Tampere University

MÓNICA SÁNCHEZ-TORRES

In the Eye of the Beholder

Processing, use, and attitudes towards
(non-)sexist language in a second language

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To Olaya

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate sexist and non-sexist language in a second language (L2). More precisely, this study seeks to examine the use, attitudes and processing of sexist and non-sexist language of native speakers (L1) of Iberian Spanish, a language with grammatical gender, and Finnish, a language without grammatical gender, in English, a language with notional gender.

The methods used to analyze language processing, linguistic attitudes, and language use were eye tracking measurements and a questionnaire. The eye tracking study was designed to analyze the effect of an individual's L1 and gender on their processing of sexist and non-sexist language, based on the ideas of linguistic relativity, which postulates that languages influence their speakers' worldview and cognition, and the eye-mind hypothesis which supports the claim that the eye movements are the direct response to the ongoing processing needs of the reader (Henderson & Ferreira, 1990, Just & Carpenter, 1980, Reali *et al.*, 2014, Reichle, Pollatsek, Fisher, & Rayner, 1998). The eye tracking measurements used to test the hypothesis were fixations and visit counts, and the tests used were multi-factor ANOVA. The sample consisted of 42 participants who were studying English at university, 22 of whom (6 male, 16 female) were native speakers of Spanish and the remaining 20 (7 males and 13 females) of whom were native speakers of Finnish.

The questionnaire was designed to address the language use and the linguistic attitudes towards (non-)sexist language in the L2. The quantitative data was analyzed using the χ^2 test and the qualitative data using inductive content analysis. The questionnaire sample involved 327 participants who fulfilled the same requirement as in the eye tracking study. In total, 195 participants spoke Spanish (154 women, 38 men, 3 people who either didn't want to disclose their gender or were non-binary) and 132 spoke Finnish (87 women, 35 men, and 10 people who either did not want to disclose their gender or are non-binary).

The results of the study yielded three major findings. First, the eye tracking study indicates that neither the L1 nor the gender of a person impacts the comprehension of sexist and non-sexist language in the L2. Therefore, there is not enough empirical support for a claim that the L1 or the gender of a person

influences the way sexist and non-sexist language is processed in an L2. Secondly, Spaniards and Finns used linguistic gender differently. More specifically, Spaniards used more gendered forms, some of which are perceived as sexist in English, and more visualization strategies, while Finns avoided expressing gender, both lexically and grammatically. The findings are not only aligned with the grammatical features of their L1 but also match the proposals for non-sexist language in Finnish and Spanish. This means that these two aspects are instrumental in the use of linguistic gender in an L2 and that they influence the speakers' perception of what is sexist or not. On the other hand, the similarities between men and women in the use of lexical and grammatical gender contradict previous studies that indicate that women are more likely to use non-sexist language than men (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014). The third finding was that an individual's L1 and gender contribute to their opinions and attitudes towards sexist and non-sexist language, even if these opinions do not match or even contradict their linguistic choices.

For these reasons, the principal theoretical implication of this study is that the influence of language is limited: it does not affect unconscious processes such as reading comprehension of (non-)sexist language, but it does influence more conscious processes such as the use of and attitudes towards sexist language. In addition, the findings suggest the gender of a speaker does not play a significant role in the processing and use of gender, although it affects the attitudes towards (non-)sexist language. More particularly, the findings suggest that in some instances, women are more receptive to non-sexist language than men despite their actual language use not differing much.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämän väitöskirjatutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tutkia toisen kielen (L2) käyttäjien seksististä ja ei-seksististä kieltä). Tutkimus keskittyy erityisesti Iberian espanjan (kieli, jossa on kieliopilliset suvut) ja suomen (kieli, jossa ei ole kieliopillisia sukuja) natiivipuhujien (L1) seksistisen ja ei-seksistisen kielen käyttööön ja prosessointiin sekä asenteisiin englannissa (kieli, jossa on nimellinen suku).
Työn keskeiset tutkimusmetodit ovat silmänliikekamera ja kyselylomake.

Silmänliikekameratutkimuksella analysoidaan osallistujien L1:n ja sukupuolen roolia seksistisen ja ei-seksistisen kielen prosessoinnissa. Työn teoriataustan muodostavat kielellisen relativismin teoria, jonka mukaan kieli vaikuttaa sen puhujan maailmankuvaan ja kognitioon, sekä 'eye-mind'-hypoteesi, jonka mukaan silmänliikkeet ovat välitöntä seurausta lukijan sen hetkellisistä prosessoinnin tarpeista (Henderson & Ferreira, 1990, Just & Carpenter, 1980, Reali *et al.*, 2014, Reichle, Pollatsek, Fisher, & Rayner, 1998). Silmänliikekamera tallentaa fiksaatioita ja paluukertoja, joita analysoidaan monimuuttujamenetelmällä (ANOVA). Otoskoko on 42 osallistujaa; kaikki opiskelevat englannin kieltä yliopistossa. Heistä 22 (6 miestä, 16 naista) on natiiveja espanjan puhujia, 20 (7 miestä, 13 naista) puolestaan natiiveja suomen puhujia.

Kyselylomakkeella kartoitetaan kielenkäyttöä sekä asenteita L2:n (ei-)seksististä kielenkäyttöä kohtaan. Kvantitatiivinen data analysoidaan y2-testillä ja kvalitatiivinen induktiivisella sisällönanalyysillä. Kyselylomakkeen otoskoko on 327 osallistujaa, jotka täyttävät samat tutkimusehdot kuin silmänliikekameratutkimuksessa. 195 osallistujan L1 on espanja (154 naista, 38 miestä, 3 ei halunnut kertoa sukupuoltaan tai ilmoitti olevansa ei-binäärinen) ja 132:n suomi (87 naista, 35 miestä, 10 ei halunnut kertoa sukupuoltaan tai ilmoitti olevansa ei-binäärinen).

Tuloksista voi tehdä kolme keskeistä havaintoa. Ensinnäkään, silmänliikekameratutkimuksen perusteella L1:llä tai sukupuolella ei näyttäisi olevan vaikutusta yksilön (ei-)seksistisen kielen ymmärrykseen L2:ssa. Ei siis ole riittävästi empiiristä dataa väittää, että yksilön L1 tai sukupuoli vaikuttaisi hänen (ei-)seksistisen kielen prosessointiinsa L2:ssa. Toiseksi, espanjalaiset ja suomalaiset

käyttävät kieliopillista sukupuolta eri tavoin. Espanjalaiset käyttävät enemmän sukupuolittuneita muotoja, joista osa mielletään seksistisiksi englannissa, sekä visualisointistrategioita. Suomalaiset puolestaan välttävät sukupuolen ilmaisemista sekä leksikaalisesti että kieliopillisesti. Tulos on linjassa sekä puhujien L1 kielioppien että kielikohtaisten seksistisen kielen välttämisen ohjeiden kanssa. Nämä molemmat voidaan nähdä keskeisinä tekijöinä lingvistisen sukupuolen käytössä L2:ssa, ja ne vaikuttavat puhujan käsitykseen siitä, mikä on seksististä. Toisaalta miesten ja naisten leksikaalisen ja kieliopillisen sukupuolen käyttö on toisiaan vastaavaa. Tämä on ristiriidassa aikaisempien tutkimusten kanssa, jotka esittävät naisten käyttävän miehiä todennäköisemmin ei-seksististä kieltä (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005; Sarrasin *et al.* 2012; Douglas & Sutton, 2014). Kolmas havainto on, että yksilön L1 ja sukupuoli vaikuttavat heidän mielipiteisiinsä ja asenteisiinsa seksististä ja ei-seksististä kieltä kohtaan, vaikka ko. mielipiteet eivät kohtaisi heidän lingvistisiä valintojaan tai olisivat jopa ristiriidassa niiden kanssa.

Tutkimuksen tärkein teoreettinen anti on osoitus siitä, että kielen vaikutus on rajoittunut: se ei vaikuta tiedostamattomiin prosesseihin kuten (ei-)seksistisen kielen luetun ymmärtämiseen, mutta se vaikuttaa tiedostettuihin prosesseihin kuten kielen käyttöön ja asenteisiin seksististä kieltä kohtaan. Lisäksi tulokset viittaavat siihen, että puhujan sukupuolella ei ole suurta merkitystä sukupuolen prosessoinnissa ja käytössä, vaikka se vaikuttaa asenteisiin (ei-)seksististä kieltä kohtaan. Tarkemmin sanoen tulokset antavat ymmärtää, että joissain tilanteissa naiset ovat miehiä myötämielisempiä ei-seksististä kieltä kohtaan, vaikkei heidän todellinen kielenkäyttönsä juurikaan eroa miesten kielenkäytöstä.

RESUMEN

Esta tesis doctoral tiene como objetivo investigar el lenguaje sexista y no sexista en una segunda lengua (L2). En concreto, analiza el uso, las actitudes y el procesamiento del lenguaje sexista y no sexista en inglés —lengua con género nocional— por parte de hablantes cuya primera lengua (L1) es, o bien el español —lengua con género gramatical—, o bien el finés —lengua sin género gramatical—.

La metodología se ha articulado en torno a datos procedentes de cuestionarios y de seguimiento ocular *(eye tracking)*. La técnica de seguimiento ocular se diseñó con el objeto de analizar el posible efecto que la L1 y el género de una persona pudieran ejercer en el procesamiento de lenguaje sexista y no sexista, basándose en las teorías relativistas que sustentan que la lengua influye en la forma en que percibimos y comprendemos el mundo, así como en la hipótesis ojo-mente que sostiene que los movimientos oculares responden a las demandas cognitivas de la lectura (Henderson y Ferreira, 1990; Just y Carpenter, 1980; Reali *et al.*, 2014; Reichle, Pollatsek, Fisher y Rayner, 1998).

En las mediciones de seguimiento ocular realizadas para comprobar esta hipótesis, se ha empleado el análisis de la varianza *(ANOVA test),* usando como variables la duración de las fijaciones *(fixation times)* y el número de visitas *(visit counts).* La muestra consistió en 42 personas que estudiaban inglés en la universidad, de las cuales 22 eran hablantes nativos de español (6 hombres y 16 mujeres) y 20 nativos de finés (7 hombres y 13 mujeres).

Por otra parte, se han utilizado cuestionarios para analizar el uso de palabras con género y las actitudes hacia el lenguaje sexista y no sexista en la L2. Los datos cuantitativos se han analizado con la prueba de χ^2, y los cualitativos, mediante el análisis de contenido inductivo *(inductive content analysis)*. En el muestreo del cuestionario participaron un total de 327 personas, que cumplían los mismos requisitos del estudio de seguimiento ocular. De entre ellas, la muestra española consistió en 195 personas, de las cuales 154 eran mujeres, 38 hombres y 3 personas no binarias o que no quisieron especificar su género; y la muestra finesa estuvo

formada por 132 personas, de las cuales 87 eran mujeres, 35 hombres y 10 personas no binarias o que no quisieron especificar su género.

Los resultados del estudio muestran tres hallazgos principales. El primero es que, de acuerdo con el análisis de seguimiento ocular, ni la L1 ni el género de una persona afectan a la comprensión del lenguaje sexista y no sexista en la L2. Por lo tanto, no existe suficiente evidencia empírica para afirmar que la L1 o el género de una persona influyan en el procesamiento del lenguaje sexista y no sexista en una L2. El segundo hallazgo es que los hispano- y fino-parlantes utilizaron el género lingüístico de manera diferente. En particular, la muestra española empleó con más frecuencia palabras y/o con género gramatical, algunas de ellas percibidas como sexistas en inglés, así como un mayor número de estrategias de visualización, mientras que el grupo finés evitó expresar el género, tanto a nivel léxico como gramatical. Estas tendencias no solo se corresponden con las características gramaticales de la L1 de cada grupo, sino que también coinciden con las propuestas de lenguaje no sexista que se promueven respectivamente en finés y español. Es decir, tanto el tipo de lengua como las propuestas para evitar el lenguaje sexista en la L1 son fundamentales en la percepción sobre lo que es sexista o no en una L2, así como en el empleo de formas con género gramatical y/o léxico. Por otra parte, y de acuerdo con los resultados de esta investigación, hombres y mujeres usan el género léxico y gramatical de forma similar, lo que contradice estudios previos que señalan que las mujeres son más proclives que los hombres a evitar el lenguaje sexista (Parks y Roberton, 2002, 2005; Sarrasin *et al.*, 2012; Douglas y Sutton, 2014). La tercera conclusión es que la L1 y el género de una persona contribuyen a la visión y actitudes de esta hacia el lenguaje sexista y no sexista, incluso cuando estas actitudes no son coincidentes o contradicen el uso que dicha persona hace del lenguaje.

En resumen, la principal implicación teórica de este estudio es que la influencia del lenguaje es limitada: no afecta a procesos inconscientes como la comprensión lectora de lenguaje sexista y no sexista, pero sí influye en procesos más conscientes como el uso de la lengua y las opiniones respecto al lenguaje sexista. Por otra parte, el género de una persona no desempeña un papel significativo en el procesamiento y uso del género en la lengua, aunque sí influye en sus actitudes hacia el lenguaje sexista y no sexista. Más concretamente, los resultados sugieren que, en algunos casos, las mujeres son más receptivas que los hombres al lenguaje no sexista, a pesar de que el uso que hacen de la lengua no difiera en gran medida del de los hombres.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOI	Area of Interest
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
EOG	Electro-oculography
L1	First or Dominant Language
L2	Second Language
MEG	Magnetoencephalography
POG	Photo-oculography
RAE	Real Academia de la Lengua española
VOG	Video-oculography

1 INTRODUCTION

In this doctoral dissertation, I investigate the use, attitudes, and processing of sexist and non-sexist language by native speakers (L1) of Iberian Spanish, a language with grammatical gender, and Finnish, a language without grammatical gender, in English, a language with notional gender. The aim is to better understand how the L1, gender and culture of a speaker influences the use of non-sexist language in a second language (L2).

The term sexist language was coined in the seventies during the second wave of feminism (Pauwels 1998:xiv). It is defined as "that language use, conscious or unconscious on the part of the speaker, which alienates females (and males), and which may lead to the establishment of an environment which is not conducive to communication and effective social interactions" (Mills 1995:89). During the second wave of feminism, linguists studied the repercussions of a male-dominated world on the grammar and lexicon of language, as well as on the stereotypical speech of women and men (Spender 1980, Lakoff 1973). The conclusion reached was that most languages "codify an androcentric worldview" and that to achieve gender equality in society, sexist language should be eradicated (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001:18).

This need to change the language to achieve gender equality is based on an interpretation of the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, which claims that language influences its speakers' worldview or cognition. Many of the guidelines for non-sexist language that have been published since these issues were first raised have had the spirit of this hypothesis as their basis. For example, UNESCO (1999:4) stated in their first guidelines that language use should be changed because "language does not merely reflect the way we think: it also shapes our thinking. If words and expressions that imply that women are inferior to men are constantly used, that assumption of inferiority tends to become part of our mindset; hence the need to adjust our language when our ideas evolve". However, using non-sexist

language[1] is challenging in multilingual contexts because the "expressions may be acceptable in one language but controversial in another" (European Commission 2008:3)[2]. For example, in Spanish, feminine forms, i.e. *jueza* 'judgess', *concejala*[3] 'councilwoman', are used to render women visible and to avoid masculine forms, but in languages without grammatical gender, such as Finnish or English, expressing gender when it not necessary, i.e. *tuomaritar* or *naistuomari*, can be perceived as sexist and irrelevant. Therefore, adopting the same formulas for non-sexist language in all languages can have the opposite of the desired effect and may prevent effective communication.

The framework of this study lies at the crossroads of recent work on linguistic relativity (Boroditsky 2011, 2018, Lucy 1997, Pavlenko 2011, Athanasopoulos & Aveledo 2013, Irmen & Roßberg 2004, Maciuszek, Polak & Świątkowska 2019) and feminist linguistics (Pauwels, 1998, 2003, 2011, Tannen 1991, Eckert 2000, Cameron 1995, Mills 1995, 2008, Miller & Swift 1980) (see chapters 2, 3 and 4). The methodology used is a combination of eye-tracking measurements and a questionnaire which were designed to study different aspects on the influence of the L1 in the L2 regarding sexist language (see chapters 5, 6 and 7).

In this chapter, I wish to present the motivation behind my thesis, the hypothesis and research questions and the outline of the dissertation.

1.1   Motivation for this research

During the time I was studying for my master's program at the University of Eastern Finland, I took part in as many MA research projects as I could. I do not remember what most of these were about, except for one which inspired this very

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[1] Other terms currently being used are gender-fair language, gender-inclusive language, and gender neutral language. However, in this thesis, I will only use the term non-sexist language because not all proposals are inclusive in nature (see the definition on *visualization strategies* in section 2.2.1).

[2] Pauwels (2010:26): "assuming that they are aware of and willing to adopt gender-inclusive alternatives, their linguistic options in English may be based on those adopted in their first language. This is particularly true of those English users whose first language has been exposed to gender-inclusive language reform. If their first language has opted for feminisation as the dominant reform strategy, this may lead to a preference for feminine rather than gender neutral expressions in the realm of occupational nouns or other agent nouns in English".

[3] The masculine version of these nouns are *juez* and *concejal*. Since these nouns end in a consonant and do not have a masculine suffix that explicitly denotes gender, they may be perceived as epicene and be also used to refer to women. However, some speakers prefer to feminize these nouns in order to enhance the visibility of the women who take these jobs.

dissertation. In the last year of my studies, I answered a survey dealing with feminine nouns in English in which it was implied that these should be avoided. However, as a native speaker of a Romance language, it was difficult for me to understand the harm in rendering women visible in the language, given the fact that we are often erased and trivialized in many spheres of life. When I finished my studies, I began to read about this topic in more depth. It took me a while to realize that my perception of what I thought was linguistically sensible and acceptable was heavily influenced by my L1 and the culture in which I was brought up, despite my knowledge of linguistics and the English language. I believe that I would not have reached that conclusion had I not lived and studied in Finland, where most speakers use a genderless language. This personal experience and realization were what sparked my interest in this topic.

Pauwels (2010:23-26) has noted that L2 users, especially those who have been exposed to non-sexist language in their first or dominant language, tend to implement non-sexist language approaches that are based on those adopted in their L1. Since the linguistic expression of gender and tactics to tackle sexist language vary across languages, L2 users tend to opt for strategies that may be problematic and contradictory in the target language. Yet despite the vast amounts of research on the topic of linguistic sexism in the last decades, far too little attention has been paid to sexist language from cross-linguistic and multilingual perspectives (Coady 2018, Fraser 2015, Gabriel *et al.* 2008, Hodel *et al.* 2017, Pauwels 1998).

In a world that is becoming ever more multilingual and multicultural, the debate over sexist language should not remain isolated within each language community. In Coady's words (2018:3), taking a crosslinguistic approach in the study of linguistic sexism "can shed light on how the linguistic structure of a language may facilitate or impede gender-fair language" which "allows to identify which non-linguistic factors enable or hinder reform". Moreover, few studies have examined the impact of feminist language reform in educational domains, despite language learners being "key actors in language revitalization" (Sallabank 2012:123). In the case of this study, the importance of investigating how language students speak and think is crucial to determining the direction in which feminist language reform is moving, not only in their native languages but also in English, since they are the ones who will influence the upcoming generations through their work as future teachers, editors, translators, and parents.

1.2 Hypothesis and research questions

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the influence that the first or dominant language (L1) and gender of a speaker have on the use and perception of (non-)sexist language in a second language (L2). In other words, the hypothesis I set out to prove is the following: the use and perception of non-sexist language in an L2 are influenced by the norms in the L1 and the culture of the speaker. To do this, the study has paid attention to three aspects involving language: language processing, linguistic attitudes, and use. In order to study the influence of the L1, the study examines L1 users of Finnish, a genderless language, and L1 users of Iberian Spanish, a language with grammatical gender, who speak and study English as a foreign language, a language with notional gender. The interest in these three languages lies in the fact that they all possess different gender systems. The main research questions are presented below:

1. Does the L1 and gender of a person have an effect on the processing of sexist and non-sexist language in English? If so, how do they show?
2. How does the L1 and gender of a person influence their use of (non-) sexist language in English?
   a. What are the features that show that they use lexical and grammatical gender differently in English?
   b. What are the features that show that they tackle sexist language in English differently?
3. What are the features that show the impact of the L1 and gender in the perception of (non-)-sexist language in English?

Research question 1 was designed to determine the effect of an individual's L1 and gender on their processing of sexist and non-sexist language in English. Based on the idea that languages influence speakers' worldview and cognition, otherwise known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, this question sought to investigate whether speakers with different L1s would process linguistic gender, especially sexist and non-sexist language, differently as well.

   Research question 2 investigated the use of linguistic gender in the L2 by analyzing the lexical and grammatical gender choices in specific contexts taking into consideration the L1 and gender of the informants. Studying how and when they use gender helps us to understand the extent to which the L1 influenced their linguistic choices in the L2.

Research question 3 was used to explore the features that language users perceived as sexist and the strategies that they say they use to tackle them. This helped to determine the participants' take on feminist language reform and the future of non-sexist language in both Finland and Spain.

The first research question is addressed using data collected with an eye tracking experiment and the second and third questions with data collected using a questionnaire. Both methods were specifically designed for this study. The eye tracking study was expected to reveal how (non-)sexist language is processed because studies using these measurements have provided useful information on the mechanisms that underlie reading comprehension (Rayner *et al*, 2009: 254). The questionnaire was designed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data about the use and perception of sexist language in English, but it also included questions regarding linguistic sexism in Finnish and Spanish. The two methods were used to determine whether the unconscious responses toward sexist language, revealed through the eye tracking study, are consistent with the conscious choices expressed via the questionnaire.

1.3   Outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 begins by laying out the motivation for this research, the hypothesis and research questions, followed by the current outline of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the evolution of sexist language throughout the different waves of feminism. Chapter 3 discusses four types of linguistic gender: lexical gender, grammatical gender, referential gender, and social gender, and also describes the classification of languages according to the type of grammatical gender they possess. Chapter 4 describes the expression of gender in said languages and reviews the most debated sexist features in each language and the status of feminist language reform in each language community. Chapter 5 includes a review of the ethical questions that were taken into consideration for this study, followed by an overview of the design, its validity, and a more detailed description of the methods. The results are presented in three separate chapters according to three aspects involving language. Chapter 6 presents the results regarding the language processing that were gathered during the eye tracking study. The results of the questionnaire regarding language use are presented in Chapter 7 and the results on the attitudes and the opinions regarding sexist language are addressed in Chapter 8. In chapter 9, the main results of the eye

tracking study and the questionnaire are summarized and discussed. This is followed by the possibilities for future research and a discussion of the limitations of the present study.

2 FEMINIST LANGUAGE REFORM

This chapter provides a discussion of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the sexist language from the point of view of the different waves of feminism. After briefly describing the major point of view of each wave, subsection 2.2.3 summarises the targets of the feminist language reform as well as the challenges that it faces.

2.1 Linguistic Relativity

Feminist language planners maintain that sexist language should be eradicated if our society intends to achieve gender equality. They base their arguments on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which claims that language influences its speakers' worldview and cognition. Edward Sapir was an American anthropologist and linguist. One of his most well-known contributions in the field of linguistics was the idea that language could control thought:

> Language […] not only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reason of its formal completeness into the field of experience […] Such categories as number, gender, case, tense […] are not so much discovered in experience imposed upon it because of tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon orientation in the worlds (Sapir 1931:498, Hymes 1964:128)[4].

These ideas were later adopted and developed by Benjamin Lee Whorf, Sapir's student, who formulated the hypothesis in 1940 in his essay entitled 'Science and Linguistics' (Whorf, 1956). He believed that a person's conceptualization and perception of the world were influenced by the language's structure:

> [The study of language] shows that the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of pattern of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematizations of his own language—shown readily enough

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[4] Originally published in Science 74 (1931:578) but reprinted in: Language in Culture and Society. A reader in linguistics and anthropology by Hymes (1964:128).

by a candid comparison and contrast with other languages, especially those of a different linguistic family. […] And every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness. (Whorf, idem: 252)

Nowadays, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is divided into two versions: linguistic determinism, also known as the strong version and linguistic relativity or the weaker version. Linguistic determinism, which supports that language determines thought, soon became abandoned in the 1960s due to the lack of support from empirical evidence (Evans & Green 2006:96, Berlin & Kay 1969). On the other hand, linguistic relativity, which argues that language influences thought, has received renewed endorsement and interest in the last two decades at the hands of Boroditsky (2010, 2018), Lucy (1997), Pavlenko (2011) and Athanasopoulos (Athanasopoulos & Aveledo 2013) despite being "marginalized with the ascendency of Chomskyan generative grammar" in the late twentieth century (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2015).

Linguistic relativity has received considerable support from researchers working on the role of gender in language (Evans & Green, 2006:83, 96). The first discussions on gender and language by an academic linguist emerged in 1973 with Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place*, in which the author claimed that "our use of language embodies attitudes as well as referential meanings". More particularly, she argued that "[a]s much as our choice of forms of expression is guided by the thoughts we want to express, to the same extent the way we feel about the things in the real world governs the way we express ourselves about these things". Around the 1980s and 1990s, research on the implications of sexist language gained momentum. The premises of these studies were that if language influences and reflects society, sexist language provokes a gender bias in a society, which further affects other domains (Miller & Swift, 1980, 2000, Spender 1990). There is a large number of studies that support the idea that masculine generics promote the superiority of men (Gastil 1990, Hegarty, Watson, Fletcher & McQueen 2011) while feminine sexist forms have the opposite effect by trivializing and diminishing women (Eitzen & Zinn 1989, 1993, Messner, Duncan, & Jensen 1993, Parks & Roberton 2004). Many recent studies have shown that masculine generic forms lead to masculine imagery and confusion, as well as misunderstandings, such as regarding whom the messages are addressed to (Gygax, Gabriel, Sarrasin, Oakhill & Garnham 2008, Hamilton 1988, Martyna, 1978, MacKay 1980, Cole *et al.* 1983, Miller & James 2009:489). Other research has

revealed that sexist language influences gender schemas in children (Hyde, 1984) and adults in the perception of genderless titles (Belle *et. Al.*, 2021).

More recently, attention has been paid to the implications of grammatical gender outside the scope of language (Bassetti & Nicoladis, 2015). Traditionally, in languages with grammatical gender, the gender status of inanimate nouns has been perceived as arbitrary due to semantic and phonological rules although it is also believed to convey "a semantic core" (Corbett, 1991:8). It is the arbitrariness in the grammatical gender of inanimate nouns that has sparked the most attention in research lately. In order to assess the implications of grammatical gender in these words, researchers have come up with a variety of tasks that range from assigning female or male voices to inanimate objects, substituting the names of objects with person names, to discussing the similarities between the pictures of objects and female and male humans (Samuel, Cole, & Eacott 2019:1768).

These studies suggest that grammatical gender carries connotative meanings of femininity and masculinity even for inanimate nouns. For example, a study carried out by Boroditsky & Schmidt (2000) revealed that the gender of nouns reflects the perceived masculine or feminine properties of the nouns' referents. Further research suggest that both grammatical gender and social gender contribute to the mental gender image of a person (Irmen & Roßberg 2004, Maciuszek, Polak & Świątkowska 2019). However, other studies have revealed inconclusive and even contradictory results to the ones mentioned above. For instance, a study carried out by Landor (2014), which analysed data gathered from speakers of five different languages with differing gender systems, revealed that grammatical gender "appears to suppress the confidence with which participants ascribe gendered characteristics to objects" (2014:ii). In Nicoladis & Foursha-Stevenson's (2012) study, the results revealed that the gender classification of objects was affected by cultural biases as well as the French knowledge of the participants, which shifted with age. The biases in the methodology of these studies were evident from a review of the literature which revealed that the "influence of grammatical gender on conceptualizations is highly task- and context-dependent" (Samuel *et al.*: 2019). The authors of this study argued that other alternative hypotheses and/or factors, such as the age of the participants, the number of gender classes present in a language, and the time constraints of the tasks given, may play a bigger role than originally believed. On the other hand, Thierry (2016:706-707) suggests shifting away from the traditional tasks that have been used to study linguistic relativity because they involve a "metacognitive evaluation" that is "susceptible to interpretative muddling". Instead, he proposes using neuro-linguistic approaches which "allow us

to characterise the nature of the relationship between formal aspects of language, perception and concepts on the bases of unbiased physiological measurements".

The section above has discussed the role of relativity in the study of linguistic sexism. Overall, the literature reviewed suggests the pertinent role of gender for our perception of the world. However, the extent to which grammatical gender influences our thought is still to be determined. Although this falls outside the scope of this investigation, further studies on the topic are therefore required.

2.2   Feminist Language Reform

Feminist language reform was initiated by second wave feminists under the pretext that non-sexist language would aid in the eradication of sexism in society (Hellinger & Bußmann, 2001:18). As a result, countless guidelines to promote non-sexist attitudes have flourished since the 1980s to "contribute to an improvement in social equality and to lead to an alleviation of a social problem, that is the discrimination on the basis of one's gender" (Pauwels 1998:10). In the third wave of feminism, the study of linguistic sexism shifted towards the study of more "subtle and hence more insidious discriminatory and exclusionary discourses that abound" (Toolan 1996:4). That is the study of sexism in discourse using approaches such as Critical Discourse Analysis (Coady 2018:23). One of the reasons for this was that women were no longer seen as a homogeneous group that endures the oppression and power of men in language, but rather as individual people with a diversity of linguistic styles (Tannen 1991, Eckert 2000, Coates & Cameron 1988). Another reason was due to the belief that feminist language reforms have been largely adopted and have succeeded in languages such as English (Mills 2008:6). Mills (*idem*:26) summarises different approaches in the study of sexist language between the second and third wave of feminism as follows:

> Thus, whilst a Second Wave analysis might focus on the use of the generic pronoun 'he' to refer to both men and women, or derogatory terms used to describe women such as 'bitch' or 'slag', a Third Wave feminist analysis might focus on the variable ways in which terms such as 'bitch' might be used […] a Third Wave feminist analysis might focus on the factors which lead to a hearer or reader considering the term to be offensive […] and those contextual factors which lead to it being considered ironic or funny.

During the third wave, Butler's theory on performativity (1990) influenced the concept of gender as a discursive construction rather than a stable identity. From

these perspectives, gendered identities are understood as inter-, and intra-contextually fluctuating, negotiable, potentially hybrid, and even contradictory. In such a theorization, both language structure and use are explained as the results of processes of discursive materialization (Bieswanger, Motschenbacher & Müleisen, 2010:1515).

The third wave gave way to the current fourth wave of feminism, which has "returned to many of the concerns raised by the second wave of feminism" (Coates 2016) that are being looked at from new perspectives on gender issues discussed by the third wave feminists. From the standpoint of the field of linguistics, one of the implications of this is that sexist language is no longer defined as the systematic discrimination against women in language but against people on the basis of their gender. As Cameron (2016) notes:

> Today the most vocal demands for linguistic reform come from trans, non-binary and genderqueer activists; and when they call for 'inclusive' language, what they mean is not language that includes women as well as men, but language that includes people of all genders and none.

Another consequence of these new approaches is the abandonment of female-specific language expressions and the adoption of more inclusive language. For instance, *they* has been accepted in its use as a singular third-person pronoun and *Mx* is available as a courtesy title across Britain, despite the original resistance that such forms faced when they were first proposed in the 1970s (Bigler & Campbell, 2015:191–192, Harris 2015, Oxford University Press 2001). These are two of the many examples that show that feminist language reform is constantly evolving and how the proposals that worked in a given time may not be suitable for our current times or vice-versa. In Cameron's (2016) words:

> So, this is a story of continuity as well as change, and of successes as well as setbacks. But an important reason for telling it is to counter the view […] that sexism in language is yesterday's problem: that we no longer need to think about it, or do anything about it, because it was all settled decades ago. I think that's a mistake—and not only because, […] the battle wasn't won decisively in the 1980s. Since language changes continuously, along with the larger social context in which it is used, questions about it can never be considered definitively settled. Every generation of feminists will need both to revisit old arguments and to engage with new debates—and of course, to develop their own ideas about why and how language matters.

As Cameron describes, language is a living entity that keeps evolving along with society, which explains why the linguistic challenges that speakers encounter keep

changing as well as the demands that languages must fulfil. Feminist language reform cannot disassociate itself from this reality. This means that the study of sexist language and the proposals to tackle it need to be constantly revisited and contextualized.

This section has provided a brief summary of the literature relating to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and the perspectives of the different waves of feminism on the study of sexist language. The following subsection will discuss the targets of feminist language reform and the factors involved in the success of these proposals.

2.2.1 Targets of Feminist Language Reform

The targets of feminist language reform are three: (1) sexist idioms and expressions, (2) lexical asymmetries between genders, which include titles and honorific titles, and (3) masculine 'generic' forms (European Commission 2008:4). Sexist terms or expressions are those that convey stereotypical images, attitudes, values, and beliefs. These can be single words, idioms, definitions or connotations of a word in a specific context which lead to sexist stereotyping of the roles of men and women (Blaubergs 1978:248). For instance, saying to someone that they *fight like a girl* does not only mean that they do not know how to fight but it also implies that girls are weak and bad at fighting. However, sexist idioms and expressions are of all the targets of feminist language reform the easiest to tackle; they can be replaced by other expressions free of stereotypes and prejudices or dropped altogether without interfering with the message. Given the ease with which such expressions are avoided, the study of idioms falls outside the scope of this investigation and they will not be considered further.

Lexical asymmetries, and more particularly semantic asymmetries occur in words whose meaning differs significantly depending on the gender, i.e. in Polish *sekretarka* 'female secretary' refers to a female assistant and *sekretarz* 'male secretary' refers to a high governmental function (Sczesny *et al.* 2016). Lexical asymmetries are exposed when comparing sets of words, one of them, usually the feminine, carries negative connotations whereas the masculine or genderless forms denote prestige and superiority (Dickins 2001:212). The semantic derogation that female forms undergo is a common phenomenon that occurs gradually and results in pejorative forms, that often have sexual connotations. According to Spender (1980:23-24), the pejoration of female nouns serves two purposes:

It helps to construct female inferiority and it also helps to confirm it. The process is not a simple, linear one, but a more complex, interactive and dialectical one. In a society where women are devalued the words which refer to them--not surprisingly--assume negative connotations. But because the options for defining women are confined to negative terms, because their meanings are primarily those of minus male, women continue to be devalued. By such an interrelated process is the subordination of women in part created and sustained. It is a semantic contradiction to formulate representations of women's autonomy or strength and so it remains unencoded.

The third target of feminist language reform is masculine generic forms. These are used "generically in reference to mixed groups and to people whose sex is unknown or irrelevant" (Stahlberg *et al.* 2007:169). In languages without grammatical gender, the use of masculine generic forms is restricted to lexical gendered items, usually nouns. In languages with grammatical gender, its use involves the use of pronouns, nouns, and adjectives, among others. Masculine generic forms are perceived as problematic because they erase people; they project a vision of the world where masculinity is the norm and everyone else is deviant (Kaufmann & Bohner 2014:10).

While the sexist features of languages are similar, the specific proposals vary within languages because adopting the same strategies for non-sexist language in all languages not only can have the opposite of the desired effect, but also prevent effective communication (European Commission 2008:3). Thus, the need to adapt the approaches and the practices that reflect the variation of the gender representations within languages (Pauwels 2010:3).

The three major aspects to consider when assessing the suitability of a proposal are the type of language, the preference of the speakers and the context. The **type of language,** also known as the *linguistic viability* (Pauwels 1998:117, 2010:22), is one of the factors that guides the formulation of the alternatives for sexist language in a language. In languages without grammatical gender, the most common strategies deal with *gender neutralization* (Curzan 2003:187). These strategies aim at obtaining "linguistic equality of the sexes by minimising or discarding gender-specific expressions and constructions" and it is achieved by modification and creation within the lexicon (Pauwels 2003:111). Examples of neutralization strategies in English include using *actor* over *actress*, *humankind* over *mankind*, *chair* over *chairman* or *chairwoman*, *flight attendant* over *stewardess* (Curzan 2014:117–119, 130–134, Earp 2012). In languages with grammatical gender, most proposals deal

with *gender visualization*[5] or *feminization*, which seek to achieve the equal treatment of genders in the language by making gender visible through the systematic and symmetrical marking of gender. This can be achieved in a variety of ways depending on the language, but is usually done through derivation (Pauwels 1998:112). For example, in Latvian, the word *tulks*$_{masc}$ 'interpreter' did not have a female equivalent until *tulce*$_{fem}$ was coined in accordance with the morphological rules of the language. More creative visualization strategies include the merger of two or more gendered forms into a single one. For instance, in German, *lehrerInnen* 'teachers' is written with a capital *I* to reflect the combination of the plural forms *lehrer*$_{masc}$ and *lehrerinnen*$_{fem}$ and, in Spanish, the symbol @ is used as the combination of the feminine morpheme *-a* and masculine morpheme *-o* in words such as *chic@s* 'children'. Despite most languages lending themselves better to one type of strategy, that is neutralization or visualization, "most (Western) languages use both strategies in the formulation of alternatives" (Pauwels 2010:23).

Similarly, the tactics that are used to avoid the use of sexist language depend heavily on **the preference of the speakers or a speech community.** This is known as the principle of *social effectiveness,* which "guides the choice of proposed alternatives by assessing the effectiveness of the linguistic alternative in reflecting the desired change appropriate to sociocultural context in which they are set" (Pauwels 2010:23). For example, Swedish officially adopted *hen* 'third person neutral pronoun' as a genderless pronoun without facing much resistance (Gustafsson Senden, Bäck & Lindqvist, 2015) while in English, none of the attempts to introduce a brand-new third person neutral pronoun have been broadly successfuled (Baron, 1981)[6]. Moreover, the popularity of proposals and even of the whole language reform vary greatly not only within regions and speech communities. In the French-speaking areas of Canada and Belgium, the proposals for non-sexist language, especially the feminization of the lexicon, do not encounter as much resistance as they do in France (Castaño, 2019). In Spain, feminization is one of the most popular strategies used to avoid sexist language. That is why *la*$_{fem}$ *presidenta*$_{fem}$ 'president' is used to refer to a woman in a position of power, but in Argentina *la*$_{fem}$ *presidente*$_{masc}$ is more widespread, because as in the case of other nouns ending in *-nte* such as *estudiante* 'student' and *representante* 'representative', *presidente* is considered an epicene noun that needs no feminization

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[5] The term visualization in this context means "to render something/someone visible".

[6] However, in recent years, the demands for a genderless pronoun in English were defrayed when speakers realized the full potential of the already existing pronoun *they*.

(*Perfil,* 2020). In these cases, "whether these speech communities opt for feminisation or gender-neutralisation as their predominant strategy is more linked to socio-cultural factors than linguistic factors" (Pauwels 2010:24).

The last factor that determines the alternative used is **the type of context and register**, because not all strategies work in all scenarios, even when a particular proposal is widely accepted. In English, for instance:

> The use of 'he or she' is awkward if used repeatedly and makes sentences longer. This is a particular problem in heavily inflected language (…) Combined forms ('s/he/, 'him/her') are generally seen as clumsy and difficult to pronounce. Alternating masculine and feminine forms is another strategy sometimes used, but it can be quite distracting and ambiguous and is not recommended in the more formal setting' (European Commission 2008:5).

This also applies to other languages. For example, the visualization strategy used in Spanish *chic@s* 'children' or *latinx* is illegible and only used in very informal registers.

