice, computing, linguistics, education, and topics from other academic fields. Articles were collected using ProQuest's advanced search engine, which helped limit the search based on several factors: 1) the presence of the word *student* or *learner* in combination with *teacher*, 2) date of publishing, 3) language, and 4) source type.

Only English-language articles from scholarly journals published between 1/2010 and 3/2017 (present day at the time of analysis) were included in the research. Quality of examined texts was ensured by only collecting articles from peer-reviewed journals. In addition, only articles published in Australia, New Zealand, or the United States were considered. They were collected in reverse chronological order and divided into two sections for the purposes of the study: the Australian/New Zealand section and the US section. The words *student*, *learner*, and *teacher* were selected as search terms because it was believed that they were among those that would lead to articles with a high density of epicene pronouns. Furthermore, the search was restricted to full text articles that were available for download in both plain text and PDF format. The following formula was used in the ProQuest advanced search module to gather results for the US portion of the study (only the loc.Exact parameter differed in the Australian/New Zealand formula to cover all possible references to the AUS/NZ regions):

```
((((ft(teacher) AND ft(student) OR ft(learner)) AND loc.Exact("United States" OR "United States-US" OR "united states-us" OR "UNITED STATES" OR "United States of America" OR "United States US" OR "United states" OR "united states")) AND peer(yes)) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals")) AND at.exact("Article")) AND la.exact("English")) AND pd(20100101-20191231)
```

Several more restrictions had to be imposed to ensure objective findings. Firstly, unless containing a relevant token, articles with fewer than six occurrences of *student/learner/teacher* were excluded from the study so as not to inflate the number of

articles not representative of approaches to common-gender nouns. Epithets for sources or collaborators were not counted as relevant occurrences for the same reason. Direct speech was also excluded from analysis as it does not abide by the rules of academic language. Furthermore, in order to be included in the analysis, the search term had to have been in the position of the head of the noun phrase (“the student”) as opposed to a modifying position (“student attendance”). Exceptions to this rule were cases of cooperative compounds in which the search term modified a noun indicating a profession or social status, making the modifier and the head interchangeable in terms of possible pronominal reference (“teacher librarian”, “student researcher”). Finally, in cases where several common-gender pronouns were used to refer to a single antecedent in succession with no other possible referent standing between the head noun and the last pronoun in the sentence or paragraph, the entire excerpt was classified as one example to avoid inflation of hits for a single pronoun.

All examples were catalogued in two tables, one for each examined region. The examples were documented from the beginning of the sentence containing the head noun *student/learner/teacher* to the end of the sentence containing the last pronoun referring to the head noun, with subordinate clauses irrelevant for the study’s purposes (i.e. clauses which did not restrict the generic referent and contained no cases of pronominal reference) dropped for the sake of clarity. The following parameters were documented for each example: number, the source article, journal, date of publishing, singular referent, relevant pronoun, and the number of times each form of the pronoun was used to refer to the one original head noun, where applicable. It was also noted whether the head noun was preceded by the indefinite article, the definite article, or a universal or existential quantifier.

One hundred articles were collected for each section (US and Australia/New Zealand). A total of two hundred articles were found suitable for the present study among approximately 800 examined articles, three quarters of which either were not published in Australia/New Zealand or the United States, or did not contain a sufficient number of hits for *student/learner/teacher* to be deemed relevant. The chosen articles were filed and numbered in order of acquisition, i.e. from newest to oldest, with the oldest collected articles dating October 2016 (US) and December 2014 (AUS/NZ), allowing for easy orientation and categorization of findings.

## **3.2. Method**

### **3.2.1. Analysis**

The present analysis is divided into three sections. In the initial two sections we examine the 49 examples of common-gender reference spotted across 100 articles published in Australia or New Zealand, followed by an analysis of the 63 examples found in 100 articles published in the United States. Each section describes the frequency of different ways of pronominal reference to common-gender nouns in the examined texts with regards to the antecedent, number of pronouns referring to the same head noun, and context within the source material. Consistency or lack thereof within a single journal is taken into account to determine the influence of journal policies on authors' choices of pronoun. Various factors which – as the findings suggest – contribute to the author's choice are then considered. The working hypothesis consists of the following points:

- 1) *They* as an epicene pronoun is currently more common in Australian/New Zealand based journals than in American journals.
- 2) Generic *he* is preferred in American journals over singular *they*.
- 3) Journal policy influences author's choice of epicene pronoun.

### **3.2.2. Additional tokens**

The last part of the study discusses several examples of common-gender reference which were spotted randomly whilst gathering data, but were either connected to a head noun other than *student/learner/teacher*, or were found otherwise unsuitable or too specific for the main part of the analysis. However, these occurrences still pertain to the matter at hand and were thus collected regardless of context for further examination.

## 4. Research

### 4.1. Australia and New Zealand

The AUS/NZ part of the study yielded 49 results across fourteen different source journals. In total, 24 articles used a common-gender pronoun at least once, while 76 articles avoided the issue, in the absolute majority of cases by constantly opting for a plural alternative to the head noun (*students, teachers, learners*), thus avoiding possible violation of number concord.<sup>4</sup> Four ways of pronominal reference were found in the articles: *he or she*, the *he/she* blend, generic *she*, and singular *they*.

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<sup>4</sup> Other discovered examples of epicene reference are discussed in chapter 4.3.

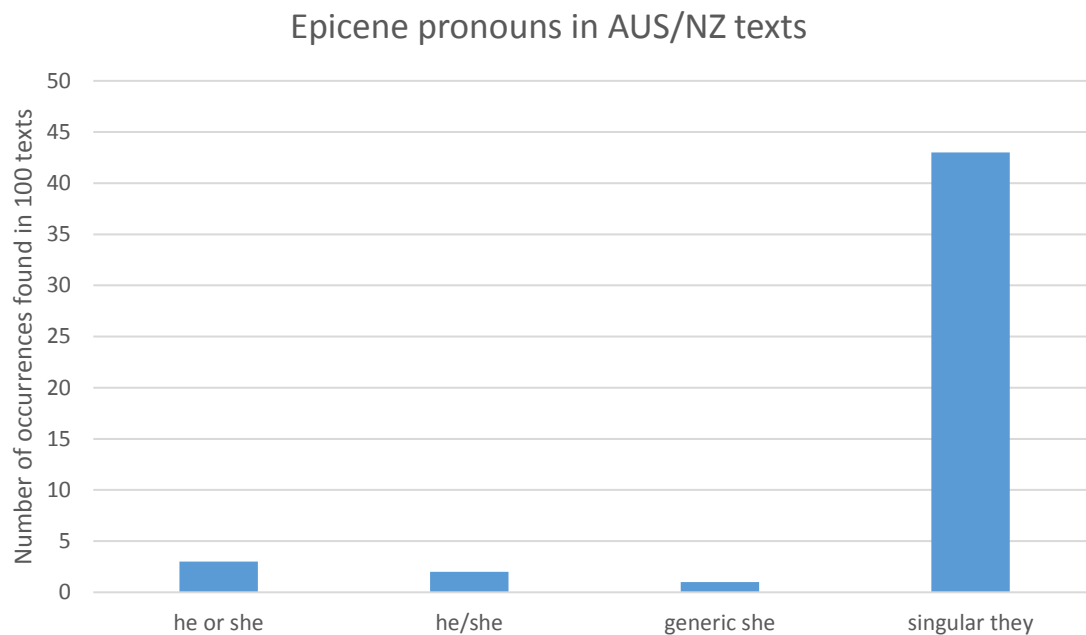


Figure 1 Epicene pronouns in AUS/NZ texts

The disjunctive form *he or she* appeared a total of three times (6%) in two different articles only. Of the two, only one author willingly chose this wording; the other two examples appeared in a citation from the Australian Education Act of 2013 in an article that consistently used singular *they* outside of the scope of the citation. It can thus be deduced that language used in legislature does not recognize singular *they* as an alternative to *he or she* even at the cost of being cumbersome; the citation is composed of only two sentences (five clauses), yet *he or she* or *his or her* is used a total of seven times (ex. 1).