The three factors discussed, the type of language, the preference of the speakers and the context, are therefore critical, in helping us to understand reform initiatives across the different languages and sociocultural elements (Pauwels 2010:32). Thus, extrapolating the proposals for non-sexist language from the language and the community where they originated to another one is, in most cases, not a viable solution. This often leads to the feeling that avoiding sexist language is challenging and difficult, especially in multilingual and multicultural environments[7]. Yet, the greatest challenge that feminist language reform faces is the potential for complete refusal of the proposals.

Although many proposals for non-sexist language have been successfully implemented (see Curzan, 2014:114-136, Bengoechea & Simon 2014, Jiménez Rodrigo, Román Onsalo & Traverso Cortes 2011), feminist language reform has faced strong criticism since it emerged. As a result, Blaubergs (1980) developed a framework consisting of eight categories that classified the counterarguments against non-sexist language. This framework was later reviewed by Parks & Roberton (1998) who expanded it from eight arguments to twelve. The

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[7] According to Pauwels (2010:25), implementing feminist language reform in an L2 poses a combination of challenges that follow from the conditions of language contact, which were already described, plus other less obvious ones such as "the role of the linguistic prescriptivism or normativity and the attitudes towards planning and reform in (the second language) groups and communities".

classification is as follows (Arguments 1 to 8 are Blaubergs' and 9 to Parks' and Roberton's 1998: 452-453):

1. Cross-cultural: there is no evidence that sexist language leads to more gender discrimination.

2. Language is a trivial concern: there are more serious issues in society and other forms of sexism that need more urgent care.

3. Freedom of speech/unjustified coercion: those who use non-sexist language are intimidating others to deprive them of their freedom of speech.

4. Sexist language is not sexist: speakers are not sexist, even if they use sexist language, because being sexist is not their intention.

5. Word etymology: the original meaning of a word was not sexist.

6. The appeal of authority: the authority, which can be organizations, dictionaries, linguists or important language users approve of sexist language.

7. Change is too difficult: changing or eradicating words and expressions is too difficult because they are too ingrained in people's minds.

8. Historical authenticity: these words and expressions have existed for a long time.

9. Sexism is acceptable: men are superior to women, so it does not matter if language reflects it.

10. Hostility and ridicule: non-sexist language is stupid and a justifiable target for mockery.

11. Tradition: these forms are traditional and should not be changed.

12. Lack of knowledge/understanding: people who use sexist language do so because they do not know how not to.

Despite this categorization being over 30 years old, it is still relevant in the study of sexist language as many of these arguments will be identified in the open answers to sexist language discussed in the chapters dealing with the results and discussion.

3   GENDER REPRESENTATION IN LANGUAGE

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss four types of linguistic gender: lexical gender, grammatical gender, referential gender, and social gender. These four categories of gender are important in order to avoid simplistic descriptions of the representation of gender in languages (Bieswanger, Motschenbacher & Müleisen, 2010:15). This chapter also describes the classification of languages according to the type of grammatical gender they possess under subsection 3.4.

3.1   Lexical gender

Lexical gender refers to the semantic property of some words to express gender "which may, in turn, relate to the extra-linguistic category of referential gender (or 'sex of referent')" (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 7). In languages with grammatical gender, most nouns have both lexical and grammatical gender, but they may also have, to a lesser extent, words with only lexical gender. For example, in Spanish *amigo*$_{masc}$/*amiga*$_{fem}$ have the inflectional gender morphemes -o/-a which relate to the referential gender of the person they refer to, whereas *madre* 'mother' and *padre* 'father' lack any gender morpheme but still convey gender. In languages without grammatical gender, such as Finnish, lexical gendered nouns occur in the semantic field of kinship, i.e *vaimo* 'wife', *tytär* 'daughter' *isoisä* 'granfather' and farming, *lehmä* 'cow' and *karju* 'boar'. However these languages also employ morphological processes, such as derivation and compounding, to express gender. For instance, the English suffix *-ess* as in *mistress* is used to femininize nouns and, in Finnish, the noun *-mies* 'man' is added to create masculine compounds, i.e. *puhemies* 'spokesman'.

3.2 Referential gender

Referential gender "relates linguistic expressions to a non-linguistic reality; more specifically, referential gender identifies a referent as 'female', 'male' or 'gender-indefinite'" (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001:8). In languages such as English, referential gender can be expressed by a pronoun that refers to the noun. i.e. "*the doctor* told me *she* would prescribe some medicine". In languages with grammatical gender, the referential gender and grammatical gender do not always match (Corbett 1991: 225-260). For example, in Spanish, *persona*fem 'person' is used for people regardless of their gender and in German the word for 'girl' *Mädchen* is neuter. In these languages, the modifiers of a noun must agree with the number and gender of the noun, regardless of referential gender. For instance:

(1) *Juanmasc es unafem personafem listafem y atentafem.*

'Juan is a clever and attentive person.'

(2) *Das neut großeneut Mädchen neut ist schlau*[8]

'The tall girl is clever'

However, these mismatches can result in agreement conflicts with other elements in the sentence in which more than one grammatical gender form is allowed (Cobertt 1991:228). For example, *Mädchen* accepts as anaphoric pronouns both *sie* and *es*:

(3) *Das neut Mädchen neut schikte die Briefe, die sie*fem/*es*neut *geschrieben hatte.*

'The girl sent the letters that she had written.'

Corbett refers to these conflicts as *nouns with hybrid gender*, which are relatively common in languages with grammatical gender (see Corbett 1979:204, 1991:225-260, 2000:190).

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[8] Predicative gender agreement does not apply because it is not a feature of German.

3.3   Social gender

Social gender, also known as socio-cultural gender, relates to the stereotypical assumptions or expectations about what the appropriate roles for women and men are (Hellinger & Motschenbacher 2015:8). It exists in all languages, and it manifests when prestigious occupations, such as lawyer, scientist or president, despite not having lexical gender, are traditionally pronominalized with *he*, whereas the secondary or subordinate positions, such as secretary or nurse, are pronominalized with *she*. When these assumptions or expectations differ from the reality, speakers use formal markings such as adjectival modifications to specify the gender of the referent, i.e. *male nurse* or *female doctor* (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001b:10). In these cases, in which expressing gender is optional, speakers do not only mark gender but also perpetuate existing gender roles and stereotypes. In psychology, these gender stereotypes and associations are the manifestations of gender schemas[9] (Bem 1981). Studies suggest that these are susceptible to change when the gender roles in a society change (Diekman & Eagly 2000, Twenge 2001).

3.4   Grammatical Gender

Grammatical gender is defined as "an inherent property of the noun which controls agreement between the noun (the controller) and some (gender-variable) satellite element (the target) which may be an article, adjective, pronoun, verb, numeral or preposition" (Hellinger & Motschenbacher 2015:8). In other words, grammatical gender is an inflectional category needed in some languages such as Arabic, Pa-Zande, Shona, Hebrew, Marathi, Spanish, German, and Romanian. Depending on the type of grammatical gender, languages have traditionally been categorized as (1) grammatical gender languages, (2) genderless languages, or (3) natural gender languages (Stahlberg *et al.* 2007). This categorization, however, has been perceived as flawed, since it fails to convey the true grammatical nature of some languages such as Swedish and Norwegian, originally categorized as languages with natural or notional gender, despite having a more complex gender

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[9] Several studies have used a well-known riddle to investigate gender schemas or social gender. In this riddle, a father and son are involved in an accident in which the father is killed, and the son is rushed to the hospital for surgery. The surgeon cannot operate because the boy is the surgeon's son. A study by Belle *et. al.* (2021) revealed that students were more likely to assume that the boy had two fathers (36%) rather than that the doctor was a woman, who happened to be his mother (30%).

system. For that reason, Gygax *et al.* (2019) proposed two new categories: (4) languages with a combination of natural and grammatical gender and (5) genderless languages traces with traces of grammatical gender. Next, these groups are discussed individually followed by a discussion of this categorization.

3.4.1 Grammatical gender languages

Grammatical gender languages are languages in which animate as well as inanimate nouns are classified by gender (Gygax *et al.* 2019). Many Indo-European languages such as Latin, German, Yiddish, and Greek, have the three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter, whereas other languages, such as Spanish and French, have only kept masculine and feminine. Gender assignment in inanimate nouns is perceived to a certain extent as semantically arbitrary but animate nouns tend to match the referential gender of the person they refer to (Gygax *et al.* 2019, Motschenbacher & Hellinger 2015:3). As already mentioned, there are some instances in which referential gender, grammatical gender, and/or lexical gender may not match, i.e. in Spanish honorary titles such as *majestad*fem 'majesty' and *santidad*fem 'holiness/pope' are feminine nouns with masculine referential gender.

3.4.2 Genderless languages

Genderless languages have no gender inflection in their pronouns nor any other words. This category includes languages such as Finnish, Armenian, Turkish, Bengali, Burmese, Estonian, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, Persian (Farsi), Thai, and Vietnamese, among others. The main difference between these languages and notional gender languages is that pronouns, including the third-person singular pronoun, do not distinguish gender. Thus, most words are used to refer to any person regardless of their gender. Yet the absence of grammatical gender does not imply that gender is not conveyed. As Hellinger and Bußmann (2010:6) put it, these languages "can resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender-related messages". For instance, Finnish can express gender through lexical gender, i.e. *emäntä* 'mistress, housewife, hostess', create feminine and masculine forms through derivation, i.e. *näyttelijä* 'actor' + *-tar* → *näyttelijätär* 'actress' and compounding, i.e. *palo 'fire'* + *mies 'man'* → *palomies* 'fireman', or use gendered adjectives, such as *nais(puolinen)* 'female' and *mies(puolinen)* 'male' in front of neuter nouns, such as *naispuolinen sotilas* 'female soldier' and *miespuolinen turvatarkastaja* 'male

security officer' to specify gender. These languages also use masculine forms as generics, including legal expressions such as *jokamiehen oikeudet* 'every man's right'. Moreover, these languages also display social gender (see Engelberg 2016:21-32). This occurs when gender is explicitly mentioned due to the mismatch between the referential gender and social gender of occupational nouns, i.e. *Zlatan häikäisee miesmallina* 'Zlatan dazzles as a male model' (Ylä-Anttila 2014)

3.4.3   Natural or notional gender languages

In languages with natural or notional gender[10], the only residue of grammatical gender is found in the pronoun system. Two languages with notional gender are English and Afrikaans. In these languages, most nouns, adjectives, and determiners are genderless, i.e. in Afrikaans *leerling* 'student/pupil', *kind* 'kid/child' but the personal pronoun system marks gender in the third person singular, i.e., *hy* 'he' *sy* 'she'. These pronouns usually match the referential gender of the person they refer to, although there are many instances where the masculine pronoun *he* is used by default as a masculine "generic" pronoun when the gender of a person is unknown or irrelevant, i.e. "the *student*neut should always bring *his*masc. pen". Like genderless languages, notional languages express gender through lexical gender, i.e. in Afrikaans *ma* 'mother', *seun* 'son', *vader* 'father' and different morphological processes such as compounding, i.e. *craftswoman,* and derivation, i.e. *actress*. In these languages, social gender is manifested when certain occupational nouns are pronominalized with either *he* or *she*, despite being genderless i.e. *nurse/she* and *doctor/he* and when speakers use formal markings, such as *female* or *male*, to mark gender, even in/especially in situations where it is unnecessary or redundant, i.e., *that man works as a male model.*

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[10] The term natural gender language has been perceived as problematic because "it carries an indication of gender essentialism," and "it implies that nouns and pronouns always agree with the "natural" gender of the referent (e.g. McConnell-Ginet 2014:8, Motschenbacher 2010:63)" (Hekanaho 2020:57). Thus, in order to avoid such implications and following studies such Hekanaho's (idem), Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's (1994), and McConnell-Ginet, (2014), I adopt the term notional gender.

3.4.4 Languages with a combination of grammatical gender and notional gender

Languages with a combination of grammatical gender and natural gender refer to languages that share characteristics of both. This group includes languages such as Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch (Gygax *et al.* 2019, Stormbom 2021:14). The standard varieties of these languages have a two-gender system, neuter and common[11], whereas some non-standard varieties have vestiges of the old three-gender system with masculine, feminine and neuter (see figure 1). For instance, Standard Danish has a two-gender system with neuter and common, other dialects used in Jutland, certain islands, and parts of eastern Denmark have a three-gender system. The pronominal system has gender in the third person pronoun system, very similar to English, which consist of *hun* 'she', *han* 'he' and *den* 'it'. The third person plural pronoun *de* 'they' does not mark gender (Gomard & Kunøe 2003:60-62).

Figure 1.   Evolution of grammatical gender in Swedish
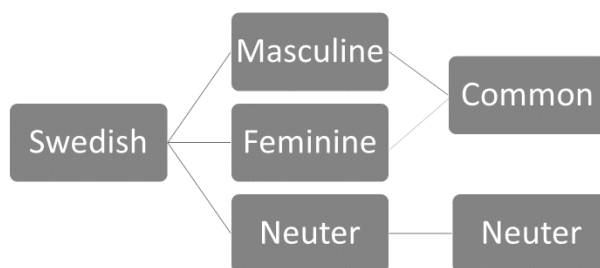
3.4.5 Genderless languages with a few traces of grammatical gender

According to Gygax *et al.* (2019), genderless languages with a few traces of grammatical gender are genderless languages in which "[a] few gendered forms

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[11] Fernández-Ordoñez defines common gender as (2009:60) "the combination of masculine and feminine. Although there are just two lexical genders, there are still distinct masculine and feminine personal pronouns to refer to human antecedents regardless of the lexical gender (common or neuter)."

appear in nouns with gender suffixes or gendered adjective or verbal forms"; this group includes Basque and Oriya. One of the limitations of this definition is that it does not elaborate further on the traces of grammatical gender that would justify this new category. In fact, most of the literature on Basque refers to it as a genderless language (Larrañaga & Guijarro-Fuentes 2013:581-583). These so-called traces refer to a set of locative morphemes, *-n* for women and *-k* for men, which are added to the auxiliary verb when the second singular personal pronoun *hika* is used (Yrizar 1980:30). However, research on this pronoun suggests that it is mostly unknown to Basque speakers and hardly ever used (Bereziartua & Muguruza 2021)[12].
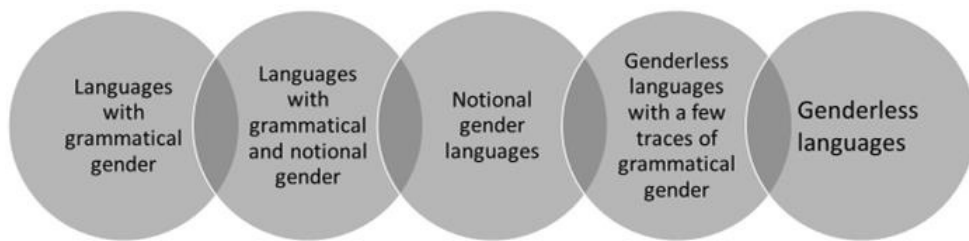
Figure 2. Representation of the taxonomy presented in Gygax *et al.* (2019)

According to this model, languages are classified into groups whose characteristics overlap with some of the characteristics of the other groups (see figure 2). For instance, Swedish belongs to the category of languages with grammatical and notional gender, because standard Swedish has two gender forms, common and neuter, and a gendered pronoun, which makes it very similar to languages with notional gender. In fact, Swedish and most Scandinavian languages have often been categorized as languages with notional gender. However some non-standard varieties of Swedish have maintained the Indo-European three-gender system of masculine, feminine and neuter, thus these varieties may be classified as languages with grammatical gender (Stormbom 2021:13). On the other hand, the traces of

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[12] Whether or not Basque should be classified as a language with traces of grammatical gender seems debatable when its speakers do not use it and fail to decline the pronoun *hika* correctly. However the classification of said language is not that relevant for this study, as it focuses on Finnish, a genderless language; English, a language with notional gender; and Spanish, a language with grammatical gender.

grammatical gender that make Basque belong to its category are in disuse and are likely to disappear, making Basque a genderless language like Turkish or Finnish.
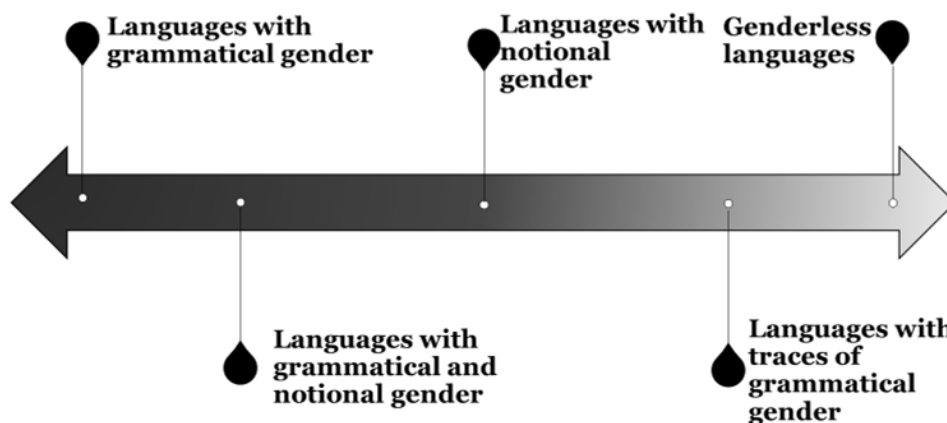
Figure 3. Representation of the categories of languages according to their linguistic gender

Thus, I do not perceive this model as a fixed categorization but rather a continuum in which languages and their varieties flow from one category to another as they evolve (see figure 3). For example, the Proto-Indo-European language is believed to have had two grammatical genders, animate and inanimate (Ledo-Lemos 2003:07). This implies that, according to this categorization, Proto-Indo-European was either a notional language or a language with traces of grammatical gender. At some point, when Proto-Indo-European evolved into Indo-European, it developed a third gender, the feminine[13], from the animate gender becoming a language with masculine, feminine and neuter (see figure 3) (Ledo-Lemos: idem, Luraghi 2009)[14]. With this change, Indo-European became a language categorized as a grammatical gendered language due to the three-gender system that is still present in many Indo-European languages, i.e. German. Yet many other Indo-European languages have gone through major changes in their gender systems (see figures 1, 4, and 5). For instance, Latin, also a language with three genders, masculine, feminine, and

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[13] According to Luraghi (2009:5), "feminine as a noun class occurred in Indo-European when a derivational suffix became the marker of an inflectional class."

[14] According to Grijelmo (2019:22): "aquella aparición del femenino que se produjo en la evolución del indoeuropeo, no ocurrió en otras lenguas. De hecho, la mayor parte de los idiomas del mundo carece de género gramatical". In English: "The appearance of the feminine (gender) that occurred during the evolution of Indo-European, did not happen in other languages. As a matter of fact, most languages of the world lack grammatical gender". (translations by the author unless otherwise stated)

neuter, evolved into a two-gender system when the masculine and feminine genders absorbed the neuter forms, which explains the absence of neuter in the Romance languages (see figure 5)[15]. Some Indo-European languages, such as English and Afrikaans, lost the three gender forms altogether, whereas the latest research seems to indicate that some Western Indo-European languages, such as "English, Ibero-Romance, and south-central Italian varieties" have witnessed the appearance of a new gender "based on the count/mass interpretation of nouns" (Fernández-Ordoñez 2009:55).

Figure 4.   Evolution of grammatical gender in Indo-European
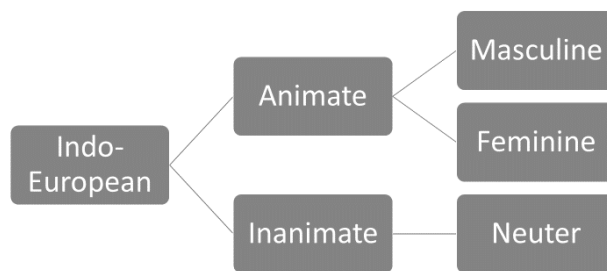
Figure 5.   Evolution of grammatical gender in Vulgar Latin
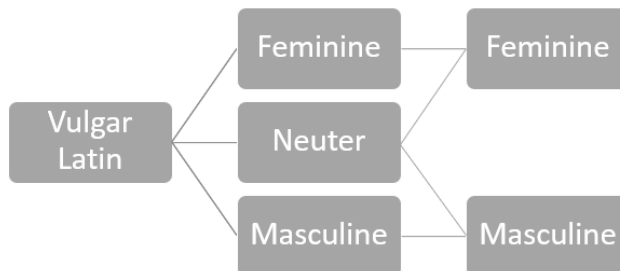
The examples above provide evidence that grammatical gender is not a fixed characteristic of languages, and that both the development and disappearance of

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[15] The only exception is Romanian, which has a category of nouns known as 'neuter'. This category is formed by nouns of ambiguous gender that are masculine in singular and become feminine in the plural. In that sense, Romanian does have not three gender forms but two categories: masculine and feminine and a third one that combines nouns of both.

grammatical gender are fairly common and natural processes that respond to different needs of linguistic communities at given times. Next, chapter 4 deals with the representation of gender and the language reform in the three languages involved in this study: English, Finnish, and Spanish.

4   GENDER REPRESENTATION IN ENGLISH, SPANISH, AND FINNISH

Since the current study deals with three languages, English, a language with notional gender, Spanish, a language with grammatical gender and Finnish, a genderless language, this chapter describes the expression of gender in said languages[16]. It also reviews the most debated sexist features in each language and the status of feminist language reform in each language community.

As discussed in subsection 2.2.1, the targets of feminist language reform are three: masculine 'generic' forms, lexical asymmetries between genders and sexist idioms and expressions, which can be easily found in most languages, regardless of the type of grammatical gender that the languages possess. However the specific proposals to tackle these issues depend heavily on the type of language and the preference of the speakers for such proposals (see table 1). As previously explained, in languages without grammatical gender, the most common strategies deal with gender neutralization, whereas in languages with grammatical gender, most proposals deal with gender visualization or feminization. However most languages use a combination of both strategies to formulate alternatives (Pauwels, 2010:23).

Table 1.   Representation of gender, sexist features, and their alternatives in English, Spanish and Finnish

	English	Spanish	Finnish
Gender	**Genderless nouns and gendered pronouns (he/she)** **Lexical gender** Mostly in kinship and farming terms (*father, chicken*), through derivation	**Gender is an inflectional category.** **Two grammatical genders:** masculine (*amigo* 'male friend') and feminine (*amiga* 'female friend') present in nouns, articles, determiners, pronouns, and	**Genderless nouns and pronouns** **Lexical gender** Mostly in kinship and farming terms (*isä* 'father', *kana* 'chicken'), through derivation (*näyttelijätär* 'actress') and compounding (*puhemies* 'spokesman')

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[16] However, the discussion on English is more extensive than in Spanish or Finnish because this study deals with the use of gender English and not so much with gendered forms in Spanish or Finnish.

Type of Language	Language with notional gender	Language with grammatical gender	Genderless language
	(*actress*) and compounding (*spokeswoman*)	adjectives	
Sexist features	**Masculine generic pronouns and nouns** *He, man, chairman* **Female suffixes** have pejorative connotations: *editress, songstress, dominatrix* **Lexical asymmetries** *governor/governess, bachelor/spinster, sir/madam, buddy/sissy hero/heroine* **Idioms and expressions** to *man up, man to man,* to cry like a girl, to *fight like a girl*	**Masculine forms work as generics** *hombre* 'man' used as *humanity* or *humankind* **Lexical asymmetries** *pariente*maso/*parienta* fem 'relative/wife' *asistente*maso/*asistenta* fem 'assistant/maid' High-status professions are masculine in generic contexts, but lower status professions tend to be feminine, e.g. *médicos*masc 'doctors' *pilotos*masc 'pilots', but *enfermeras*fem 'nurses' and *azafatas*fem 'stewardesses' **Idioms and expressions** *ser un hombre hecho y derecho* "to become a proper grown-up man", *ser una nenaza* 'to be a sissy', *pegar como una niña* 'to hit like a girl'	**Masculine generic nouns** *puhemies* 'chairman', *virkamies* 'civil servant' **Female suffixes** have pejorative connotations and/or mark the relationship of women with their husbands. *tohtorinna,* 'doctor's wife' *Kekkoska* 'Kekkonen's wife' *heitukka* 'promiscuous woman' **Lexical asymmetries** *poikamiestyttö* literally 'boy-man-girl' meaning 'single woman', *ämmä* 'bitch' **Idioms and expressions** *miestä väkevämpää* 'stronger than a man', *miesmuistiin* 'since it can be remembered', *jokamiehen oikeudet* 'every man's right"
Strategy	**Neutralization** Actor/~~actress~~ *chairman → chair* *Mother/father → parent* *He/She → singular they* **and *sometimes* visualization** *he/she* and *girls* and *boys*	**Visualization** *juez →jueza* 'judgess' *amigos*masc → *amig@s* 'friends' *listos*masc → *listos/listas* 'clever' **and *sometimes* neutralization** *los*masc *estudiantes → el alumnado* 'student body' *amigos*masc → *amigues* 'friends'	**Neutralization** *tarjoilijatar → tarjoilija* 'waiter' *puhemies → puheenjohtaja* 'spokesperson'

In order to get a clearer picture of the challenges that multilingual speakers encounter when avoiding sexist language in English, the following sections will expand the issues presented in the table above. These sections describe the representation of gender in said languages and include a brief discussion on the language reform in each language community.

4.1 English language

English is the third most common native language in the world after Chinese and Spanish. English belongs to the West Germanic branch of the Indo-European languages, along with German and Frisian. English is often referred as the current lingua franca and a global language, with a number of speakers who use it as second or lingua franca larger than the number of first-language users (Crystal

1997). It is used in many fields and professional contexts such as international diplomacy, international aid, administration, finance, navigation, science, and law. English is also the official language of UNESCO and many other international organizations. In addition to this, English is the official, or jointly official language in over 60 countries, and it has an important role in another twenty countries (Alatis & Straehle 2007:2). According to Graddol's model (1997), English speakers can be divided into three groups: English speakers for whom English is the first and/or dominant language, speakers of English for whom English is a second language (ESL) and speakers of English for whom English is a foreign language (EFL)[17]. Although there is still a debate about this categorization, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine this matter here.

4.1.1   Gender in English

Old English had an elaborate system of inflection: strong and weak inflection paradigms, four cases, three grammatical genders consisting of feminine, masculine, and neuter, two numbers and some remnants of the Indo-European dual.

> Old English *wīf* 'wife, women' is neuter, as is its German cognate *Weib*; so is *mægden* 'maiden,' like German *Mädchen*. *Bridd* 'young bird' is masculine; *bearn* 'son, bairn' is neuter. […] It must have come to be difficult, for instance, to refer to one who was obviously a *woman*—that is, a wīf—with the pronoun *hit* 'it,' or to a *wīfmann*—the compound from which our word *woman* is derived—with *he* 'he,' the compound being masculine because of its second element. There are in fact a number of instances in Old English of the conflict of grammatical gender with the developing concept of natural gender[18] (Algeo 2010: 92).

Inflectional endings and declensional classes gradually disappeared (see figure 6). Currently, the only inflection remaining in the nominal system of modern English is number and the only vestige of the old grammatical gender is in the third person singular pronoun (*he/she*). With the loss of inflection, English became more dependent on word order to mark grammatical relationships (Hellinger 2001:92).

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[17] These categorizations are relevant in this study because they place the subjects of this study, L1 users of Finnish and L1 users of Spanish, in the latter categories.

[18] Note that here when Algeo refers to natural gender, he is referring to referential gender.

Figure 6.   Evolution of grammatical gender in English
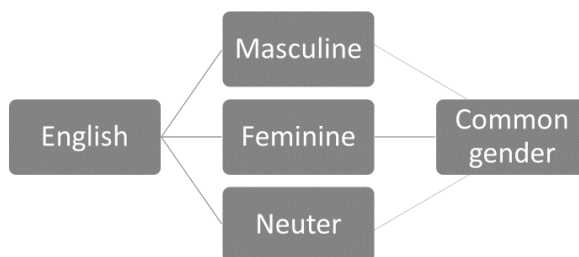
Therefore, English, originally a language with three grammatical genders, evolved into a language with notional gender because the only residue of grammatical gender is found in the pronominal system (*he/she*). This means that most nouns in English are genderless e.g. *student* and *artist*. However, referential gender can be expressed through lexical gender. In English, most lexical gendered nouns are in the field of kinship and farming (see table 2). However lexical gender can be also expressed through compounding and derivation.

Table 2. English nouns with lexical gender		
feminine	**masculine**	**genderless**
daughter	son	child
sister	brother	sibling
mother	father	parent
niece	nephew	Ø
woman	man	person
lass	lad	Ø
sow	boar	bear
duck	drake	duck
nanny	billy	goat
mare	stallion	horse

Forming masculine compounds adding *-man* (plural *-men*) dates back to Old English (Marchand 1969:61) and was employed to coin occupational titles which were traditionally taken by men, as in *barman, congressman, fisherman*, to designate a man who is an expert in a field, as in *sportsman, craftsman*, and *cowman*, to describe a particular characteristic of this man, as in *freeman* and *freshman* and in certain cases

to express nationality, as in *Frenchman*, *Dutchman*, and *Welshman* (Marchand 1969:61-67). Although some of these nouns have female counterparts ending in –*woman* (plural –*women*), as in *congresswoman*, *Dutchwoman*, *craftswoman,* and/or genderless alternatives ending in –*person*, as in *chairperson*, *salesperson*, *craftsperson*, these forms are not as popular as the masculine versions.

Despite the possibility of creating female nouns by adding -*woman*, most female nouns are formed through derivation. English has five gender derivative suffixes which are all female. These suffixes were short-lived because the resulting nouns have pejorative connotations. In most cases, these nouns convey an idea of triviality, imitation, or smallness, not only when the referent is a woman, but also when referring to objects. In the following subsections, each suffix is discussed individually because they are relevant to the discussion of the results of the questionnaire.

Suffix -ster

The Germanic suffix –*ster* can be found in English in a few words such as *spinster, maltster*, and in some given names and surnames, such as W*ebster* and *Baxter*. Although it is often regarded as a female suffix, there are only two remaining female nouns containing –*ster*: *spinster*, originally a woman who spins, and *sewster,* a seamstress (Peterson 2013:15). Peterson (2013:12) argues that -*ster* was not strictly feminine in its origin, since it was used in Old English to designate animals, regardless of their gender, e.g. *huffestre* 'plover', *loppestre* 'lobster', and male professions, e.g. *nordestre* 'treasurer', *demestre* 'judge', and *bemestre'* trumpeter'. In the southern varieties of Old English, -*ster* was used for female professions, such as *hydistrae* 'embroiderer', *baecestre* 'baker', *seamstre* 'tailor', and *waecester* 'washer', while in the north of England and in Scotland, it was used for male applied professions such as *demestre* 'judge', *bemestre* 'trumpeter', *baxter* 'baker', and *webster* 'weaver'. These differences in usage explain the survival of the suffix in both female nouns such as *spinster* and surnames such as *Baxter*, *Brewster*, and *Webster* (Peterson 2013:14).

With the loss of gender in English, "the suffix was freed from its exclusively feminine bonds" and, by the 14th century, the suffix began to lose its function as a female suffix in favor of the -*eresse*, nowadays -*ess*, e.g., *seamstress*, *tempress*, *stewardess*, and *lioness* (Peterson 2013:14). By the 16th century, masculine occupational nouns, including those that contained -*ster*, were adding -*ess* to form their respective female

counterparts, i.e. *backstress*, *seamstress*, *songstress*, and *huckstress*[19]. During the 16th century, the suffix became productive in the formation of masculine agentive nouns such as *gamester*, *jokester*, *punster*, *trickster*, and so on. The formations from this period are similar to trade designations such as *dempster* 'judge' and *seamster* 'tailor' that were coined centuries earlier. During this time, the suffix was also used to create nouns from adjectives, as in *youngster* and *lewdster*. In modern English, this suffix became irrelevant in most varieties of English, except in American English, where it has been used in nouns that denote an agent with negative connotations, i.e. *huckster*, *gangster*, *shyster*, *roadster*, *chorister,* and *mobster*. The most recent additions in the dictionary containing this suffix are *popster*, *soulster*, and *scamster* (Peterson 2013:15, Hellinger 2001:108).

Suffix -ine

The suffix *-ine*, sometimes spelt *-ene*, is a suffix used to form feminine nouns. It was borrowed from French, and it had a "rather short life" (Bauer 2014:4). It is used in forms such as *heroine*, *speakerine*, *concubine*, *chorine*, female nouns or titles such as *chatelaine landgravine*, *margravine* and some given names such as *Clementine* and *Pauline*. Its only modern use is found in the word *leaderene*[20], a term coined to refer to an autocratic female leader.

Suffix -trix

The suffix *-trix*, also spelt **-trice**, is used to form feminine agent nouns. It is a Latin suffix corresponding to masculine **-tor**. It occurs rarely or not at all in present-day English, except for *dominatrix*, its best-known example, whose use is restricted to erotic contexts. Quinion (2008) describes the suffix as follows:

> Though many words in this suffix have been created since the fifteenth century, few have been common; those few that do appear mostly now do so only in formal legal contexts: **executrix** (the female equivalent of *executor*), **administratrix** (of *administrator*), and **testatrix** (of *testator*). One that has come back into use in the latter part of the twentieth century after a long fallow period is *dominatrix*, a dominating woman who takes the sadistic role in sadomasochistic sexual activities. Other

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[19] These words contain two suffixes: back-str-ess, seam-str-ess, song-str-ess, huck-str-ess

[20] The term was coined by Norman St. John-Stevas to refer to Margaret Thatcher. (White, 2017)

examples, now only historical, are **aviatrix**, a female *aviator*; **editrix**, a female *editor*; and **proprietrix**, a female **proprietor**. The spelling -trice is an alternative form, via French, now almost totally archaic. The plural of words in -trix is either -trices or -trixes.

Some of these derivational nouns were borrowed directly from Latin and most of them have an alternative form using *-ess* (see table 3).

Table 3.	Nouns containing *-trix* and their alternatives with *-ess*	
-tor	**-trix**	**-ess**
administrator	administratrix	administratress
aviator	aviatrix[21]	aviatress
benefactor	benefactrix	benefactress
legislator	legislatrix	legislatress
motor	motrix[22]	Ø
rector	rectrix	rectress
orator	otratrix	oratress
prosecutor	prosecutrix	prosecutress
victor	victrix	victoress

Suffix -ette

The suffix -ette comes from old French *-ette*, which is the feminine form of *-et*. The first English words with this suffix, *brunette* and *coquette*, were loans from French, (Quinion 2008). It was first recorded in English at the beginning of the 20th century in the word *suffragette*[23] to "belittle and ridicule those who supported the women's suffrage" (British Library Learning: 2018). In American English, it is used in well-established words such as *usherette*[24] and *drum majorette*, but nowadays, it is added to

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[21] Also, *aviatrice*

[22] A female instigator or cause of something.

[23] According to the British Library Learning (2018), in nowadays English, "suffragist is the term used to refer to women involved in the first campaign that took place in Britain in the mid-19th century while suffragette is used for the second generation of activists, who are generally perceived as more belligerent, aggressive, and radical and who were willing to take more "direct, militant action for the cause"".

[24] Mills (1995: 95) points out that "terms like 'usherette' (in the context of the cinema) have no male equivalent".

gender-neutral words to create "deliberately humorous or flippant" female nouns such as *bimbette, punkette*, or *ladette*. (Butterfield 2013:65, Marchand 1969:290).

According to Mills (1995:95), nouns containing *-ette* "etymologically speaking are diminutive forms of the male term; that is, 'ette', can be seen to mean 'smaller than' or 'less than'". Quinion (2008) elaborates on this idea as follows:

> A common use is to suggest a diminutive: *kitchenette*, a small kitchen or part of a room equipped as a kitchen; *statuette*, a small statue or figurine; *diskette*, a small removable computer data storage disk; *novelette*, a frequently derogatory term for a short novel; *courgette* (French courge, gourd), in British English the immature fruit of a vegetable marrow, a zucchini. […] The suffix can also denote an imitation or substitute; many are now only historical, such as *beaverette*, *cashmerette*, or *poplinette*; examples still in use include *flannelette*, a napped cotton fabric resembling flannel; *leatherette*, an imitation leather, and *winceyette* […] a lightweight napped flannelette.

Suffix -ess

The suffix *-ess* is currently the only productive female suffix in English. It is used to refer to women, e.g. *waitress*, *princess*, and to some extent to female animals, i.e.. *lioness* and *tigress*. It was borrowed from the French suffix *-esse* and the first terms coined date back from Middle English, i.e. *countess*, *duchess*, and *adulteress*. Well-known female words containing this suffix are *poetess*, *actress*, *seamstress*, and *stewardess* which appeared in Middle English (Hellinger 2001:109). Despite being the most popular of all the female suffixes, *-ess* is falling into disuse because it has connotations of amateurism in certain professions, i.e. *poetess*, *editress*, *tailoress*, sexual connotations, i.e. *mistress*, *goddess*, and *seductress*[25], and/or denotes the wife of a man, i.e. *farmeress*, *presidientess*, and *sultaness* (Marchand 1969:287). This suffix creates lexical asymmetries, for example, *mistress*, the feminine of *mister*, is defined not only as a "lover" but also as "the female head of a household, a woman who employs or supervises servants, a woman who is in charge of a school or other establishment" whereas *mayoress* is not an elected official, but "the wife or official hostess of a mayor" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). When these suffixes are used in words that designate women, "the basic form acquires a predominantly masculine gender sense with the avoidance implication that the feminine-gender form represents a substantial variation" (Miller & Swift 1980:190). This explains why the OED lists

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[25] The male or genderless form of this noun does not exist in English.

only three twentieth-century coinages containing this suffix, which are *hostess*, *burgheress*, and *clerkess* (Plag 2003: 89).

Table 4.	Genderless or masculine forms and their feminine forms

genderless/masculine form	feminine form
abbot	abbess
duke[26]	duchess
marquess	marchioness
poet	poetess
priest	priestess
sempster/ seamster[27]	sempstress/seamstress
tailor	tailoress
waiter[28]	waitress

4.1.2   Feminist Language Reform in English

Sexist language was a topic extensively discussed in English when it was first brought up in the work of Robin Lakoff and Dale Spender (Lakoff 1973, Spender 1980). The primary concerns of non-sexist language guidelines dealing with English are masculine generics, occupational terms, forms of address, and lexical asymmetries (European Commission 2008:4). Due to the characteristics of English, the tactics suggested to deal with these issues involve neutralization strategies. In order to avoid masculine generic pronouns, certain published guidelines, (European Commission 2008, 2018, UNESCO 1999) recommend using (1) plural forms as in "*students* should bring *their* own pens to the exam", (2) substituting these pronouns for *one*, *you* or *we* as in "*you* should bring your own pen to the exam", and (3) substituting possessive pronouns for articles *the, a, an* as in "*one* should bring *a* pen to the exam" or omitting them when possible and (4) using passive voice, as in "a pen should be taken to the exam". In recent years, (5) singular *they* has become the most popular strategy employed in order to avoid

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[26] The stem of some of these nouns changes when -ess is added, for example, in *duchess*, *marchioness* and *abbess*.

[27] Both forms are archaic and in disuse. *Sempster* refers to a man whereas *seamster* is genderless.

[28] *Waitron* is a genderless alternative that was coined in 1980, "probably a blend of "waiter/waitress" and "-tron," a suffix that seems to allude to the machinelike impersonality of waiting tables" (Merriam Webster).

masculine pronouns (LaScotte, 2016). The early guidelines recommended visualization strategies such as (6) the doubling of pronouns such as *he/she,* or alternating between both forms, but these are no longer perceived as optimal alternatives because they exclude non-binary people and the resulting sentences are difficult to read (European Commission 2008, 2018, Mills 1995:96-98).

At the lexical level, masculine generics include forms such as *man,* as in 'person, human being', *mankind* 'humanity, humankind', and occupational nouns ending in *-man*. There are also verbs, adjectives, and nouns containing *man* that despite not being generic are used in everyday speech, i.e. to *man* 'to manage, to be in charge of something', *man-hours* 'working hours', *manmade* 'artificial', *man-to-man* 'face-to-face', *manpower* 'workforce'. Early guidelines recommended substituting *-man* and *-woman* for *-person*, as in *chairperson*, but this strategy was not very productive because words such as 'postperson', 'fireperson', or 'dustperson' do not exist. Moreover, some of these gender-neutral forms have been corrupted because they are used to name low-status professions whereas in higher status professions it is customary to retain the masculine forms, i.e. as in *businessman* or *chairman* (Veach 1979 cited in Mills 1995:175, Blaubergs 1978:249-250). Current guidelines propose dropping *-man* altogether in compounds, as in *chair*, or substituting it for other words such as *worker*, as in *craftworker* or *signal worker*, or finding a synonym or a new term to use instead: *flight attendant*, *police officer*, *firefighter* (Miller & Swift 1980:33-34).

Table 5.	Masculine occupational titles and their feminine and genderless alternatives	
masculine	**feminine**	**genderless**
barman	Barwoman	bartender
chairman	Chairwoman	chair/chairperson
congressman	Congresswoman	representative/ congresspeople/ members of the congress/
craftsman	Craftswoman	craftworker
dustman (UK)/ garbage man (AmE)	∅	refuse collector
fisherman	∅	fisher/angler
freshman (AmE)	∅	First-year student/ fresher (UK)
headmaster	Headmistress	headteacher
policeman	Policewoman	police officer
postman (UK) mailman (AmE)	postwoman /mailwoman	mail carrier/letter carrier/postie
salesman	Saleswoman	sales representative

signalman	signalwoman	signal worker
watchman	Ø	watch
weatherman	Ø	weather reporter/ forecaster

When expressing referential gender becomes necessary, the general advice is to do it equally by using the same pair of modifiers or compounds: *male/female, woman/man,* etc and avoiding forms such as *girl* or *lady*, as in *newsgirl*, *cleaning lady*, and *lady doctor,* (Pauwels 1998:111, Mills 1995:112, UNESCO 1999:9).

In recent decades, the debate over sexist language in English has been less intense than in other languages such as Spanish or French, because it is generally perceived that proposals for non-sexist language have been adopted and feminist language reform has succeeded (Mills 2008: 6). However, gendered pronouns and the "lack of an exclusive gender-neutral pronoun is a famous deficit" that has sparked intense debate in English (Merriam- Webster 2019a). Despite several attempts to introduce new genderless pronouns, the already-existing *singular they* is widely regarded as the most appropriate solution, because not only has it been in "consistent use as a singular pronoun since the late 1300s" (Merriam-Webster 2019b), but it also "is so widespread both in print and in speech that it [singular *they*] often passes unnoticed" (Online American Heritage Dictionary 2013). This section has reviewed the key aspects of feminist language reform in English. The next one deals with the representation of gender in Spanish and is followed by a brief discussion of the feminist language reform in this language.

4.2   Spanish language

Spanish is a Romance language that belongs to the Indo-European family. It diverged from vulgar Latin after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 5th century in the Iberian Peninsula. The first written traces of Spanish date from the 9th century. In the 15th century, Spanish was used as a colonizing tool in America, the Philippines, and some territories in Africa, which accounts for the fact that nowadays it is spoken by more than 400 million people. This makes Spanish the second most spoken language as an L1 in the world after Mandarin Chinese and before English. It has official status in nineteen countries including Spain, Equatorial Guinea, and many countries in America and some international institutions such as the EU and UNESCO.

4.2.1 Gender in Spanish

Spanish is categorized as a language with grammatical gender because it has a two-gender system comprised of feminine, masculine, and some remnants of neuter gender in the determiners (see tables 6 and 7). Grammatical gender is present in nouns, adjectives, and determiners.

Table 6.	Personal pronouns in Spanish			Direct Object	Indirect Object	Reflexive	Possessive
Number	Person		Subject				
Singular	1st		Yo		me	me	me	mi(s)
	2nd		tú	usted/vos [29]	te	te	te	tu(s)
	3rd	Masc.	Él		le, lo	le	se, sí (after prep.)	su(s)
		Fem.	Ella		la			
		Neu. [30]	Ello		lo			
Plural	1st	Masc.	Nosotros		nos	nos	nos	nuestro/a (s)
		Fem.	Nosotras					
	2nd	Masc.	vosotros	Ustedes	os	os	vuestro/a (s)	os
		Fem.	vosotras					
	3rd	Masc.	Ellos		los	les	se, sí (after prep.)	su(s)
		Fem.	Ellas		les			

Except for the first person and second person singular pronouns, Spanish subject personal pronouns have two gendered forms (see table 6). Unlike in English, where possessive pronouns match the gender of the possessor, i.e. *his house*, *her idea,* Spanish possessive pronouns agree in gender and number with the noun they modify, i.e. *su casa* 'his/her/your house' *nuestra_fem casa* 'our house', and the number of possessors, i.e. *tus ideas* 'your_sing ideas', and *vuestras ideas* 'your_plu ideas'. Articles

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[29] *Vos* and *usted(es)* are formal pronouns which in some varieties in Latin America and Spain have replaced the pronoun *tú*. *Vos* can be used with the same verb forms as *tú*, or can have its own verb forms. *Usted* and *ustedes(es)* are semantically second person pronouns, but require conjugated verbs in the third person. The object, reflexive, and possessive pronoun forms of *usted* are the same as for the third personal pronouns.

[30] The neuter determiners "designate certain abstract notions; what is inanimate, undetermined, or generic. The only neuter words in Spanish are the following: the demonstratives (*esto, eso, aquello*), quantifiers (*tanto, cuanto, mucho, poco*), indefinite pronouns (*nada, algo*), articles (*lo*), and personal pronouns (*ello (nom), lo(acc)*)" (RAE 2001:82, 2005:247) (see table 7).

and determiners have two gender forms that agree with the noun they precede (see table 7).

Table 7.		Articles and demonstrative pronouns in Spanish								
	definite articles		indefinite articles		demonstrative pronouns					
					close distance		far distance		furthest distance	
	sing.	plu.	sing.	plu.	sing.	plu.	sing.	plu.	sing.	plu.
Masc.	el	los	un	unos	este	estos	ese	esos	aquel	aquellos
Fem.	la	las	una	unas	esta	estas	esa	esas	aquella	aquellas
Neu.	lo	Ø	Ø	Ø	esto	Ø	eso	Ø	aquello	Ø

In Spanish, animate nouns usually have two gendered forms which relate to referential gender i.e., *secretario*masc/*secretaria*fem 'secretary', *traductor*masc/*traductora*fem 'translator', *zar*masc/*zarina*fem 'tsar/tsarina'. The general rule is that nouns ending in *-o*, i.e. *chico* 'boy' and sometimes *-e*, i.e. *jefe* 'boss' are masculine, and while those containing suffix *-a*, i.e. *chica* 'girl', *-esa*, *condesa* 'countess', *-isa* as in *poetisa* 'poetess', and *-triz* as in *actriz* 'actress' are feminine. There are, however, countless exceptions to these rules. For instance, some animal names only have one form regardless of their sex i.e. *águila*fem 'eagle', *elefante*masc 'elephant'[31], and there is an extensive list of nouns with a unique gendered form, i.e. *persona*fem 'person', *santidad*fem 'holiness', and *guía* 'guide'. According to *La Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (RAE)[32], an institution founded to preserve the Spanish language, the nouns consisting of a unique gendered form can be classified into: (1) *ambiguous nouns*, (2) *epicene nouns*, and (3) *common gender nouns* (RAE, 2005, p. 159-160): (1) Ambiguous nouns are inanimate nouns that can take both genders without changing their meaning, as in *el*/*la calor* 'heat' and *el*/*la* mar 'sea'[33]. (2) Epicene nouns are animate nouns that only have one grammatical form, regardless of the referential gender of the person they refer to. These nouns can either be masculine i.e. *personaje*masc 'character', *vástago*masc 'offspring' or feminine, i.e. *persona* fem 'person', *majestad*fem 'majesty', *eminencia*fem

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[31] These exceptions also apply to inanimate nouns, for instance *mano*fem 'hand' is a feminine noun and *mapa*masc 'map' is masculine.

[32] RAE was founded in 1713, modelled on the French and Italian academies, to maintain the linguistic unity of the Spanish speaking territories. It is an institution with a prescriptivist role that is often criticized for being conservative, and to some extent, for being sexist.

[33] Not to be mistaken with *nous* whose meaning changes based on gender, i.e. *la cólera* 'rage', *el cólera* 'cholera', *la coma* 'comma', *el coma* 'coma', *el cometa* 'comet', *la cometa* 'kite'.

'eminence'. The agreement between the words should be established according to the gender of the noun, and not to the gender of the referent, e.g. *Julio_{masc} no quiere ser una_{fem} víctima_{fem} olvidada_{fem}*, 'Julio does not want to be a forgotten victim'[34]. (3) Common gender nouns are animate nouns that have a unique form for both grammatical genders. In these cases, referential gender is marked by the determiners and adjectives that modify the noun: *el/la rehén* 'hostage', *el/la modelo* 'model', *el/la cliente* 'the client', *el/la estudiante* 'student'. These nouns are usually among the targets of feminist language reform in Spanish (see section 4.2.2 feminist language reform in Spanish).

Like nouns, most adjectives have two gender forms in Spanish. Depending on how they mark gender, adjectives can be grouped into (1) adjectives whose masculine forms end in *-o*, *-ete*, and *-ote*, and change the last vowel to *-a* to become feminine, as in *regordete/regordeta* 'chubby', *guapo/guapa* 'handsome/pretty', *vivido/vivida* 'worldy' and (2) adjectives ending in a consonant that add *-a* to become feminine, i.e. *comilón/comilona* 'glutton', and *holgazán/holgazana* 'idle'. This latter group also includes some demonyms ending in consonants, i.e. *catalán/catalana* 'Catalan', *andaluz/andaluza* 'Andalusian', and *finés/finesa* 'Finnish'. However there is a long list of adjectives that, like nouns, only have a unique gender form. These can be grouped into (3) adjectives ending in *-e* as in *diligente* 'diligent', *independiente* 'independant', *pobre* 'poor', and *amable* 'friendly'[35], (4) adjectives ending in consonants *l*, *s* and *z*, i.e.. *tenaz* 'tenatious', *ágil* 'agile', and *internacional* 'international', including irregular superlatives ending in *-r superior* 'superior', *inferior* 'inferior', *mejor* 'better', *peor* 'worse', *mayor* 'largest', *menor* 'smallest', and (5) adjectives ending in *-a* as in, *artista* 'artist', *sufragista* 'sufragist', *suicida* 'suicidal' *terrotista* 'terrorist', and some demonyms ending in *-a*, *-e* *-í* and *-ú*, e.g. *belga* 'Belgium', *croata* 'Croatian', *canadiense* 'Canadian', *costarricense* 'Costarican', *marroquí* 'Moroccan', *kuwaití* 'Kuwatian', *hindú* 'Hindú', and *papú* 'Papuan'.

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[34] In this regard, when the nouns refer to titles that were traditionally held by men, for example, *alteza* 'highness', *majestad* 'majesty', *señoría* 'honour', and *excelencia* 'excelence' the RAE contradicts itself. According to the Pan-Hispanic Dictionary of Doubts (RAE: 2005, Concordancia 3.10), adjectives, predicative subjects, and attributes, provided they are not modifiers of the noun, should agree with the referential gender of the person, and not with the grammatical gender of the noun. The example provided is the following: *Sus señorías_{fem} estaban enfrascados_{masc} en el Parlamento en una ardua discusión* 'Your Honours were immersed in an arduous discussion'.

[35] Some of these adjectives also work as nouns, i.e. *paciente* 'patient', *asistente* 'assisting/assistant', *dependiente* 'dependent/shop assistant', *presidente* 'presiding/president', *cantante* 'singing/singer', and *oyente 'listener'*, and so on. Thus, the resulting nouns and adjectives are among the targets of feminist language reform (UNESCOb, 1999)

4.2.2   Feminist Language Reform in Spanish

The debate over sexist language in Spanish dates back to the 1980s when the first guidelines became available. Since then, the discussion is frequently covered on the front pages of newspapers and newscasts. The latest major controversy arose in 2018 when the council of ministers was sworn into office reciting a formula using female forms as generics, instead of the traditional and official formula containing masculine forms (Ramirez, 2018, Burgen 2020).

The main targets of feminist language reform in Spanish are masculine generic forms and the lack of feminine occupational nouns to designate women in professions traditionally reserved for men (Garcia Meseguer, 2002). As in Finnish and English, masculine forms are perceived in Spanish as generic, unmarked, and/or inclusive, while feminine forms are marked and exclusive. This implies that when two or more gendered forms with different grammatical genders form the plural, they do it in the masculine plural form, even when the number of female referents or nouns outnumber the masculine ones, for example, *Sandra$_{fem}$, María$_{fem}$ y José$_{masc}$ son chicos$_{masc}$ muy guapos$_{masc}$* 'Sandra, María and José are very handsome kids'[36]. This rule has been deemed a clear sign of underlying sexism because not only does it favor the representation of men over the representation of women, but it actually renders women invisible. However according to RAE, this rule only responds to the linguistic principle of economy and the syntactic characteristics of the language[37].

Using non-sexist language in Spanish is perceived as more difficult than in languages without grammatical gender, due to its morphological characteristics (Stahlberg *et al.* 2007). Unlike in English and Finnish, for which the proposals for non-sexist language deal mostly with the lexicon, in languages with grammatical gender such as Spanish, the proposals deal with grammar, which requires a broader

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[36] This is often regarded as a feature of Romance languages. However there were two types of agreement in Latin: *concordantia ad sensum* 'concordance to meaning' and *concordantia ad proximum* 'concordance to the closest word'. In the latter type of agreement, adjectives agreed in gender with the most recent noun. In other words, feminine, neuter, and masculine forms, depending on the sentence, were valid options when more than two gendered nouns were used. However this rule has not prevailed in Spanish.

[37] "In Spanish, the masculine gender is unmarked, and the feminine gender is the marked one. […] Unmarkedness refers to one of the binary members which may cover them both. Therefore, it is not necessary to make explicit reference to the marked gender. When referring to nouns that designate living beings, the masculine is not only used to refer to male individuals, but also to all the individuals of the species, regardless of gender". (RAE, 2009)

consensus among speakers. The other obstacle is the impossibility of using the same strategy in all scenarios, which then requires language users to have several in hand. The most widespread strategy for avoiding masculine generics is to "double up" on genders, so that *los chicos* becomes *los chicos y las chicas*, or *los/as chicos/as* 'the girls/boys'. However, these formulas are perceived as clumsy and tedious because they involve the duplication of all the gendered forms that modify the noun, i.e. *los/las niños/as enfermos/as están descansando solos/as en su cuarto* 'the sick boys/ girls are resting alone in their room'. In informal texts and social media, using @[38] as in *tod@s l@s niñ@s merecen regalos* 'all children deserve presents' is widespread because it incorporates both genders, without creating long and repetitive sentences. However, this kind of approach is avoided in formal or oral texts because these words are illegible and unpronounceable.

The absence of feminine forms that would render women visible in the language has been the other major issue that has been tackled using feminization strategies. In general, masculine nouns have been successfully feminized without too much opposition if they ended in *-o*, as in *ingeniero/ingeniera* 'engineer', *-or* as in *doctor/doctora* 'doctor' and *-an* as in *capitan/capitana* 'captain'. This is not the case in occupational nouns that ended in a consonant, due to the belief that the absence of an explicit masculine morpheme makes nouns epicene, i.e. *juez/jueza* 'judge', *concejal/concejala* 'councilman/councilwoman'. Another semantic field in which feminization still faces strong resistance is in the military[39] i.e. *soldada/soldado* 'soldier', *caba/cabo* 'corporal' *general/generala*[40] 'general', as well as in occupational titles whose feminine form may convey a different meaning, i.e. *música* 'musician/music', *química* 'chemist/chemistry', and *cartera* 'postwoman/wallet' (Yárnoz, 2022). Gruijelmo (2021), editor in chief of the newspaper *El País* and coordinator of its style guide claims the following:

> En el caso de "soldada", se suele oponer que tal casilla ya está ocupada por el significado de "sueldo, salario o estipendio"; pero ese argumento olvida la información que aportan las diferentes funciones gramaticales de un mismo término y el sentido pragmático que todos aplicamos a los mensajes (la influencia de los contextos en el significado). Podemos decir "el frutero me regaló un frutero", o "a la cartera se le olvidó la cartera", o "el cajero colocó más billetes en el cajero". Y del mismo modo, "la soldada se quedó sin su soldada". Si no fuera por la evitable

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[38] @ is perceived as the combining of the gendered morphemes *-a* and *-o* in a single graphic symbol.

[39] Ironically, a woman in the military who is promoted to the role of captain can only be called *capitán*, but if she plays sports and is chosen as a team captain, then her title is *capitana*.

[40] *Generala* is still not accepted by the RAE.

redundancia, también podríamos escribir "la música interpretó mal la música" o "la técnica aplicó muy bien la técnica".

> In the case of "soldada", its use is advised against because that would mean *salary* or *stipend*, but that argument is not valid if we take into account the different grammatical functions and the pragmatic meaning around messages (the influence of the context in the meaning). We can say "el *frutero* me regaló un *frutero*" "the *greengrocer* gave me a *fruit bowl*", or "a la *cartera* se le olvidó la *cartera*" "the *postwoman* forgot her *wallet*", or "el *cajero* colocó más billetes en el *cajero*" "the *cashier* put more notes on the *ATM*". In the same manner, we can say "la *soldada* se quedó sin *soldada*" and "the *soldier* used all her *salary*". If it were not for its redundancy, we could also write "la *música* interpretó mal la *música*" "the *musician* played the *music* wrongly" or "la *técnica* aplicó muy bien la *técnica*" "the *technician* applied the *technique* really well".

Traditionally, prestigious occupational titles, including those ending in -*o*, used to express referential gender only with the determiners, i.e. <u>la médico</u> 'the doctor', <u>la soldado</u> 'the soldier', <u>la ministro</u> 'the minister', (see Gotor, 1977, in which he refers to Tina Anselmi, Italian secretary of Labour as <u>la ministro</u>), whereas less prestigious titles became fully feminine without much resistance, i.e. *cajera* 'cashier', *frutera* 'greengrocer'. Grijelmo (2021) argues that the opposition towards nouns that can be easily feminized, i.e. *soldada* and/or the exclusive use of the article to express referential gender reveals that sexism is embedded in our society, rather than in the language itself.

Like nouns, most adjectives are feminized by substituting -*o* for -*a*, as in *listo/lista* 'clever' or by adding -*a* when the masculine form ends in a consonant, i.e. *trabajador/trabajadora* 'hard working'. Some of the adjectives that end in -*e*, such as *estudiante* 'student', *representante* 'representative', have been nominalized and successfully feminized, i.e. *presidenta* 'president', *dependienta* 'shop assistant', *curranta* 'hardworking/worker' (Calero 2004, UNESCOb 1999). However there are many examples in which the feminization of these forms has resulted in lexical asymmetries and/or pejoration, i.e. *asistenta* 'cleaner/maid' and *asistente* 'assistant', and *gobernante* 'governor' and *gobernanta* 'bossy woman'[41].

Neutralization strategies, despite being lesser-known, are also used to avoid sexist language in Spanish. These involve the substitution of gendered forms for collective nouns, i.e. *el alumnado* or *el estudiantado* 'the student body' instead of *los alumnos* 'pupils' or *los estudiantes* 'students', *el personal de dirección* 'managing staff' or *la dirección* 'management' instead of *los directivos* 'managers/executives', using *personas*

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[41] Other examples are *gerenta* 'manager', *representanta* 'representative', and *parienta* 'wife'.

'people' as in las *personas jubiladas* 'retired people' instead of *jubilados* 'pensioners' or *pueblo* 'people/nation' as in *el pueblo catalán* instead of los *catalanes* 'Catalans' (UNESCOb, 1999). However these strategies require speakers to have a large vocabulary, which leads to believe that neutralization strategies are more difficult to apply than the already discussed visualization strategies.

In recent years, especially in the LGTB+ communities, gendered morphemes have been replaced with *-x,* i.e., *latinx* 'latino' and *-e*, i.e., *guapes* 'pretty/handsome', and to avoid marking gender and, therefore, being more gender-inclusive. However, the morpheme *-x* is restricted to written informal text because the resulting words are impossible to pronounce whereas the morpheme *-e*[42], even if it is easier to pronounce and apply, faces strong opposition and resistance not only from prescriptivist organizations such as RAE, but also from feminist language planners. For Álvarez de Miranda, a member of the RAE, *-e* is an artificial morpheme predestined to fail because the use of deliberately invented morphemes does not persist in languages (2018). However, research has shown that the disappearance and development of gender classes in languages is not only a natural, but also fairly common process that responds to the needs of a linguistic community in a given period (see 3.4. for a detailed explanation of this process). For Martin Barranco (2021), author of a feminist style guide entitled *Ni por favor ni por favora* (2019), *-e* is just another tool used to hide women in Spanish:

> Si las mujeres no estamos en el "todos", ¿por qué íbamos a estar en el "todes"? El uso de la E genera una doble invisibilización. ¿Cuál? 1: De las de siempre: las mujeres, que vuelven a dejar de ser nombradas (cuando apenas se empezaba a hacerlo) en base a algo que alguien que no son ellas ha decidido que es genérico y las incluye. 2: De colectivos que no se sienten representados por los géneros gramaticales y que, de manera voluntaria, se unen a un neutro que no los nombra. El sistema fagocita esa neutralidad y la convierte en androcentrismo (La RAE ya no habla de masculino genérico sino " incluyente").

> Si la intención es nombrar a personas no binarias […] hay que decirlo con todas las letras. ¿Qué interés hay en que no se nombren a las personas que generan una visión disruptiva de los géneros tradicionales? ¿Por qué no llamarlas hombres trans, mujeres trans, personas no binarias o cualquier otra categoría de forma expresa? Se usa la E por personas convencidas de la necesidad de incluir. Es una acción política, para poner el foco de atención sobre la importancia del lenguaje. Por eso tenemos que reivindicar que no se silencie a las mujeres, de nuevo, ahí. Nombrar sin dejar de ser nombradas. Y advertir a quienes ahora llegan a esta labor del peligro de los

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[42] I believe that using *-e* as a neutralization strategy was inspired by already-existing adjectives and nouns that end in *-e* and do not change based on referential gender i.e., *estudiante* 'student', *diligente* 'diligent' (see pages 40 and 43). However I did not find any sources that would corroborate this.

neutros mientras el poder de definir no sea compartido. […] Por eso soy partidaria de nombrar todo, pero de nombrarlo al completo. Urge buscar fórmulas novedosas que nombren representando, no neutralizando porque no hay nada neutro al género (no al sociológico ni al gramatical) en una sociedad que sigue siendo patriarcal. La E no es neutra, solo neutraliza la reivindicación de las mujeres de ser nombradas. La única forma de incluir es nombrando. No escondan a las de siempre que sabemos cómo acaba el cuento: gana el patriarcado.

If we, women, are not included in "todos_{masc}" "all/everyone", why would we be in "todes"? Using E leads to a double invisibility. How? 1. As always, women are not named (just when they had started being visualized) based on something that someone who does not represent them has decided is generic and inclusive. 2. By collectives that do not feel identified with either of the two grammatical gender systems [of Spanish] and who, voluntarily, have chosen these neutral forms to be designated. This system, fed on neutralization ideals, is becoming androcentric (RAE does not describe masculine forms as generic, but as "inclusive").

If the intention is to designate non-binary people […], all letters [meaning morphemes] should be used. What good does it do to not visualize people for those who do not match the traditional binary gender roles? Why not explicitly call trans men, trans women, and non-binary people by their names? E is used by people who are convinced that inclusivity is a necessity. Putting the role of language in the spotlight is a political act. Thus, we should vindicate the importance of visualizing women in the language once again. Be named without being forgotten. And warn those who come now of the danger of neutralizing when such tasks are not shared. […] That is why I am in favor of naming and visualizing everything. In a still patriarchal society, it is imperative to find new formulas that would represent everyone rather than neutralizing them, because gender (whether sociological or grammatical) is everything but neutral, and it only results in women becoming invisible again. The morpheme E is not neutral, it only neutralizes women's vindication to be named. The only way to be inclusive is by naming. Do not hide women in the language because we know how the tale ends: with the patriarchy winning.

As discussed, criticism of Language Reform is not unheard of, but what makes this backlash different from previous ones is that even some feminist language reformers oppose these suggestions, which does not occur with respect to languages such as English and Finnish. This is partly due to the ingrained habit of rendering women visible in Spanish and the fact that a new morpheme does not only involve the adoption of a small set of words but the modification of most nouns, adjectives, and determiners. At this point, I think it is too early to predict the success or failure of this proposal. The outcome is in the hands of the speakers themselves.

In this section, the current state of the feminist language reform in Spanish has been explained, paying special attention to the situation in Spain. In the following

subsection, I will address the representation of gender in Finnish and the status of the Finnish language reform in Finland.

4.3   Finnish language

Finnish is one of the official languages of Finland, spoken by five million people (KOTUS, 2022). It is one of the two national languages of Finland along with Swedish, which is spoken as an L1 by 5.2% of the total population of the country (Tilastokeskus 2022). There are 300,000 speakers of Finnish in Sweden and 12,000 in the north of Norway. Finnish is also spoken by some minorities in eastern Karelia and Ingria. Outside of these areas, it is spoken by immigrants in Australia, the USA, and Canada (Engelberg 2002:109).

Finnish belongs to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric languages, being one of the few non-Indo-European languages spoken in Europe. The unmarked word order in Finnish is Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial and the language is categorized as agglutinative, because words are formed through the combination of morphs to express more complex ideas (Crystal 1991: 17). For that purpose, Finnish has 15 cases and about 150-200 derivational affixes (Engelberg 2002:110).

4.3.1   Gender in Finnish

Finnish is a genderless language because it lacks grammatical gender in all words. That means that pronouns are genderless, i.e. *me* 'we', *te* 'plural you', *hän* 'third-person singular pronoun', as well as nouns, i.e. *ystävä* 'friend', *kansalainen* 'citizen', and *opettaja* 'teacher'. Referential gender can be expressed with nouns that possess lexical gender on their own, i.e. *mies* 'man', *nainen* 'woman', *tyttö* 'girl', and *poika* 'son/boy', or through derivation, i.e. *myyjätär* 'saleswoman' and compounding, i.e. *poikamiestyttö*, literally boy-man-girl, meaning 'female bachelor'. As in English, most nouns with lexical gender belong to the fields of kinship and farming (see table 8).

Table 8.	Finnish nouns with lexical gender	
feminine	masculine	genderless
tyttö/tytär 'daughter'	*poika* 'son/boy'	*lapsi* 'child'
sisko 'sister'	*veli* 'brother'	sisarus 'sibling'
äiti 'mother'	*isä* 'father'	*vanhempi* 'parent'

anoppi 'mother-in-law'	*appi* 'father-in-law'	appivanhempi
mies 'man'	*nainen* 'woman'	*ihminen* 'person/human'
neiti 'lass'	*jätkä/veikko* 'lad'	*tyyppi*
emakko 'sow'	*karju* 'boar'	*sika* 'pig'
tuttu 'does'	*pukki* 'buck/bully'	vuohi 'goat'
tamma 'mare'	*ori/orhi* 'colt'	*hevonen* 'horse'
uuhi 'ewe'	*pässi* 'ram'	*lammas* 'lamb'

Compounding is one of the most productive morphological processes in Finno-Ugric languages (Hasselblat 2015:133). The most common gendered compounds are formed with *nainen* 'woman' or *mies* 'man', as in *palomies* 'fireman' and *liikenainen* 'businesswoman', *naisopettaja* 'female teacher', *mieslääkäri* 'male doctor', *poikaystävä* 'boyfriend', and *tyttöystävä* 'girlfriend' However other gendered nouns such as *poika* 'boy', *tyttö* 'girl' and *neito* 'maiden' can be used to create compounds as well, i.e. *hissipoika* 'bellboy', *laivapoika* 'cabin boy', *palvelustyttö* 'maid', and *merenneito* 'mermaid'.

Derivation can be used to express gender, although it is not as productive as compounding. Finnish has seven female suffixes: -tAr[43] (*juoksijatar* 'runner'), -kkO (*karjakko* 'milk maid'), -skA (*professorska* 'female professor'), -nnA (*tohtorinna* 'female doctor'), *-ienne* (*tragedienne* 'female tragedian'), -ssa (*prinsessa* 'princess'), and -UkkA (*hempukka* 'broad/coquette'), and no masculine suffixes. The most productive female suffix is –tAr, which originated in the late 19th century in the eastern varieties of Finnish to mark the relationship of women to their fathers, i.e. *Eharitar* would be used to refer to 'the daughter of Ehari'. Nowadays, it is found in words such as *tytär* 'daughter', *kaunotar* 'beauty', *ystävätär* 'female friend', *suojelijatar* 'heroine', *kuningatar* 'queen', and titles such as *myyjätär* 'saleswoman', *näyttelijätär* 'actress', *herttuatar* 'duchess', *valtiatar* 'female sovereign' *sankaritar* 'heroine', and demonyms, i.e. *suometar* 'Finnish woman', *kreikatar* 'Greek woman', *tanskatar* 'Danishwoman', *englannitar* 'Englishwoman', *kiinatar* 'Chinese woman', *oulutar* 'woman from Oulu' (Auli *et al.* 2004:§ 193). Despite it being the most popular female suffix, its use has declined due to the lexical asymmetries and the pejorative connotations that the coined nouns possess when compared with their genderless or masculine counterparts, i.e. *kirjailija* 'writer' → *kirjailijatar* 'writeress', *kenraali*

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[43] The realization of A, O and U can be ä/a, ö/o or u/y depending on vowel harmony.

'general' → *kenraalitar* 'generaless' and *vuorineuvos* → *vuorineuvoksetar* 'mining counseloress' (Endelberg 2018:59)[44]. As Engelberg (2018:62) explains:

> Lisäksi feminiinijohdoksilla on varsinkin tehtävänimikkeinä herkästi trivialisoiva sivumerkitys. Esimerkiksi kirjailijatar yhdistetään viihdekirjallisuuteen ja on vanhahtavakin, kirjailija taas on vakavasti otettava ammattilainen

> In addition, feminine derivational nouns are particularly liable to become trivialized. For example, a *kirjailijatar* 'female writer' is linked to entertainment literature and has become obsolete.

The remaining female suffixes, -*ienne, -ssa,* -kkO, -Ukk, -skA, -InnA, were never as productive as -tAr[45]. The suffix -*ienne* only remains in two words: *komedienne* 'comedienne' and *tragedienne* 'tragedienne', and suffix -*ssa* only in *prinsessa* 'princess', *diakonissa* 'deaconess', and *abbedissa* 'abbadess' (Endelberg 2018:61). The suffix -kkO as a female suffix is found in words such as *nuorikko* 'young wife' and *karjakko* 'milk maid'. Yet it can also be used to create genderless occupational nouns, i.e. *poliitikko* 'politician', *päällikkö* 'chief', *meijerikkö* 'worker at a dairy factory', and other nouns not related to humans, i.e. *lammikko* 'pond' and *sammakko* 'frog'. Suffix -UkkA is found in pejorative female nouns such as *letukka* 'hussy', *huitukka* 'lady of the evening', *heitukka* 'promiscuous woman/chippy', *typykkä* 'chick/lassie', and *hempukka* 'coquette'. Suffixes -skA and -InnA express the relationship of women to their husbands, as in *profesorska* 'professor's wife', '*Kekkoska* 'Kekkonen's wife', *Virtaska* 'Virtanen's wife', and *pormestarinna* 'the mayor's wife' (Kyrölä 1990, Engelberg 2018:61). The only difference between the two is that -InnA is added to titles that end in -*i*, i.e. *keisari* 'emperor' → *keisarinna* 'empress', *monarkki* 'monach' → *monarkinna* 'the monarch's wife'(VISK § 194). In the past, it was a common practice for Finnish women to use their husband's titles along with their names. As noted by Ángel Ganivet (2017:178), the Spanish ambassador in Helsinki between 1896 and 1898:

> Tanto la mujer casada como la viuda disfrutan del título del esposo y lo ponen antes del nombre; la mujer de un «doctor» es «doktorinna[46];» la de un «pastor,» *(sic)*

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[44] *Vuorineuvos* is an honorary title given by the government, which according to the translation service of the Finnish prime minister's office, should not be translated (2017: 12).

[45] Most nouns containing female suffixes, even if they exist, are rarely used and are very archaic.

[46] Some of the terms used by Gavinet are in Swedish because it was the language used by the elites and higher society in Finland. The Finnish translations for *doktorinna* is 'tohtorinna', for *ingenioerska* is 'insiöörskä' and *kapteuska (sic)* 'kapteenska',

«pastorka;» la de un «ingeniero,» «ingenioerska;» la de un «presidente,» «presidentska;» la de un «capitan,» «kapteuska,» [47].

Both married women and widows use their husbands' titles and put them before their name; the wife of a doctor is *doktorinna*, of a pastor is *pastorska*, of an engenieer *ingeniörska*, of a president *presidentska* and of a captain *kaptenska*.

However this practice does not exist in present-day Finnish. Nowadays, expressing a woman's relationship to her husband and/or father is not only unnecessary, but also demeaning. This, together with the pejorative connotations of female nouns, has led to a significant decrease in the use of female suffixes and other female nouns. When the need to express femaleness arises, however, speakers prefer using compounds over derived nouns:

> Naisiin viittaavissa tehtävänimikkeissä erityisen merkillepantavia piirteitä ovat feminiinijohdosten väistyminen, emäntään viittaavien nimikkeiden nousu ja *nainen*-loppuisten nimikkeiden vähäisyys. Vuoden 1950 hakemistossa erityyppiset feminiinijohdokset […] ovat vielä yleisiä, niitä on yli 80 kappaletta eli 60 % hakemiston naistyöntekijään viittaavista nimikkeistä. Enemmistö on -tar/-tär-johdoksia kuten erilaisia hoitajatar-nimikkeitä. Vuoden 1970 hakemistossa tar-johdokset ovat jääneet lähes kokonaan pois. Kauemmin ovat säilyneet -kko/-kkö-johdokset, esimerkiksi karjakko ja sisäkkö, joita esiintyy vuoden 2005 hakemistossa kymmenkunta. Koska -kko/-kkö-päätteellä muodostetaan muitakin kuin naiseen viittaavia sanoja, karjakko tyyppiset johdokset ehkä hahmottuvat heikommin feminiinisiksi ja paremmin hyväksyttäviksi kuin -tar/-tär-päätteiset japysyvät siksi käytössä pidempään (Engelberg 2018:83).

> Regarding female job titles, the absence of female suffixes is particularly noteworthy, as is the rise of the compounds using -*emäntä* 'hostess', and the scarcity of titles ending in -*nainen*, the equivalent of -woman. In the 1950s directory of Finnish occupational titles, different types of feminine derivational nouns […] were still common, and there were over 80 of them, or 60% of the titles referring to female employees. The majority were derivational nouns using -tar/tär in various occupational nouns such as *hoitajatar* 'nurse'. By 1970, nouns using the derivational suffix -tar/-tär were almost completely excluded from the directory, while derivational nouns using -kko/kkö, as in *karjakko* 'milkmaid' and *sisäkkö* 'housemaid', have remained longer, dozens of which in the 2005 directory appear. Since the suffix -kko/-kkö is also used to form genderless occupational nouns, as in *karjakko*, it may appear less feminine and has become more acceptable than the suffix -tar/-tär, and therefore stay in use longer (Engelberg, 2018:83).

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[47] "Sekä naimisissa oleva nainen että leski käyttävät puolisonsa titteliä ja panevat sen nimensä eteen. Jos mies on *doctor*, on vaimo *doktorinna*, samoin on olemassa pari *pastor* ja *pastorska*, insinöörin vaimo on *ingeniörska*, presidentin *presidentska*, kapteenin *kaptenska* ja siihen tapaan" (Translation by Kaarle Heikki Ensio Hirvonen).

In this section, I described linguistic gender and its expression in Finnish. In the following subsection, I will describe feminist language reform as it has been applied in Finnish.

4.3.2   Feminist Language Reform in Finnish

Sexist language has received relatively little attention in Finland for two reasons: one is the belief that the absence of grammatical gender results in a more egalitarian language and the second one is that Finland is a country with one of the smallest gender gaps in the world (Braun 1995:284, Engelberg 2002:127). However, in Tainio's (2006:1) words:

> Having a language with a genderless grammar does not guarantee the gender-neutral use of the code. Furthermore, Finnish can be used in ways that can be regarded as sexist, unequal, and even misogynist. In addition, even if the work on gender equality in Finland has been vital and has had some success, it is in no way finished.

The first mainstream discussion of non-sexist language in Finnish arose in 2017 when *Aamulehti* (2017), the local newspaper of the city of Tampere, pledged to strive for gender-neutral language by using words such as *puheenjohtaja* 'chair', and *pelastaja* 'firefighter'. The editorial was met with strong criticism and even mockery from different spheres and circles, despite these only have been suggestions to be complied by the newspaper (Paakkinen, Törnudd & Koponen, 2017). Maria Lohela, Speaker in the Finnish Government when the editorial was published, stated (Nalbantoglu, 2017):

> En paheksu, jos yksittäinen lehti haluaa muuttaa tätä nimikettä, mutta eduskunnassa en sitä hyväksy. Eduskunnassa ollaan puhemiehiä kuten perustuslaki ja eduskunnan työjärjestys määräävät.

> I don't mind if a single magazine wants to change this title, but I don't approve of it in Parliament. In Parliament, we have *chairmen* because it is required by the Constitution and the Procedure Rules.

Irrespective of the original negative reaction triggered by the editorial, Aamulehti's initiative did not motivate other newspapers or agencies to follow in its footsteps. For instance, Helsingin Sanomat, one of the most important newspapers in Finland, still uses masculine titles. In 2019, the following headline was published: *Eduskunnan <u>virkamiehet</u> käyvät läpi tiedustelulakien mahdolliset ongelmat, sanoo <u>puhemies</u>* [Paula] *Risikko* "Spokesman [Paula] Risikko announces that Parliament officials*masc*

are reviewing possible problems with intelligence laws" (Pietiläinen & Vartiainen, 2019). This is partly because, despite the significant representation of women in positions of power[48], these are the official titles[49]. The other reason is that masculine compounds are widely considered true generics in no need of feminization or neutralization. Research has shown that these masculine titles are deeply rooted in the language and that rather than disappearing, they are increasing in number (see Engelberg, 1993, 1995, 2018:82-83). Engelberg (2018:82-83) found that between 1990 and 2005, the Finnish directory of job titles registered a hundred new gendered titles. In total, there were 600 titles, of which 80% were masculine nouns, mostly compounds ending in *-mies* 'man'. On the other hand, female titles, especially derivations and compounds ending in *-nainen* 'woman', had decreased in favor of compound nouns with *emäntä* 'hostess', a noun already loaded with negative connotations (Engelberg 2018:82-83). These new compounds containing *-emäntä* usually designate women working in low prestige professions and/or occupations that involve serving, caring for, or entertaining other people (Engelberg 2018:82-83). On the other hand, the number of nouns containing *-isäntä* 'host/master', the masculine counterpart of *-emäntä* 'hostess', has remained the same for decades (Engelberg 2018:86).