- (1) *The quality of a student's education should not be limited by where **the student** lives, the income of **his or her** family, the school **he or she** attends, or **his or her** personal circumstances.*<sup>5</sup>

It is worth noting that although repetition of *he or she* makes the text more difficult to parse and the form does not appear anywhere else in the article, the author chose not to alter the original (while one other example of a citation including an epicene pronoun was found where the author intentionally corrected the pronouns used in the original text – see below). More examples would need to be gathered to make a convincing general statement, however, it stands to reason that it might seem more acceptable to a writer to adjust another published author's subjective way of expression rather than to correct a legal text, which imposes authority on natural or legal persons and is thus perceived as something untouchable.

<sup>5</sup> Australian Government, *Australian Education Act 2013*, No. 67, 2013. Available at: <http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2013A00067> [verified 20 April 2017].

The *he/she* graphemic blend is even less commonly used than *he or she*, only appearing 2 times in 2 articles (4%). One of the articles utilizes the nominal form *he/she*, while the other makes use of the possessive *his/her*. In one case, the blend appears as a placeholder for another pronoun in direct speech (ex. 2).

(2) *Another person mentioned the importance to students of '... having confidence that **the [supervisory teacher]** is really working to ensure [**he / she**] understand[s] those background issues and helping wherever they can.*<sup>6</sup>

Despite it being representative of spoken rather than written language, the above example was chosen to remain in the study due to the fact the author corrected the original utterance in writing. This act mirrors the aforementioned legal example, except instead of breaking consistency in order to not interfere with the original phrasing, here the author visibly and purposefully changes the pronoun in the interest of grammatical correctness (in case singular *they* was originally used) or to anonymize the supervisory teacher in question (if *he* or *she* was originally used), i.e. generalize a formerly specific statement. Since there have been no other cases in all two hundred articles of authors changing one pronoun in direct speech to another and other articles in the same journal often used singular *they*, it is believed that the change was made due to the author's subjective opinion on the matter rather than the journal's stylistic standards or incomprehensibility of the original phrasing. In all other cases, direct speech was left entirely unmodified regardless of subject matter, i.e. even when the topic was not related to the field of linguistics (and therefore the stylistic qualities of the quote were not relevant to the article's argument in any way).

No instances were found of the female pronoun preceding the male pronoun in either the *he or she* form or the *he/she* form, presumably not to draw attention to the pronouns as hundreds of years of prioritizing the male over the female (epitomized by generic *he*) have rendered such phrasing unnatural to most. Interestingly, one article alternated *he or she* with generic *she* (both appearing once). This occurrence was the only instance of generic *she* spotted in all one hundred articles collected in this part of the study. The author's reasoning for this cannot be verified by any available means; nevertheless, it is worth noting that the instance of *he or she* is preceded by the universal quantifier *each*, thus explicitly denoting

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<sup>6</sup> Philip B. Townsend, "Mob Learning – Digital Communities for Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tertiary Students," *Journal of Economic and Social Policy*, vol. 17, January 2015: 12. Available at: <http://epubs.scu.edu.au/jesp/vol17/iss2/2>.

every separate member of the noun group (*student*), while here generic *she* is preceded by the definite article *the*, inducing the mental image of a single hypothetical representative of the student group (ex. 3).

- (3) *The criterion should suggest to **the student** - initially, with guidance from the supervisor, the need to explain why **she** is relying on what looks like out-of-date material.*<sup>7</sup>

Singular *they* formed the largest group of examples by far with of 43 occurrences (88% of the total number of epicene references). All forms of singular *they* were observed: nominal, possessive, objective, and reflexive as well. No statistically significant correlation was discovered between the pronoun and the referent or between the choice of pronoun and the number of times it is repeated in reference to a single noun. Singular *they* correlated with the indefinite article *the* in 30 examples (70% of *they* occurrences), with the indefinite article *a* in 10 examples (18%), and in 5 cases with a quantifier (12%). Universal quantifiers *each* and *every* as well as the existential quantifier *any* have all appeared collocating with *they*; in fact, all but one quantifier in the collected articles stood before *they* in the source text (the exception being one case of *each...he or she* as mentioned above). We can thus conclude that singular *they* is likely to follow a universal or existential quantifier and is strongly preferred as a common-gender pronoun in AUS/NZ texts.

Out of the four journals where an epicene pronoun other than singular *they* was used at least once, three did not opt for other alternatives consistently. In one article in *Australian Health Review*, singular *they* occurred six times and *he or she* twice, although the use of *he or she* was limited to a quotation (ex. 1). In the *International Journal for Researcher Development*, *he or she* and generic *she* both occurred once in the same article. While one article from the *Journal of Economic and Social Policy* made use of singular *they*, another opted for *he/she* instead. Pronoun consistency in the last journal, *Journal of Outdoor and Environmental Education*, cannot be judged as only one example of common-gender reference was found (*he/she*). Nevertheless, the available results suggest that journal policy does not have a deciding influence on the choice of pronoun in AUS/NZ texts.

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<sup>7</sup> John Willison and Femke Buisman-Pijlman, "PhD Prepared: research skill development across the undergraduate years", *International Journal for Researcher Development*, vol. 7 (1), 2016: 78

## 4.2. The United States

Among the one hundred selected articles published in the United States of America, 63 examples of epicene reference were found across 27 articles. 73 articles avoided the issue altogether. There is a slight difference in the number of examples spotted in AUS/NZ and US-based texts, with US-based texts yielding fourteen more results than AUS/NZ texts. American authors also used a greater variety of epicene pronouns. The following forms of epicene reference were all used at least once: generic *he*, generic *she*, *he or she*, the *he/she* blend, singular *they*, and generic *one*.

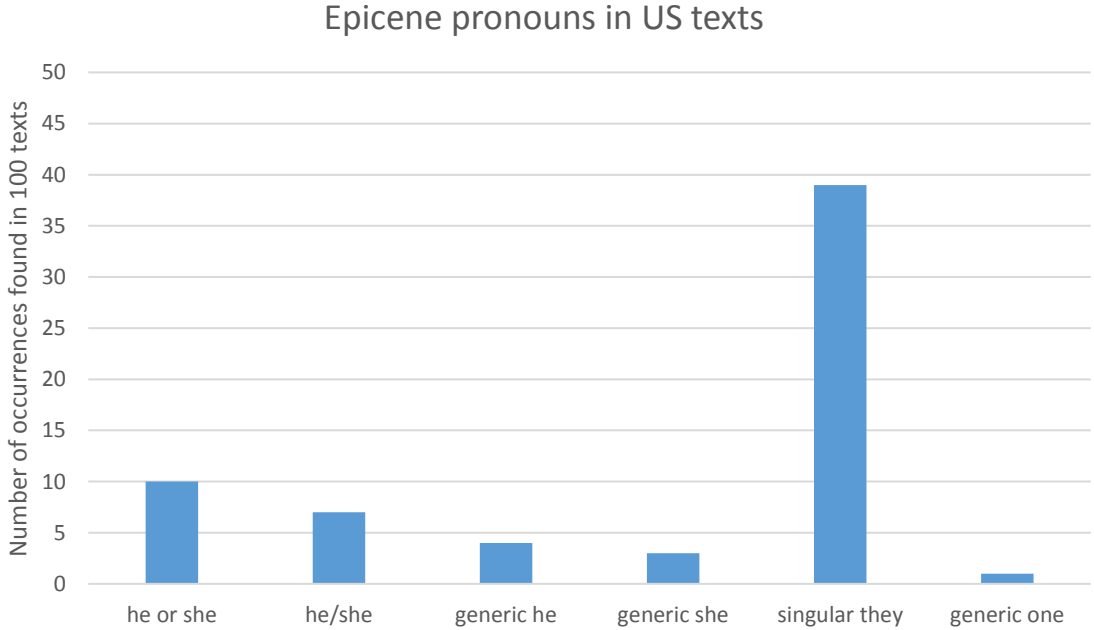


Figure 2 Epicene pronouns in US texts



Generic *he* appeared four times (6%) in three different articles in total. All three articles showed inconsistency in their handling of generic human referents. One October 2016 article from *PLoS One* used the *he/she* graphemic blend in combination with the universal quantifier *each*, only to follow up with generic *he* (ex. 4 and 5).