Due to the morphological characteristics of Finnish and its lack of grammatical gender, neutralization is the most common approach for avoiding sexist language (see table 9). These neutralization strategies usually involve (1) derivation, (2) compounding, and (3) borrowing (Engelberg 2018:93-95). Derivation as a non-sexist language mechanism involves the use of suffixes such as *-jA* that denote agency, instead of gender markers such as *-tar*. For instance, *tupakoitsija* 'smoker' can be used as an alternative to the compound *tupakkamies* lit. 'smoke-man' and *asianajaja* lit. 'driver of a cause' meaning 'lawyer' instead of *lakimies* lit. 'law-man'. Another productive procedure is the formation compounds using *-henkilö* 'person' and *-tekijä* 'doer' such as *virkahenkilö* 'civil servant' and *tieteentekijä* 'scientist' instead of *virkamies* and *tiedemies*. Borrowing is another strategy being used, although it is not as productive as the other two. The three best-known examples are *journalisti*

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[48] Since 2000, five women have held the title of Speaker *'puhemies'* and one of the president *'presidentti'* in Finland. Unlike *puhemies*, *presidentti* is a genderless title but the forms of address that are used are not. When Tarja Halonen became the first woman to hold such a position, she was often addressed as *Rouva Presidentti* 'Lady President', instead of simply as *Presidentti*.

[49] According to KOTUS (2017), "Esitettiin sellaisiakin näkemyksiä, että puhemiestä olisi käytettävä, koska sana esiintyy perustuslaissa". In English, "Some say that the title *puhemies* should be the one used, because it is the one used in the constitution".

'journalist' (a genderless alternative to *lehtimies),* *juristi* 'lawyer' (a genderless alternative to *lakimies*), and *stuertti* 'flight attendant' (a genderless alternative to *lentoemäntä* 'stewardess').

Table 9.	Masculine and/or feminine titles and their genderless alternatives	
masculine	**feminine**	**genderless**
baarimikko 'barman'	Ø	*baarimestari, baarityöntekijä, barista, baarinhoitaja* 'bartender'
esimies 'boss/chief/supervisor'	*esinainen*	*pomo, esihenkilö, päällikkö, osastonjohtaja, lähijohtaja,*
Ø	*karjakko 'milkmaid'*	*larjanhoitaja* 'milkperson'
kirkkoherra 'vicar'	Ø	*johtava, pastori, kirkkopäällikkö, kirkonjohtaja*
Ø	*lentoemäntä* 'stewardess'	*stuertti* 'flight attendant'
lakimies 'lawyer'	*Lakinainen*	*juristi, lainoppinut, asianajaja* 'lawyer'
ehtimies 'journalist'	Ø[50]	*journalisti*
liikemies 'businessman'	*liikenainen* 'businesswoman'	*yrittäjä, kauppataitaja, liikehenkilö* 'businessperson'
Ø	*meijerikko 'milkmaid'*	*meijeristi* 'dairyperson'
myyntimies 'salesman'	*myyjätär 'saleswoman'*	*myyjä* 'seller'
poikaystävä 'boyfriend'	*tyttöystävä* 'girlfriend'	*puoliso, kumppani* 'partner'
palomies 'fireman'	Ø	*pelastaja, palopelastaja* 'firefigter'
poliisimies 'policeman'	Ø	*poliisi* 'police'
puhemies 'spokesman'	Ø	*puheenjohtaja* 'spokesperson'
sähkömies 'electrician'	Ø	*sähköasentaja, Sähkötyöntekijä* 'electrician'
Ø	*siihteerikkö 'secretary'*	*sihteeri* 'secretary'
Ø	*terveyssisar, hoitajatar 'nurse'*	*sairaanhoitaja* 'nurse'
tiedemies 'scientist'	*Tiedenainen*	*tieteentekijä, tieteilijä,* 'scientist' *tutkija* 'researcher'

Regardless of the many resources that Finnish possesses for coining new terms, not all the new alternatives are met with the same degree of acceptance. For

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[50] Some compounds can easily be feminized by substituting *-mies* with *-nainen*, i.e. *sähkönainen*, *palonainen*, but even if it is morphologically possible to create these nouns, they do not denote women working in those fields, but their personality traits and/or characteristics. For instance, *sähkönainen* is not understood as a 'female electrician', but as an 'electric woman'. This is the reason why these boxes were left empty.

example, *palomies* is still the preferred word with which to designate firefighters, despite the existing gender-neutral noun *palopelastaja*. Other nouns cannot be used in all contexts, i.e. *asianajaja* is not an absolute synonym of *lakimies* because the first one is a title that only a few experienced lawyers in Finland can use (Suomen Asianajajaliitto, 2022).

To conclude, this chapter has not only described the expression of gender in English, Spanish, and Finnish but the state of feminist language reform in each language community. As explained earlier, it is generally believed that lexical changes face less opposition than grammatical ones, which explains why feminist language reform is perceived as easier to apply in languages without grammatical gender such as Finnish or English. However the preference of the speakers is decisive for the success not only of the proposals, but of the whole reform. For instance, the debate over sexist language in Finnish, despite it being a genderless language, is limited to masculine occupational titles and only attracted broad media attention in 2017, after the editorial in *Aamulehti* referred to above. On the other hand, the reform in English is considered to have been successfully implemented, despite the still extensive use of *he* as a generic pronoun and the lack of consensus in the search for genderless alternatives to gendered titles such as *postman* and *dustman,* among others. In Spanish, the debate is still ongoing and far from being considered completed. However it now faces the challenge of accommodating non-binary people, while still rendering women visible. Having said that, feminist language reform in these languages is still relevant and far from being "done". Thus, the need to keep the debate open to all actors and proposals that could help solve the current challenges that languages are facing in this day and age.

The chapter that follows describes the ethical considerations taken into account for this study, discussing the study design, its validity, and the materials and the methods that were used in this study.

5   MATERIALS AND METHODS

This chapter includes a review of the ethical questions that were taken into consideration for this study, followed by an overview of the design, its validity, and a more in-detailed description of the methods that were used to gather the research data.

5.1   Ethical considerations

When research requires the participation of human subjects, as is the case in hand, certain basic ethical standards must be met. These ethical considerations were taken into account during the three different stages of the research: when designing the methodology, during the data gathering and afterwards, when analyzing and publishing the data.

Before the research began, the permits to carry out the research were acquired from Tampere University and the University of Alcalá, and teachers in both universities were informed about the research plan and the aims of the study, following the guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (FABRI, 2012). The approval from the Ethics committee at Tampere University was obtained on the 23rd of March, 2018. The methodology used in this research is a combination of quantitative and qualitative research and the tools used to collect the data was almost risk-free: they are eye tracking measurements and a questionnaire. Eye tracking studies involve recording the participants' eye movements. One of the advantages of using a "video-based eyetracker over other devices is that it is relatively non-invasive, fairly accurate" (Duchowsky 2003: 67). In this study, the tracker used, Tobii X2-60, does not record images of the participants' eyes but of the eyes' coordinates relative to the screen being viewed. Moreover the tracker used is comfortable to use, as it is attached to the screen, rather than being mounted on the participant's head. On the other hand, questionnaires are regarded as almost risk-free, since they are not likely to cause any physical damage and participants were free to withdraw their participation at

any point (Newman & Ratliff, 2001). This particular questionnaire dealt with (non-)sexist language, which is not a sensitive topic, although it is considered controversial. Before participants answered the questionnaire and signed in for the eye tracking study, the topic of this research was explained without going into much detail, in order to obtain genuine answers and not to interfere with the participants' opinions (Newman & Ratliff, 2001). Knowing the gender of the informants was relevant for this study, as it was one of the variables used in the statistical analysis; however participants were given four options to choose from: female, male, non-binary, and "I don't want to specify."

Participants were informed of the duration and the type of study beforehand and written consent was requested before they could participate in the study. The consent forms (see appendix A and D) explained the obligations and the responsibilities of the researcher and the rights of the participants when taking part in the research. Their participation was voluntary, and they had the freedom to withdraw at any point without further explanation.

Once all these issues were considered, the emphasis with respect to the ethical issues was placed on the confidentiality of the answers and the anonymity of the participants. All the participants were informed that their answers would be kept confidential and anonymous. No information that could identify them or could cause embarrassment will be made public. Furthermore they were fully aware that their answers would be used for research and later published in this dissertation.

5.2 Study design

In order to study the conscious and unconscious responses toward sexist language and the role of the L1 in these processes, two methods were used: an eye tracking study and a questionnaire (see figure below).

Figure 7. Study design
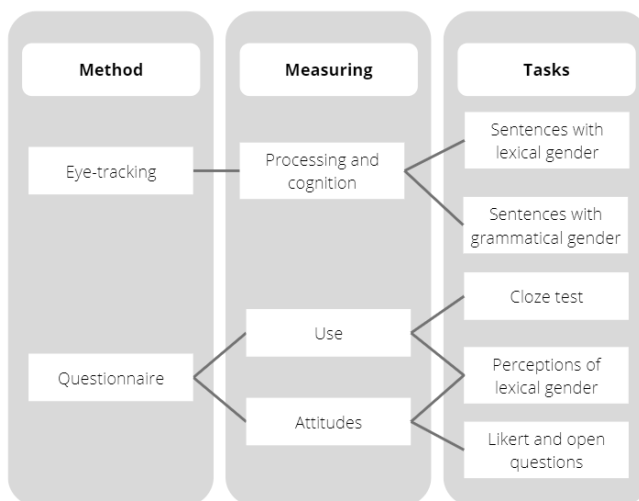
The eye tracking study was designed to answer the first research question which deals with unconscious responses toward sexist language:

1. Does the L1 and gender of a person have an effect on the processing of sexist and non-sexist language in English? If so, how do they show?

More particularly, this question sought to analyse the effect of an individual's L1 and gender on their processing of sexist and non-sexist language, based on the ideas of linguistic relativity, which postulates that languages influence speakers' worldview and cognition. Eye tracking measurements were chosen as a method because they have provided us with useful information on the mechanisms that underlie reading comprehension (Rayner *et al.* 2009:254). Given the linguistic differences between Finnish and Spanish, the expected results that would demonstrate the role of the L1 in addition to a participant's gender in the processing of linguistic gender in English were the following:

a. That Finns would have longer fixation times and more regressions than Spaniards when they encounter visualization strategies of the type *he or she*, *him or her*, *father or mother*, which implies that they may be less accustomed to duplication of third-person pronouns or to the use of both masculine and feminine forms. A potential interpretation is that

visualization strategies are not perceived by Finns as a useful formula for avoiding sexist language.

b. That Finns would have longer fixation times than Spaniards when they encounter masculine generic pronouns such as *him*, *him*, and *his* when the associated gender is unknown or irrelevant. This can be interpreted as Finns being more aware of the sexist use of masculine pronouns because Finnish lacks gender pronouns.

c. That Spaniards would have longer fixation times than Finns when they encounter masculine generic nouns and adjectives to refer to women (e.g. *chairman*, *spokesman*). This may imply that Spaniards are more surprised to see such nouns used with female referents, because in Spanish it is regarded as sexist, while in Finnish these forms can be perceived as gender-neutral (see section 4.3.2.)

d. That Spaniards would have longer fixations than Finns when they encounter genderless pronouns as in *singular they*, *one*, and so on, because they are less accustomed to genderless pronouns.

Regarding the differences among gender, I expected:

e. That men would have shorter fixation times than women when they encounter masculine generic forms, since they are less likely to perceive these as sexist forms.

f. That women would have shorter fixation times and fewer regressions than men when they encounter neutralization and visualization strategies, because studies have shown that women are more likely to use non-sexist language alternatives than men are (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton, 2014).

The questionnaire, on the other hand, was designed to address the other two research questions, which dealt with more conscious choices. More particularly, these questions dealt with the attitudes and the use of (non-)sexist language in an L2:

1. How do an individual's L1 and gender influence the use of the (non-)sexist language in English?

   a. What are the features that show that they use lexical and grammatical gender differently in English?

   b. What are the features that show that sexist language is tackled differently in English?

2. What are the features that demonstrate the impact of the L1 and gender on the perception of (non-)sexist language in English?

The second and third questions are addressed using data collected from a questionnaire specifically designed for this study. Questionnaires were chosen as a data-gathering tool because they have been widely used in studies dealing with attitudes, reasons, and beliefs, and they have proven particularly useful in linguistics and many other social sciences (Sunderland 2010:15-19). This questionnaire consisted of sets of questions dealing with the use and perception of sexist language in English, but it also gathered information about the opinions of the participants regarding sexist language in Finnish and Spanish. Given the aforementioned linguistic differences between Finnish and Spanish, I expected:

2. That Finns and Spaniards would use linguistic gender differently, more particularly:

   a. That Finns would use more genderless pronouns in singular such as singular *they* and *one*, because Finnish has no gender pronouns.

   b. Spaniards would be more likely to use feminine nouns such as *actress* and *poetess* if the referent is a woman, because feminizing is a common strategy used in Spanish to render women visible in the language.

   c. Spaniards would be more likely to use *double-ups* of the type *he or she*, *him or her*, *father or mother* because these visualization strategies

are used to avoid plural masculine forms in Spanish, whereas in Finnish, specifying gender may be regarded as sexist.

d. That Finns would avoid masculine generic pronouns such as *him*, *him*, and *his* when the gender is unknown or irrelevant. This can be interpreted as Finns being more aware of the use of masculine pronouns used in a sexist way.

e. That Spaniards would be less likely than Finns to use masculine generic nouns and adjectives to refer to women (e.g. *chairman* and *spokesman*). Even if in both languages these forms are controversial, and masculine titles are still more common in Finnish for referring to women, due the relatively minimal attention that sexist language has received in Finland when compared with Spain.

Regarding the differences between genders, I expected:

3. That men and women would use gender differently:

a. That men would use masculine generic forms such as *he, him* and *his* and nouns such as *postman* and *chairman* more frequently, and would be less likely to use feminine-gendered forms such as *chairwoman* or double-ups such as *he/she*.

b. That women would use neutralization strategies such as *chair* and/or *letter carrier* and visualization strategies such as *chairwoman*, because studies have shown that women are more likely to use non-sexist language alternatives than men are (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014).

Regarding the qualitative part of the questionnaire, the expectations were that the study would provide us with a deeper understanding of linguistic choices, attitudes, and opinions about sexist language in English. It would also provide us with important information on the extent to which the participants are aware of the differences between grammatical and referential gender, how they define sexist

language, and whether they endorse practices for avoiding sexist language, not only in English, but also in their respective L1s.

5.3 Validity and pilot tests

Various guidelines were consulted before creating the questionnaire (Fink 2003, Aldridge & Levine 2001, Saris & Gallhofer 2007, Vaus 2013, Sapsford 1999, Nardi 2003, Flick 2007, Rugg and Petre 2007, David & Sutton 2004). Both questionnaire and eye tracking studies were tested before the final data-gathering process, not only in order to insure that there were no errors but also that they were effective tools in answering the research questions. Six volunteers who graduated from the targeted study programs participated in the pilot study of the eye tracking experiment. This was useful in testing the positioning of the eye-tracker, the lighting, the calibration, and the reading exercise itself. After the pilot study, there were some minor adjustments made in the reading exercise, such as the sequence of the sentences or the display of these on the screen in order to facilitate the reading.

For the questionnaire, the pilot test was administered to 28 people who belonged to the target group. Based on the results and the feedback received, two major changes were made: (1) the last question of the cloze test consisted of a text with nine blanks that was shortened to five because the participants of the pilot test found this paragraph too long and complicated. (2) Question 13, which was originally phrased as follows: "Is there a difference between grammatical and referential gender?" was reworded as "Is there a difference between grammatical and referential (biological) gender?" because of the complaints that this question was difficult to answer. That is why I added the word *biological* in brackets after *referential* because at the time I thought that providing a descriptive synonym would help without interfering or providing the right answer. However, later I realized that by using *biological*, I was implying that there were only two genders and ignoring the reality of non-binary and transgender people. For this, I apologize. Knowing now what I know today, I would probably have kept the question as originally formulated.

5.4   Sample

Participants were recruited from two universities: the University of Alcalá and Tampere University. To insure the subjects' proficiency in English, the sample was drawn among university students of English. Students from Alcalá were either studying Modern Languages and Translation or English studies. In Tampere, they were students with a major or minor in the English language. I visited lectures in Tampere that were part of the Degree Program in English Language, Literature and Translation, the Master's Program in Cultural Studies and the Program in Multilingual Communication and Translation Studies. In Alcalá, I visited lectures from the Degree Programs in English Studies and Modern Languages and Translation (from both Alcalá and Guadalajara campuses). The eye tracking data was gathered during the spring of 2018 and the questionnaire data the following academic year. During the recruitment process for the eye tracking study, I visited lectures and seminars from the above-mentioned programs in order briefly to explain my research project. After this, I distributed a list with different time slots that participants could select. The questionnaire data was gathered the following academic year in situ from students attending courses from the above-mentioned programs. However I prioritized the courses taught in classrooms with access to computers to facilitate the data gathering process. If the instructors agreed, I went to the lectures 15 minutes before they ended in order to explain the purpose of the questionnaire and asked participants to fill it in.

5.5   Eye tracking study

The choice of eye tracking methodology is based on the belief that perceptual processes affect conceptual processes. This is known as the eye-mind hypothesis, which is associated with theories of cognitive control. These theories support the hypothesis that eye movements are a direct response to the ongoing processing needs of the reader (see Henderson & Ferreira 1990, Just & Carpenter 1980, Reali *et al.* 2014, Reichle, Pollatsek, Fisher & Rayner 1998). More particularly, it is argued that eye tracking measurements are "the best measure of moment-to-moment comprehension processes" (Rayner *et al.* 2009:252) which helps us to determine what people "might be thinking about and how much cognitive effort they expend doing so" (Conklin *et al.* 2018: xiii).

The device used for measuring eye movements is commonly known as an eyetracker. There are four categories of eye movement measurement methodologies: (1) electro-oculography (EOG), (2) scleral contact lens/search coil, (3) photo-oculography (POG) or video-oculography (VOG), and (4) video-based combined pupil and corneal reflection (Duchowski 2003:57). However, the most commonly used eye trackers are video-based. This type of eye tracker uses the video images of the eyes to determine the gaze vector. To provide this measurement, either the head must be fixed so that the eye's position relative to the head and point of regard coincide, or multiple ocular features, such as the corneal reflection (of a light source, usually infra-red) and the center of the pupil center must be measured in order to disambiguate head movement from eye rotation (Duchowski 2003:58).

Figure 8. Relative positions of the pupil and corneal reflections, also known as Purkinje reflections or Purkije images (Duchowsk 2007:58). The white circle represents the infrared reflection and the black represents the pupil. These positions and corneal reflections correspond to the 9 calibration points that eye trackers use to gather data.
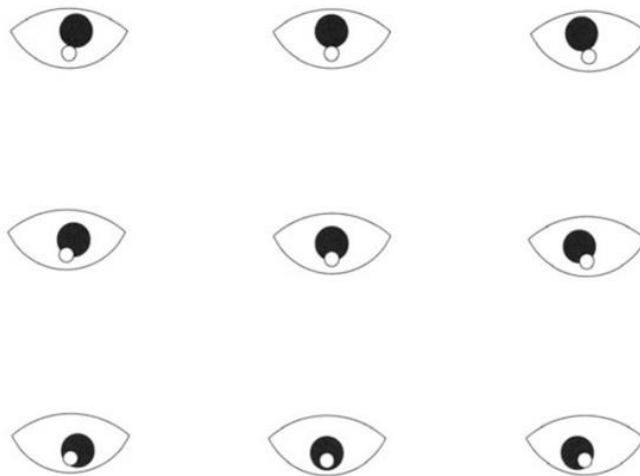
In this experiment, the tracker used a light source, in this case, an infra-red light, to record the corneal reflection. This type of tracker calculates the difference between the pupil center and the corneal reflection to distinguish eye movements from head movements, as the difference between those remains constant with minor head movements, but changes with eye rotation (see figure 8).

Figure 9. Eye movements: saccades and fixations. The dot represents fixations and the lines saccades.

There are two basic movements that the eye performs during reading: fixations and saccades. Fixations are the periods of time when the eyes stay still and new information is acquired (see figure 9). Saccades are defined as eye movements. However "we do not obtain new information during a saccade because the eyes are moving so quickly across the stable visual stimulus that only a blur would be perceived" (Rayner 2009:1459). Hence the interest is in studying fixations.

There are three characteristic traits of fixations that have proven to be very useful in research: (1) first fixation duration, (2) gaze duration, and (3) total fixation time (see figure 10). The Fixation duration is "the duration when the word is entered for the first reading. Gaze duration represents the sum of all fixations made on a word during the first pass reading prior to movement to another word" and total fixation duration measures the sum of the duration for all fixations (Hyrskykari 2006:53). Eye tracking studies dealing with visual attention have also paid attention to other variables, such as the frequency of regression and probability of fixation on the word, because longer fixation times and a higher number of regressions indicate greater difficulties in processing a region (Rayner 2009:243, Reali *et al.* 2014:992).

Figure 10. Examples of saccades, fixations, and regressions[51]

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[51] The number inside the dots represents the order of the fixations, while their size represents the time. The larger the dot, the longer the fixation. Between fixation number 5 and 6, there is a backward saccade or regression. The word *his* has two visit counts (fixation 3 and 6).

Given that this study deals with the cognitive effort expended in the processing of words that are perceived as sexist and their alternatives, this study focuses on the study of fixations and regressions (from here onwards referred to as visit counts). More particularly, it compares the fixation times and visit counts between the two language groups and genders, because as discussed, these two measurements reflect difficulties in the processing of an area or word.

5.5.1   Materials

For the eye tracking study, I designed a set of 61 sentences that consisted of trial sentences, filler sentences, and experimental sentences (see list of sentences in appendix B). Trial sentences are usually shown at the beginning of the exercise, in order for participants to become accustomed to the eye tracker and the reading task. Filler sentences are used to prevent participants from becoming familiarized with the experimental sentences and from developing expectations about the research. Experimental sentences are essential to answering the research questions (Marinis 2010:142, Esaulova *et al.* 2013:784).

The creation of the experimental sentences began with the selection of over 30 items from handbooks and guidelines for non-sexist language in English, i.e. the UNESCO guidelines (1999), EU guidelines (European Commission 2008, 2018), and the *Handbook of Nonsexist Writing* (Miller & Swift 1980). The experimental sentences were categorized into six groups according to the type of experimental item that these sentences contain:

a)   lexical gender: masculine nouns

b)   lexical gender: feminine nouns

c)   lexical gender: neutral nouns

d)   grammatical gender: masculine generic pronouns

e)   grammatical gender: genderless pronouns

f)   grammatical gender: masculine and feminine pronouns.

Groups (a), (b), and (d) contain items that are regarded as sexist, group (f) uses visualization strategies for avoiding sexist language, and groups (c) and (e) use neutralization strategies.

These sentences were created to be as truthful and real as possible, in order to prevent participants from becoming distracted by the content of the sentences[52]. If they stated facts, these were based on real or at least plausible events. For example, one of the sentences was the following: 'Paula Risikko is the current *chairperson* of the Parliament of Finland', which was true, because Paula Risikko was, in fact, the chairperson or Speaker of the Parliament of Finland when the study was conducted. If there were any names provided as gender cues in the sentences, these were undoubtedly either masculine or feminine both for Finnish speakers and Spanish speakers. A more detailed account of the sentences and each group are given in the following section.

a) Lexical gender: masculine nouns and adjectives (sexist language)

The group is comprised of sentences with masculine forms that are often regarded as generic, i.e. *man*, *mankind*, *man-made*, and occupational nouns ending in *-man*, e.g. *spokesman*. In the case of masculine occupational nouns, these were preceded by female gender cues, in most cases, by proper female names such as Mari Murunen and Claudia Tenney[53]. As mentioned in subsection 4.3, there are many occupational nouns in Finnish that end in *-mies* 'man' that are used for both men and women. Some Finnish speakers considered these forms true generic forms. On the other hand, in Spanish, feminine forms, i.e. *jueza* 'judgess' and *concejala* 'councilwoman', are used to render women visible and to avoid masculine forms, but in languages such as Finnish or English expressing gender when it is unnecessary, i.e. *tuomaritar* or *naistuomari*, can be perceived as sexist and irrelevant. The sentences that were included in this category are the following:

(1) Evidence shows that *men* and dinosaurs never coexisted.

(2) The earliest evidence of *man-made* fire dates back a million years ago.

(3) Mari Murunen, *spokesman* from the Finnish Environment institute, says the Baltic Sea is highly polluted.

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[52] For that same reason, neopronouns such as *Zie, zim, zir*, which are not widely used, were not included in any of the sentences, despite constituting a neutralization strategy. Moreover the experimental sentences did not include items that could be viewed as degrading or insulting, jokes, and/or idioms, since the study does not deal with that area of sexism.

[53] The reason I did not include sentences with masculine occupational titles and masculine gender cues was that the resulting sentences would have not been considered sexist.

(4) Claudia Tenney just sworn in as *freshman* Congresswoman.

b) Lexical gender: feminine nouns (sexist language)

This group is formed by sentences containing derived female nouns ending in *-ess* because none of the other female suffixes that exist in English are as productive or as common. As discussed in section 4.1.1, nouns ending in *-ess* tend to be perceived either as archaic or as sexist. However, all the feminine nouns used in these sentences were listed in the dictionary:

(5) Anna Wintour works as an *editress* for Vogue magazine.

(6) Louise Arner Boyd was an American *adventuress* who wrote extensively of her explorations.

(7) Gloria Fuertes was a Spanish *poetess* who wrote for kids.

(8) J.K Rowling is one of the bestselling *authoress* of all times thanks to Harry Potter series.

(9) When I went back, Miss Lee, the *headmistress* of the school asked why I had been absent.

(10) Penelope Cruz became the first Spanish-born *actress* to win an Oscar.

c) Lexical gender: neutral nouns (neutralization strategy)

This group contains sentences with genderless nouns that according to non-sexist language guidelines can be used to avoid sexist nouns such as the ones found in groups (a) and (b). The neutralization strategies used to avoid gendered nouns are probably the most productive and commonly used in English nowadays. For that reason, it was difficult to create sentences in which the presence of a strategy was perceptible and did not come across as strident. The only examples I could find were *hero* and *actor* as alternatives to *actress* and *heroine*, and using *-person* instead of *-woman* or *-man* in some occupational titles such as *chairman*:

(11) Paula Risikko is the current *chairperson* of the Parliament of Finland.

(12) Tomb Raider is one of the most famous *heroes* in gaming.

(13) Meryl Streep is the *actor* with the most Golden Globes nominations.

d) Grammatical gender: masculine generic (sexist language)

This group contains sentences in which the masculine pronouns *he, his*, and *him* are used as generic pronouns. Using masculine pronouns when the referent's gender is irrelevant or unknown is not a unique feature of English. As a matter of fact, Spanish masculine pronouns may serve the same purpose. In Finnish, however, pronouns are genderless and therefore this does not occur in that language.

(14) As someone grows older, *he* grows more reflective.

(15) Tell that special person you love *him* before *he's* gone.

(16) Every student should take pen and paper with *him* before entering the class.

e) Grammatical gender: genderless pronouns (neutralization strategy)

This group contains sentences that have been rephrased to avoid the masculine generic pronouns *he, him*, and *his*. Non-sexist language guidelines provide several alternatives, the best known of which are the pronouns *one* and *singular they*. Some of these forms may be considered ungrammatical (see sentences 19 and 20, which contain *themself*[54]). However they were used because it is the reflexive form of *singular they* and it is used as a neutralization strategy (Cambridge Dictionary 2022).

(17) If *one* is to rule, and to continue ruling, *one* must be able to dislocate the sense of reality.

(18) On a day like today, anyone would want to wear *their* best clothes.

(19) 'How someone could kill *themself*?' She wondered.

(20) The reader has to decide for *themself* how to approach the text.

(21) The mother or father of the student should send *their* approval for the trip to Paris.

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[54] *Themself* was the only existing reflexive form of *they* in 1300. The first records of *themselves* are from 1466. Later, *themselves* became the preferred form, although *themself* never completely disappeared. It was still used by renowned writers such as Emily Dickson and F. Scott Fitzgerald in their letters, and it is been found more recently in publications such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* (Merriam-Webster 2019).

(22) The discussion will be a success if everyone contributes with *their* discussion.

f) Grammatical gender: masculine and feminine pronouns (visualization strategy)

Early guidelines recommended using double-up pronouns such as *she or he, he/she, his or her, etc.* to replace masculine generic pronouns. Although these formulas are no longer recommended in English because they fail to include non-binary people, they are still widely used in Spanish, whereas in Finnish, they are not used due to the absence of grammatical gender in that language.

(23) One of the duties of a USA citizen is to serve in a jury when *he or she's* called upon.

(24) When a nurse comes on duty *s/he* starts by checking on *his/her* patients.

(25) Once a doctor is ready to operate, *she or he* must wash *his or her* hands.

Filler sentences

Filler sentences were used to prevent participants from developing expectations about the study. These sentences were grammatically and semantically similar to the experimental sentences. However the filler sentences were carefully designed so as not to contain words or expressions that could be deemed sexist. For example:

(27) Before and after each class, students and teacher stand, bow and thank each other.

(28) One for both, both for each other.

(29) Antonio Banderas will play Picasso in two different roles.

(30) Jamie Oliver closes flagship Barbecoa restaurant

As seen from the last two examples, some of these sentences included the names of famous male people to mimic those which contained female names and female occupational nouns (see sentences 7 and 8).

5.5.2 Design/procedure

For the reading exercise, participants were seated 60 cm from a 25-inch screen, a keyboard, and a mouse, in a room with no natural light, at the library of the University of Alcalá. In Tampere, the reading exercise took place in a university laboratory specially designed for this type of research called GazeLab (see figure 11).

Figure 11. Eye tracking setup in Tampere

The tracker chosen was Tobii X2-60, which produces data at the rate of 60 samples per second. The same tracker and computer were used in Tampere and Alcalá, since both were portable. The software used to collect the data was Tobii Studio 3.4.7.1326. The eye-tracker was attached to the display as shown in Figure 13. The computer system was Windows 10 Home, the processor was Intel ®Core ™ i5-3337U CPU, and the screen resolution 1920 x 1080.

Before the experiment began, the subjects were informed that the study consisted of a reading task and a questionnaire and the total time reserved for both tasks was 60 minutes: 15 to 30 minutes for the reading tasks and the calibration, and up to 20 minutes for the questionnaire. Participants were asked to comprehend what they read and to read at their normal pace, not too slow, not too fast. They were informed that they could take a break, stop, or leave at any point without giving any reason. Once the participant was informed about the tasks and signed

the agreement, eye calibration was verified using a nine-point calibration (see figure 8). After the calibration, participants read a brief description of the task and a set of trial sentences on the screen in order to become familiar with the exercise. At this point, they were asked again whether they had any questions. If they did not, they moved on to read the rest of the sentences.

Figure 12. Sentence display
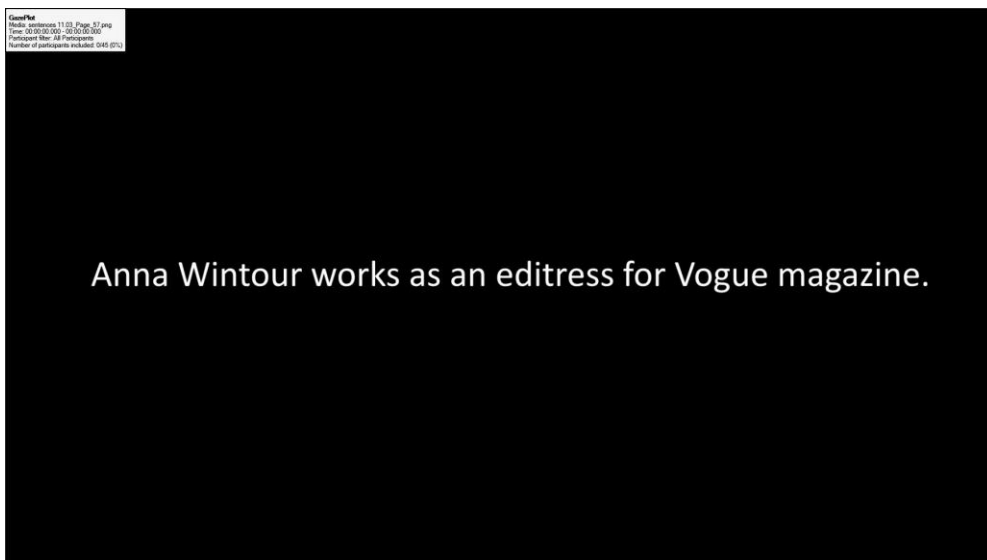
Figure 13. In-between sentences display
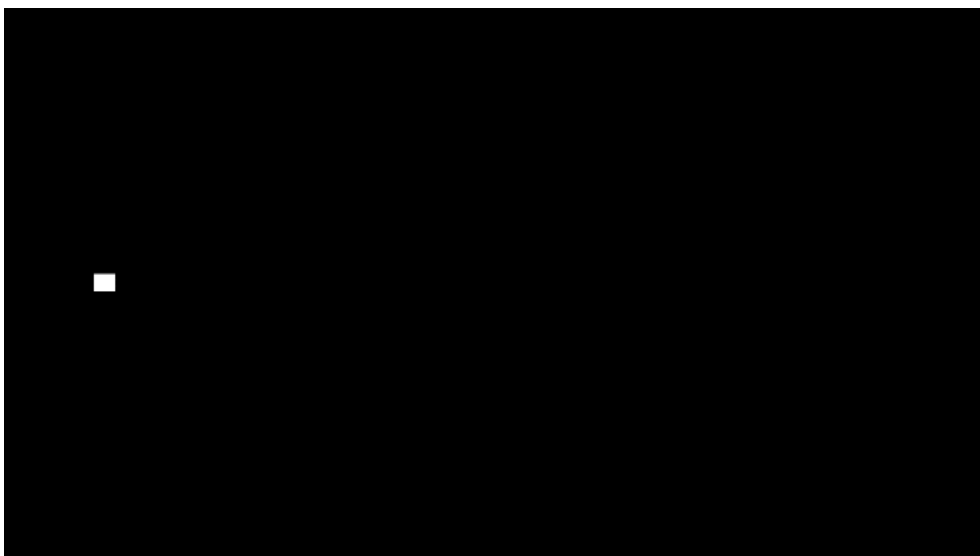
Since the program did not permit the randomization of the sentences, the sequence of the sentences was as follows: three filler sentences and three experimental sentences. Sentences were shown one at a time on a black screen with a white font size of 36 (see figure 12). In between the sentences, there was a black slide with a dot that marked where the first word of the following sentences would be located (see figure 13). Participants had control over their own reading pace. They chose when the next sentence would appear by pressing the space bar after each sentence or in-between-sentences slide. After the reading task, participants were asked to fill in the questionnaire.

5.5.3   Data cleaning

After the data was collected, each recording was reviewed to verify that it was suitable for the analysis (see figures 14, 15 and 16). In some cases, errors in the calibrations showed imperfections in the recordings. For instance, in some recordings, some fixations were offset by a small margin. This was not a significant problem, as the boxes of the Areas of Interest (AOI) (see figures 17 and 18) were made bigger than the actual words to be able to include these offset fixations.
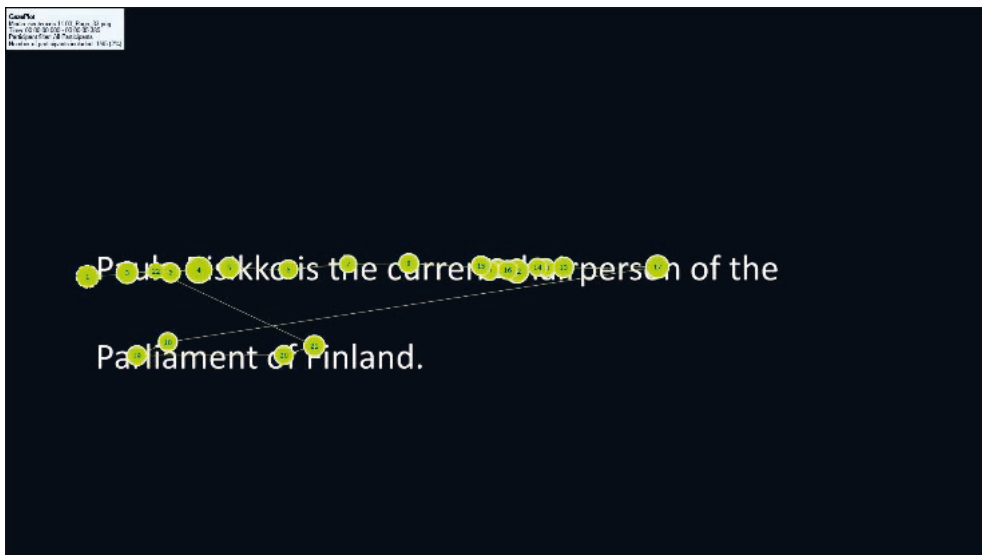
Figure 14. Eye movement data where calibrations are aligned

Recordings with vertically misaligned data was used; however the data with horizontal misalignment was rejected, because it was difficult to tell which words the offset calibrations belonged to (figures 15 and 16 show discarded recordings). In total, six recordings were excluded because of systematic errors or misalignments.

Figure 15. Eye movement data in which the calibrations are horizontally misaligned and slightly misaligned vertically.

Figure 16. Eye movement data in which the calibrations are horizontally and vertically misaligned.

Each experimental sentence was divided into AOI. The boxes for the AOI were made bigger than the actual size of each word to allow misaligned fixations to be counted for the analysis (see figures 17 and 18). The AOIs were used to obtain total fixation durations and visit counts of each participant on each AOI. Total fixation duration measures the sum of the duration for all fixations within an AOI and visit counts measures the number of times the participant fixates on an AOI (Tobii Studio 2016:111). Both measures include zeros in the descriptive statistical calculations when the recording has not registered any fixation or if the participants have not fixated on the AOI, with the exception of one participant whose recording did not show any data in the last minutes of the study. In this case, these were removed because the eye tracker stopped recording (i.e. it stopped working). The software used for this task was Tobii Studio.