(4) *As part of the standard curriculum and materials implemented at the participating school, **each student** had an iPad on **his/her** desk.*<sup>8</sup>

and

(5) *Data collection began on the first day of school instruction in the autumn and analyses were conducted with only paired dyadic observations, in which the teacher recorded the student's points earned for each "center" (30 minute period of the token economy) and **the corresponding student** also recorded **his** perception of **his** points earned.*<sup>9</sup>

Once again, similar to the instance where *he* or *she* alternated with generic *she* in section 4.1. (ex. 3), *his/her* here follows the universal quantifier *each* which points to multiple entities in the group separately, while generic *he* is preceded by *the*. This suggests that a grammatically singular epicene pronoun – be it *he* or *she* – is more suitable in contexts where a single hypothetical member, which can be of any gender, is denoted as a representative for the whole group, whereas combinations of pronouns are perceived as more fitting in contexts where the stress falls on the multiplicity of members in a group or the group as a whole, including representatives of all genders.

The second article to use generic *he* did not do so indiscriminately, either. While generic *he* was used twice, it alternated with generic *she* consistently. Specifically, every reference to a student or tutee was made using generic *he* while every reference to a teacher, tutor, or faculty member was made using *she*, despite there being no indication in the context of the article that all students in the denoted group were male or that all teachers were female (ex. 6).

(6) *You may work with the user of an item (for example, **a student** who wants to copy information from a private company into **his** report on the space station) and also advise a copyright owner (for example, **a faculty***

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<sup>8</sup> Sabrina Schuck et al., "Designing an iPad App to Monitor and Improve Classroom Behavior for Children with ADHD: iSelfControl Feasibility and Pilot Studies," *PLoS One*, October 14, 2016: 3

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*: 5

*member who has created a new lesson plan that **she** wishes to sell on a marketplace website, such as Teachers Pay Teachers).*<sup>10</sup>

This strategy is an example of what Katie Wales refers to as “a variant of the disjunctive mode at the level of clause” requiring a systematic pattern so as not to appear careless (1996: 122) – which can be observed here in the pronouns’ collocates. This comes in contrast with the last article to use generic *he*, which did so having previously used *she* with the same head noun (*teacher*), and in the third example the author opted for singular *they* alongside *student*, thus alternating all three most common epicene pronouns within the same text. Since each pronoun was only used in correlation with one head noun in the article, it is unclear whether there was an intended pattern, whether the author used *they* in the final example to avoid the gender bias inferable from his using one pronoun more than the other, or whether the choices were made in a haphazard manner (ex. 7, 8, 9).

(7) *[T]eachers plan instruction with certain predictions about how students will respond, and those predictions have to do with patterns **the teacher** has internalized from **her** own social life. That's culture. Inescapably, **her** instruction is planned in response to a projection of **her** own culture onto the students.*<sup>11</sup>

(8) *A **Black teacher** with White students would not expect **his** students to have minds like **his** people.*<sup>12</sup>

(9) *If a **student** responds to lyrics in emerging musical idioms, those are preferences that need to be replaced with forms of poetry **their** teacher views as possessing higher literary merit.*<sup>13</sup>

The disjunctive *he* or *she* form occurred 10 times (18% of the total number of occurrences) in 9 articles. Of the ten examples, five followed either the universal quantifier *each* (4) or the existential quantifier *any* (1) (ex. 10).

(10) *During sessions, yoga practices were broken down into component elements and taught progressively to **each student** in accordance **with his or her** ability.*<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Rebecca P. Butler, “Copyright & Review Basics: Scenarios for the Practicing School Librarian”, *Knowledge Quest* vol. 45 (2), November/December 2016: 10

<sup>11</sup> Randy Bomer, “What Would It Mean for English Language Arts to Become More Culturally Responsive and Sustaining?” *Voices From the Middle* vol. 24 (3), March 2017: 11

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*: 12

In fact, in this set of results *he or she* collocated with a quantifier the most out of all examined tokens at a rate of 1:1 – one occurrence following a quantifier for every occurrence without a quantifier. Singular *they*, in comparison, was the second most likely alternative to collocate with a quantifier at a drastically lower rate of 1:12<sup>15</sup>. These results show that out of all pronominal epicene alternatives, disjunctive *he or she* is the most likely to follow a quantifier, followed by singular *they*.

One article from the *Journal of International Students* introduced a solution to the ‘he-she problem’ previously unseen in the study (ex. 11).

(11) *As noted previously, training on plagiarism and academic honesty policies offered to all students differs from university to university and also differs based on whether **one** is **an undergraduate or a graduate student**.*<sup>16</sup>

It is clear from the context of the sentence that *one* refers to [a student], since a general impersonal *one* embodying all human agents would imply that all human agents are either undergraduate or graduate students. Here *one* is used to avoid excessive repetition of *student* in a cataphoric reference as evidenced by the fact that it is grammatically possible, albeit stylistically improper, to switch the two, cf.:

(11b) *Training on plagiarism differs based on whether **the student** is an undergraduate or graduate **one**.*

The clear link and close proximity to the head noun in the sentence make *one* the best candidate for an epicene pronoun from the point of view of comprehensibility, as other previously covered pronouns would make the sentence ungrammatical and the referent ambiguous, cf.:

(11c) *Training on plagiarism and academic honesty policies offered to **all students** differs from university to university and also differs based on whether **they** are an undergraduate or graduate student.*

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<sup>14</sup> Sudha Prathikanti et al., “Treating major depression with yoga: A prospective, randomized, controlled pilot trial”, *PLoS One* vol. 12 (3), March 2017: 10

<sup>15</sup> The number of results for *he or she* in the AUS/NZ portion of the study was too small (3) to offer reliable insight into the usage of *he or she* with quantifiers; however, for the sake of completeness we will note that *he or she* occurred with a quantifier at a rate of 1:2 in comparison with a rate of 1:8 for *they*. Although less telling, the disparity nonetheless supports the conclusion we come to at this point.

<sup>16</sup> LaNette W. Thompson et al., “The Cultural Elements of Academic Honesty,” *Journal of International Students*, vol. 7 (1), 2017: 140

*They* is not applicable in this sentence because it refers back to *all students* and thus is not singular; it being followed by a singular subject complement violates number concord. Similarly, using *he or she* in the example would also violate number concord established by *all students*. The reference needs to be cataphoric in order to be both grammatically and stylistically correct without the need for a rephrasing of the utterance.

The *he/she* blend occurred a total of 7 times (11%) in four different articles. Three out of the four included a common-gender reference more than once, and of those none were consistent in their use of pronouns. Specifically, two articles showed a preference for *he/she* where a pronoun was only needed once, while for multiple references to the same head noun, monosyllabic alternatives were preferred (ex. 12, 13, 14).

(12) *The type of program **the student** is enrolled in does not have any impact on where **they** place in the standings after **they** take the CompXM final exam.*<sup>17</sup>

and

(13) *There is an indicator that work needs to be done going backwards into the program to increase rigor and lasting results that will properly prepare **the student** for this final test of **their** skills when **they** leave the University.*<sup>18</sup>

compared to

(14) *The footrace is built and run in the same manner as the Capsim and Foundation simulations are run however, **the student** will run one company on **his/her** own in a self-paced environment.*<sup>19</sup>

One article used both *he/she* and singular *they* to denote the same referent across two sentences. This was the only case of one head noun taking on more than one epicene pronoun (without being replaced by another iteration of itself in between) found in the study (ex. 15).

(15) *Perhaps because physical punishment is an option **the teacher** may use it as an opportunity to pass the responsibility to the principal to manage the problem while **he/she** continues with the instruction. **They** may see*

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<sup>17</sup> Bryan Forsyth and Christina Anastasia, "The Business Simulation Paradigm: Tracking Effectiveness in MBA Programs," *Journal of Management and Policy*, vol. 17 (2), 2016: 97

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*: 99

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*: 96

*guidance techniques such as reasoning and explaining as too time consuming or a weak approach to teaching.*<sup>20</sup>

Considering the aforementioned findings, it is possible the author either consciously or subconsciously chose *they* the second time purposefully in order to avoid unseemly repetition of *he/she*. However, the results show that while repetition of multisyllabic pronominal alternatives is preferably avoided, it is more tolerable than internal inconsistency in reference type within a sentence (cluster).

Finally, singular *they* was used a total of 39 times, accounting for 61% of epicene references in this section of the study. The percentage is significantly lower compared to the AUS/NZ section, which scored lower in total number of common-gender references yet higher in number of occurrences of singular *they*. Presence of more pronominal alternatives in the US section may be a direct result of this discrepancy as American writers attempt to avoid usage of singular *they* at a higher rate. Of the seven articles to use a common-gender pronoun including singular *they* more than once, three were inconsistent while consistency in using *they* was absolute in AUS/NZ texts. Furthermore, while AUS/NZ texts preferred *they* in correlation with quantifiers, in the US section singular *they* followed a quantifier in only 3 out of 10 occurrences (the remaining 7 being followed by either *he or she* or *he/she*) (ex. 16).

(16) *Instead, you are seeking data about the nature of the experiences provided to **each student** in your school and what majors **they** are or are not selecting in college.*<sup>21</sup>

*They* correlated with the definite article *the* slightly more often than it did with the indefinite article *a* (at a rate of 4:3). We can thus conclude that while US authors still show a preference for singular *they*, they do so significantly less often than their overseas colleagues and with a level of wariness not present in AUS/NZ texts. The context also has a great influence on the choice of pronoun; repetition favors *they* while quantifiers are generally followed by *he or she* or *he/she*.

Articles from 16 different journal sources were included in this part of the study. Six of the journals cannot be judged in terms of epicene pronoun consistency due to an insufficient amount of pronoun occurrences (only one in each journal). Of the remaining ten,

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<sup>20</sup> Julia T. Atilas, Talley M. Gresham and Isaac Washburn, "Values and Beliefs Regarding Discipline Practices: How School Culture Impacts Teacher Responses to Student Misbehavior," *Educational Research Quarterly*, vol. 40 (3), 2017: 17

<sup>21</sup> Crystal Bonds, "A Perspective From the National Consortium for Secondary STEM Schools", *Gifted Child Today* vol. 39 (4), October 2016: 184

seven were inconsistent in their use of epicene pronouns. In fact, a total of four pronominal alternatives appeared in both the *Journal of International Students* across six articles and *PLoS One* across four articles, more than in any other examined publication. However, one journal used generic *he* and generic *she* in a systematic pattern (ex. 6) and could thus be considered consistent as well. Regardless of whether we regard international alternation of pronouns as a consistent pattern or not, inconsistent epicene pronoun use was still more common than the opposite. Therefore, as was the case with AUS/NZ texts, in the majority of cases journal policy does not seem to have a major influence on the use of epicene pronouns in US-based texts.

### 4.3. Additional tokens

#### 4.3.1. Using epicene pronouns

A number of examples of common-gender reference were spotted randomly during the study despite not containing the head noun *student/teacher/learner*. While most of these were discarded, several were considered relevant enough to explore further in this section of the study, although they were not included in any of the previously mentioned calculations. Each of these tokens either offers a non-pronominal approach, or makes us consider other factors involved in the selection process (ex. 17).

(17) *For example, one could imagine that a principal may consciously assign a **child** who had several disciplinary incidents in **his** 1st-grade year to a demographically similar teacher for 2nd grade, in hopes of finding a better fit for the child.*<sup>22</sup>

In this sentence, the author combines the head noun *child* with the pronoun *he*. In a purely generic context (i.e. where the scope of potential referents is not limited to male children only as in a boys' boarding school), this combination always violates gender concord since children's genders are equally divided. However, in this case the authors invite the reader to imagine a specific scenario they propose by explicitly stating they speak of an example "one can imagine". No clear distinction has been found between what classifies as a "generic context" and an "imaginary scene with a specific referent". This suggests that generic reference in itself may be a spectrum of various levels of so-called *commonness*. This is different from generic reference where singular *each nurse* is followed by *she*; here the

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<sup>22</sup> Cassandra M. Hart and Constance A. Lindsay, "Teacher Race and School Discipline," *Education Next*, vol. 17 (1), 2017. Available at: <http://educationnext.org/teacher-race-and-school-discipline-suspensions-research/>

grammatical restriction to the female gender is only the result of a sexist perspective and thus violates gender concord, much like *the pilot* in combination with *he*. In faux-generic contexts where the scope of potential referents is logically limited to members of only one gender, the presence of generic *he* or *she* does not violate gender concord, nor is the reference truly generic. The example above seems to fall somewhere in between the two categories, where the reference itself is motivated to limit the scope of potential referents. As a result, the generic antecedent becomes specific in the reference – and while the reader does not know the race or physical features of the child in question (they may be of any kind), they know the child is male. The authors here make no assumption that *a child* is always or should always be male, but they do draw attention to a specific male representative of the head noun group for the purposes of their argument; the notional gender is male. The ‘epicene’ generic *he* might then not violate gender concord after all. Compare to ex. 18 from another article:

(18) *To meet every child at their point of educational need is the responsibility of both healthcare providers and education authorities working collaboratively to support each student and their family in a child- and family-centered way.*<sup>23</sup>

Here the universal quantifier *every* prohibits the reader from only considering one prototypical representative of the head noun group. The use of *their* corresponds to the notional number and grammatical gender expressed by *every child*, while generic *he* would violate gender concord while maintaining grammatical number, since the head noun does not refer to a hypothetical representative in a given context.

Furthermore, one article made use of singular *they* following a plural noun while referring to the generic pronoun *each (one)* (ex. 19):

(19) *Each one of the participants had their own particular reasons for choosing to study online.*<sup>24</sup>

We have previously observed that universal quantifiers *each* and *every* are most likely to be followed by a form of *he or she* or *he/she*. This is not the case here, however, and the decision could have stemmed from the principle of proximity wherein the epicene pronoun is placed closer in the sentence to plural *participants* than to singular *one*, rendering *they* more

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<sup>23</sup> Liza J. Hopkins, “Hospital-based education support for students with chronic health conditions,” *Australian Health Review*, vol. 40, 2016: 214

<sup>24</sup> Cathy Stone et al., “Opportunity through online learning: Experiences of first-in-family students in online open-entry higher education,” *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, vol. 56 (2), 2016: 155

stylistically appropriate over *he or she*. In all aforementioned occurrences, *each* or *every* was followed by a singular head noun only.

#### 4.3.2. Avoiding the epicene pronoun

Other examples introduced non-pronominal alternatives to common-gender reference to the study. One author made use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun to introduce a generic referent instead (ex. 20).

(20) *If **you** are a teacher who regularly mentors student teachers, **you** might ask **yourself**: How do I show that I value and respect the stories that students have to offer with empathy and compassion?*<sup>25</sup>

The excerpt could be easily paraphrased to include pronominal epicene reference, cf.:

(20b) *A **teacher** who regularly mentors student teachers might ask **[P]self(selves)** how **[P]** show(s) that **[P]** value(s) and respect(s) the stories that students have to offer with empathy and compassion.*

Given the number of possibilities which could stand in place of pronoun [P], the choice of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun in the text is strategically advisable in terms of grammatical and/or stylistic propriety. The excerpt is taken from research examining techniques of student teachers in a way that does not anticipate the reader to necessarily be a student teacher; at no other point does the author address the reader directly. Thus, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun must have been used for practical purposes instead of maintaining cohesiveness.

By far the most commonly used strategy used by authors looking to avoid epicene reference altogether, however, was pluralization. Consistent use of plural nouns allows the author to use plural *they*, eliminating the need for an alternative with no impact on the meaning. (ex. 21).

(21) *Thus, **international students** may be less apprehensive and more willing to communicate in class when **they** experience positive intergroup climate and attitudes, and feel confident about communicating in L2.*<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Jenny Walker, "Cats, Kayaks, and Other Artifacts: Using Play Props to Explore Reflective Practice With Early Childhood Student Teachers," *YC Young Children*, vol. 70 (5), 2015: 41



The fact that the anaphoric reference is epicene can be proven by rephrasing the original sentence:

(21b) *Thus, **an international student** may be less apprehensive and more willing to communicate in class when **they** experience positive intergroup climate and attitudes, and feel confident about communicating in L2.*

Replacing the plural head noun with its singular counterpart renders the following *they* singular as well while maintaining the meaning. However, plural nouns outside of epicene contexts cannot be replaced as the resulting sentence would be logically invalid. The following example (ex. 22) makes use of plural *students* to mean ‘the group of students’ rather than ‘every representative of the student group’. The difference is small but crucial in terms of reference as the notional number of ‘representatives’ (who can be separated without violating the purpose of the argument) does not carry the same significance the notional number of ‘a group’ (who cannot) does within a text.