Figure 17. AOI's boxes in the sentence "15. Tell that special person you love him before he's gone"
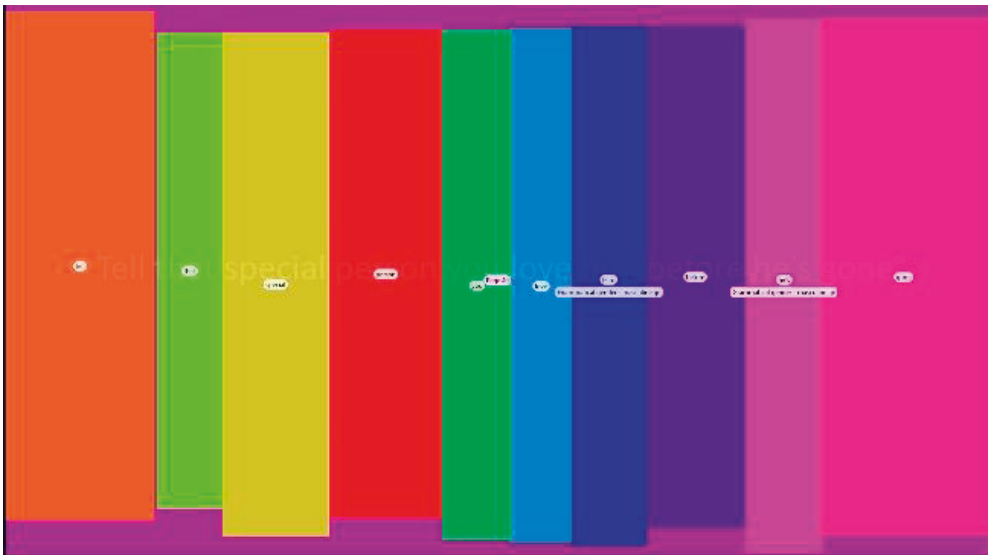
Figure 18. AOI's boxes in the sentence "13. Meryl Streep is the actor with the most Golden Globes nominations"
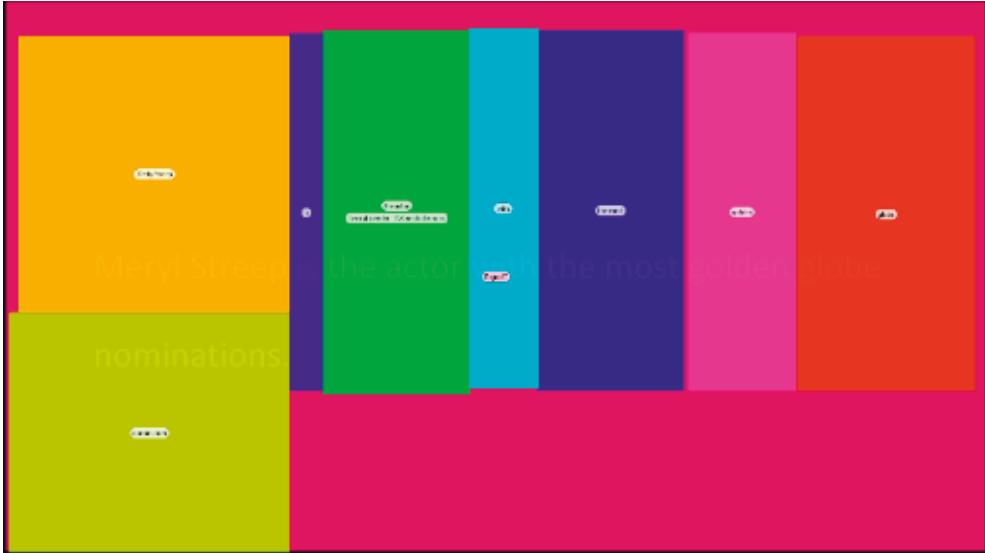
5.5.4   Statistical analysis

Once the data was cleaned, they were imported and analyzed using SPSS. The test used for the analysis was the Multi-factor ANOVA test because it analyses the effect of the variables and simultaneously identifies any possible interaction effect (Pallant 2007:258). In this case, gender and L1 were the independent variables, and the dependent variable was either fixation times or visit count. This test aimed to investigate whether language and/or gender had any effect on the fixation times or the visit counts of each AOI.

5.5.5   Informants

As explained in subsection 5.4, all eye tracking data was recorded in the spring of 2018. In total, 53 participants volunteered to participate in the eye tracking study in both countries, however the final sample consisted of 42 participants. There was one participant who could not take part in the reading experiment of the study

because of difficulties calibrating the eye tracker[55]. Of the 52 participants who took part in the eye tracking study, ten were excluded because two participants did not speak Spanish nor Finnish as their L1, two were gender non-conforming, one non-binary and the remaining six were excluded because the data obtained from the recordings was not good enough for the analysis.

The Spanish sample group consisted of 22 native speakers of Spanish (6 male, 16 female). Participants were born between 1985 and 1992 (mean 1997, median 1998) and had been studying at University for one to five years (2.3 mean, median 2). All participants said that Spanish was their L1. Three participants were bilingual: they all were exposed to Spanish from childhood and used it in everyday life; school, work, university, and their other L1s were only used at home with one or both parents. Their second L1s were Galician, Polish, and Bulgarian.

The Finnish sample group consisted of 20 informants (seven males and 13 females) born between 1988 to 1998 (mean 1993, median 1994). They had been studying at university for one to seven years (mean 2.69, median 2). They were all native speakers of Finnish except for one participant who also had Swedish as his L1. They were all major students in the degree program in English Language, Literature and Translation, except for three participants who were major students in Lifelong Learning and Education, Scandinavian Languages and Nordic Languages, Literature and Translation respectively, but all had English as a minor.

5.6 Questionnaire

The aim of the questionnaire is to investigate how the L1 influences the beliefs about sexist language in an L2. More particularly, how Spanish and Finnish speakers perceive and use (non-)sexist language in English. The questionnaire was chosen as the most appropriate data collection method, because it allows for gathering unified responses that can be compared across different variables. Moreover questionnaires and/or surveys have been widely used in studies dealing with attitudes, reasons, and beliefs, and they have proven to be particularly useful in linguistics and many other social sciences (Sunderland 2010:15-19). Various guidelines were consulted before crafting the questionnaire (Fink 2003, Aldridge & Levine 2001, Saris & Gallhofer 2007, Vaus 2013, Sapsford 1999, Nardi 2003) and

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[55] However he did fill in the questionnaire.

to assist in the quantitative (Cohen & Lea 2004, Davis 2013) and qualitative analysis of the questions (Flick 2007, Rugg & Petre 2007, David & Sutton 2004).

5.6.1　Materials

The questionnaire was administered using Elomake, an online tool that was available at Tampere University, which facilitated the distribution and collection process, and further analysis of the data. As mentioned above, the questionnaire was designed to collect quantitative and qualitative data, because such a combination has proven to be extremely useful for a better understanding of the various phenomena under investigation (Angouri 2010:33). This questionnaire consisted of open and close-ended questions. Close-ended questions are conclusive as they are used to gather quantifiable data. They are easy to code and analyse using statistical methods. Furthermore, they permit the categorization of the participants, based on the answers they choose. On the other hand, open-ended questions give participants the flexibility to answer in their own words and they are extremely useful in capturing "respondents' thoughts without influencing or constraining them with close-ended response options" (Dillman, Smyth & Christian 2014:132).

Figure 19. Questionnaire design
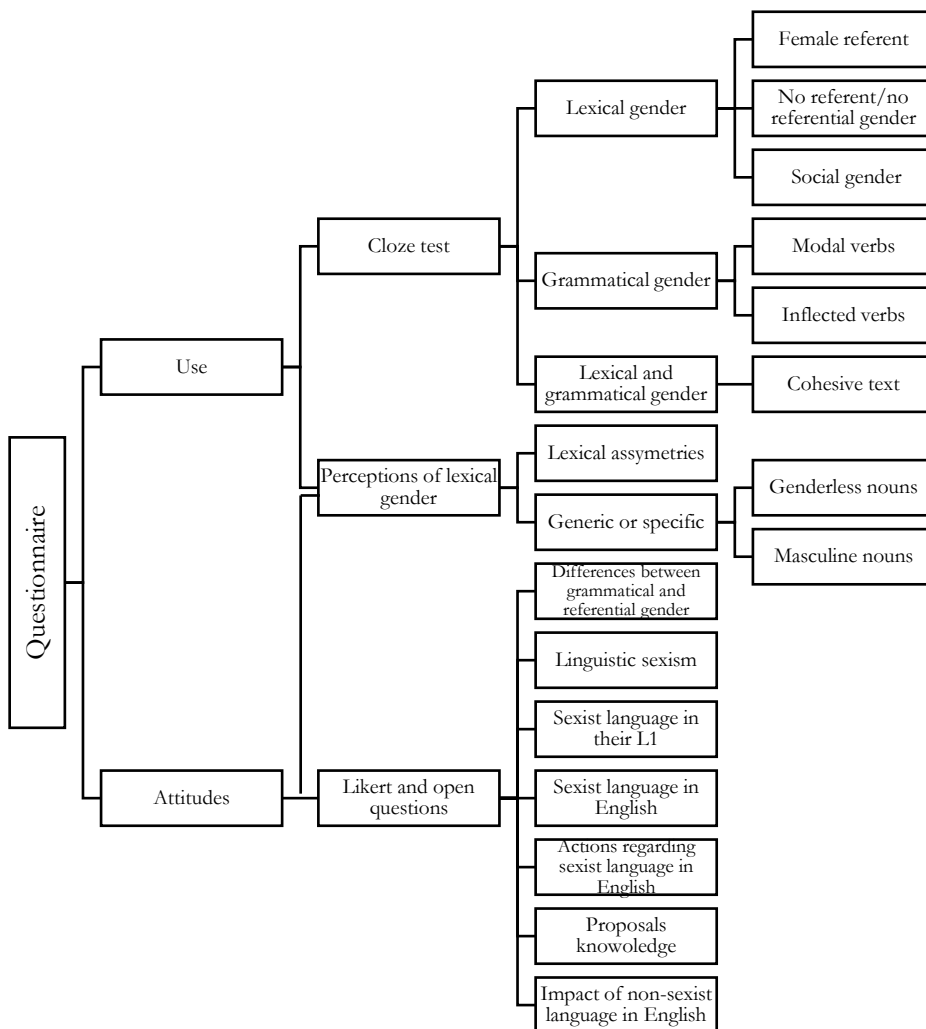
The first section of the questionnaire dealt with language use and consisted of the cloze test and multiple-choice questions regarding the perception of lexical gender (see figure above). The cloze test involved a set of ten unrelated sentences and a small coherent text. More specifically, the sentences dealing with lexical gender could be divided into (1) sentences with female referents (referential gender), (2) sentences with no referential gender nor any other gender cues, and (3) sentences with no gender cues but strong social gender. The sentences containing female referents were used to investigate whether participants would opt for a female noun, i.e. *poetess* or *actress*, despite the pejorative connotations that these forms

convey. The sentences with no gender cues inquired about occupational titles that were traditionally carried out by men. The goal was to investigate whether participants would opt for traditional masculine occupational nouns such as *postman* or *mailman*, or genderless alternatives such as *mail carrier* or *postie*. The sentences with no gender cues but strong social gender required participants to name low prestige occupational titles that tend to be feminized, i.e. *cleaning lady* or *nanny*, despite the possibility of using well-known alternatives that do not convey gender, i.e. *cleaner* or *babysitter* to study whether social gender would trigger the use of lexical gendered nouns.

The sentences dealing with grammatical gender had singular and genderless referents. However (4) two of these sentences had auxiliary verbs, which means that the verb is not inflected, and the subject-verb agreement is maintained regardless of the pronoun used. In the other two, however, (5) the verbs were in the third person singular, so grammatically they only accept pronouns and noun phrases in the singular. This was purposely done to investigate the preference of the gendered third-person singular pronouns in different scenarios.

The text was originally from a speech given by John F. Kennedy that contained both lexical and grammatical masculine generic forms. It provided an interesting opportunity to study whether the participants would choose between so-called masculine generics, e.g. *man* or *he*, or for more gender-neutral alternatives, such as *humankind*, *person*, *singular they*, or visualising strategies such as *man/woman* or *he/she*.

The section called Perceptions of Lexical Gender investigated the opinion of the participants regarding lexical gendered items. The first task consisted of a set of words with different lexical genders which contained lexical asymmetries such as *bachelor/spinster* and *mister/mistress*. In this question, participants were asked to choose the one with negative connotations. In the second task, participants had to tell whether the nouns underlined in sentences were *generic*, *specific*, or *ambiguous*. These words were either masculine (i.e. *man* and *tailor*) or genderless (i.e. *actor* and *waiter*) and they all have well-known feminine alternatives.

The last section of the questionnaire combined Likert scale questions, which are more quantitative in nature, and open-ended questions which are qualitative. The first measured the extent to which a sample group agreed or disagreed with a particular question or statement, and they facilitate the process of drawing conclusions (Batterton & Hale 2017). The open questions, on the other hand, sought to get a deeper understanding of the thoughts and opinions that the participants expressed in the Likert scale questions. As a whole, these questions deal with seven different subtopics: (1) the differences between grammatical and

referential gender, (2) linguistic sexism, (3) sexist language in the L1, (4) in English, (5) actions regarding sexist language in English, (6) attitudes towards the proposals for non-sexist language and their appliance, and (7) opinions regarding teaching non-sexist language during English lessons (see figure 19).

5.6.2   Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

The statistical analyses of the quantitative part of the questionnaire were performed with SPSS software 25 and 26 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, USA). The χ^2 test was used for independence which is used when the variables are categorical, such as with Likert scale questions. One of the advantages of using the χ^2 test is that it allows us to know whether the data collected and analyzed have significant differences or not. At the same time, it examines "the distribution of the data across the categories of our analysis" (Levon 2010:74). Given the differences between Finnish and Spanish discussed in chapter 4, it was expected:

1. That Finns and Spaniards would use linguistic gender differently, more particularly:

    1. That Finns would use more genderless pronouns in singular, such as *they* and *one*, because Finnish has no gender pronouns.

    2. Spaniards would be more likely to use feminine nouns such as *actress* and *poetess* if the referent is a woman, because feminizing is a common strategy used in Spanish to render women visible in the language.

    3. Spaniards would be more likely to use *double-ups* of the type *he or she*, *him or her*, *father or mother*, because these visualization strategies are used to avoid plural masculine forms in Spanish, whereas in Finnish, specifying the gender may be regarded as sexist.

    4. That Finns would avoid masculine generic pronouns such as *he*, *him*, and *his* when gender is unknown or irrelevant. This can be interpreted as Finns being more aware of the use of masculine pronouns used in a sexist way.

5. That Spaniards would be less likely than Finns to use masculine generic nouns and adjectives to refer to women (e.g. *chairman* and *spokesman*), because even if in both languages these forms are controversial, in Finnish, masculine titles are still used to refer to women and are still perceived as generic.

Regarding the differences between genders, it was expected:

2. That men and women would use gender differently:

   1. That men would more frequently use masculine generic forms, such as *he, him* and *his*, and nouns such as *postman* and *chairman*, and less likely to use feminine gendered forms such as *chairwoman* or double-ups such as *he/she*.

   2. That women are more likely to use either neutralization strategies such as *chair* and *letter carrier* and visualization strategies such as *chairwoman*, because studies have shown that women are more likely to use non-sexist language alternatives than men (Parks & Roberton 2002, 2005, Serrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014).

Various guidelines were consulted to determine and analyze the best method for the open-ended questions before, during, and after the data-gathering process (Flick 2007, Rugg & Petre 2007, David & Sutton 2004). The method chosen for the analysis was qualitative inductive content analysis, since this is used in data dealing with experiences and perspectives, because it provides meaningful descriptions of more personal issues (Kyngäs 2019:13). More particularly, it is very practical "when the data collection approach is open and follows loosely defined themes" (Kyngäs 2019:14), as is the case in hand. These open questions were designed to encourage participants to express their opinions on linguistic sexism (see the list of topics in figure 19). The inductive content analysis was executed in ten questions in total. Once the data was gathered, the open answers were coded and organized into categories following the steps proposed by Elo & Kyngäs (2007) and Kyngäs, Mikkonen & Kääriäinen (2019). After this, the data was abstracted and reported in the analysis of the results (see chapter 8).

5.6.3 Codebooks

Once all the data was gathered, the answers were imported into an Excel file to be coded. The cloze test questions shared a similar coding process, although they did not share the same codebook. Questions dealing with lexical gender have their own individual codebook, due to the diversity of answers, whereas questions dealing with grammatical gender shared the same codebook, because the answers were more or less similar. The open questions also shared a similar coding process, although they differed from the cloze test questions. Next, I discuss in detail the codebooks that were used for the cloze test questions and the open questions.

Cloze test codebook

As explained above, each lexical gender question has its own codebook, because they all received a different set of answers. In general, most responses received a unique code, even if they were incoherent or incorrect, in order to make frequent answers visible. For example, in Q2 "9.4 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays", the noun *deliverer* was assigned its own code, despite meaning *savior* rather than *letter carrier* (see the codebook in the table below).

Table 10. Codebook for the sentence "9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays."

answer	codeword	group code
postwoman	10	1
postman	20	2
mailman	21	2
(delivery) man	22	2
deliverer	23	5
mail delivery	24	5
post office	25	5
letter carrier/mail carrier/mail worker/mail person	30	3
post	39	5
mailman/mailwoman/postman/postwoman	40	3
Other	50	5

On the other hand, if a word did not come up more than three times, it was coded as *other-50*. For instance, in the sentence "9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves

of my jacket shortened", the category *other* includes answers such as *swift shop*, *sewer*, *sastrery*, *retoucherie*, *laundry*, *senyer*, *crafter*, *workshop*, *shopman*, and *policeman* (see table 11). After this, codes were grouped to allow for the statistical analysis (see table 12 for the group code).

Table 11. Codebook for the sentence "9.4 The _____ comes to my apartment once a week to do some basic chores, such as cleaning or doing the laundry, while I'm away working in the office."

answer	word code	group
no answer	0	0
cleaning lady	10	1
maid	11	1
girl/woman	12	1
boy/houseman	21	2
cleaner	30	3
housekeeper	31	3
person	32	3
helper	33	3
cleaning service/staff	34	3
other collective/genderless nouns (cleaning company, personnel, service)	35	3
janitor	36	3
Other	50	5

Table 12. Group codes

group	name
0	no answer
1	female form
2	masculine form
3	neutral form
4	masculine and feminine form
5	other
6	blank (deliberately) – when applicable

When assigning a group code to each answer, if a word given by the participants led to an ungrammatical or incoherent sentence, it received the group code other-5, and was excluded from the statistical analysis. For instance, answers such as *headmistress*, *master*, or *head, boss, and leader* in sentence number 5 were all grouped

into other-5, because they made the sentences incoherent and/or ungrammatical. For example:

1. Ana Botín was appointed *chairheadmistress* of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.

2. Ana Botín was appointed *chairmaster* of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.

3. Ana Botín was appointed *chairhead* of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.

Other examples of words excluded are the following in the statistical analysis stage:

4. Penelope Cruz is a Spanish *women* known for roles in such films as Vanilla Sky, Blow, Nine, and her Oscar-winning performance in Vicky Cristina Barcelona.

5. Any doctor should review (1) *he/her* notes before (2) *his/hers* performs an operation.

Some exceptions were made if there were some minor spelling errors. For example, in the sentence of the example 9.4, some participants wrote *actrice*, and in the sentence in example 9.5, some also wrote *poetise*, *poetress*, and *poetist* . These were all accepted as feminine words, due to their resemblance to *actress* and *poetress* respectively[56]. The sentences that dealt with grammatical gender share the same group codes as the answers dealing with lexical gender (see table 15).

Table 13.	Codebook for the answers dealing with grammatical gender
code	**answer**
0	I don't know
4	his/her/their
5	the
6	blank on purpose
7	what/that/who/which
10	she

---

[56] These answers were given their own unique code, because even if they resembled *actress* and *poetess*, they were not the exact answer given by students. For the statistical analysis, however, they were not excluded, and they were classified in the group to which they would have belonged had they been spelt correctly.

11	her
12	herself
13	woman
20	he
21	him
22	his
23	himself
24	man
30	they
31	singular noun
32	plural noun
33	yu
34	your
35	It
36	its
37	them
38	themselves
39	their
40	he or she
41	his or her
42	him or her
43	himself or herself
44	his/hers
45	man/woman
50	other

Once all the questions were coded in Excel, they were imported into SPSS for analysis.

Open Questions codebook

The open questions were analysed following inductive content analysis. If the previous answer consisted of a "yes or no" question or a Likert scale question, the answers to the open questions were divided according to the answers of the previous one. For example, the open question "17.1 Why do you think English is or is not a sexist language?" was preceded by "17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language: Strongly agree, agree, I don't know, disagree, strongly disagree". The answers to the open question were separated into

three groups: (1) Yes/ I agree, (2) no/I disagree, and (3) I don't know[57]. As suggested by Kyngäs, Mikkonen & Kääriäinen (2019:15) the answers were analyzed using open codes to form subcategories. Then, the codes were compared for similarities and differences which could determine whether the codes could be combined (see table 14 for the codebook used in the question "17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language.").

Table 14.	Code used for the inductive content analysis in "17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language"				
agree		disagree		I don't know	
code	answer	code	answer	code	answer
0	no answer	0	no answer	0	no answer
1.1	masculine generics	2.1	Languages are not sexist	3.1	first time to ponder it
1.2	lexical asymmetries	2.2	lack of grammatical gender	3.2	It can be sexist but it lacks grammatical gender
1.3	sexist idioms	2.3	masculine nouns are generics	3.4	not my L1, I can't have an opinion
1.4	grammatical gender	2.3	It has been fixed		
1.5	the patriarchy				
a	comparing their L1 with English	a	comparing their L1 with English	a	comparing their L1 with English
b	English is more sexist than their L1	b	English is more sexist than their L1	b	English is more sexist than their L1
c	English is less sexist than their L1	c	English is less sexist than their L1	c	English is less sexist than their L1
d	English is as sexist as their L1	d	English is as sexist as their L1	d	English is as sexist as their L1

As expected, some participants provided more than one argument or reason. In those cases, these answers were given more than one code. For example, if a student said that English was a sexist language because of masculine generics and sexist idioms, the code given was 1.2.3. (1: agree, 2:lexical asymmetries, 3:sexist idioms). Moreover some participants also explained how sexist English was in comparison with their L1. In these cases, a letter code was assigned. So code 2.2.b

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[57] The group *Yes* or *I agree* consists of the answers of the participants who answered *strongly agree* or *agree*, the group *No or Disagree* of the ones who answered *strongly disagreed*, and *disagreed* and *I don't know* of those who selected this opinion.

means that the participant said that English is not a sexist language because it lacks grammatical gender and that English is less sexist than their L1 (see table 14).

5.6.4 Informants

A small sample of the questionnaire data was gathered along with the eye tracking study. However due to the small number of participants in the eye tracking study, a bigger sample was gathered during the academic year 2018/19 from the same study programs. Before gathering the data, I got in touch with the people in charge of the English courses to ask permission to come to their lessons. If the instructors agreed, I went to the class 15 minutes before they ended to explain the purpose of the questionnaire and ask participants to fill it in. I prioritized the courses which were taught in classrooms with access to computers to facilitate the gathering process. The inclusion criteria for the subjects were as follows:

For the Spanish sample, the participants should:

1. Have Spanish as their first, or at least, second L1.

2. Be studying an English degree program.

For the Finnish sample, the participants should:

1. Have Finnish as their first, or at least, second L1.

2. Be studying English as a major or at least as a minor during their current studies.

In total, 349 people answered the questionnaire, of whom 206 were from Spain and 143 from Finland. However, 36 informants, 14 from the Spanish set and 22 from the Finnish one, were excluded from the sample as they did not meet all the inclusion criteria. Therefore, the final sample involved 327 participants, of whom 192 spoke Spanish (154 women, 38 men, 3 Spaniards who either didn't want to

disclose their gender or were non-binary[58]) and 132 Finnish (87 women, 35 men, and 10 Finns who either did not want to disclose their gender or are non-binary). Women had more representation in both samples due to the already existing gender imbalance in the study programs from which participants were recruited. In the following figure, the two populations are represented in percentages:

Figure 20. Gender and L1 of the participants
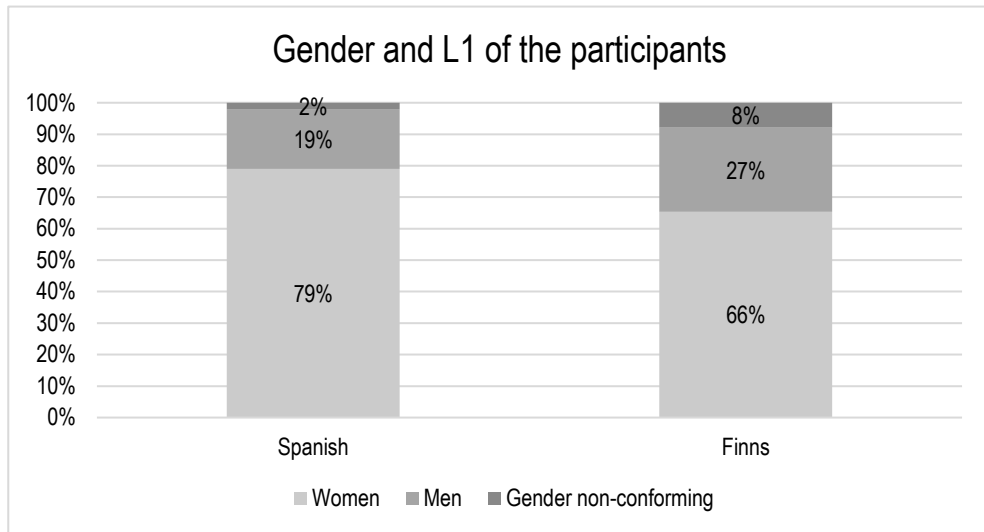
Non-binary people and those who did not want to specify their gender were placed under the same category, gender non-conforming, to give visibility to those who do not identify as men or as women. However the number of participants was so small in this category that it was not possible to use it as a variable for the statistical analysis.

The mean of the birth years of the participants was 1997 for Spaniards and 1995 for Finns. This means that at the time the data was gathered, the mean age was 21 for the Spanish informants and 23 for the Finnish ones (see table below). Despite the differences in ages, participants had been studying at university for a similar amount of time: 2.50 years for Spaniards (Std. Deviation: 0.960) and 2.95

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[58] From now on, non-binary participants and those who did not want to specify their gender will be grouped together. Despite this, the number of people in this category was too small for any statistical analysis. However, their answers are shown when gender was not relevant as a variable for the statistical analysis. If there had been more participants in the same category, a statistical analysis would have been carried out and they would not have been excluded.

(Std. Deviation: 2.122) for Finns (see figure 20). The age difference is due to several factors. First, in Finland, the upper secondary school lasts for two and a half to four years, whereas in Spain it only lasts two. Second, men in Finland are required to do military service, usually after finishing high school, which delays their academic studies by one year (The Finnish Defence Forces 2020). Third, it is not uncommon for Finns to take a gap year between high school and university and/or prepare for the entrance examinations for the program they want to take whereas Spaniards go straight from high school to University (Sánchez, 2018).

Table 15.	Number of years that participants had studied at university					
academic year	Spaniards		Finns		total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
1	8	4.1%	49	37.1%	57	17.4%
2	130	66.7%	20	15.2%	150	45.9%
3	14	7.2%	20	15.2%	34	10.4%
4	39	20.0%	10	7.6%	49	15.0%
5	2	1.0%	13	9.8%	15	4.6%
6	2	1.0%	11	8.3%	13	4.0%
7	0		5	3.8%	5	1.5%
8	0		1	0.8%	1	0.3%
+8	0		3	2.3%	3	0.9%
Total	195		132		327	

Of the 195 Spanish speaking people who match the criteria, 183 said that Spanish was their L1 and the remaining 13 said they had it as a second L1. In Finland, 130 spoke Finnish as an L1, and one person as a second L1.

The other criteria were that they had a good command of English, which is why only informants who were studying English were selected. All the Spanish participants majoring in English, either for a Bachelor's degree in English studies for a Bachelor's degree in Modern Language and Translation, or for a Bachelor's degree in Modern Languages applied to translation (see table below).

Table 16.	Main study program of the Spanish sample	
Program		n
Degree in English Studies (Alcalá)		76
Degree in Modern Languages and Translation (Alcalá)		64
Degree in Modern Languages Applied to Translation (Guadalajara)		52
Degree in English Studies (Alcalá) + Degree in Modern Languages Applied to Translation (Alcalá)		2

Degree in English Studies (Alcalá) + Degree in Modern Languages Applied to Translation (Guadalajara)	1

In Spain, the academic degree programs are fairly rigid, in the sense that the educational system does not allow students to apply for any minors, nor does it encourage them to take courses in other study programs. If a student wants to study other subjects, the most common procedure is to do it after completing a degree program or to apply to a program that already combines two major bachelor programs. For example, Universidad de Alcalá offers double degree programs in Tourism and Business studies or Electronic Communications Engineering and Electronics and Industrial Automation Engineering, but someone who is studying for a degree in English Studies would find many obstacles to enrolling in any other study program. However, in Finland, the educational system allows students to take majors and minors of their own choosing. That is why Finnish participants were asked to specify whether they study English as a major or a minor, and those who did not have English as either a major or a minor were excluded.

Table 17. Main study program of the Finnish sample	
program	**n**
Degree Program in English Language, Literature and Translation	92
Master's Program in Multilingual Communication and Translation Studies	15
Degree Program in English Language, Literature and Translation + Master's Degree Program in Cultural Studies	2
Other programs	23

The Finnish informants who said that they were studying English as a major were mostly studying in a bachelor's degree program in English Language, Literature and Translation (92), although some also reported studying in a master's degree program in Multicultural Communication and Translation studies (15) or a bachelor's degree program in English Language, Literature and Translation with a master's degree program in Cultural Studies (2) (see table 17). The Finnish participants who were not studying English as a major were majoring in other languages or studying educational sciences (see table 18).

Table 18. Main study program of the Finnish participants studying English as a minor (other

other programs	n
Degree program in Nordic Languages	8
Degree program in Finnish Language	1
Degree program in German Language	5
Degree program in Russian Language	1
Degree program in Education and Lifelong Learning	2
Degree program in Educational Sciences	1
Master's Program in Multilingual Communication and Translation Studies	3 (French -1, German -1, Russian -1)
Degree program in French Language	2
Total	23

This chapter sought to describe the methodology and the challenges encountered during the design and data gathering process. Further discussion of the analysis and results will be presented in the next three chapters. The results of the eye tracking study will be presented in Chapter 6, which seeks to analyze the language processing of (non-)sexist language in English. The results of the questionnaire will be presented in chapters 7 and 8. The first one discusses the results dealing with the language use and the latter one discusses the results with respect to attitudes and opinions toward (non-) sexist language in the L1 and in English.

6 LANGUAGE PROCESSING: EYE TRACKING RESULTS

The current chapter presents the results of the eye tracking study. As explained in section 5.5, the eye tracking study was used to examine the cognitive effort that native speakers of Finnish, a genderless language, and Spanish, a language with grammatical gender, undergo when reading sexist and non-sexist language in English, a language with notional gender. Studies suggest that eye movements are a direct response to the ongoing processing by the reader (Henderson & Ferreira 1990, Conklin *et al.* 2018:xiii, Just & Carpenter 1980, Rayner *et al.* 2009, Reali *et al.* 2014, Reichle, Pollatsek, Fisher & Rayner 1998). More particularly, it is argued that longer fixation times and higher numbers of visit counts reflect difficulties in the processing of an area or word (Rayner 2009:243, Reali *et al.* 2014:992). If languages influence thought and cognition (see section 2.1 Linguistic Relativity), then people with different first languages and gender systems should therefore process linguistic gender differently. Along with the L1, the gender of the informants was also used as a variable because studies have shown that women are more aware of sexist language and are also more likely to endorse non-sexist language proposals (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton, 2014). The eye tracking measurements that were used to examine cognitive effort during reading were total fixation times and visit counts. In total, there were 34 AOIs examined, which were distributed across 25 experimental sentences. These AOIs consisted of words regarded as sexist in English and their non-sexist alternatives. These non-sexist alternatives were either gender-specific (visualization strategies) or genderless (neutralization strategies). The variables used were the L1 of the participants and their gender. Despite a few statistically significant results, the ANOVA test did not reveal consistent effects in either of the measures. In the following section, the results of the tests are discussed in more detail. The list of all the sentences can be seen in appendix B.

6.1 Lexical gender: masculine nouns and adjectives

The group is comprised of sentences with masculine forms that are often regarded as generic and sexist: *man*, *mankind*, *man-made*, and *spokesman*. Sentences containing a masculine occupational noun were preceded by female gender cues, in most cases, by proper female names that were without any doubt feminine for both Spanish and Finnish speakers (see sentences 3 and 4). As previously discussed, Finnish has many masculine titles which are used for both men and women because they are still perceived as generic. However, in Spanish, the feminization of nouns is employed to render women visible in the language and/or to avoid masculine forms, even when a noun does not explicitly convey gender. The sentences that were included in this category are the following:

1. Evidence shows that *men* and dinosaurs never coexisted.

2. The earliest evidence of *man-made* fire dates back a million years ago.

3. Mari Murunen, *spokesman* from the Finnish Environment Institute, says the Baltic sea is highly polluted.

4. Claudia Tenney just sworn in as *freshman Congresswoman*[59].

The statistical analysis of the AOIs revealed that none of the results in this group were statistically significant (see table 19). Finns gazed longer at these AOIs with the only exception with *spokesman* (Spaniards: 0.97 seconds and Finnish: 0.66 seconds). However having longer fixation times did not imply a higher number of visits (see table 20). As a matter of fact, Spaniards had more visit counts than Finns in all the AOIs, except with *spokesman* (Spaniards: 1.63, Finns: 1.65). This means that Finns fixate fewer but longer periods of time than Spaniards.

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[59] Since *congresswoman* is not a masculine noun, the results of this AOI are shown in the following group.

Table 19.	Means of total fixation times in seconds in sentences with masculine nouns and adjectives						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. gender[60]	df
1	men	0.32	0.33	0.39	0.30		
2	man-made	1.30	1.30	1.53	1.20		
3	spokesman	0.97	0.66	0.59	0.93	0.060	1
4	freshman	0.87	1.03	0.82	1.00		

Regarding gender, women had longer means in the fixation times and visit counts when the AOI was a masculine title, i.e. *freshman* (men: 0.82 seconds and women: 1.00 seconds) and *spokesman* (men: 0.59 seconds and women: 0.93 seconds) but shorter in *man-made* (men: 1.53 seconds, women: 1.20 seconds) and *men* (men: 0.39 seconds and women: 0.30 seconds).

Table 20.	Means of visit counts in sentences with masculine nouns and adjectives				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
1	men	1.59	1.40	1.61	1.44
2	man-made	4.63	4.50	4.46	4.62
3	spokesman	1.63	1.65	1.38	1.75
4	freshman	4.13	4.10	3.61	4.34

6.2   Lexical gender: feminine nouns

Despite being perceived as archaic and/or sexist, the experimental sentences belonging to this group contain female derivational nouns ending in *-ess*. These female nouns were preceded by feminine gender cues (referential gender). Feminizing occupational titles in Spanish is a common practice. However in English and Finnish it is discouraged, because in many cases it results in derogatory female nouns. That means that for Spaniards, the feminization of the lexicon may be perceived as a non-sexist procedure, whereas for Finnish and English speakers it may be perceived as a sexist practice. These experimental sentences were:

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[60] These tables only include the columns "Sig. gender", "Sig. L1" and "Interaction effect" only when the results are statistically significant.

5. Anna Wintour works as an *editress* for Vogue magazine.

6. Louise Arner Boyd was an American *adventuress* who wrote extensively of her explorations.

7. Gloria Fuertes was a Spanish *poetess* who wrote for kids.

8. J.K Rowling is one of the bestselling *authoress* of all times thanks to Harry Potter series.

9. When I went back, Miss Lee, the *headmistress* of the school asked why I had been absent.

10. Penelope Cruz became the first Spanish-born *actress* to win an Oscar.

The analysis indicates that Finns looked slightly longer at feminine nouns than Spaniards, although none of these differences is statistically significant (see table 21). Spaniards' fixation means range from 1.12 seconds in *congresswoman* to 0.34 seconds in *actress*. For Finns, the means of fixation duration range from 0.24 seconds in *actress* to 1.27 seconds in *congresswoman*. For this group, the means of the fixation times in the words *poetess* (0.60 seconds) and *actress* (0.24 seconds) stand out for being the ones with the lowest means. Moreover, these are the only two words in which they did not fixate longer than Spaniards. Short fixation times can be due to the size of a word and/or the familiarity of the reader with it. In this case, there are similar size words in this group with longer fixating times, i.e. *editress* (0.85 seconds) and *authoress* (1.10 seconds). So the real reason may be that Finnish participants were more familiar or less surprised when they encountered *actress* and *poetess* than when they encountered the other feminine nouns.

Table 21.	Means of total fixation times in seconds in sentences with lexical gender				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
4	congresswoman[61]	1.12	1.27	1.24	1.17
5	editress	0.84	0.85	0.68	0.92

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[61] This AOI was in sentence 4, which was shown in a sentence belonging to the previous group.

6	adventuress	0.62	0.68	0.66	0.65
7	poetess	0.70	0.60	0.60	0.67
8	authoress	1.00	1.10	0.99	1.07
9	headmistress	0.82	0.84	0.66	0.91
10	actress	0.34	0.24	0.34	0.28

When it comes to gender, women have longer fixation times in *headmistress* (men: 0.66 seconds, women: 0.91 seconds), *editress* (men 0.68 seconds, women 0.92 seconds), *authoress* (men: 0.99 seconds, women 1.07 seconds), and *poetess* (men: 0.60 seconds, women: 0.67 seconds), while men have longer fixations in *actress* (men: 0.34 seconds, women: 0.28 seconds), *adventuress* (men: 0.66 seconds, women 0.65 seconds), and *congresswoman* (men: 1.24 seconds, women: 1.17 seconds).

Table 22.	Means of visit counts in sentences with lexical gender				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
4	congresswoman	4.72	4.45	4.30	4.72
5	editress	3.22	3.25	2.69	3.48
6	adventuress	2.81	2.75	2.69	2.82
7	poetess	1.29	1.19	1.12	1.29
8	authoress	1.95	2.10	2.00	2.03
9	headmistress	3.59	3.50	3.07	3.75
10	actress	1.18	0.85	1.07	1.00

The analysis of the means of the visit counts indicates that Spaniards had more visits than Finns in most words except in *editress* (Spaniards: 3.22, Finns: 3.25) and *authoress* (Spaniards: 1.95, Finns 2.10) (see table 22). Women also had more visits than men in these words except in *actress* (men: 1.07, women: 1.00). In some sentences, the gender cues that were anaphoric to the AOIs were analyzed to examine whether these played any role in the processing of gender. The results of those which were statistically significant are found in table 23.

sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. gender	sig. L1	interaction effect	df
Table 23. Means of fixation times in seconds and visit counts in the gender cues									
Means of fixation times in seconds									
4	Claudia Tenney	1.27	1.29	1.49	1.18	-	-	0.038	1
9	Miss Lee	0.92	0.76	0.87	0.84	-	0.024	-	1
10	Penélope Cruz	0.93	0.98	1.10	0.88	-	-	0.050	1
Means of visit counts									
4	Claudia Tenney	5.31	5.00	5.61	4.96	-	-	0.027	1
9	MissLee	4.13	3.40	3.61	3.86	0.020	0.005	-	1

These results revealed three gender cues that were statistically significant: (1) *Claudia Tenney* displayed gender and L1 interaction in both fixation times (p.value: 0.038, df:1) and visit counts (p.value:0.027, df:1), (2) *Miss Lee* in the means of the visit counts and fixation times, and (3) *Penélope Cruz* in the means of the fixation times. The analysis of the remaining gender cues did not reveal any statistically significant results.