(22) *Black female **students** also experience lower rates of exclusionary consequences when exposed to same-race teachers, although the effect of 1 to 2 percentage points (15 to 25 percent) is only statistically significant when **they** are taught by black female teachers.<sup>27</sup>*

Singularization of the referent is not possible in this case, since in doing so its meaning would shift to ‘a single hypothetical representative of the student group’ who cannot be the subject of the sentence from a logical standpoint (ex. 22b). Therefore, this type of reference cannot be expressed with a common-gender pronoun.

(22b) *\*A black female **student** also experiences lower rates of exclusionary consequences when exposed to same-race teachers, although the effect of 1 to 2 percentage points (15 to 25 percent) is only statistically significant when **he or she** is taught by black female teachers.*

Finally, a case of ‘epicene repetition’ was picked to represent the subset of results:

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<sup>26</sup> Chia-Fang (Sandy) Hsu and I-Ting (Joyce) Huang, “Are International Students Quiet in Class? The Influence of Teacher Confirmation on Classroom Apprehension and Willingness to Talk in Class”, *Journal of International Students* vol. 7 (1), 2017: 40

<sup>27</sup> Cassandra M. Hart and Constance A. Lindsay, “Teacher Race and School Discipline,” *Education Next*, vol. 17 (1), 2017. Available at: <http://educationnext.org/teacher-race-and-school-discipline-suspensions-research/>

(23) *Authenticity of learning with mobile devices occurs when **the learner** is participating in a real community of practice (i.e. situatedness) and this situation is relevant to **the learner** (i.e. contextualisation). Collaboration happens when there is rich, deep dialogue (i.e. conversation) and includes the consumption, exchange and co-production of material (i.e. data exchange). Personalisation ensues when **the learner** has control of or can negotiate content and / or goals (i.e. agency) and modify activities and the mobile device itself (i.e. customisation).*<sup>28</sup>

It is impossible to say whether repetition in epicene contexts is the result of the author's conscious motivation to avoid potentially problematic pronouns, or whether any substitution for a pronoun was never intended. Therefore, it is difficult for a reader to gauge where an avoidance strategy begins and where the phrasing is purely a matter of unbiased possibility. This particular example was chosen due to a subjective belief that repetition of the head noun in a single sentence (the first) renders the excerpt cumbersome to a point where it appears unnatural and was thus not originally intended. Compare with:

(23b) *Authenticity of learning with mobile devices occurs when **the learner** is participating in a real community of practice and this situation is relevant to **him or her**.*

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<sup>28</sup> Philip B. Townsend, "Mob Learning – Digital Communities for Remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tertiary Students," *Journal of Economic and Social Policy*, vol. 17 (2), 2014: 8

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to analyze the current state and development of English common-gender pronouns in use. For lack of a specific both grammatically and stylistically correct epicene pronoun, the following pronominal alternatives have emerged and presently enjoy more or less widespread use: generic *he*, generic *she*, singular *they*, disjunctive *he or she*, graphemic blends such as *(s)he* or *he/she*, generic *one*, and occasionally neologisms or borrowings.

In the interest of accurately gauging the rate at which each pronoun is currently used, two hundred articles were manually collected from issues of peer-reviewed academic journals dated 2014-2017 via the ProQuest database. Articles were selected based on the presence of nouns *student/learner/teacher*, which were believed to be likely to be antecedents to epicene reference. Two regions were compared: one hundred articles were selected from US-based journals, one hundred from journals published in Australia and New Zealand. The hypothesis stated that singular *they* would be more common in Australian/New Zealand English than in American English. Likewise, we assumed that the results would indicate a preference for generic *he* in American English. Thirdly, journal policies were thought to dictate the author's choice of pronoun.

In analyzing the Australian/New Zealand section of articles, four different ways of pronominal reference were spotted: generic *he*, the *he/she* blend, generic *she*, and singular *they*. By far the largest percentage of epicene references in AUS/NZ texts were made using singular *they* (88% of the total number of occurrences). *He or she*, *he/she*, and generic *she* occurred at a rate of 6%, 4%, and 2%, respectively. In comparison, American texts displayed a larger number of alternatives; aside from the four already mentioned, generic *he* and generic *one* were also attested in the data. While the rate of singular *they* was not nearly as dominating as in the AUS/NZ section, *they* was still used most often, accounting for 61% of epicene references. The second most popular alternative proved to be *he or she* (18%), followed by the *he/she* blend (11%). Generic *he* ranked towards the bottom of the list at only 6%. Thus, while our hypothesis regarding the use of singular *they* in Australian academic English proved correct, and while *they* appears to be far less acceptable in US journals, generic *he* certainly does not fall among preferable alternatives in present-day American English either. In fact, in both varieties of English authors prefer to avoid generic *he* if possible. No statistically significant correlation was found between journals and the choice of pronoun in articles published therein; examples of multiple ways of pronominal reference

were found in many articles published in the same journal, oftentimes even the same article. The last point of our hypothesis was, therefore, also disproven.

In the last part of our research, we further examined several randomly collected tokens in order to provide slightly more in-depth understanding of the problem. The findings suggest that notions of hypothetical specificity and the principle of proximity also play a role in the choice of epicene pronoun. For example, while occurrences of a singular head noun preceded by the universal quantifier *each* were more often followed by *he or she* in accordance with the implied individuality (or *singularity*, i.e. the quality of existing as a separate entity within a group of such entities) of each referent, when a plural noun occurred in between the head and the epicene pronoun, *they* would be used, e.g. *each of the participants...their*. A number of such complex nuances to the analyzed alternatives were discovered, which would require more research in order to provide full understanding.

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## 7. Résumé

Bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na pronominální prostředky rodově neutrální reference v odborných anglických textech publikovaných po roce 2009. V teoretické části je popsána problematika neexistujícího rodově neutrálního zájmena v angličtině, jehož absence se v mluveném i psaném projevu musí kompenzovat použitím zájmena, které s referentem nesouhlasí buď v rodu, nebo v čísle. Alternativou k pronominální referenci je potom úplné vynechání zájmena, a to např. opakováním podstatného jména, na nějž by zájmeno odkazovalo, substitucí určitým členem, použitím rozkazovacího způsobu, či jinou změnou celé věty tak, aby již rodově neutrální referenci neobsahovala. V současné době pro tento typ reference v angličtině neexistuje preskriptivní standard (ve srovnání s jinými jazyky, například finštinou, kde podstatným jménům i zájmenům rodová jmenná kategorie chybí a zájmeno třetí osoby jednotného čísla je tak z gramatického hlediska vždy rodově neutrální). Tzv. neutrální bezrodé *he*, které ve spisovném psaném projevu donedávna převažovalo, bylo feministickým hnutím odsouzeno pro věcný nesouhlas s rodem referenta, což mělo za následek rozmach alternativních prostředků. Mezi často používané pronominální prostředky rodově neutrální reference dnes patří tzv. singulární *they* (tj. *they*, které odkazuje na substantivum v singuláru), bezrodé *he*, bezrodé *she*, disjunktivní forma *he or she*, psané kombinace typu *(s)he* nebo *s/he*, případně neologismy či slova přejatá.

Pracovní hypotézou bylo, že v australských a novozélandských textech se bude v současnosti nejčastěji vyskytovat singulární *they*; v amerických textech by pak mělo převažovat neutrální *he*. Dále pak existoval předpoklad, že to, jaká rodově neutrální zájmena budou použita, budou určovat pravidla odborného časopisu, ve kterém článek vyšel.

Analýze bylo podrobena celkem dvě stě článků, z toho sto publikovaných ve Spojených Státech a sto v Austrálii nebo na Novém Zélandu; oba státy byly pro účely studie považovány za jediný anglofonní region. Články byly shromážděny manuálním vyhledáváním v databázi ProQuest. Požadavky pro zařazení článku do výzkumu zněly následovně: článek musel obsahovat alespoň šestkrát substantivum *student/learner/teacher*, jelikož tato rodově neutrální podstatná jména se mohou často vyskytovat v kombinaci s rodově neutrálním zájmenem. Článek musel pocházet z recenzovaného časopisu a musel být dostupný online jak ve formátu PDF, tak v plném textu HTML. Do výzkumu byly zařazeny pouze články publikované od ledna 2010 do dubna 2017 (současnost v době výzkumu); články byly shromažďovány chronologicky sestupně podle data vydání, takže fakticky byly nejstarší zkoumané články publikovány až v roce 2014. Ve větách, kdy jedno zájmeno vícekrát

odkazovalo na téhož referenta, aniž by byl mezitím referent uveden znovu nebo jiný, se použité zájmeno zaznamenávalo pouze jednou, aby nedošlo k umělému zvětšení počtu zaznamenaných zájmen.