6.3 Lexical gender: neutral nouns

This group contains experimental sentences with genderless nouns. Due to the few challenges that English poses for the adoption of neutralization strategies, it was difficult to create sentences where it was perceptible that such strategies were employed. The resulting sentences had female referential cues followed by genderless occupational nouns. More precisely, the sentences contained *hero*, *actor*, and *chairperson* as alternatives to *actress*, *heroine* and *chairwoman/chairman*.

11. Paula Risikko is the current *chairperson* of the Parliament of Finland.

12. Tomb Raider is one of the most famous *heroes* in gaming.

13. Meryl Streep is the *actor* with the most Golden Globes nominations.

Table 24.	Means of total fixation times in seconds in sentences with neutral nouns						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	Men	women	sig. L1	df
11	chairperson	1.13	0.74	0.81	1.00	0.092	1
12	heroes	0.38	0.44	0.48	0.38		
13	the actor	0.68	0.54	0.68	0.58		

None of these results is statistically significant. Overall, Spaniards had longer fixation times in *actor* (Spaniards: 0.68 seconds, Finns: 0.54 seconds) and *chairperson* (Spaniards:1.13 seconds, Finns: 0.74 seconds), but shorter on *heroes* (Spaniards: 0.38 seconds, Finns: 0.44 seconds) (see table 24). The analysis of gender indicates that women fixated longer in *chairperson* and shorter in *heroes* and *actor*. However the results of the visit counts revealed that men fixated more times in *actor* than women did (men: 2.61, women: 2.35), whereas women had more fixations in *heroes* (men: 1.61, women: 1.65) and *chairperson* (men: 3.30, women: 3.82). This later AOI was almost significant with gender as a variable (see table 25).

Table 25.	Means of visit counts in sentences with neutral nouns						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. L1	df
11	chairperson	4.27	3.00	3.30	3.82	0.054	1
12	heroes	1.40	1.90	1.61	1.65		
13	the actor	2.77	2.35	2.61	2.35		

6.4   Grammatical gender: masculine generic pronouns

This group consists of sentences with the masculine pronouns used as generics. In both English and Spanish, using masculine pronouns when referential gender is irrelevant or unknown is regarded as a sexist practice. However in Finnish, this does not occur, because all pronouns are genderless. None of the experimental sentences in this group has explicit referential gender, in order to study the processing of these forms in true generic contexts:

14. As someone grows older, *he* grows more reflective.

15. Tell that special person you love *him* before *he's* gone.

16. Every student should take pen and paper with *him* before entering the class.

Spaniards have a longer fixation means when they read masculine subject pronouns, i.e. *he's* (Spaniards: 0.44 seconds, Finns: 0.39 seconds) and *he* (Spaniards: 0.23 seconds, Finns: 0.23 seconds), while Finns have longer means when they encounter masculine object pronouns, i.e. *him* (Spaniards: 0.28 seconds, Finns: 0.35 seconds) and *with him* (Spaniards: 0.28 seconds, Finns: 0.40 seconds) (see table 26). Moreover, the means of the visit counts indicate that, even if Spaniards did not always fixate longer than Finns in these AOI, they did fixate more times. Exception: *him* (Spaniards: 1.27, Finns: 1.55) (see table 27).

Table 26.	Means of total fixation time in seconds in sentences with masculine generic pronouns						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. gender	df
14	He	0.23	0.23	0.16	0.26		
15	he's	0.44	0.39	0.47	0.38		
15	him	0.28	0.35	0.21	0.36	0.038	1
16	with him	0.28	0.40	0.32	0.35		

Concerning gender, the means of the total fixation times and visit counts indicate that women fixate longer and more often than men in these so-called masculine generics, with the only exception being *him* (total fixation time for men: 0.47 seconds and for women: 0.38 seconds, and visit counts for men: 1.61 and for women: 1.37). The analysis of the AOI *him* revealed that the difference in the total fixation times is statistically significant (p.value:0.038, df:1).

Table 27.	Means of visit counts in sentences with masculine generic pronouns				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
14	he	1.00	0.85	0.69	1.03
15	he's	1.59	1.30	1.61	1.37
15	him	1.27	1.55	0.92	1.62
16	with him	1.38	1.65	1.41	1.55

Despite the above-mentioned significant result in the fixation times of the AOI *him*, the results are not statistically significant, neither in the fixation times nor in the visit counts.

6.5 Grammatical gender: genderless pronouns

This group consists of sentences that have been rephrased in order to avoid the type of masculine generic pronouns that were used in the previous sentences. More particularly, these experimental sentences contain neutralization strategies. Some of the best-known neutralization alternatives to masculine pronouns include *one* or singular *they,* which were then used in these sentences:

17. If *one* is to rule, and to continue ruling, *one* must be able to dislocate the sense of reality.

18. On a day like today, anyone would want to wear *their* best clothes.

19. 'How someone could kill *themself*?' She wondered.

20. The reader has to decide for *themself* how to approach the text.

21. The *mother or father*[62] of the student should send *their* approval for the trip to Paris.

22. The discussion will be a success if everyone contributes *with their* ideas

Themself is the reflexive form of singular *they* and, despite being regarded as ungrammatical, it has existed long before *themselves* was coined (Merriam-Webster 2019). In the first sentence containing this form, participants fixated for almost a second (Spaniards 0.90 seconds, Finns 0.79), and as expected, in the second sentence containing *themself*, the total amount of time decreased by around 0.20 seconds (Spaniards 0.72 seconds, Finns 0.59 seconds) (see table 28). The visits to these AOI were also relatively high; Spaniards fixated 3.54 times and Finns 3.35

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[62] This AOI is analyzed in the following group.

times in the first sentence, and in the second one, Spaniards had 3.09 fixations and Finns 2.65 (see table 29).

Table 28.	Means of total fixation times in seconds in sentences with genderless pronouns						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	interaction effect	df
17	one1	0.74	0.42	0.53	0.61	0.036	1
17	one2	0.35	0.58	0.45	0.46	0.066	1
18	their	0.26	0.17	0.18	0.23		
19	themself	0.90	0.79	0.86	0.84		
20	themself	0.72	0.59	0.51	0.73		
21	their	0.28	0.17	0.18	0.25		
22	their	0.34	0.36	0.38	0.33		

Overall, the Spaniards had the longest fixation times in all the AOI, except for the second *one* in sentence 17 (Spaniards: 0.35 seconds, Finns: 0.58 seconds) and *their* in sentence 22 (Spaniards: 0.34 seconds, Finns: 0.36 seconds). The Spaniards also had more visits than Finns in sentences 18, 19, and 20 whereas the Finns had more fixations in sentences 17 and 22 (see table 29).

Table 29.	Means of visit counts in sentences with genderless pronouns				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
17	one1	1.45	1.75	1.53	1.62
17	one2	1.45	1.75	1.53	1.62
18	their	1.09	0.65	0.76	0.93
19	themself	3.54	3.35	3.38	3.48
20	themself	3.09	2.65	2.15	3.20
21	their	0.71	0.65	0.58	0.72
22	their	1.54	1.75	1.76	1.58

The results with respect to gender indicate that women fixated the longest and the most times in all AOI, except in *themselves* in sentence 20 (means of total fixation times for men: 0.86 seconds, women: 0.84 seconds) and *their* in sentence 22 (means of visit counts for men: 1.76, women: 1.58).

The results indicate one interaction effect in the fixation times of the first *One*. However, the rest of the results did not show any statistical significance either in the fixation times or in the visit counts.

6.6   Grammatical gender: masculine and feminine pronouns.

As mentioned above, this group contains sentences that have been rephrased to avoid the type of masculine generic pronouns using visualization strategies. Early guidelines advised using double-up pronouns such as *she or he, he/she, his or hers,* and so on to replace masculine generic pronouns. Although these formulas are no longer recommended in English because they fail to include non-binary people, they are still widely used in Spanish. In Finnish, on the other hand, these formulas are not used, due to the absence of gender in the pronoun system. This group also contains the AOI *The mother or father* found in sentence 21, because despite not being a phrase with grammatical gender, it contains a visualization strategy.

> 23   One of the duties of a USA citizen is to serve in a jury when *he or she's* called upon.

> 24   When a nurse comes on duty *s/he* starts by checking on *his/her* patients.

> 25   Once a doctor is ready to operate, *she or he* must wash *his or her* hands.

The results revealed an interaction effect in the fixation times of the AOI *s/he*. However there were no other statistically significant results in this group. In general, Spaniards had longer fixation times, except in the second AOI of those sentences that had more than one. The results show that the means of the fixation times decreased in the second AOIs, while for the Finns, they remained the same (sentence 25, *his or her* 0.74 seconds and *she or he* 0.74 seconds) or increased slightly (*his/her* 0.64 seconds and *s/he* 0.66 seconds) (see table 30). The Finns also had more visit counts in these two AOIs than the Spaniards (in *s/he*, the mean of the visit counts is 2.31 for the Spaniards and 2.55 for the Finns, while in *she or he* is 2.76 for the Spaniards and 3.05 for the Finns) (see table 30).

Table 30.	Means of total fixation times in seconds in sentences with visualization strategies						
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	interaction effect	df
21	the mother or father	1.68	1.41	1.65	1.50		
23	he or she	0.99	0.70	0.69	0.93		
24	his/her	0.70	0.64	0.75	0.63		
24	s/he	0.64	0.66	0.62	0.66	0.042	1

| 25 | his or her | 0.83 | 0.74 | 0.85 | 0.76 | | |
| 25 | she or he | 0.67 | 0.74 | 0.82 | 0.66 | | |

Regarding gender, the analysis did not reveal any statistically significant results. Men fixated longer in four AOIs (see *the mother or father*, *his/her*, *his or her* and *she or he* in table 32) and women fixated longer in the remaining two (see *he or she*, and *s/he*). Regarding the visit counts, women had more visit counts in all the words except in *the mother or father* (see table 31).

Table 31.	Means of visit counts in sentences with visualization strategies				
sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women
21	the mother or father	7.04	6.15	6.83	6.51
22	he or she	4.22	3.25	2.76	4.20
23	his/her	2.86	2.70	2.38	2.96
23	s/he	2.31	2.55	2.00	2.62
24	his or her	3.33	3.15	3.16	3.27
24	she or he	2.76	3.05	3.50	2.65

Based on the ideas of linguistic relativity, which postulates that languages influence speakers' world view and cognition, the eye tracking study was designed to determine the unconscious effects of an individual's L1 and gender in their processing of sexist and non-sexist language in English. The eye tracking measurements used to determine such effects were total fixation times and visit counts. Given the linguistic differences between Finnish and Spanish, it was expected that Finnish speakers would have longer fixation times and more visit counts than Spanish speakers when they encounter visualization strategies and masculine generic pronouns, whereas Spaniards would have longer fixation times and more visits counts when they encountered masculine forms referring to women and genderless pronouns. Regarding the gender groups, it was expected that women would have shorter fixation times and fewer regressions than men when they read neutralization and visualization strategies, whereas men would have shorter fixation times and fewer visits when reading masculine generic forms.

Table 32.   Means of Total fixation times (in seconds) including 0

group	sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	Sig. gender	Sig. L1	interaction effect	df
1	1	men	0.32	0.33	0.39	0.30				
1	2	man-made	1.30	1.30	1.53	1.20				
1	3	spokesman	0.97	0.66	0.59	0.93	0.060			1
1	4	freshman	0.87	1.03	0.82	1.00				
2	4	congresswoman	1.12	1.27	1.24	1.17				
2	5	editress	0.84	0.85	0.68	0.92				
2	6	adventuress	0.62	0.68	0.66	0.65				
2	7	poetess	0.70	0.60	0.60	0.67				
2	8	authoress	1.00	1.10	0.99	1.07				
2	9	headmistress	0.82	0.84	0.66	0.91				
2	10	actress	0.34	0.24	0.34	0.28				
3	11	chairperson	1.13	0.74	0.81	1.00		0.092		1
3	12	heroes	0.38	0.44	0.48	0.38				
3	13	the actor	0.68	0.54	0.68	0.58				
4	14	He	0.23	0.23	0.16	0.26				
4	15	he's	0.44	0.39	0.47	0.38				
4	15	him	0.28	0.35	0.21	0.36	0.038			1
4	16	with him	0.28	0.40	0.32	0.35				
5	17	One1	0.74	0.42	0.53	0.61		0.036		1
5	17	one2	0.35	0.58	0.45	0.46		0.066		1
5	18	anyone	0.57	0.49	0.48	0.56				
5	18	their	0.26	0.17	0.18	0.23				
5	19	someone	0.74	0.83	0.95	0.71				
5	19	themself	0.90	0.79	0.86	0.84				
5	20	themself	0.72	0.59	0.51	0.73				
5	21	their	0.28	0.17	0.18	0.25				
5	22	everyone	0.49	0.61	0.55	0.55				
5	21	their	0.34	0.36	0.38	0.33				
6	21	the mother or father	1.68	1.41	1.65	1.50				
6	23	he or she	0.99	0.70	0.69	0.93				
6	24	his/her	0.70	0.64	0.75	0.63				
6	24	s/he	0.64	0.66	0.62	0.66			0.042	1
6	25	his or her	0.83	0.74	0.85	0.76				
6	25	she or he	0.67	0.74	0.82	0.66				

Of the 34 different AOIs that were analyzed, there was only one result that was almost significant in the visit counts (see c*hairperson* in table 32), and three significant values in the fixation times (see table 33). The significant results in the fixation times were found in the AOI *him* with gender as a variable, in the AOI

*One*1 with L1 as a variable, and one interaction effect in the AOI *s/he* in sentence 24.

group	sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. L1	df
Table 33.		Means of visit counts including 0						
group	sentence	AOI	Spanish	Finnish	men	women	sig. L1	df
1	1	men	1.59	1.40	1.61	1.44		
1	2	man-made	4.63	4.50	4.46	4.62		
1	3	spokesman	1.63	1.65	1.38	1.75		
1	4	freshman	4.13	4.10	3.61	4.34		
2	4	congresswoman	4.72	4.45	4.30	4.72		
2	5	editress	3.223	3.25	2.69	3.48		
2	6	adventuress	2.81	2.75	2.69	2.82		
2	7	poetess	1.29	1.19	1.12	1.29		
2	8	authoress	1.95	2.10	2.00	2.03		
2	9	Headmistress	3.59	3.50	3.07	3.75		
2	10	actress	1.18	0.85	1.07	1.00		
3	11	chairperson	4.27	3.00	3.30	3.82	0.054	1
3	12	heroes	1.40	1.90	1.61	1.65		
3	13	the actor	2.77	2.35	2.61	2.35		
4	14	He	1.00	0.85	0.69	1.03		
4	15	he's	1.59	1.30	1.61	1.37		
4	15	him	1.27	1.55	0.92	1.62		
4	16	with him	1.38	1.65	1.41	1.55		
5	17	One1	1.45	1.75	1.53	1.62		
5	17	one2	1.45	1.75	1.53	1.62		
5	18	anyone	2.27	1.95	2.07	2.13		
5	18	their	1.09	0.65	0.76	0.93		
5	19	someone	2.22	2.15	2.23	2.17		
5	19	themself	3.54	3.35	3.38	3.48		
5	20	themself	3.09	2.65	2.15	3.20		
5	21	their	0.71	0.65	0.58	0.72		
5	22	everyone	2.36	2.65	2.46	2.51		
5	21	their	1.54	1.75	1.76	1.58		
6	21	the mother or father	7.04	6.15	6.83	6.51		
6	23	he or she	4.22	3.25	2.76	4.20		
6	24	his/her	2.86	2.70	2.38	2.96		
6	24	s/he	2.31	2.55	2.00	2.62		
6	25	his or her	3.33	3.15	3.16	3.27		
6	25	she or he	2.76	3.05	3.50	2.65		

Despite the few statistically significant results mentioned above, the majority of the results were not statistically significant. Therefore there is not enough empirical support for a claim that the L1 or the gender of a person influences the way sexist and non-sexist language is processed in an L2. These results, however, are subject to the limitations of the eye tracking experiment that are discussed in chapter 9.

There are several potential speculations as to why the eye tracking study yielded so few statistically significant results. On the one hand, the results could be depicting the reality that linguistic gender is read similarly by people regardless of their gender and L1. On the other hand, it is possible that the eye-tracker was not sensitive enough to measure such cognitive differences if they existed, or that the sample was not big enough to provide reliable results. Regardless of the reason, this study would have benefited if the sample from which the data was gathered was larger and there were a greater balance between the gender groups.

The remaining results of the study are presented in the next two chapters. Chapter 7 describes the results of the language use and chapter 8 deals with the results of the attitudes and opinions.

7 LANGUAGE USE: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The questionnaire consisted of three major sections: (1) the cloze test, (2) perceptions of lexical gender, and (3) the Likert and open questions. However the language use data was gathered from the two first sections. The results of the last section of the questionnaire, which deals with the attitudes and opinions regarding sexist language, will be addressed in chapter 8. The first section, called the cloze test, consisted of a series of sentences in which the participants had to write a word in the blank provided. The aim was to investigate the use of lexical and grammatical gender in context. The section called perceptions of lexical gender contains two questions that investigate the subjects' use and attitudes toward lexical gender. Next, the results of the cloze test will be presented in detail.

7.1 Cloze test

The goal of the cloze test was to investigate the participants' use of grammatical and lexical gender in different linguistic situations. More particularly, the aim was to investigate when and whether expressing gender is relevant, the incidence of male generics, and whether the social gender of a profession determines the pronoun selected. I chose blanks over multiple-choice questions in order to obtain genuine answers and to prevent the priming of the responsess by giving the participants a list of answers to choose from. The results of this section will be divided into answers dealing with (1) lexical gender, (2) grammatical gender, and (3) both lexical and grammatical gender. The first two are formed by single unrelated sentences and the last group includes the answers from a text that alternated between grammatical and lexical gender blanks.

7.1.1 Lexical gender

The sentences dealing with lexical gender can in turn be divided into (1) sentences with a female referent, (2) sentences with no referential gender, and (3) sentences with social gender. As explained in chapter 3, lexical gender refers to the semantic property of some words to express gender, which may match the gender of a referent (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001:7). In English, lexical gender occurs in the semantic fields of farming, kinship, occupational titles, and forms of address. Due to morphological processes such as derivation, i.e.. *actor/actress* and compounding i.e. *policeman/policewoman*, it is relatively easy to express gender. However, non-sexist language guidelines discourage speakers from expressing gender when it is unnecessary or irrelevant. Yet avoiding gender can be challenging, especially in occupational titles.

7.1.1.1 Female referent

This first group consists of sentences with female referential gender. As explained in section 4.1, it is relatively easy to express gender in English, but speakers face two dilemmas when using female nouns. The first one is that female suffixes carry negative connotations, which leads to lexical asymmetries. The second one is that compounds containing *-woman* or *-person* as alternatives to masculine nouns ending in *-man* do not work as truly genderless forms because, as Blaubergs puts it, "in actuality, *chairperson* is often used only in reference to females, while *chairman* is retained for males" (1978:249-250). Ultimately what happens is that these new alternative forms become "corrupted" because they are used in lower-status occupations, whereas the masculine traditional forms are kept to refer to prestigious occupations (Veach 1979 cited in Mills 1995:175).

Penelope Cruz is a Spanish <u>actress</u>[63].

The sentence was phrased in the following way: "9.1 Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____ known for roles in such films as Vanilla Sky, Blow, Nine and her Oscar-

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[63] I have used the shortened version of the sentences, as titles, with the most common or the two most common answers underlined. The full sentences that were used in the questionnaire are presented within each section.

winning performance in Vicky Cristina Barcelona". It was intended to study whether participants preferred *actor* or *actress* to refer to a woman. The answers revealed that the most common noun used was *actress* (94.9% of the Spaniards and 77.3% of the Finns). The noun *actor* was exclusively used by the Finns except for 1 Spaniard (21.2% of the Finns and 0.5 % of the Spaniards). The low occurrence of *actor* among the Spaniards may be due to the fact that, in Spanish, *actor* 'actor$_{masc}$' is a masculine noun and they perceive the genderless English word *actor* as a gendered noun[64]. The answer *actrice*, which is a calque of the Spanish word *actriz*, was used by three of the Spaniards Regarding gender, the results are very similar. However, *actor* seems to have been more frequently used by men (12.3%) than by women (5.8%).

Table 34. Answers in "9.1 Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____ known for roles in …"

| | group | | | | gender | | | | | | total | |
| | Spaniards | | Finns | | women | | men | | gender non-conforming[65] | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
actress	185	94.9%	102	77.3%	218	90.5%	62	84.9%	7	53.8%	287	87.8%
women	2	1.0%	0		2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
actrice	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
actor	1	0.5%	28	21.2%	14	5.8%	9	12.3%	6	46.2%	29	8.9%
actress/actor	0		1	0.8%	0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
movie star	0		1	0.8%	1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
other	4	2.1%	0		3	1.2%	1	1.4%	0		4	1.2%
Total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

For the statistical analysis, the answers categorized as other (1.2%) and the answer double up *actor/actress* (0.3%) were excluded[66]. The results indicate that almost all the Spaniards (99.47%) used a feminine form in this sentence. Over two-thirds of

[64] In Spanish, the suffixes *-tor/-dor* are used to create masculine nouns and adjectives from verb forms, i.e. *conductor* 'driver', *rector* 'dean', *benefactor* 'benefactor', *legislador* 'legislator', *pintor* 'painter', and they need a derivative female suffix in order to become feminine, i.e. *conductora*, *rectora*, *pintora*, and so on.

[65] This category combines participants who said they were non-binary or did not want to disclose their gender. Due to the low number of participants, it was not possible to use this group for the statistical analysis, but I decided to keep their answers in the tables that contain the raw answers, even if they are not discussed, in order to give them visibility.

[66] As discussed in the previous footnote, when gender is used as a variable for the statistical analysis, the answers from gender non-conforming participants were excluded. This was done not only in this analysis, but in all the upcoming ones, even if this is not explicitly mentioned.

the Finns asked (77.86%) also used a feminine form whereas the remaining third (22.14%) used a genderless form. The χ² reveals that the L1 plays a significant role in the type of lexical gender used in this sentence (p.value:5E-11, df:1) whereas the gender of a person does not (p.value: 0.078, df:1).

Figure 21. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.1 Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____ known for roles in such films as Vanilla Sky, Blow, Nine and her Oscar-winning performance in Vicky Cristina Barcelona"
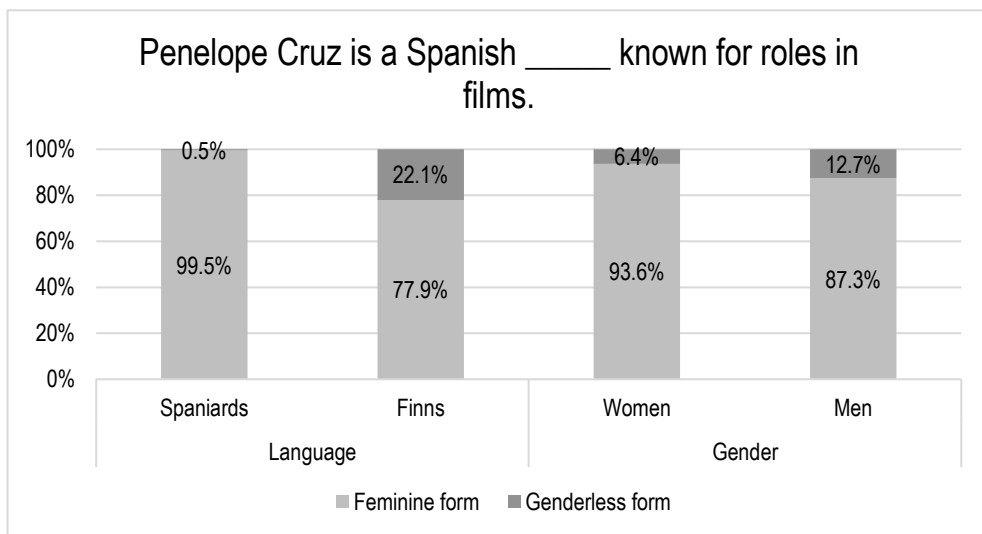
Emily Dickinson was an American <u>poet/writer.</u>

The second sentence included in this group is "9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____. Some of her poems were published in Springfield Republican between 1858 and 1868". It investigates the popularity of female nouns such as *poetess* and *authoress* over *poet, author*, and *writer*. The most common nouns used were *poet* (39.4%), *writer* (32.1%), and *author* (13.5%). More exactly, *poet* was used by 27.2% of the Spaniards and 57.6% of the Finns, *author* by 5.6% of the Spaniards and 25% of the Finns and *writer* by 43.1% of the Spaniards and 15.9% of the Finns. These female nouns were almost exclusively provided by the Spaniards (see *poetess* and *author* in the table below) who also struggled with spelling *poetess* (10.2%) and *writer* (4.6%). The category "other variants of poetess" includes the participants' attempts to feminize *poet* because some participants spelt it as *poetise* and *poetress*.

The first spelling resembles the Spanish word *poetisa*[67] and the second one looks like the blending of *poet* and *actress*.

Table 35.	Answers in "9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____."										
	group				gender						total
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
poetess	12	6.2%	0		10	4.1%	2	2.7%	0		12	3.7%
poetise	2	1.0%	0		2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
poetress	6	3.1%	0		3	1.2%	3	4.1%	0		6	1.8%
poetist	9	4.6%	1	0.8%	6	2.5%	4	5.5%	0		10	3.1%
other variants of poetess	3	1.5%	0		2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	0.9%
authoress	3	1.5%	0		1	0.4%	2	2.7%	0		3	0.9%
poet	53	27.2%	76	57.6%	94	39.0%	30	41.1%	5	38.5%	129	39.4%
writer	84	43.1%	21	15.9%	80	33.2%	20	27.4%	5	38.5%	105	32.1%
writter	9	4.6%	0		9	3.7%	0		0		9	2.8%
author	11	5.6%	33	25.0%	31	12.9%	10	13.7%	3	23.1%	44	13.5%
neutral noun phrases (novelist/famous person)	2	1.0%	1	0.8%	2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	0.9%
other	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
Total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

As can be seen from the graph below, almost all of the Finns (99.24%) used a genderless form. Four-fifths of the Spaniards (81.96%) also used a genderless form but the remaining fifth (18.04%) opted for a feminine form. These differences are statistically significant (p.value: 1E-6, df 1).

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[67] In Spanish, the feminine form of *poeta* 'poet' is *poetisa* 'poetess'. However, female poets have expressed that they prefer *poeta* over *poetisa*, due to the pejorative connotations that the derived female form has (Fundeu 2017, Lorenci 2007).

Figure 22. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____. Some of her poems were published in Springfield Republican between 1858 and 1868"
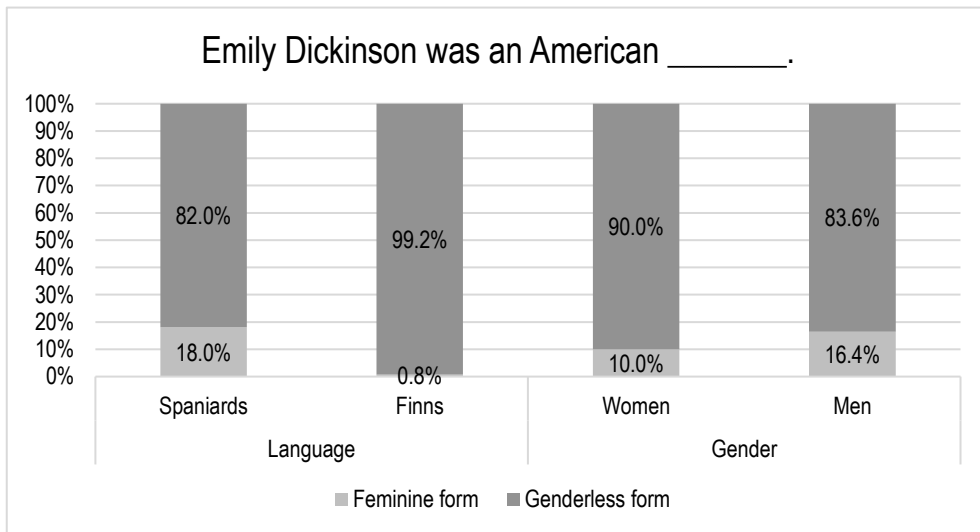
The χ^2 test, however, did not reveal differences in the way women and men used lexical gender in this sentence, although the percentage of men using feminine forms is slightly higher than the percentage of women (see figure 22).

Ana Botín was appointed chairman/chairwoman

This sentence was phrased as follows: "9.5 Ana Botín was appointed chair_____ of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín". The goal was to investigate whether participants preferred *chairman*, *chairperson*, *chairwoman*, or simply *chair*. The answers show that the most frequently used nouns for the Finns were *man* (37.1%), *person* (27.3%), and *woman* (16.7%). The Spaniards gave a wide range of answers (see table below). However the most frequently used noun for this group was *woman* (27.2%), whereas *man* (3.6%) and *person* (2.6%) only add up to 6.2% of their answers. Despite the word *chair* being given in the sentence, few of the Spaniards were familiar with the words *chairman*, *chairperson*, *chairwoman*, or simply *chair*, as they used nouns such as *head* (8.2%), *master* (4.62%), *boss* (4.6%), and *president* (4.6%), among others. The last two are literal translations of the Spanish nouns *jefe* and *presidente*, which are used to refer to the person who runs a company.

	group			gender					total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming		total	

Table 36. Answers in "9.5 Ana Botín was appointed chair_____ of Santander's bank"

	Spaniards N	Spaniards %	Finns N	Finns %	women N	women %	men N	men %	gender non-conforming N	gender non-conforming %	total N	total %
No answer	19	9.7%	3	2.3%	20	9%	2	2.4%			22	6.7%
-	6	3.1%	10	7.6%	12	5%	3	3.6%	1	8%	16	4.9%
woman	53	27.2%	22	16.7%	52	23%	19	22.9%	4	31%	75	22.9%
directress	1	0.5%			1	0%					1	0.3%
headmistress/ woman	4	2.0%			3	1%	1	1.2%			4	1.2%
man	7	3.6%	49	37.1%	36	16%	0		4	31%	56	17.1%
master	9	4.6%			6	3%	3	3.6%			9	2.7%
person	5	2.6%	36	27.3%	25	11%	12	14.5%	4	31%	41	12.5%
CEO	2	1.0%	1	0.8%	2	1%	1	1.2%			3	0.9%
director/ manager/ chief	22	11%	6	5%	24	10%	7	8.4%			31	9%
head	16	8.2%	2	1.5%	2	1%	14	16.9%			16	5.5%
president	9	4.6%	1	0.8%	9	4%					9	3.1%
boss	9	4.6%			7	3%	2	2.4%			9	2.7%
other	33	16.9%	2	1.5%	32	14%	3	3.6%			35	10.7%
Total	195		132		231		83		13		327	

As a result, the number of excluded or missing was 126 (38.5%), because many answers did not result in semantically and grammatically sensible sentences. For instance:

- Ana Botín was appointed chair*head* of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.

- Ana Botín was appointed chair*master* of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.

The number of valid answers used for the statistical analysis was 201 (61.5%). It revealed that the Spaniards prefer using female nouns (65%) over genderless (26.51%) and masculine ones (8%), whereas the Finns were more equally divided among feminine (37.81%), masculine (27.86), and genderless nouns (34.32%). The χ^2 square test reveals the significance of these results (p.value:1.84E-11, df:2).
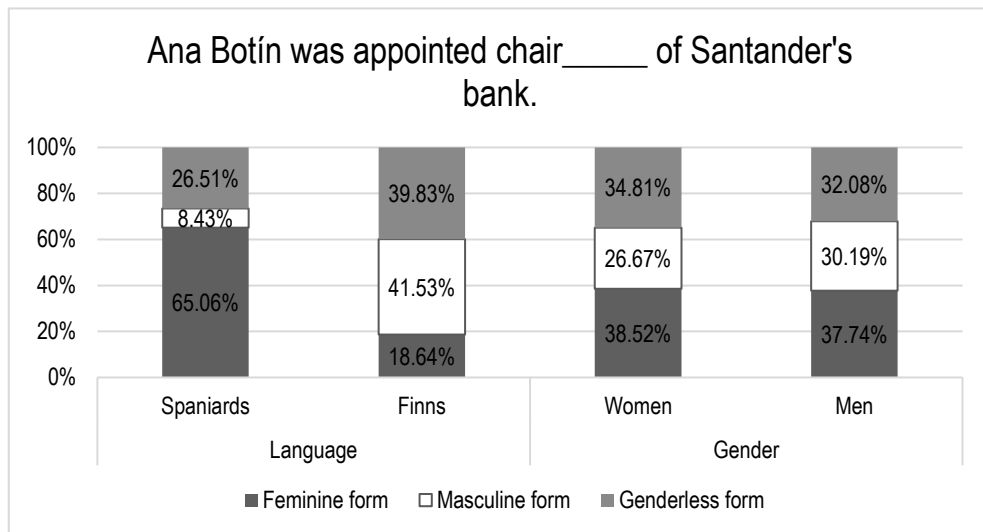
Regarding the analysis based on gender, the results revealed similarities among the two gender groups: feminine forms were used by 38.52% of women and 37.74% of men, masculine forms by 26.67% of women and 30.19% of men, and neutral forms by 34.81% of women and 32.08% of men. Therefore there is no statistically significant difference (p.value:0.87, df: 2).

Table 37. Summary of the results in the sentences with female referents

			feminine form		masculine form		genderless form		df	p.value
			n	%	n	%	n	%		
1. Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____	group	Spaniards	188	99.5%			1	0.5%	1	5E-11
		Finns	102	77.9%			29	22.1%		
	gender	women	221	93.6%			15	6.4%	1	0.078
		men	62	87.3%			9	12.7%		
7. 9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____.	group	Spaniards	35	18.0%			159	82.0%	1	1.00E-06
		Finns	1	0.8%			131	99.2%		
	gender	women	24	10.0%			216	90.0%	1	0.13
		men	12	16.4%			61	83.6%		
5. 9.5 Ana Botín was appointed chair_____ of the bank	group	Spaniards	54	65.1%	7	8.4%	22	26.5%	2	1.8E-11
		Finns	22	18.6%	49	41.5%	47	39.8%		
	gender	women	52	38.5%	36	26.7%	47	34.8%	2	0.87
		men	20	37.7%	16	30.2%	17	32.1%		
		Finns	15	6.0%	106	76.1%	6	17.9%		

In general, the results of the blanks containing female referential gender indicate that feminine forms are prevalent. However the popularity of female nouns varies in each blank, the sentence dealing with Penelope Cruz being the one with the highest percentage of female nouns used and the one dealing with Emily Dickinson having the fewest tokens (see figure 24).

Figure 24. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentences with lexical gender and female referents
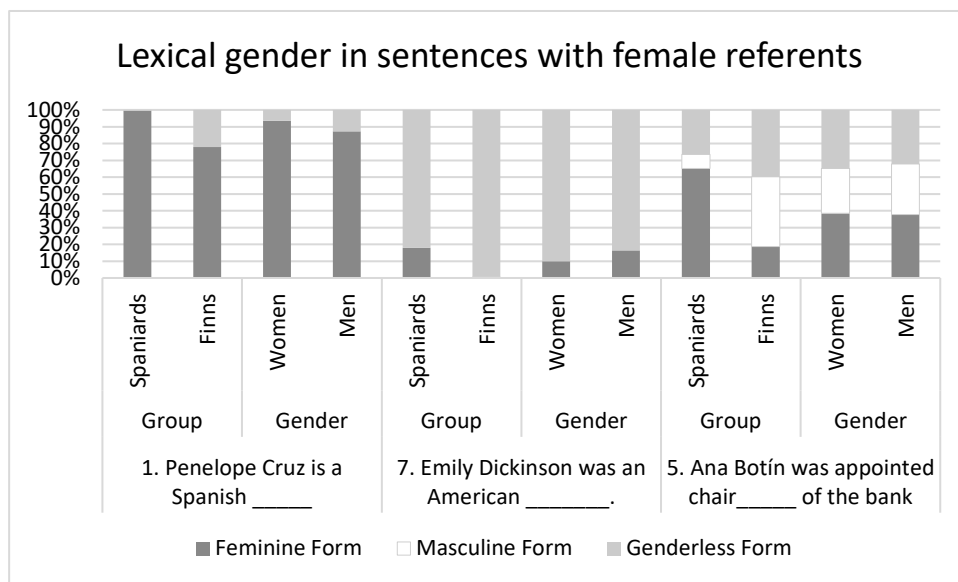
While the analysis of gender as a variable did not reveal differences in the use of lexical gender by men and women, the analysis of language revealed that the Spanish participants used more female nouns than the Finnish participants in these three blanks. For example, in the sentence of Penelope Cruz, 99.50% of the Spaniards and 77.9% of the Finns used a feminine noun. The invariance in the use of the noun *actress* may be explained by the fact that it is the most accepted feminine noun containing the suffix -*ess* and that Spaniards may perceive the English word *actor* as a masculine noun. The percentage of the Finns who opted for *actor*, the genderless alternative, was 22.1%, whereas only one Spanish participant used it (less than 0.5%). In the second blank, 18% of the Spaniards and 8% of the Finns used a female noun, probably unaware of the air of amateurism that terms such as *poetess* or *authoress* convey in English. On the other hand, the sentence dealing with Ana Botín registered feminine, genderless, and masculine nouns. Feminine forms accounted for 65.1% of the Spanish answers and 18.6% of

the Finnish ones, whereas the masculine forms were used by 41.5% of the Finns and 8.4% of the Spaniards. The popularity of the masculine form, especially among Finns, may be explained by the fact that Finns perceive masculine nouns such as *puhemies* "chairman/speaker" as true generics (Engelberg 2016:16).

In conclusion, men and women used lexical gender similarly in the three blanks. However, Spaniards and Finns used female lexical nouns differently. More particularly, female forms were more popular among Spaniards than Finns when there was a female referent in the sentence. The reason may be that the Spaniards were trying to render women visible in English, just as they would in Spanish, whereas Finns used more genderless nouns and sometimes masculine titles to refer to women, because that is still a common practice in Finnish (see section 4.3).

7.1.1.2   No referent/referential gender

The sentences in this group have no referential gender nor any other gender cues. However, they deal with occupational titles that are gendered and were traditionally carried out by men. These sentences were used to investigate whether participants would opt for the traditional masculine occupational titles or the genderless alternatives.

The postman/mailman delivers the mail every day except Sundays

The sentence provided was: "9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays". It was used to study the subjects' preference for traditional male occupational nouns such as *postman* or *mailman* when there is no referential gender. The results indicate that *postman* and *mailman* made most of the answers (72% of the Spaniards and 63% of the Finns). The next most popular words were *post office* (8.7% of the Spaniards) and *postal services* (5.3% of the Finns). As table 38 illustrates, participants tried with more or less success to find genderless alternatives either by referring to the institution, e.g. *postal office, post, postal services*, or by using other nouns that do not convey the same meaning, e.g. *deliverer*[68] or *postal worker*.

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[68] *Deliverer* was used by five people by analogy, as nouns with the suffix *-er* denote an agent, a doer. Thus, following the logic that a person who *prays* is a *prayer*, the person who *delivers* letters and parcels must be a "*deliverer*".