Z analýzy australsko-novozélandských článků vyplývají následující poznatky: v AUS/NZ textech v drtivé většině případů převažovalo singulární *they*, které zde tvořilo 88 % z celkového počtu zaznamenaných rodově neutrálních zájmen. Vyskytovaly se veškeré formy zájmena, tj. forma nominativní, posesivní, akuzativní i reflexivní. Disjunktivní *he or she* se vyskytovalo v 6 % případů, zatímco *he/she* ve 4 %. Nebyl zaznamenán žádný případ, kdy by v uvedených kombinacích zájmeno ženského rodu stálo před maskulinním zájmenem. Neutrální *he* se v textech neobjevilo ani jednou. V jednom článku se objevilo rodově neutrální *she*, které tvoří zbývající 2 % výsledků a v článku alternovalo s formou *he or she*. Výsledky nenaznačují, že by podstatné jméno označující referenta mělo na volbu zájmena vliv.

V amerických článcích bylo rodově neutrálních zájmen nalezeno o 29 % více než v předchozí sekci. Američtí autoři také používali více rozličných prostředků rodově neutrální reference. V článcích se alespoň jednou vyskytlo neutrální *he*, neutrální *she*, *he or she*, *he/she*, singulární *they*, a neutrální *one*. Rodově neutrální *he* se vyskytovalo v 6 % případů ve třech různých článcích, z nichž v žádném nebylo jediným použitým rodově neutrálním zájmenem. Podobně jako s příkladem neutrálního *she* výše zmíněným v australské sekci zde byla jednotná zájmena *he* a *she* nejčastěji používána v kombinaci s určitým členem, zatímco formy *he or she* a *he/she* často následovaly po univerzálním kvantifikátoru *each*. Z tohoto rozdílu vyplývá, že v kontextech, kde se hovoří o jediném hypotetickém reprezentantovi určité skupiny, který může být jakéhokoliv pohlaví, je přijatelnější použít jedno zájmeno v jednotném čísle, zatímco ve větách, kde kvantifikátor zdůrazňuje multiplicitu členů skupiny, autoři častěji volí kombinaci zájmen nebo (podle australsko-novozélandských výsledků) singulární *they*. Ze všech použitých rodově neutrálních zájmen se v amerických textech *he or she* pojilo s kvantifikátorem oproti použití bez kvantifikátoru v poměru 1:1. Singulární *they*, které se s kvantifikátorem pojilo častěji než všechny ostatní formy pronominální reference kromě *he or she* tak činilo v markantně nižším poměru 1:12. Ačkoliv tyto statistiky v australsko-novozélandské části výzkumu nelze kvůli nízkému počtu příkladů *he or she* považovat za stejně spolehlivé, poměry jsou i tam velmi podobné. Z dat tedy vyplývá, že se *he or she* až v 50 % rodově neutrálních referencí pojí s kvantifikátory.

Stejně jako v australsko-novozélandských textech se i v amerických textech nejčastěji vyskytovalo singulární *they*, avšak pouze v 61 % případů. Druhou nejčastější formou pronominální rodově neutrální reference zde bylo *he or she* (18 %) následované kombinací

*he/she* (11 %). Jelikož se v amerických textech celkově vyskytovalo více příkladů tohoto typu reference než v první části výzkumu, ale singulární *they* bylo používáno výrazně méně, lze tvrdit, že větší množství nalezených alternativ v amerických textech svědčí o snaze autorů vyvarovat se použití singulárního *they*. Ačkoliv však pro americké autory není singulární *they* tak přijatelné jako pro Australany a Novozélandčany, přesto se jedná o zdaleka nejčastější zájmeno používané v rodově neutrální referenci. Jelikož se mnohokrát vyskytlo více zájmen ve stejném časopise – dokonce i ve stejném článku – z výzkumu nevyplývá, že by pravidla časopisu měla na volbu zájmena vliv.

V poslední části výzkumu byly analyzovány příklady rodově neutrální reference, které byly v textech zaznamenány náhodně (tj. nesplňovaly minimálně jedno z kritérií stanovených při vyhledávání), ale byly pro výzkum stále považovány za relevantní. Zde byl vznesen argument, že mezi všeobecností a specificitou existuje spektrum obecnosti reference; zatímco neutrální *she* za vazbou *each nurse* označuje referenta, který může být jakéhokoliv pohlaví, a nesouhlasí tak s potenciálním referentem v rodě, v nalezeném příkladu *a child – he* autor představuje hypotetického referenta, který je mužského rodu. Samotné zájmeno pak vymezuje množinu potenciálních referentů a reference přestává být rodově neutrální, ačkoliv je neutrálně formulována a žádný konkrétní, pojmenovatelný referent se ve větě neobjevuje.

V jiném příkladu bylo pak místo rodově neutrálního zájmena třetí osoby použito zájmeno pro druhou osobu jednotného čísla. Ve zbytku článku autor čtenáře nijak neoslovoval ani z něj nebylo možné logicky odvodit, že by čtenář nutně patřil do skupiny referentů vymezených zájmenem. Singulární *you* bylo proto použito jako prostředek rodově neutrální reference, který zároveň nemohl být napadnutelný z gramatického hlediska. Zaznamenány byly i příklady opakování substantiva namísto použití zájmena a použití plurálního *they* s gramaticky singulárním referentem, pokud se před anaforickým odkazem (a za původním referentem) vyskytovalo substantivum v množném čísle jako ve vazbě *each one of the participants...their*.

Výzkum potvrdil, že v australských a novozélandských textech se v pronominální rodově neutrální referenci zdaleka nejčastěji objevuje singulární *they*. Předpoklad, že v amerických textech bude převládat neutrální *he*, se nepotvrdil a i zde se nejčastěji objevovalo *they*, ačkoliv o poznání méně než v australsko-novozélandských textech. V amerických textech se nejspíše v důsledku snahy vyvarovat se singulárnímu *they* objevovalo více pronominálních strategií. V mnoha publikacích i člancích byla rodově neutrální zájmena obměňována. Nebyla tedy nalezena žádná spojitost mezi pravidly publikace a použitými rodově neutrálními zájmeny.





## 8. Appendix

The following tables provide all examples of epicene reference collected from among the 200 articles selected for the study. The tables include the token passage, chosen pronoun, and journal of origin.

### 8.1. Australia and New Zealand

1	Many of these problems were having an impact on the student and their ability to engage in learning.	they	Australian Journal of Primary Health
2	Longer term follow-up is required to determine the impact on the student when they graduate from high school and whether the Healthy Learner model has enabled them to gain employment and interrupt the cycle of poverty and disadvantage.	they	Australian Journal of Primary Health
3	Such statements give little encouragement to the teacher who is genuinely concerned about the deteriorating world environmental situation and is striving to do his/her own thing about it, albeit through an education about and in the environment approach.	he/she	Journal of Outdoor and Environmental Education
4	The teacher as engineer identifies the constraints within which they work and builds solutions.	they	International Journal of Training Research
5	The 21st century student is very engaged with technology and social media. They are, in the main, tech savvy, connected, focused on immediacy and the sharing of their lives and thoughts through social media.	they	International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning
6	The course included opportunities in class for students to practise their reflection using [...] reflective teaching strategies that the preservice teacher could use on themselves or with children.	they	International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning
7	To meet every child at their point of educational need is the responsibility of both healthcare providers and education authorities working collaboratively to support each student and their family in a child- and family-centred way.	they	Australian Health Review