However only eight participants knew *letter carrier* and *mail carrier*[69]*,* both of which are established genderless alternatives to *postman.*

Table 38.				Answers in "9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays"								
	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
no answer	4	2.1%	0		4	1.7%	0		0		4	1.2%
postwoman	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
postman	112	57.4%	42	31.8%	120	49.8%	31	42.5%	3	23.1%	154	47.1%
mailman	29	14.9%	41	31.1%	47	19.5%	21	28.8%	2	15.4%	70	21.4%
(delivery) man	2	1.0%	1	0.8%	2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	0.9%
deliverer	1	0.5%	4	3.0%	4	1.7%	1	1.4%	0		5	1.5%
mail delivery	1	0.5%	0		0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
letter carrier/ mail carrier	4	2.1%	4	3.0%	5	2.1%	1	1.4%	2	15.4%	8	2.4%
post office	17	8.7%	7	5.3%	21	8.7%	3	4.1%	0		24	7.3%
postal worker	0		1	0.8%	0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
postal service	0		7	5.3%	1	0.4%	4	5.5%	2	15.4%	7	2.1%
post	4	2.1%	24	18.2%	20	8.3%	5	6.8%	3	23.1%	28	8.6%
mailman/mailwoman, postman/ postwoman	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
other	17	8.7%	1	0.8%	13	5.4%	4	5.5%	1	7.7%	18	5.5%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

Regarding gender, over two-thirds of women (69.3%) and men (71.3%) used *postman* or *mailman*. Women were the only ones who used feminine alternatives such as *postwoman* (0.4%) and the double-ups *postwoman/postman* (1.2%). For the χ^2 test, 286 (87.5%) cases were regarded as valid and 41 (12.5%) were excluded. In this case, the excluded cases also comprised the feminine nouns (3%) and both masculine and feminine forms (9%). The analysis indicates that the Spaniards used more masculine gendered forms (88.48%) than the Finns (69.42%), and the Finns used more genderless alternatives than the Spaniards (see figure 25).

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[69] *Postie* is another colloquial genderless alternative that is only used in British English.

Figure 25. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays"
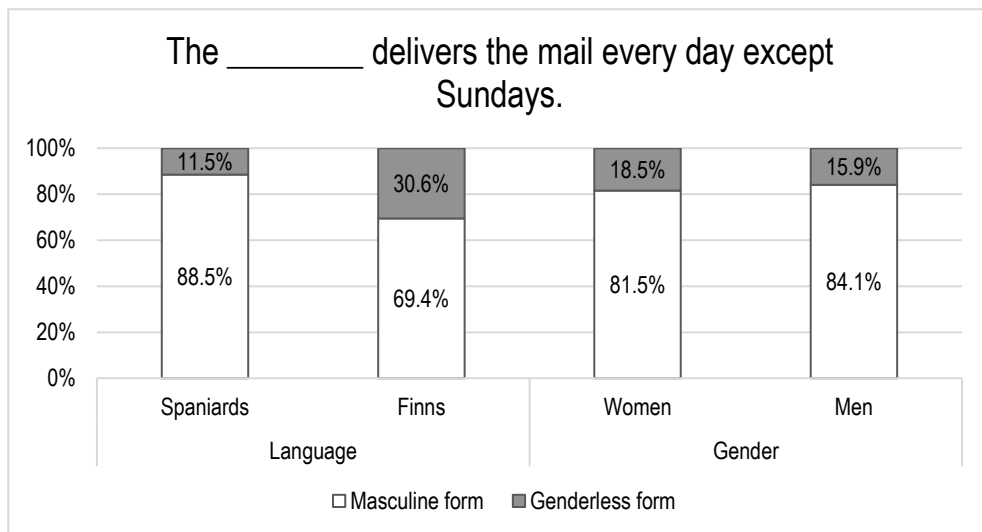
The results for gender reveal very similar results in both groups; over 80% of the men (84.13%) and women (81.13%) who participated in this study used a masculine noun. The χ^2 test revealed a significant difference between the Finns and the Spaniards (p.value: 5.97E-05, df:1), but not between men and women (p.value: 0.635, df:1).

A tailor shortened the sleeves of my jacket

This sentence was formulated as follows: "9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened". It was used to study how participants refer to the person who earns a living by sewing and fixing clothes. English has many occupational titles to refer to people working in this field, but most of them are either masculine, i.e. *tailor*[70] or feminine, i.e. *seamstress* and *tailoress*. Genderless alternatives are *dressmaker* and *sewist*, but the first one specifies the type of garment that the person works with, whereas *sewist*[71] is a relatively new and unknown term. Other lesser-known nouns are *seamster, sempster,* and *sempstress*. As explained in

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[70] *Tailor* is a profession, mostly dominated by men, with greater prestige than *seamstress*. That is why when a woman does the same job, she is referred as a *female tailor* or, less frequently, as a *tailoress* (see article BBC 2016).

[71] *Sewist* is a blend of *sew* and *artist*.

section 4.1.11 (see *-ster* suffix), *seamster* and *sempster* were originally female nouns. When the female suffix *-ster* started losing its gender-specific meaning, it was feminized a second time to *seamstress* to refer to a woman. This left *seamster* and *sempster*, by default, as vaguely male or neutral nouns; however the female forms are far more common than the neutral or almost-male forms (*seamster/seamstress* and *sempster/sempstress*).

Table 39.	Answers in "9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened."											
	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	11	5.6%	4	3.0%	13	5.4%	2	2.7%			15	4.6%
seamstress/ tailoress	4	2.1%	13	9.8%	13	5.4%	4	5.5%			17	5.2%
seamstress (variables)[72]	4	2.1%	2	1.5%	6	2.5%	0				6	1.8%
tailor	78	40%	105	79.5%	121	50.2%	49	67.1%	13	100%	183	56.0%
taylor	10	5.1%	1	0.8%	9	3.7%	2	2.7%			11	3.4%
dressmaker	7	3.6%	2	1.5%	8	3.3%	1	1.4%			9	2.8%
other neutral forms	12	6.2%	2	1.5%	13	5.4%	1	1.4%			14	4.3%
shop	38	19.5%	2	1.5%	30	12.4%	10	13.7%			40	12.2%
tailorman/ tailorwoman	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0				1	0.3%
other	18	9.2%	1	0.8%	18	7.5%	1	1.4%			19	5.8%
spanish sounding nouns	12	6.2%	0		9	3.7%	3	4.1%			12	3.7%
Total	195		132		241		132		13		327	

For informants, the most popular word was *tailor* (79.5% of the Finns, 40.0% of the Spaniards), followed by *shop* (19.5% of the Spaniards, 1.5% of the Finns) and the female nouns *seamstress/tailoress* (9.8% of the Finns, 2.1% of the Spaniards). It is apparent from table 39 that Spanish informants had trouble finding a word that

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[72] The variant forms of seamstress used by the participants were: *seemstrees*, *seemstress*, *seamtress*, *seemstress*, *seamtress* and *seamstres*.

would suit this sentence. Many of them either wrote nouns with spelling mistakes or borrowed words from Spanish. The most common mistake was the spelling of *tailor* (ten Spaniards and one Finn spelled it as *taylor*), the spelling of *seamstress* as in *seemstrees*, *seemstress* among others, and the use of *sewer*[73] ten times (nine Spaniards and one Finn). Moreover the number of entries that resembled Spanish words was striking. *Modist* was used six times, *sastrery* and *saster/sastre* three times each, and *costurer* once (see table 40). All these answers were placed in the category 'other' along with *sewyer*, *swift shop*, *crafter*, *policeman*, *shopman*, *workshop*, and *retoucherie*.

Table 40.	Answers categorized as Spanish-sounding nouns in the sentence "9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened."	
participants' answers	**probable Spanish term**	**English translation**
modist	modista	'seamstress' or 'tailor'
sastrery	sastreria	'tailor's shop'
saster/sastre	sastre	the person who works in a 'tailor's shop'
costurer	costurera	'dressmaker' or 'seamstress'
retoucherie	Retoucherie*, the name of a franchise that fixes clothes in the area of Madrid	

By contrast, the major differences in the answers given by men and women are in the use of *tailor* (50.2% women and 67.1% men) and other neutral nouns (5.4% women and 1.4% men), such as *(fashion/dress/clothes) designer*, *(sewing) person, professional*, *specialist*, *shop assistant*, and *dry cleaner*.

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[73] Like in *deliverer*, participants used *sewer* by analogy, as nouns with the suffix -er denote an agent. Thus, the person who *sews* must be a *sewer*. The truth is that the *sewer*, pronounced as [ˈsʊər], is a noun recorded in the 14th century that refers to a person who sews, but it is not commonly used, perhaps due to its homograph, which is pronounced [ˈsuər]. That is used to refer to an underground passage for waste. For that reason, *sewer* was placed in the other category for the statistical analysis.

Figure 26. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened"
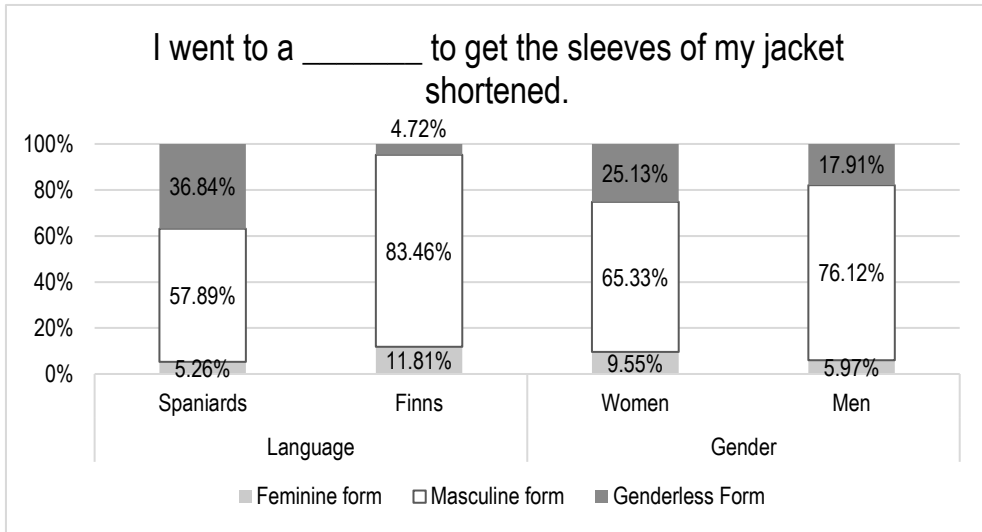
For the χ² test, 279 (85.3%) cases were regarded as valid and 48 (14.7%) excluded. In this case, the excluded cases also comprise the combination of the masculine and feminine forms which contains 2 tokens (0.6%). As shown in figure 26, masculine nouns were the most popular among the Finns (83%) and the Spaniards (57%), followed by genderless forms for the Spaniards (36%) and feminine forms for the Finns (11.8%). These differences were statically significant (p.value:6.79E-10, df: 2). Regarding the analysis based on gender, the results are very similar: masculine forms were used by 65.33% of women and 76.12% of men, and neutral forms by 25.13% of women and 17.91 % of men, whereas feminine forms were used only by 9.55% of women and 5.97% of men (p.value:0.26, df:2)

Table 41. Summary of the results in the sentences with no referent or referential gender

			feminine noun		masculine noun		genderless noun		df	p.value
			n	%	n	%	n	%		
9.2 The _____deliver s the mail every day.	Group	Spaniards	1	0.5%	143	80.9%	19	18.7%	2	5.9E-05
		Finns	0	0.0%	84	84.1%	37	15.9%		
	Gender	Women	1	0.6%	169	87.7%	39	11.7%	2	0.63
		Men	0	0.0%	53	69.4%	10	30.6%		
9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of	Group	Spaniards	8	9.5%	88	65.3%	56	25.1%	2	6.79E-10
		Finns	15	6.0%	106	76.1%	6	17.9%		
	Gender	Women	19	5.3%	130	57.9%	50	36.8%	2	0.25

my jacket shortened.		Men	4	11.8%	51	83.5%	12	4.7%		
		Men	36	50.0%			36	50.0%		

Therefore, the χ² test revealed that the difference in the use of lexical gender between the Finns and the Spaniards is statistically significant (p.value: 6.79E-10 df: 2) whereas between women and men is not (p.value: 0.257, df: 2).

As mentioned earlier, the blanks in this section did not have referential gender, but dealt with professions that used to be performed by men. Overall, the results revealed that masculine titles are still predominant in those fields. One reason that may explain the preference for masculine titles over genderless ones is that those occupations are still being carried out by men and that is why participants used them. The second reason, and the most plausible one, is that participants did not know any genderless alternatives to these gendered nouns. I base this claim on the fact that these blanks had a high number of answers that were excluded from the statistical analysis for being ungrammatical or semantically incoherent. Many of the genderless alternatives that were accepted for the statistical analysis did not refer to the person doing the job, i.e. *mail carrier*, but to the organization or location that provides the service, i.e. *post* and *shop*[74]. In other cases, they used partial synonyms such as (*fashion/dress/clothes*) *designer*, (*sewing*) *person*, *professional*, *specialist*, *shop assistant*, and *dry cleaner*. This type of strategy was particularly common among Spaniards who also employed their morphological knowledge to create nouns such as *deliverer* and *sewer* to avoid *postman* and *tailor* and *seamstress*.

Double-ups and female nouns were used exclusively by Spanish women (*tailor/tailoress* was used only by a Spanish woman and *postman/postwoman* by three Spanish women), although they had to be excluded from the statistical analysis in both sentences due to the small incidence.

7.1.1.3 No referential gender - social gender

The sentences in this group have no referent or gender cues. However, they deal with low prestige occupations that have traditionally been performed by women. In general, finding genderless alternatives is fairly easy, but female forms are still more

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[74] Diewald & Seteinhauer (2020:131) refer to this strategy in German as *Sachbezeichnung* 'technical designation', although it is a type of linguistic abstraction: "Eine andere Möglichkeit, Ersatzformen zu finden, ist es, statt der Personenbezeichnung ein Abstraktum zu verwenden". In English, "Another way of finding substitute forms is using an abstraction, instead of a personal designation". The example they provide involves using *Presse* 'press' instead of *Journalisten* 'journalists'.

prevalent in everyday speech. Thus these sentences were used in order to observe whether the traditional gender roles are still active in the lexicon of the participants.

The cleaner/maid comes to my apartment once a week

This sentence was used to investigate whether participants would use the genderless noun *cleaner* or the female noun *cleaning lady* when there are no referents or gender cues. The sentence was presented as follows: "9.4 The _____ comes to my apartment once a week to do some basic chores, such as cleaning or doing the laundry, while I'm away working in the office". The answers indicate that the three most popular nouns were *cleaner* (31.8% of the Spaniards, 40.9% of the Finns), *maid* (22.6% of the Spaniards, 29.5% of the Finns) and *cleaning lady* (10.3% of the Spaniards, 8.3% of the Finns). The popularity of *maid* is quite surprising given its pejorative meaning. Other gendered forms include *girl*, *woman*, and *boy*, but these were scarcely used (see table below). The genderless alternatives used were *housekeeper*, *janitor*, and collective nouns such as *cleaning service*, *cleaning staff*, and *cleaning personnel*.

Table 42. Answers in "9.4 The _____ comes to my apartment once a week to do some basic chores…"												
	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	5	2.6%	0		3	1.2%	2	2.7%	0		5	1.5%
cleaning lady	20	10.3%	11	8.3%	27	11.2%	4	5.5%	0		31	9.5%
maid	44	22.6%	39	29.5%	61	25.3%	19	26.0%	3	23.1%	83	25.4%
girl/woman	2	1.0%	0		1	0.4%	1	1.4%	0		2	0.6%
boy/houseman	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
cleaner	62	31.8%	54	40.9%	83	34.4%	24	32.9%	9	69.2%	116	35.5%
housekeeper	6	3.1%	17	12.9%	16	6.6%	7	9.6%	0		23	7.0%
person	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
helper	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
cleaning service/ staff	6	3.1%	0		4	1.7%	2	2.7%	0		6	1.8%
cleaning company/ personnel/service	0		3	2.3%	1	0.4%	1	1.4%	1	7.7%	3	0.9%

janitor	1	0.5%	5	3.8%	3	1.2%	3	4.1%	0		6	1.8%
other	13	6.7%	2	1.5%	10	4.1%	5	6.8%	0		15	4.6%
Spanish sounding nouns	29	14.9%	0		24	10.0%	5	6.8%	0		29	8.9%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

The category "Spanish sounding nouns" includes forms exclusively used by Spaniards, which resembled Spanish words. These appear to be literal translations of Spanish words or calques (see table below).

Table 43. Answers categorized as Spanish-sounding nouns in the sentence "9.4 The _____ comes to my apartment once a week to do some basic chores…"

participants' answers	probable Spanish term	English translation
(cleaning/house) assistant /assitant	asistenta (doméstica)	cleaner/maid/home help
employee	empleada (doméstica o de hogar)	domestic
servant	sirvienta	maidservant
chacha	chacha (pejorative term)	charlady
waitress	camarera (de piso)	housemaid

For the χ² test, the number of valid cases is 274 (83.8%) and the discarded ones are 53 (16.2%), these include the five missing answers (1.5%), 45 from the other category (13.8%) and three masculine forms (0.9%).
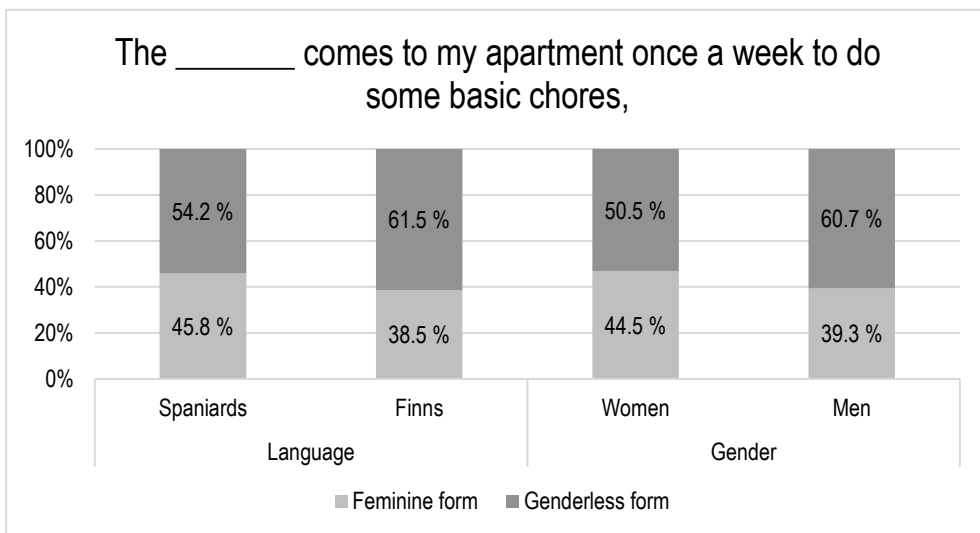
As can be seen from figure 27, all the results of the answers provided by men and women are very similar. The analysis based on language indicates that 54.17% of the Spaniards and 61.46% of the Finns used a genderless noun whereas the remaining 45.83% of the Spaniards and 38.46% of Finns used a feminine noun. The results for men and women indicate that they use genderless and feminine forms almost equally. More precisely, 55.50% of women and 60.66% of men used a genderless noun and the remaining 44.50% of the Spaniards and 39.34% of the Finns used a feminine noun. As a result, none of the χ^2 tests revealed any statistically significant difference between the groups (language as a variable p.value: 0.217, df: 1 and with gender as a variable, p.value: 0.477, df:1).

My parents hired a nanny

This sentence was formulated as follows: "9.6 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me because they were both working long hours". The variety and number of female nouns (*girl*, *woman*, *nanny*, and *nun*) were greater than the number of male nouns (*boy*) (see table 44). Genderless nouns were used by 143 subjects (43.7% of the total), who chose mostly *babysitter* (surprisingly only one

participant used *person).* Unexpectedly, Finns used more female nouns (see *nanny* from the table below) than the Spaniards (see *babysitter).*

Table 44.	Answers in "9.6 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me"											
	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	1	0.4%	0		1	7.7%	2	0.6%
girl/woman	3	1.5%	1	0.8%	1	0.4%	3	4.1%	0		4	1.2%
nanny	51	26.2%	92	69.7%	105	43.6%	33	45.2%	5	38.5%	143	43.7%
nany	2	1.0%	0		2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
nun	4	2.1%	0		4	1.7%	0		0		4	1.2%
variants of baby-sitter (baby sister, baby assistant, baby sitting)	8	4.1%	0		8	3.3%	0		0		8	2.4%
boy	1	0.5%	0		0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
person	2	1.0%	0		2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
babysitter	111	56.9%	32	24.2%	106	44%	32	43.8%	5	38.5%	143	43.7%
carer, care giver, carertaker, keeper	3	1.5%	3	2.3%	2	0.8%	2	2.7%	2	15.4%	6	1.8%
au-pair	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
nurse	4	2.1%	2	1.5%	4	1.7%	2	2.7%	0		6	1.8%
other	2	1.0%	1	0.8%	3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
total	195		132		241		132		13		327	

For the χ^2 test, 313 (95.71%) were regarded as valid cases and 14 discarded answers (4.28%), which include the blank answers, the words in the other category and the masculine noun *boy*, as it was the only masculine noun used. As mentioned above, the Spaniards used more gender-neutral forms (67.21%) than the Finns (28.46%) and such a difference is statistically significant (p.value: 1.39E-11, df: 1) (see figure 28). This is because of the popularity of *nanny* among Finns. The reasons for it are unclear, since the Finnish words for a person who takes care of children are *lastenvahti* and *lapsenvahti,* both genderless. However, if Finns are more exposed to British English than American English, they may prefer *nanny* over *babysitter.*

Figure 28. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.6 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me because they were both working long hours"
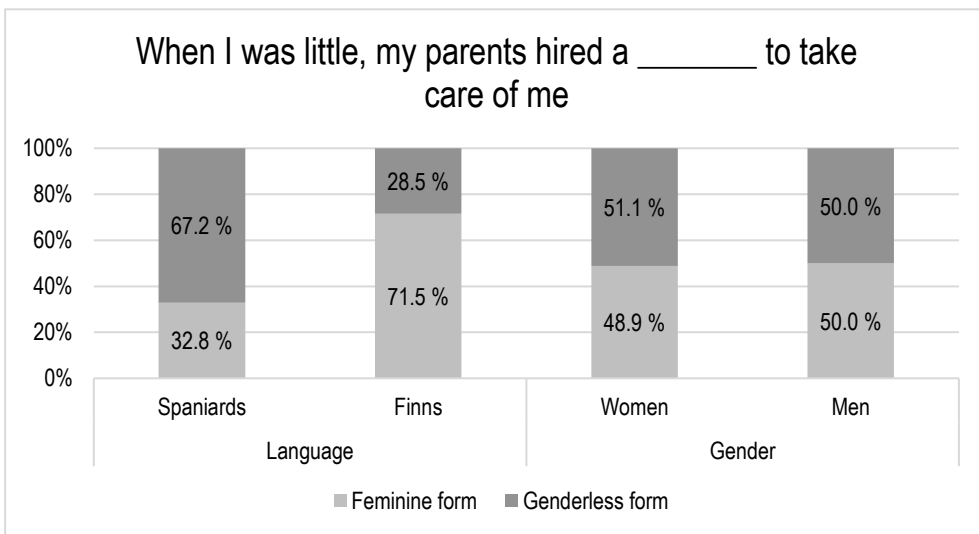
Regarding the analysis based on gender, half of the men and women used a feminine noun, whereas the remaining half used a genderless noun. Therefore, the χ^2 test did not show any significant differences between men and women in the use of lexical gender in this sentence (p.value:0.87, df: 1).

Table 45. Summary of the results in the sentences with no referent or referential gender but with social gender

			feminine noun		genderless noun		df	p.value
			n	%	n	%		
9.2 The _____ comes to my apartment to do cleaning or the laundry	group	Spaniards	66	45.8%	78	54.2%	1	0.21
		Finns	50	38.5%	80	61.5%		
	gender	Women	89	44.5%	111	55.5%	1	0.47
		Men	24	39.3%	37	60.7%		
9.6 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me	group	Spaniards	60	32.8%	123	67.2%	1	1.39E-11
		Finns	93	71.5%	37	28.5%		
	gender	Women	112	48.9%	117	51.1%	1	0.87
		Men	36	50.0%	36	50.0%		

In general, the results in this group indicate that feminine and genderless nouns were used equally by all groups. The only exception occurred in the sentence "9.6

When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me" in which the Finns used feminine nouns more often than the Spaniards did (around 71.5%). Despite the use of genderless nouns, the popularity of female nouns was unexpected because of the absence of gender cues that would prompt the use of gendered forms. The two reasons that may explain the use of lexical gender in these sentences are that these professions still have strong social gender and/or informants did not know genderless alternatives to *cleaning lady, maid*, and *nanny*.

Figure 29. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentences with no referents using the L1 and gender of the participants as variables
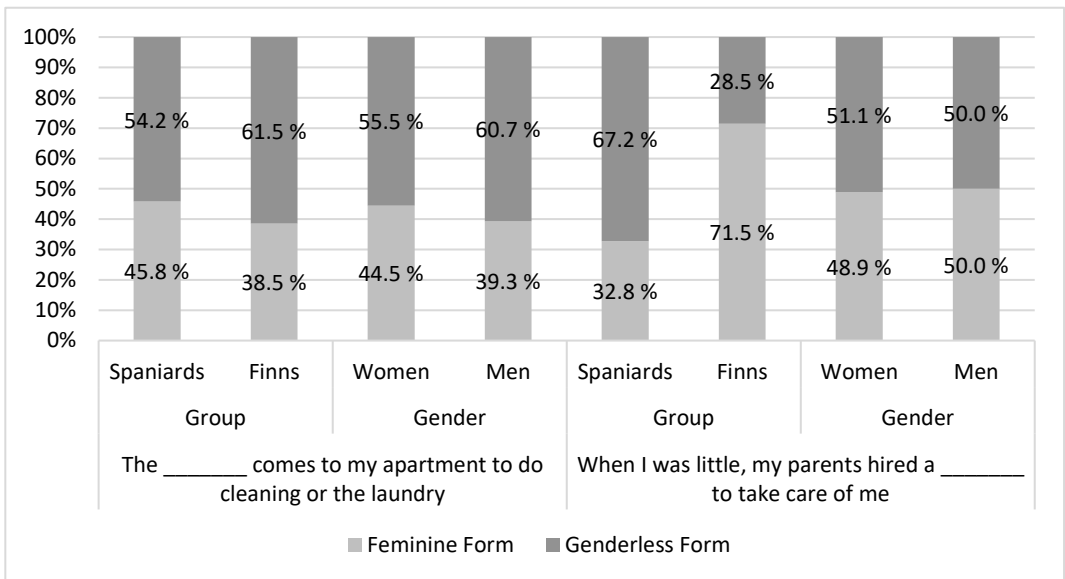
In conclusion, the analysis of the five sentences dealing with lexical gender revealed no statistical differences in the way men and women used lexical gender (see table 46). This indicates that men and women use lexical gender similarly. On the other hand, the analysis based on language did reveal major differences. One of these differences is that Spaniards use more feminine nouns when the referent is a woman. The most plausible explanation is that Spaniards are trying to render women visible in the language by creating or using feminine nouns. These visualization strategies are commonly accepted and used in Spanish, and that may have influenced the lexicon of the students in English. This also may indicate that at least some Spaniards are unaware of the negative connotations female suffixes in English may convey.

Another difference is that Finns are more likely to use genderless alternatives, because in Finnish, as in English, using female suffixes creates nouns laden with negative connotations. There are two exceptions to this observation. In sentence 9.5, the Finns used masculine forms with a female referent more often than the Spaniards did, and in sentence 9.7, they used more female forms as well (see table below).

Table 46.	Summary results of the sentences dealing with lexical gender			feminine noun		masculine noun		genderless noun		df	p.value
				n	%	n	%	n	%		
Female referent	9. 1. Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____	group	Spaniards	188	99.5%			1	0.5%	1	5.00E-11
			Finns	102	77.9%			29	22.1%		
		gender	women	221	93.6%			15	6.4%	1	0.078
			men	62	87.3%			9	12.7%		
	9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____.	group	Spaniards	35	18.0%			159	82.0%	1	1.00E-06
			Finns	1	0.8%			131	99.2%		
		gender	women	24	10.0%			216	90.0%	1	0.13
			men	12	16.4%			61	83.6%		
	9.5 Ana Botín was appointed chair_____ of the bank	group	Spaniards	54	65.1%	7	8.4%	22	26.5%	2	1.80E-11
			Finns	22	18.6%	49	41.5%	47	39.8%		
		gender	women	52	38.5%	36	26.7%	47	34.8%	2	0.87
			men	20	37.7%	16	30.2%	17	32.1%		
No referent	9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day.	group	Spaniards			143	88.3%	19	11.7%	1	5,90E-05
			Finns			84	69.4%	37	30.6%		
		gender	women			169	81.3%	39	18.8%	1	0.63
			men			53	84.1%	10	15.9%		
	9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened.	group	Spaniards			88	61.1%	37	30.6%	1	6.70E-10
			Finns			106	94.6%	6	5.4%		
		gender	women			130	72.2%	50	27.8%	1	0.25
			men			51	81.0%	12	19.0%		
No referent + social gender	9.4. The _____ comes to my apartment to do cleaning or the laundry	group	Spaniards	66	45.8%			78	54.2%	1	0.21
			Finns	50	38.5%			80	61.5%		
		gender	Women	89	44.5%			111	55.5%	1	0.47
			men	24	39.3%			37	60.7%		
	9.7 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me	group	Spaniards	60	32.8%			123	67.2%	1	1.39E-11
			Finns	93	71.5%			37	28.5%		
		gender	women	112	48.9%			117	51.1%	1	0.87
			men	36	50.0%			36	50.0%		

However the most striking result was the extremely high use of lexical gender in sentences without referential gender. For example, in sentences 9.2 and 9.5, the average percentage of students using masculine nouns was 80.42% and 69.53% in

total respectively. On the other hand, the use of feminine nouns in sentences 9.4 and 9.7 was close to the use of genderless nouns (see table above). As discussed, the reasons may be that these occupations are still gendered and that users express that reality in their speech, or they do not know or do not want to use genderless nouns. Next the results of the sentences dealing with grammatical gender are presented.

7.1.2 Grammatical gender

The following set of sentences was designed to research the use of grammatical gender. The referents in these sentences are both singular and genderless. The first two sentences have modal verbs, which means that the verbs are not inflected, and subject-verb agreement is maintained, regardless of the pronoun used. In the last two, however, the verbs are in the third person singular, so grammatically they only accept pronouns and noun phrases in singular. This was purposely done to investigate the preference for the gendered third-person singular pronouns in different scenarios. This caused problems for some of the participants who wanted to use the pronoun *they*. Some expressed their frustration with the blanks in the last question of the questionnaire (25. Is there anything you would like to comment or add?):

> Some fill-in questions were impossible to answer, because the sentence structure did not want to allow for a singular they.

> Participant 95, Finnish woman

> On the first page, it was not possible to fill in the gaps by using the gender-neutral pronoun they, and so I instinctively used he/him/his, because, although I knew it would be possible to use them, using she/her felt somehow "marked".

> Participant 98, Finnish woman

> When filling in the blanks, there were occasions when I would have preferred to use the third-person 'they' but the sentence's grammar made it impossible. For example, the doctor one ("performs").

> Participant 107, Finnish woman

> Does it matter that all the options I wrote down are not necessarily "correct"? I referred to a baby as 'it'. (Take that, baby.) I mean, I could easily use that if I were to speak as I normally do but in certain circumstances I would avoid that. (Formal situations, or when talking to... I don't know, it's mother?) Finns rarely use the pronoun 'hän' (he/she/they) to refer to other human's in informal situations since it

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might sound pretentious and even sarcastic, though it is the more "prestigious" form. But of course, in formal situations 'hän' is the preferred option. Humble finns, referring to each other as 'se' (it). But I'm fairly sure you already knew that. To sum it all up, it's more how you say it than what you actually say

<div align="right">Participant 118, Finnish woman</div>

7.1.2.1   Modal verbs

(Your child) - <u>they</u> will be improving coordination

The first sentence with no inflected verb was "9.8 Dancing is a great way for your child to exercise. At the same time, _____ will also be developing large muscle skills, improving coordination, gross motor skills, and developing eye-hand coordination". In this sentence, the Spaniards preferred the pronoun *they* (40%) over *he* (19%), although the use of *he* was still high. Over half of the Finns preferred *they* (59%), followed by neutral singular noun phrases (10.6%) such as *the child*, *your child*, and *the kid*. *He or she* was the choice of 16.4% of the Spaniards whereas among the Finns, it was only used by 2.3%.

	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
he	37	19.0%	3	2.3%	33	13.7%	7	9.6%	0		40	12.2%
they	78	40.0%	78	59.1%	110	45.6%	34	46.6%	12	92.3%	156	47.7%
plural noun (children)	4	2.1%	14	10.6%	12	5.0%	6	8.2%	0		18	5.5%
neutral singular noun	4	2.1%	6	4.5%	8	3.3%	1	1.4%	1	7.7%	10	3.1%
you	9	4.6%	1	0.8%	9	3.7%	1	1.4%	0		10	3.1%
it	18	9.2%	13	9.8%	21	8.7%	10	13.7%	0		31	9.5%
he or she	32	16.4%	3	2.3%	28	11.6%	7	9.6%	0		35	10.7%
verb+ing (i.e. dancing and exercising)	6	3.1%	7	5.3%	8	3.3%	5	6.8%	0		13	4.0%
other	7	3.6%	7	5.3%	12	5.0%	2	2.7%	0		14	4.3%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

Table 47.   Answers in "9.8 Dancing is a great way for your child to exercise. At the same time, _____ will also be developing large muscle skills…"

If the answers were categorized according to the gender of the participants, the major difference is the use of *he* (women 13.7% and men 9.6%) and *he or she* (women 11.6% and men 9.6%) which are slightly more popular among women than men.

For the χ^2 test, 258 cases were valid (78.9%) and 69 were discarded (21.1%), which included the answers of those who used *it*, *you*, verb+ing, and other. As shown in figure 30, over half of the Spaniards (55.19%) used a gender-neutral form, 24% a masculine pronoun, and the remaining 20% used *she* or *he*. Almost all the Finns (94.23%) used a genderless form, whereas *he* and *he or she* only represent 2.88% of the total each. These differences are statistically significant (p.value: 1.36E-10, df:2).

Figure 30. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.8 Dancing is a great way for your child to exercise. At the same time, _____ will also be developing large muscle skills, improving coordination, gross motor skills, and developing eye-hand coordination"
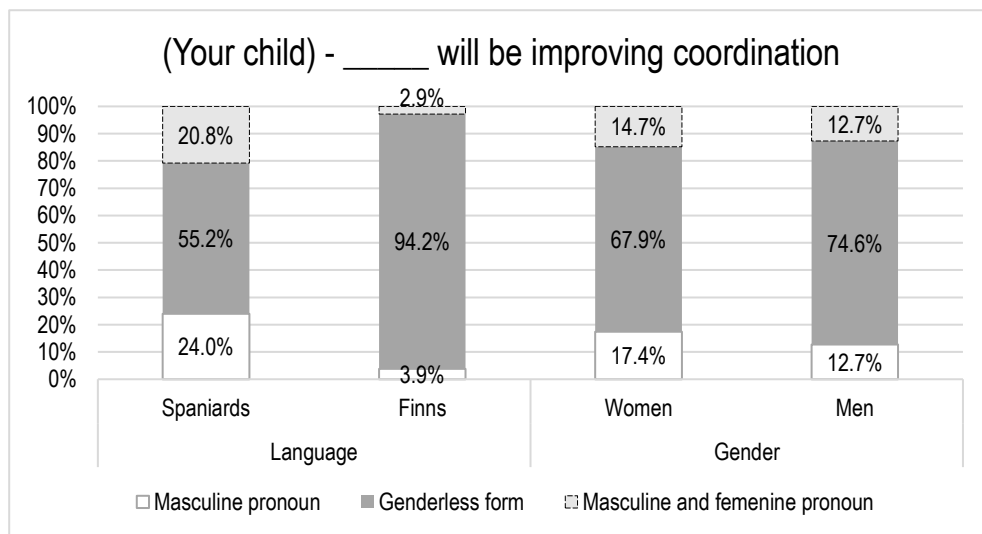
The analysis using gender as a variable revealed that women's and men's use of linguistic gender is the same. Genderless forms were used by almost three-fourths of men (67.86%) and women (74.55%), masculine forms were used by 17.37% of women and 12.73% of men, and masculine and feminine forms by 14.74% of women and 12.73% of men. No significant difference between the two groups was evident (p.value: 0.63, df:2).

(A student) - <u>they</u> will save time

The second sentence in this section is: "9.9 If a student plans ahead, ___ will save a lot of effort and time". Over half of the Finns (64.39 %) wrote *they* followed by *it* (17.42%), *he or she* (9.09%), and *he* (5.30%). Spaniards were more equally divided between *they* (29.74%), *he or she* (29.23%), and *he* (19.49%).

Table 48. Answers in "9.9 If a student plans ahead, ___ will save a lot of effort and time".

| | group | | | | gender | | | | | | total | |
| | Spaniards | | Finns | | women | | men | | gender non-conforming | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
that	0	0.00%	2	1.52%	2	0.83 %	0	0%			2	0.6%
she	7	3.59%	1	0.76%	8	3.32%	0	0%			8	2.4%
he	38	19.49%	7	5.30%	30	12.45%	15	20.55%			45	13.8%
they	58	29.74%	85	64.39%	99	41.08%	32	43.84%	12	92.3%	143	43.7%
neutral singular noun	1	0.51%	2	1.52%	3	1.24%	0	0%			3	0.9%
it	23	11.79%	23	17.42%	35	14.52%	11	15.07%			46	14.1%
he or she	57	29.23%	12	9.09%	57	23.65%	11	15.07%	1	7.7%	69	21.1%
other	11	5.64%	0	0	7	2.9	4	5.48%			11	3.4%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

The most common answer for both men and women was *they* (41.08% of women, 43.84% of men). The second most used pronoun for women was *he or she* (23.65% of women, 15.07% of men) and for men it was *he* (20.55% of men, 12.45% of women).

Figure 31. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the sentence "9.9 If a student plans ahead, ___ will save a lot of effort and time"
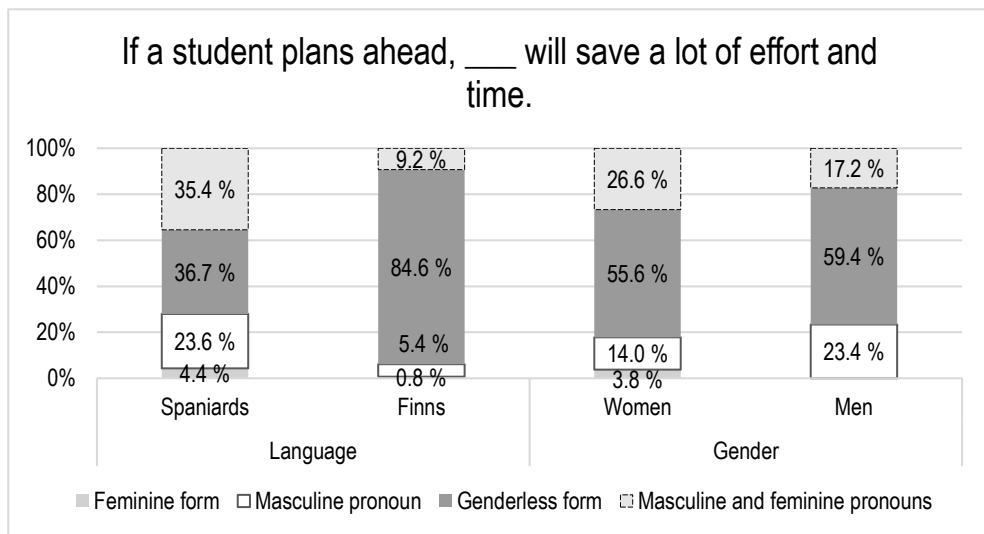
For the χ^2 test, 291 (89.0%) cases were valid and 36 (11%) were excluded. The analysis revealed a great consensus among the Finns: over four-fifths (84.64%) used a genderless form, 9.23% the double up *he or she* and only 5.38% a masculine pronoun (see figure above). On the other hand, the Spaniards were more divided: 35.40% used feminine and masculine pronouns, 36.65% a genderless form and 23.60% a masculine pronoun. The difference between the Spanish and Finnish groups was significant (p-value:1.1E-14, df:3).