8	A positive educational outcome is more likely when a partnership exists among education and health services and the student and their family.	they	Australian Health Review
9	All students in all schools are entitled to an excellent education, allowing each student to reach his or her full potential so that he or she can succeed, achieve his or her aspirations, and contribute fully to his or her community, now and in the future.	he or she	Australian Health Review
10	The quality of a student's education should not be limited by where the student lives, the income of his or her family, the school he or she attends, or his or her personal circumstances.	he or she	Australian Health Review
11	Health status must be considered to be part of a student's personal circumstances and thus cannot be used to discriminate against their receipt of quality education.	they	Australian Health Review
12	Eligibility for service varies by state according to whether the student is enrolled in education and the education sector in which they are enrolled.	they	Australian Health Review
13	In New South Wales, the student must be enrolled in a Kindergarten to Year 12 school (their census school).	they	Australian Health Review
14	Some services required the student's home school to provide curriculum for the student during their hospital stay.	they	Australian Health Review
15	This format puts the onus on the student to consider their own learning and their role in it.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
16	She mentioned 'planting' the idea in the student's brain, but then turning over the action to the student of what to do next whilst engaging on their learning journey.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
17	The findings indicated a range of ways in which the teacher-librarian adds value to the school, including in their role as teacher [...].	they	School Libraries Worldwide
18	There were suggestions that the teacher-librarian was seen as a poor performing teacher who had been placed in the Library to remove them from the classroom.	they	School Libraries Worldwide

19	This is exemplified by comments from Superperson's principal who relied on the teacher-librarian to have their 'ear to the ground'.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
20	Another principal explained that because the teacher-librarian interacted with all the staff and students in the school they were able to see alignment or lack of alignment throughout the school. They are also able to identify the staff and students who may need assistance and/or intervention.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
21	They [the TL] are underpinned by being an experienced and expert teacher.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
22	The expertise of the individual teacher-librarian seemed to be crucial to the level of support and influence provided by their principal.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
23	It also means that any teacher-librarian whose role is mainly library manager may find themselves redundant if they do not weight their activities towards teaching and curriculum integration.	they	School Libraries Worldwide
24	This use of 'see where you are' and 'look at the levels ahead' gives the idea of a conceptual map for discipline-specific processes involving a self-revealing of each student's position and where he or she needed to go.	he or she	International Journal for Researcher Development
25	The criterion should suggest to the student - initially, with guidance from the supervisor, the need to explain why she is relying on what looks like out-of-date material.	she	International Journal for Researcher Development
26	In the present study, the barriers most cited were the teacher's transfer to another school where they were focused on integrating into the system [...].	they	Australian Journal of Environmental Education
27	The theory of reasoned action holds that this action is a function of both the attitudes of the individual teacher and the norms of their culture and social environment.	they	Journal of Economic and Social Policy
28	These models of prosocial behaviour however contribute a link between the psychology of a teacher, their sociological context and the resulting behavioural intentions.	they	Journal of Economic and Social Policy

29	Another person mentioned the importance to students of '... having confidence that the [supervisory teacher] is really working to ensure [he / she] understand[s] those background issues and helping wherever they can.'	he/she	Journal of Economic and Social Policy
30	For example, if a student had a banana in their lunchbox, the teacher could (and should) turn this into a pedagogical moment by praising the contents and deliver nutrient knowledge about the particular item.	they	Australian Journal of Environmental Education
31	In the case of these stories, each student has had the chance to read, edit and revise their story in order to add emphasis or remove unintended parts of the story.	they	Australian Journal of Adult Learning
32	An individual student's QCS Test result is not used on its own in the calculation of their Overall Position - instead group results are used as part of the statistical scaling processes.	they	Journal of Educational Administration
33	The variables used in this study include characteristics of the individual student such as their parents' educational attainment, language background (NESB), Indigenous status and sex.	they	Australian Journal of Labour Economics
34	[...] Shifting a student from a school at the bottom of the ICSEA distribution to one in the top two ICSEA bands is estimated to increase their NAPLAN score in literacy and numeracy by a larger margin than a shift in their parental education to the completion of Year 12.	they	Australian Journal of Labour Economics
35	In this model [...] it is estimated that the student would need to move to a school in the top ICSEA band in order to have a larger effect on their numeracy result than an increase in parental education would provide, holding everything else constant.	they	Australian Journal of Labour Economics
36	[...] One additional place in a student's rank in leaving grades translated to one additional mark in their weighted average university marks in first-year.	they	Australian Journal of Labour Economics

37	Studies of university academic outcomes have been largely based on a simple education production function, where a student's university academic performance (APi) is modelled as a function of their background characteristics (BCi) [...].	they	Australian Journal of Labour Economics
38	As a contested concept, quality has provided [...] a training system where the individual learner does not even own the qualification that is intended to serve as some sort of warranty as to the quality of their skills and knowledge.	they	International Journal of Training Research
39	At the micro level, individual factors that contribute to a teacher's identity and pedagogy in a rural context include their role and status, their interactions with students and the school community, length of time in a community, their age, gender and their professional affiliations [...].	they	International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning
40	Over time the learner becomes empowered to: set their own goals; monitor learning progress; ask for and accept targeted support; know where to access information; and, who to ask for help. They take responsibility for their own learning and help others to learn.	they	International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning
41	[W]e need to re-imagine the tertiary teacher: to see them as a person who can transmit capability in using evidence and analysis rather than functioning as a one-way channel of information.	they	International Journal of Training Research
42	Every student at Enmore underwent a detailed and incessant inspection of their social, emotional, and intellectual growth.	they	History of Education Review
43	Each teacher was observed at their institution and interviewed once.	they	Australian Journal of Music Education
44	They argue that this learning occurs through work and in work and job contexts through some form of informal interaction whereby the learner can acquire and develop their skills and knowledge.	they	International Journal of Training Research

- |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |                                            |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------|
| 45 | It is also described as a process in which the learner takes the initiative and responsibility for setting their own learning goals, identifying and addressing gaps in their learning, identifying resources, selecting and carrying out learning strategies and evaluating their own learning needs. | they | International Journal of Training Research |
| 46 | Knowles (1970) reinforces the concepts of self-directed learning and individual responsibility as important characteristics of adult learning theory, arguing that the learner should be responsible for their own learning and make their own learning decisions.                                     | they | International Journal of Training Research |
| 47 | In her view the importance of self-directed learning is based on four key assumptions about the adult learner: (1) having an independent selfconcept to direct their own learning [...].                                                                                                               | they | International Journal of Training Research |
| 48 | [I]t has a direct impact and relevance on the person's work and allowed the learner to engage with other professionals for their educational benefit.                                                                                                                                                  | they | International Journal of Training Research |
| 49 | In this instance, the consistent educational environment of having the students complete the degree at a TAFE campus that they were familiar with appears to contribute to the successful adaptation of the vocational student as they traverse the pathway into higher education.                     | they | International Journal of Training Research |

## 8.2. The United States

- |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |      |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Aggravated by challenges of inclusion and/or diversity in graduate schools, inequity and failure thrive the more incomplete the socialization the student receives or the more complex the program they enter.                                                 | they | Organization Development Journal |
| 2 | Wherever you place the root cause of these tensions, designing interactive situations that allow a student to perceive that they are not alone, that they are more competent than they realize and giving them multiple options to interact with others [...]. | they | Organization Development Journal |

3	Even the fact that the graduate student needs to manage their own process is a learned behavior.	they	Organization Development Journal
4	Likewise, the older student who is working full time may find their advisor [...].	they	Organization Development Journal
5	These help the student who may be wrestling with whether they belong in an academic environment to see themselves in the wider fabric of graduate candidates.	they	Organization Development Journal
6	These would need to be designed to guide yet also allow the student to test their ideas for themselves.	they	Organization Development Journal
7	[...] who can be dropped in on to ask the quick question as the student writes in their home in the middle of their night after children have gone to bed [...]	they	Organization Development Journal
8	[...] a number of tools to aid the graduate student with their academic writing [...]	they	Organization Development Journal
9	In the gap between the challenges faced by the mature student whose work took them away from their academic writing for a few months [...] and the need for critical analysis (on the left) to finish their dissertation, [...].	they	Organization Development Journal
10	Finally, synchronous groups allow student to read what they have written to check that it makes sense to others.	they	Organization Development Journal
11	It must be kept in mind that to the student this is just another tool from their university, an adjunct site they are entering that allows them to interact in the wider international graduate community, but that looks and feels like their university's online presence.	they	Organization Development Journal
12	A supervisor confronted with a student who does not appear to be making significant progress, instead of "giving them the benefit of the doubt" and letting them continue [...].	they	Organization Development Journal



- |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |           |                                   |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 13 | In an advisement meeting the supervisor sees that, while the student in front of them seems to have good ideas, their writing is not up to academic standards. They wonder if it could be due to issues involved with balance with their employment responsibilities [...]. [W]anting the student to find the help they need they ask them if they: 1) have read/listened/gone through the content on their university doctoralnet.com site, 2) seen what myriad of tools or groups were available to academic writing, 3) reminded them that international special interest groups might help them find additional supports. | they      | Organization Development Journal  |
| 14 | [T]eachers plan instruction with certain predictions about how students will respond, and those predictions have to do with patterns the teacher has internalized from her own social life. That's culture. Inescapably, her instruction is planned in response to a projection of her own culture onto the students.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | she       | Voices From the Middle            |
| 15 | A Black teacher with White students would not expect his students to have minds like his people.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | he        | Voices From the Middle            |
| 16 | If a student responds to lyrics in emerging musical idioms, those are preferences that need to be replaced with forms of poetry their teacher views as possessing higher literary merit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | they      | Voices From the Middle            |
| 17 | During sessions, yoga practices were broken down into component elements and taught progressively to each student in accordance with his or her ability.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | he or she | PLoS One                          |
| 18 | Then the student is given objectives, which may or may not coincide with their language learning needs. If a student is placed into a special education classroom setting, their peers are likely students who are for one reason or another, unable to be good language models.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | they      | Journal of International Students |
| 19 | Several factors determine how quickly a student learns a new language, such as English. One of the most important is their proficiency in their native language.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | they      | Journal of International Students |

20	Due to the language distance mentioned previously, it is very difficult for a student to develop or mimic the phoneme being pronounced if it is not present in their first language.	they	Journal of International Students
21	This would mean that in order for the student to correctly write the word, they would have to memorize the vowel pattern like other English speaking students.	they	Journal of International Students
22	This phenomenon is when a student learning and L2 such as English are not reinforcing their L1 skills and fluency.	they	Journal of International Students
23	Additive bilingualism is where a student learns English while their first language and culture are being maintained and reinforced.	they	Journal of International Students
24	Therefore, practices, such as study groups or group projects in the classroom, should be more actively used to support not only the academic growth of the international student, but also their affective and interpersonal development during college.	they	Journal of International Students
25	In China, the region of the country the student comes from may impact their college preparedness and likelihood of academic attainment more definitively than their secondary school scores.	they	Journal of International Students
26	A teacher's job is not an easy one. They have to meet many daily demands [...].	they	Educational Research Quarterly
27	The purpose of this study was to determine whether a teacher's sense of efficacy influences his/her attitude toward the use of physical punishment in schools.	he/she	Educational Research Quarterly
28	It is unknown whether a teacher's sense of efficacy is related to his/her attitude toward physical punishment.	he/she	Educational Research Quarterly
29	When a teacher's beliefs change-from a teacher-centered approach to a student-centered approach, for instance-it is not always reflected in their classroom practices.	they	Educational Research Quarterly

30	If a teacher engages in developmentally appropriate practice his/her attitude toward classroom management should reflect the first principle of the Code of Ethics.	he/she	Educational Research Quarterly
31	However, there has been little research conducted on whether a teacher's sense of efficacy is related to a teacher's responses to students' misbehavior and whether their attitudes predict the use of physical punishment.	they	Educational Research Quarterly
32	Perhaps because physical punishment is an option the teacher may use it as an opportunity to pass the responsibility to the principal to manage the problem while he/she continues with the instruction. They may see guidance techniques such as reasoning and explaining as too time consuming or a weak approach to teaching.	he/she, they	Educational Research Quarterly
33	In order to ensure each student was able to purchase the meal bundle, if they so desired, we provided students with monetary coupons.	they	PLoS One
34	If a substitute teacher is present, however, those records will not be available to him or her.	he or she	Physical Educator
35	As noted previously, training on plagiarism and academic honesty policies offered to all students differs from university to university and also differs based on whether one is an undergraduate or a graduate student.	one	Journal of International Students
36	The invitation offered each student a \$25 gift certificate to a local grocery store for his or her participation.	he or she	Journal of International Students
37	International students choose their institutional host site based on a variety of factors and which factors have the most influence on a student depends on their background and reasons for studying overseas.	they	Journal of International Students

38	While our participants shared a few pieces on the gender differences related to travel and accommodations this study did not seek to focus on gender difference beyond understanding that gender played a role as to how a Saudi student began their study on a U.S. campus.	they	Journal of International Students
39	For example, in a seminar class, instead of having an open discussion during the entire class period, each student can give a short oral report on the progress of his or her research project and the rest of the class can provide feedback afterwards.	he or she	Journal of International Students
40	However, Tinto recognized that a student comes to school with an individual background, motivation, academic preparation, study skills, goals and intentions that influence his or her ability to integrate academically and socially into the campus environment.	he or she	Journal of International Students
41	More importantly, it is difficult to challenge a first-year student entering higher education to think about how they might engage as a global citizen [...].	they	International Forum of Teaching and Studies
42	Our primary outcome of interest is whether a student received an exclusionary disciplinary consequence--that is, one that removed him or her from the classroom as punishment.	he or she	Education Next
43	Thus, the possibility that any particular student will disclose personal information that either his or her classmates, the instructor, or even the student himself or herself finds difficult to negotiate increases.	he or she	College Composition and Communication
44	In each of these examples, the learner completes his/her work using a personal computer, tablet computer or a smart phone.	he/she	PLoS One
45	You may work with the user of an item (for example, a student who wants to copy information from a private company into his report on the space station) and also advise a copyright owner (for example, a faculty member who has created a new lesson plan that she wishes to sell on a marketplace website, such as Teachers Pay Teachers).	he, (she)	Knowledge Quest

46	Thus, a student may be able to tape a song to share with his class but not record the same song for sale in a music store.	he	Knowledge Quest
47	With this in mind, a high school science teacher may be able to copy an article about the ecological system of the Mississippi River for her class.	she	Knowledge Quest
48	This means that the eighth-grade home economics teacher could legally assign her students to find an online advertisement featuring clothing and transform the content into a critique of today's fashion.	she	Knowledge Quest
49	As part of the standard curriculum and materials implemented at the participating school, each student had an iPad on his/her desk.	he/she	PLoS One
50	Data collection began on the first day of school instruction in the autumn and analyses were conducted with only paired dyadic observations, in which the teacher recorded the student's points earned for each "center" (30 minute period of the token economy) and the corresponding student also recorded his perception of his points earned.	he	PLoS One
51	This not only develops autonomy but also self-efficacy because the power of finding the solution is given to the student, and the teacher is there to support and give encouragement while they develop the solution.	they	Physical Educator
52	TGfU can promote individual learning, create an atmosphere of constructive cooperation and competition without set performance expectations and allow for the student to be self-assessing on their knowledge.	they	Physical Educator
53	The type of program the student is enrolled in does not have any impact on where they place in the standings after they take the CompXMfinal exam.	they	Journal of Management Policy and Practice
54	The footrace is built and run in the same manner as the Capsim and Foundation simulations are run however, the student will run one company on his/her own in a self-paced environment.	he/she	Journal of Management Policy and Practice

55	The is an indicator that work needs to be done going backwards into the program to increase rigor and lasting results that will properly prepare the student for this final test of their skills when they leave the University.	they	Journal of Management Policy and Practice
56	AAPs represented the probability that a student would experience an outcome of interest if he or she held a given value on one predictor variable of interest while all other variable values were held to their mean.	he or she	Journal of Juvenile Justice
57	This measure reflects how involved a student was in his or her learning.	he or she	Journal of Education for Library and Information Science
58	The final grade received by each student was an accumulated score for his or her performance in the entire course.	he or she	Journal of Education for Library and Information Science
59	For example, during sophomore year an undergraduate student is required to observe the classroom they are assigned to a few times a year.	they	Issues in Teacher Education
60	The NYC FITNESSGRAM report summarizes each student's performance on fitness assessments and suggests ways to help the student achieve optimal performance for better health based on their age and sex.	they	International Journal of Child Health and Human Development
61	During spend-a-day activities, prospective applicants shadow a current student in their morning classes.	they	Gifted Child Today
62	This quality sets SVGS apart because it displays the passion each student exhibits for their work and that of their peers.	they	Gifted Child Today
63	Instead, you are seeking data about the nature of the experiences provided to each student in your school and what majors they are or are not selecting in college.	they	Gifted Child Today