The statistical analysis based on gender revealed that the most common answers for both groups were genderless forms (55.61% of women, 59.38% of men), followed by masculine and feminine pronouns in the case of women (26.64% of women, 17.19% of men), and masculine pronouns in the case of men (23.44% of men, 14.02% of women). The similarities in the answers were supported by the χ^2 test (p.value:0.071, df:3).

Table 49.	Summary of the results in the sentences with modal verbs		fem. pronoun		masc. pronouns		genderless form		masc.and fem. pronouns		df	p.value
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
9.8. (your child). At the same time, ____ will also be developing large muscle skills.	group	Spaniards			37	23.9%	86	55.5%	32	20.6%	2	1.36E-10
		Finns			3	2.9%	98	94.2%	3	2.9%		
	gender	women			33	17.3%	130	68.1%	28	14.7%	2	0.63
		men			7	12.7%	41	74.5%	7	12.7%		
9. 9. If a student plans ahead, ___ will save a lot of effort and time.	group	Spaniards	7	4.3%	38	23.6%	59	36.6%	57	35.4%		1.1E-14
		Finns	1	0.8%	7	5.4%	110	84.6%	12	9.2%		
	gender	women	8	3.7%	30	14.0%	119	55.6%	57	26.6%	3	0.07
		men	0	0.0%	15	23.4%	38	59.4%	11	17.2%		

As shown in the table 49, the most popular choice among the participants was genderless forms. However, the use of such forms varies significantly between the language groups and not so much between genders. Neutralization forms, which include the pronoun *they*, comprise 94% and 84% of the answers provided by the Finns in each sentence. On the other hand, genderless forms were only used by 55% of the Spaniards in the first sentence and 36% in the second one. The popularity of genderless forms was not as high for the Finns as for the Spaniards, who used more gendered forms. This included not only masculine pronouns, but also double-up pronouns in both sentences. Therefore the results in this subsection indicate the clear preference of the Finns for neutralization strategies whereas the Spaniards resorted to both neutralization and visualization strategies. As expected, the use of the masculine pronoun *he* was almost insignificant for the Finns (2.9% in the first sentence and 5.4% in the second one) and relatively common for the Spaniards (23.9% in the first sentence and 23.6% in the second one). This can be explained by the fact that Finnish does not have gendered pronouns, and thus Finnish speakers try to avoid using gendered pronouns as generics, while Spaniards, even if they are aware of the sexist nature of the so-called masculine generic pronouns, are used to them.

Concerning gender, the use of *he* as a generic pronoun was more common among women than men in the first sentence. Despite not being a significant result, it contradicts previous research that suggests that women are more likely to

avoid sexist language. However, in the second sentence, the number of women using *he* decreased in favor of *she*. It may be due to the fact that some Spanish women were alternating between both pronouns in order to give visibility to men and women or else simply used *she* as a "generic" pronoun.

7.1.2.2 Inflected verbs

The two following sentences are sentences with two blanks: one for the subject and another one for the possessive pronouns. Unlike in the previous sentences, the verbs are inflected to study which third-person pronoun the participants would write and whether these answers would be similar to the ones given in the previous section.

(Your toddler) - <u>he or she</u> is exploring <u>his or her</u> imagination

This sentence contained two blanks and it was formulated as follows. The first blank is for the subject of the sentence whose antecedent is *toddler*, a singular genderless noun, and the verb is in the third person singular. As a result of this, the answers given in these blanks differ from the answers in previous sentences as it forced participants either to choose a third person singular pronoun or some other strategy to avoid using gender. In the first blank, the most common answers for the Finns were *he or she* (35.6%), *he* (20.5%), and singular noun phrases (10.6%). These noun phrases were used exclusively by the Finns, probably in order to avoid a gendered pronoun and to maintain subject-verb agreement. The phrases used were *the/your toddler* with six cases, *the child* with seven cases, and *your kid* with one case. On the other hand, the most frequent answers for the Spaniards were *he* (33.8%) and *he or she* (33.3%).

Table 50. Answers in the first blank of "9.10 While it may appear your toddler is simply having fun, _____ (1) is actually exploring _____ (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing".

| | group | | | | gender | | | | | | total | |
| | Spaniards | | Finns | | women | | men | | gender non-conforming | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	3	1.5%	0		2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	0.9%
he/she/they (are)	0		2	1.5%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
she	7	3.6%	16	12.1%	18	7.5%	3	4.1%	2	15.4%	23	7.0%
he	66	33.8%	27	20.5%	71	29.5%	21	28.8%	1	7.7%	93	28.4%
they	6	3.1%	12	9.1%	15	6.2%	1	1.4%	2	15.4%	18	5.5%
noun phrase	0		14	10.6%	7	2.9%	5	6.8%	2	15.4%	14	4.3%
it	36	18.5%	13	9.8%	35	14.5%	12	16.4%	2	15.4%	49	15.0%
he or she	65	33.3%	47	35.6%	81	33.6%	27	37.0%	4	30.8%	112	34.3%
other	11	5.6%	1	0.8%	9	3.7%	3	4.1%	0		12	3.7%
mine	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

It is worth noting the number of cases of the pronoun *they*, despite the verb being singular. I believe that participants were well aware of this, as eight out of 18 (three Spaniards and five Finns) also included the verb as in *they [are]*, *they (are)*, *they're* or *they are*.

Regarding gender, women used the gendered pronouns *he* (29.5% women, 28.8% men) and *she* (7.5% women, 4.1% men) more than men, whereas men used *she/he* (37.0%) more than women (33.6%).

For the χ^2 test, 52 cases were discarded (15.97%). These included the answers that made the sentence ungrammatical or semantically incoherent, i.e. *it* as in "9.10 While it may appear your toddler is simply having fun, *it* (1) is actually exploring *its* (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing". As shown in figure 32, the Spaniards opted for *he or she* (45.14% Spaniards and 35.88% of Finns) or simply for the masculine generic *he* (45.83% of Spaniards and 20.61% of Finns). They were less inclined to use genderless forms (4.17%) or feminine pronouns (4.83%). The answers of the Finnish participants are divided among the four categories, the least popular being the use of the feminine pronoun *she* (12.21%) followed by the masculine pronouns *he* (20.61%), genderless forms (31.30%), and double-ups *he or she* (35.88%). These differences are statistically significant (p.value:1.81E-10, df:3).
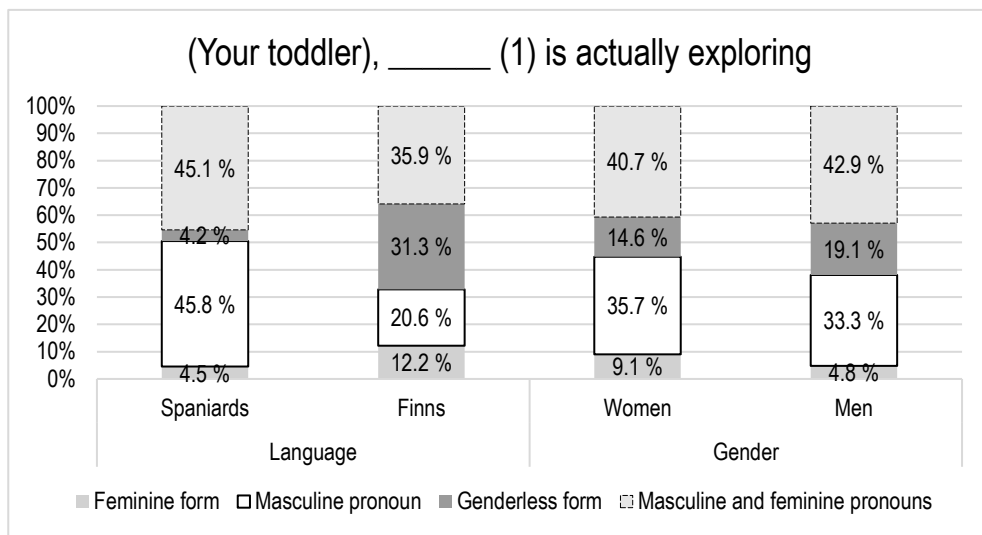
As indicated in figure 32, the statistical analysis based on gender indicates that the results were alike in both groups, with the most popular response for both groups being the double-up pronouns *he or she* (40.70% of women and 42.86% of men), followed by the masculine pronoun *he* (35.68% of women and 33.33% of men). The least popular choices were genderless forms (14.57% of women and 19.05% of men) and the feminine pronoun (9.05% of women and 4.76% of men). The χ^2 test revealed that these differences were not statistically significant (p.value:0.607, df:3).

The second blank of the sentence required a possessive pronoun. The most frequently given answer was the combination of *his or her* (28.1% of the total, 30.3% of the Spaniards and 25% of the Finns) followed by *his* (25.7% of the total, 30.3% of the Spaniards and 18.9% of the Finns) and *their* (13.5% of the total, 4.1% of the Spaniards and 27.3% of the Finns) (see table 51). The answers provided by men and women did not differ much, except for the use of *her* and *him*, the first one being slightly more popular among women than among men (*her*: 6.2% of women and 1.4% of men, and *his*: 27.4% of women and 23.3% of men).

Table 51. Answers in the second blank of "9.10 While it may appear your toddler is simply having fun, _____ (1) is actually exploring _____ (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing".

	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	4	2%	2	1.5%	5	2.1%	1	1.4%	0		6	1.8%
his/her/their	0		2	1.5%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
the[75]	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
she	1	0.5%	0		0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
her	4	2.1%	14	10.6%	15	6.2%	1	1.4%	2	15.4%	18	5.5%
woman	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
he	0		1	0.8%	0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
his	59	30.3%	25	18.9%	66	27.4%	17	23.3%	1	7.7%	84	25.7%
they	0		1	0.8%	1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
your	17	8.7%	0		15	6.2%	2	2.7%	0		17	5.2%
its	1	0.5%	13	9.8%	6	2.5%	7	9.6%	1	7.7%	14	4.3%
their	8	4.1%	36	27.3%	31	12.9%	7	9.6%	6	46.2%	44	13.5%
his or her	59	30.3%	33	25.0%	66	27.4%	23	31.5%	3	23.1%	92	28.1%
him or her	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
his or hers	0		2	1.5%	0		2	2.7%	0		2	0.6%
other	39	20.0%	2	1.5%	30	12.4%	11	15.1%	0		41	12.5%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

When the answers are categorized according to the gender of the participants (see table 51) the major difference is in the use of *her* (women 6.2% and men 1.4%), *your* (women 6.2% and men 2.7%), *their* (women 12.9 % and men 9.6%), and *his* (women 27.4% and men 23.3%), which are slightly more popular among women than men, whereas *his or her* is slightly higher among men (women 27.4% and men 31.5%).

For the statistical analysis, 291 cases (77.7%) were regarded as valid and 36 excluded (22.3%). As shown in figure 33, the Spaniards were more inclined to use grammatical gender than the Finns. The two most popular choices for the Spaniards were the double-up pronouns *his or her* and *his* (both 45.04%) whereas,

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[75]*The* was original marked as a genderless form, because it is used as a strategy for avoiding gendered possessive pronouns (see Miller & Swift 2000).

for the Finns, the most popular answers were genderless forms (41.46%) and the double-up pronouns *his or her* (26.86%).

Figure 33. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the second blank of sentence "9.10 While it may appear your toddler is simply having fun, _____ (1) is actually exploring _____ (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing"
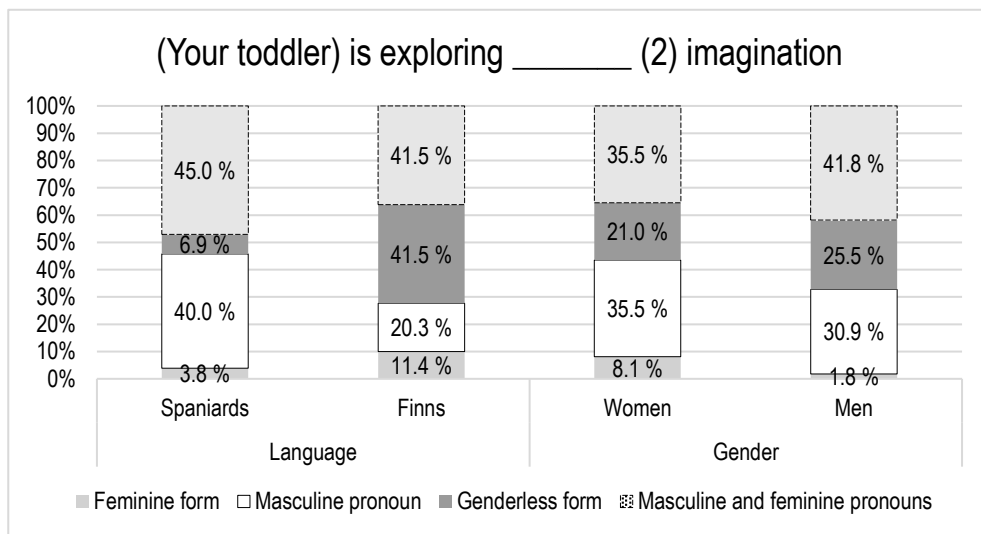
On the other hand, the analysis with gender as a variable reveals very similar results for both gender groups (p.value:0.307, df:3). Masculine and feminine pronouns are the most popular choice for both (35.48% of women and 41.82% of men), followed by the masculine pronoun *he* (35.48% of women and 30.91% men) and genderless forms (20.97% of women and 25.45% of men). The χ^2 test indicates that the differences between the Spanish and Finnish groups in the use of grammatical gender were statistically significant (p.value:4.48E-12, df:3), but not the differences between men and women (p.value:0.308, df:3).

Any doctor should review <u>their</u> notes before <u>he or she</u> performs an operation.

This sentence, like the previous one, has two blanks and was phrased as follows: "9.11 Any doctor should review (1) ____ notes before (2) ___ performs an operation". This sentence, like the previous one, has two blanks. The first one is intended for possessive pronouns and the second one for subject pronouns. The referent of the pronouns is *doctor*, a genderless singular noun, which, on the other

hand, may have masculine social gender. The most common pronouns used in this blank were *their* (23.6% of the Spaniards and 52.3% of the Finns), *his* (28.7% of the Spaniards and 17.4% of the Finns) and the double up pronouns *his or her* (28.2% of the Spaniards and 18.9% of the Finns). Words such as *the*, *all*, *previous*, and *some* are neither nouns nor pronouns, but can be used to avoid using gendered suffixes. For this reason, they were included in the genderless form category for the statistical analysis.

Table 52. Answers in the first blank of "9.11 Any doctor should review (1) ____ notes before (2) ___ performs an operation".

| | group | | | | gender | | | | | | total | |
| | Spaniards | | Finns | | women | | men | | gender non-conforming | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
her	8	4.1%	6	4.5%	12	5.0%	2	2.7%	0		14	4.3%
he	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
his	56	28.7%	23	17.4%	61	25.3%	18	24.7%	0		79	24.2%
one	0		2	1.5%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
neutral singular noun	0		2	1.5%	2	0.8%	0		0		2	0.6%
your	3	1.5%	0		2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	0.9%
its	5	2.6%	0		5	2.1%	0		0		5	1.5%
their	46	23.6%	69	52.3%	80	33.2%	25	34.2%	10	76.9%	115	35.2%
his or her	55	28.2%	25	18.9%	56	23.2%	21	28.8%	3	23.1%	80	24.5%
him or her	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
other	4	2.1%	2	1.5%	3	1.2%	3	4.1%	0		6	1.8%
the	9	4.6%	1	0.8%	10	4.1%	0		0		10	3.1%
all/previous/some	7	3.6%	2	1.5%	6	2.5%	3	4.1%	0		9	2.8%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

The answers by men and women were very similar. However the exceptions are the use of *her* (4.3% of the total), which was slightly higher among women (5%) than among men (2.7%), and *his or her* (24.5% of the total), which was a little more popular among men (28.8%) than women (23.2%).

For the statistical analysis, 308 (94.2%) cases were valid and 19 (5.8%) were discarded. These include the blank responses (0.3%), the ones in the group *other* (5.5%). The results indicate that the responses by the Spaniards were almost equally divided among masculine pronoun *he* (33.33%), neutral forms (29.17%), and the combination of masculine and feminine pronouns (32.74%). For the Finns, over half of the participants (57.48%) used a gender-neutral form, followed by the combination of masculine and feminine pronouns (19.69%), and the masculine

pronoun *he* (18.11%). These differences are statistically significant (p.value:0.68E-05, df: 3).

Figure 34. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the first blank of sentence "9.11 Any doctor should review (1) ____ notes before (2) ___ performs an operation"
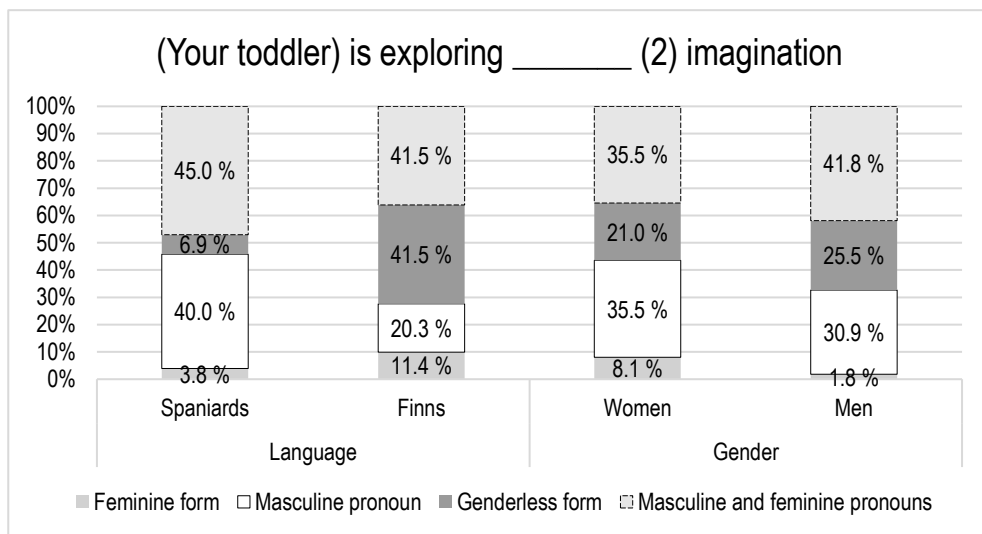
With respect to gender, the results reveal similarities among the two groups. Almost 40% of the men and women used a genderless form, between 25% and 30% of the men and women used masculine and feminine pronouns, and around 30% of the people in each group used the masculine pronoun *his*. The χ^2 test indicated no statistical significance (p.value:0.734, df:3).

In the second blank, the pronoun *he* (37.4%, 22.0%) and the pronouns *he or she* (32.8% of the Spaniards and 35.6% of the Finns) occurred more frequently than *they* (15.4% of the Spaniards and 30.3% of the Finns). This may be because of the verb in 3rd person singular. In fact, nine people (2.8%) of the 70 (21.5%) who used *they* included the verb as in *they (perform)*, *they [perform]*, or just *they perform*. Of the three participants who wrote the verb as a gerund, one wrote "*performing (cross the performs)*" and another one wrote "**performing or *they perform*".

Table 53. Answers in the second blank of "9.11 Any doctor should review ___ notes before___ performs an operation"

| | group | | | | gender | | | | | | total | |
| | Spaniards | | Finns | | women | | men | | gender non-conforming | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	1	0.5%	0		0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
performing	0		3	2.3%	2	0.8%	0		1	7.7%	3	0.9%
she	10	5.1%	8	6.1%	13	5.4%	4	5.5%	1	7.7%	18	5.5%
he	73	37.4%	29	22.0%	76	31.5%	25	34.2%	1		102	31.2%
one	0		3	2.3%	3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
they	28	14.4%	33	25.0%	43	17.8%	12	16.4%	6	46.2%	61	18.7%
they perform	2	1.0%	7	5.3%	9	3.7%	0		0		9	2.8%
neutral singular noun	0		1	0.8%	1	0.4%	0		0		1	0.3%
its	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
their	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%	0		0		3	0.9%
he or she	64	32.8%	47	35.6%	79	32.8%	29	39.7%	3	23.1%	111	33.9%
his or her	3	1.5%	0		2	0.8%	0		1	7.7%	3	0.9%
his or hers	0		1	0.8%	0		1	1.4%	0		1	0.3%
other	8	4.1%	0		7	2.9%	1	1.4%	0		8	2.4%
total	195		132		241		73		13		327	

If the answers are grouped by the gender of the participants, the results are very similar. Some exceptions are the use of *she* (5.5% of the total) which is almost identical among men (5.5%) and women (5.4%), and as with the previous blank, and *his or her* (33.9% of the total), is slightly more popular among men (39.7%) than women (32.8%).

Figure 35. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the second blank of sentence "9.11 Any doctor should review (1) _____ notes before (2) _____ performs an operation"
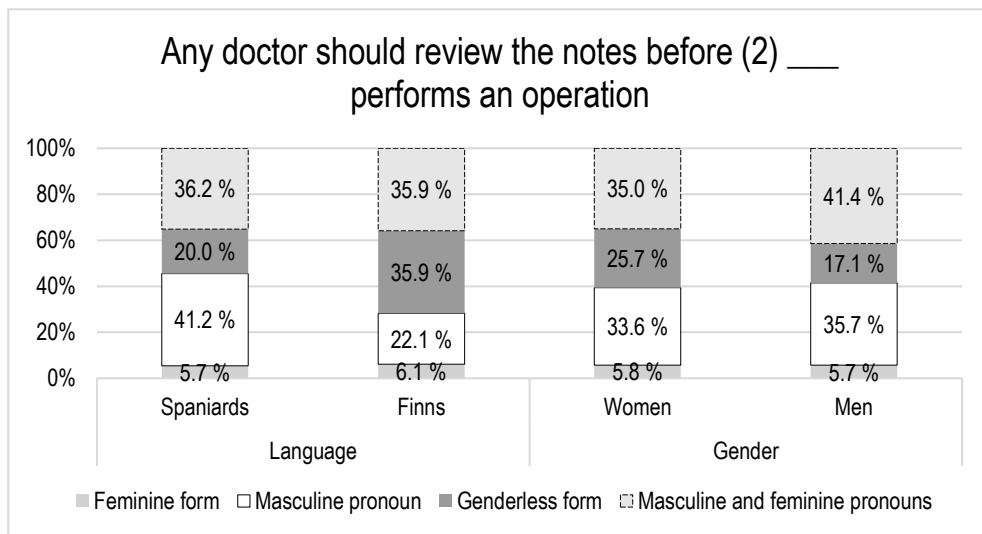
The statistical analysis revealed that the use of the pronouns *he or she* is very similar in both groups (36.16% of the Spaniards and 35.88% of the Finns). However, the major difference is in the use of genderless forms, which is higher among Finns (35.88% of the Finns and 16.95% of the Spaniards) and the masculine pronoun, which is higher among Spaniards (41.24% of the Spaniards and 22.14% of the Finns). These differences are statistically significant (p.value:2.59E-04, df:3).

The analysis based on gender revealed minor differences in the way men and women used grammatical gender in this blank, although such differences were not statistically significant (p.value: 0.508, df: 3). For example, women used slightly more genderless forms than men (25.66% of women and 17.14% of men), whereas men used the masculine pronoun *he* slightly more frequently (35.71% of men and 33.63% of women), as well as the double-up *she and he* (41.43% of men and 34.96% of women).

As the results in the sentences with inflected verbs suggest, there were three major findings. Firstly, if the blank dealt with a subject pronoun, the percentage of genderless forms was significantly inferior to the results in the blanks dealing with possessive pronouns. This may indicate that participants were aware of the singular *they* and they approve of it as a genderless alternative, especially as a possessive pronoun (see table 54, sentence 11). Secondly, inflected verbs result in increased use of gendered forms. This is evident for the Spaniards, who in these sentences

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were equally divided between masculine pronouns and double-up pronouns. The only exception occurred in sentence 11, 2nd blank, in which the use of the masculine pronoun surpassed the use of the double-up. These results may indicate a certain degree of acceptance of the use of masculine generic pronouns among the Spaniards. Thirdly, the percentage of feminine pronouns increased in these sentences as well. However, the use of *she/her/hers* can still be perceived as anecdotal when compared with the rest of the results.

Table 54.			Summary of the results of the sentences with inflected verbs	feminine		masculine		genderless		masc.and fem.		df	p.value
				n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
10	(1)	group	Spaniards	7	4.9%	66	45.8%	6	4.2%	65	45.1%	3	1.8E-10
			Finns	16	12.2%	27	20.6%	41	31.3%	47	35.9%		
		gender	women	18	9.0%	71	35.7%	29	14.6%	81	40.7%	3	0.61
			men	3	4.8%	21	33.3%	12	19.0%	27	42.9%		
	(2) Possessive pronoun	group	Spaniards	4	3.1%	59	45.0%	9	6.9%	59	45.0%	3	4.4E-12
			Finns	14	11.4%	25	20.3%	51	41.5%	33	26.8%		
		gender	women	15	8.1%	66	35.5%	39	21.0%	66	35.5%	3	0.31
			men	1	1.8%	17	30.9%	14	25.5%	23	41.8%		
11	(1) Possessive pronoun	group	Spaniards	8	4.8%	56	33.3%	49	29.2%	55	32.7%	3	1.6E-05
			Finns	6	4.7%	23	18.1%	73	57.5%	25	19.7%		
		gender	women	12	5.6%	61	28.4%	86	40.0%	56	26.0%	3	0.734
			men	2	3.0%	18	26.9%	26	38.8%	21	31.3%		
	(2)	group	Spaniards	10	5.6%	73	41.2%	30	16.9%	64	36.2%	3	2.5E-04
			Finns	8	6.1%	29	22.1%	47	35.9%	47	35.9%		
		gender	women	13	5.8%	76	33.6%	58	25.7%	79	35.0%	3	0.51
			men	4	5.7%	25	35.7%	12	17.1%	29	41.4%		

As mentioned earlier, the blanks in this section dealt with grammatical gender and all the referents were singular genderless forms (*child*, *doctor*, *toddler*, and *student*). However, some sentences had a modal verb and some others had inflected verbs. This had a major effect on the pronouns used. In the sentences with a modal verb, the vast majority of Finns used a neutralization strategy[76] while the answers by the

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[76] More precisely, 59% and 64% of all the Finns who took part in this study used *they* in the 9.8 and 9.9 sentence respectively. These percentages come from the raw answers (see tables 47 and 48).

Spaniards showed more disparity. The general trend regarding genderless forms was that their use decreased significantly in all groups when the verbs were inflected. This may be due to the fact that participants were aware of the fact that the pronoun *they* would make these sentences starred and ungrammatical. In the case of the Finns, genderless forms decreased in favour of the double-up pronouns, followed by masculine pronouns[77]. Yet the percentage of Finns using genderless forms was still higher than the percentage of Finns using gendered pronouns, that is the combination of masculine pronouns and the double ups altogether[78]. In these same sentences, the percentage of Spaniards using genderless forms also decreased, but instead of resorting to other non-sexist strategies such as the double-up pronouns, the use of masculine pronouns also increased[79]. These results are in agreement with the hypothesis of this study, according to which Finns, speakers of a genderless language, would opt for neutralization strategies, and Spaniards, speakers of a language with grammatical gender, would prefer visualization strategies. Contrary to expectation, the use of masculine generics was particularly high in the sentences with inflected verbs. For instance, the percentage of Spaniards using male pronouns was similar to or even higher than the percentage of Spaniards using double ups. The reason for this is not clear, but it relates to the informants' opinions regarding non-sexist language and masculine generic forms. Despite all this and judging from the results of the sentences with modal verbs, it is probable that participants in real-life situations, in which they are not asked to fill in blanks, would have rephrased these sentences in order to use *they* and avoid marking gender.

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[77] These sentences had two blanks; one asking for the subject and the other one for a possessive pronoun. In the possessive pronoun blanks, genderless forms remained the preferred option with 41.50% and 57.50% respectively.

[78] The only exception was in the first blank of the 9.10 sentence, in which the use of double-up pronouns was 35% and the genderless forms 31.3%.

[79] Except in the blank asking for a possessive pronoun in the sentence 9.11, in which the percentage of genderless forms is 29.20%

					fem. pronoun		masc. pronouns		genderless form		masc.and fem. pronouns		df	p.value
					n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
modal verbs	9.8. (your child). At the same time, _____ will also be developing large muscle skills.		group	Spaniards			37	23.9%	86	55.5%	32	20.6%	2	1.36 E-10
				Finns			3	2.9%	98	94.2%	3	2.9%		
			gender	women			33	17.3%	130	68.1%	28	14.7%	2	0.633
				men			7	12.7%	41	74.5%	7	12.7%		
	9. 9 If a student plans ahead, ___ will save a lot of effort and time.		group	Spaniards	7	4.3%	38	23.6%	59	36.6%	57	35.4%	3	1.1E -14
				Finns	1	0.8%	7	5.4%	110	84.6%	12	9.2%		
			gender	women	8	3.7%	30	14.0%	119	55.6%	57	26.6%	3	0.071
				men	0	0.0%	15	23.4%	38	59.4%	11	17.2%		
inflected verb	9.10."(your toddler), _____ (1) is actually exploring _____ (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing"	1	group	Spaniards	7	4.9%	66	45.8%	6	4.2%	65	45.1%	3	1.8E -10
				Finns	16	12.2%	27	20.6%	41	31.3%	47	35.9%		
			gender	women	18	9.0%	71	35.7%	29	14.6%	81	40.7%	3	0.61
				men	3	4.8%	21	33.3%	12	19.0%	27	42.9%		
		2	group	Spaniards	4	3.1%	59	45.0%	9	6.9%	59	45.0%	3	4.4E -12
				Finns	14	11.4%	25	20.3%	51	41.5%	33	26.8%		
			gender	women	15	8.1%	66	35.5%	39	21.0%	66	35.5%	3	0.31
				men	1	1.8%	17	30.9%	14	25.5%	23	41.8%		
	9.11."Any doctor should review (1) ____ notes before (2) ___ performs an operation".	1	group	Spaniards	8	4.8%	56	33.3%	49	29.2%	55	32.7%	3	1.6E -05
				Finns	6	4.7%	23	18.1%	73	57.5%	25	19.7%		
			gender	women	12	5.6%	61	28.4%	86	40.0%	56	26.0%	3	0.734
				men	2	3.0%	18	26.9%	26	38.8%	21	31.3%		
		2	group	Spaniards	10	5.6%	73	41.2%	30	16.9%	64	36.2%	3	2.5E -04
				Finns	8	6.1%	29	22.1%	47	35.9%	47	35.9%		
			gender	women	13	5.8%	76	33.6%	58	25.7%	79	35.0%	3	0.51
				men	4	5.7%	25	35.7%	12	17.1%	29	41.4%		

Table 55. Summary of the results of sentences with modal verbs

Moreover, it is worth noting the use of feminine pronouns, especially in the sentences that had inflected verbs, despite not being a prevalent choice. This visualization strategy was more common among women than men. When reviewing the answers, I noticed that some informants alternated between masculine and feminine pronouns, whereas some others used exclusively female pronouns, possibly as a linguistic statement. Another unanticipated result in these sentences was the popularity of masculine generics among women. In comparison with men, women used more masculine pronouns, whereas men used more double-up pronouns. However none of these differences was statistically significant. If the differences had been significant, that result would have contradicted studies claiming that women are more likely to adhere to the use of non-sexist language (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton, 2014).

7.1.3 Lexical and grammatical gender

The last question in this section consists of a text with five blanks. This text is from a speech given by John F. Kennedy in Nashville during the 90th convocation of Vanderbilt University on May 18th, 1963. The reasons for choosing this text were that it originally contained both lexical and grammatical masculine generic forms and that the text is in the third person singular, which provided an interesting opportunity to study the lexical and grammatical choices in a co-text. The original text is as follows:

> He[80] knows that law is the adhesive force in the cement of society, creating order out of chaos and coherence in place of anarchy. He knows that for one man to defy a law or court order he does not like is to invite others to defy those which they do not like, leading to a breakdown of all justice and all order. He knows, too, that every fellowman is entitled to be regarded with decency and treated with dignity. Any educated citizen who seeks to subvert the law, to suppress freedom, or to subject other human beings to acts that are less than human, degrades his heritage, ignores his learning, and betrays his obligation.[81]

The original plan was to include the whole paragraph in the questionnaire, but I reconsidered this based on feedback received from the students who took part in the pilot study of the questionnaire. In general, they found this paragraph too long and complicated. Therefore the version used for the questionnaire was shortened:

> A responsible citizen knows that law is the adhesive force in the cement of society, creating order out of chaos and coherence in place of anarchy. _____ (1) knows that for one_____ (2) to defy a law or court order _____ (3) does not like is to invite others to defy those which they do not like, leading to a breakdown of all justice and all order. _____ (4) knows, too, that every fellow_____ (5) is entitled to be regarded with decency and treated with dignity.

In the blanks that dealt with grammatical gender (see table 57), which were the first, third and fourth blanks, the common responses were *everybody*, *he, he or she* and *one*, and the noun phrase *a (responsible) citizen* or simply *citizen*. In general, the popularity of each word varied depending on the blank. In the first blank, the most used pronouns were *he* (31.8% of the Spaniards and 18.9% of the Finns), *he or she* (28.7% of the Spaniards and 18.2% of the Finns), and the indefinite pronouns

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[80] In the questionnaire, *he* was replaced with *a responsible citizen* to make the text more coherent.

[81] The underlined words were the ones that were replaced with a blank in the questionnaire.

everybody (14.9% of the Spaniards, 17.4% of the Finns) and *one* (1.5% of the Spaniards and 9.1% of the Finns). Also, noun phrases such as *a (responsible) citizen* (6.7% of the Spaniards and 24.20% of the Finns), noun phrases, were used, especially among Finns, to avoid gendered pronouns.

In the third blank, the most popular pronouns were *he* (31.8% of the Spaniards, 18.9% of the Finns), *one* (1.5% of the Spaniards and 26.5% of the Finns), and *he or she* (17.9% of the Spaniards and 22% of the Finns). The relative pronouns *what*, *that*, *who*, and *which* (20.50% of the Spaniards and 1.5% of the Finns) were relatively popular among the Spaniards. However, the relative pronouns were not taken into account for the statistical analysis, as they create ungrammatical sentences.

In the fourth blank, the most common answers were *he* (31% of the Spaniards and 18.9% of the Finns), *one* (2.6% of the Spaniards and 12.6% of the Finns), and *he or she* (28.2% of the Spaniards and 18.9% of the Finns). *Everybody* and *a (responsible) citizen* were slightly popular among the Finns (*everybody* was used by 15.9% of the Finns and by no Spaniards, and *a responsible citizen* by 18.2% of the Finns and by no Spaniards), whereas the Spaniards preferred other singular noun phrases (13.8% of the Spaniards and 0.8% of the Finns).

The answers provided by men and women were very similar. For example, the percentage of men and women using the pronoun *he* is very similar in all the blanks, except in the first one where the percentage of women using it is slightly higher than the percentage of men (women 28.2%, men 26%). The pronouns *he or she* were used by the same percentage of people in both groups in the first blank, but in the 3rd and 4th blank, they were slightly more popular among men than women (third blank: women 19% and 21.9% men, fourth blank: 24.5% women and 26% men).

	1st blank		3rd blank		4th blank	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
valid	308	94.2%	201	61.5%	304	93%
missing	19	5.8%	126	38.5%	23	7%

Table 56. Numbers and percentages of valid and excluded answers in the blanks dealing with grammatical gender

For the statistical analysis, the answers belonging to the categories *other,* and *no answer* were excluded along with those answers that created ungrammatical sentences. The number of valid and excluded answers can be found in the table above. The results of the analysis revealed that in the first and fourth blanks, the

answers of the Spanish participants are divided equally between genderless forms (first blank 29.78%, and third blank 28.90%), masculine pronouns (first blank34.83% and second blank 35.26), and masculine and feminine pronouns (31.46% and 32.37%) (see figure 36). In the third blank, the gendered pronouns are the preferred option for Spaniards (masculine pronouns, 48.39% and masculine and feminine pronouns, 37.63%) over the genderless (6.45%). In contrast, half of the Finns chose to use genderless forms in the three blanks (first blank,57.69%, third blank 44.44% and fourth blank 57.25%). The remaining fifty percent are equally divided between the masculine pronoun (first blank 19.23%, third blank 25%, and fourth blank 19.08%) and masculine and feminine pronouns (first blank 18.46%, third blank 25.93%, and fourth blank 19.08%). The χ^2 test reveals that in all the blanks, the difference between the Finns and the Spaniards was statistically significant (see table 57), whereas for men and women the difference was not (see table 58).

Table 57. Answers in the blanks of the text dealing with grammatical gender

	1st Blank						3rd Blank						4th Blank					
	Spaniards		Finns		Total		Spaniards		Finns		Total		Spaniards		Finns		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No answer	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	2	0.6%	18	9.2%	10	7.6%	28	8.6%	4	2.1%	0		4	1.2%
the	2	1%	0		2	0.6%												
she	7	3.6%	6	4.5%	13	4%	7	3.6%	5	3.8%	12	3.7%	7	3.6%	6	4.5%	13	4%
everybody	29	14.9%	23	17.4%	52	15.9%							0		21	15.9%	21	6.4%
A (responsible) citizen	13	6.7%	32	24.20%	45	13.8%	0		1	0.8%	1	0.3%	0		24	18.2%	24	7.3%
citizen													12	6.2%	0		12	3.7%
they + verb -ing	0		3	2.3%	3	0.9%	0		5	3.8%	5	1.5%	0	1.5%	3	2.3%	3	0.9%
he	62	31.8%	25	18.9%	87	26.6%	45	23.1%	29	22%	74	22.6%	61	31.3%	25	18.9%	86	26.3%
one	3	1.5%	12	9.1%	15	4.6%	3	1.5%	35	26.5%	38	11.6%	5	2.6%	17	12.9%	22	6.7%
they	3	1.5%	4	3 %	7	2.1%	2	1%	3	2.3%	5	1.5%	4	2.1%	7	5.3%	11	3.4%
anyone	3	1.5%	1	0.8%	4	1.2%	1											
neutral plural noun		0.5%	1		0	0.3%	0		4	3%	4	1.2%	3	1.5%	0		3	0.9%
neutral singular noun							23	11.8%	0		23	7%	27	13.8%	1	0.8%	28	8.6%
it	7	3.6%	0		7	2.1%	35	17.9%	29	22%	64	19.6%	8	4.1%	0		8	2.4%
he or she	56	28.7%	24	18.2%	80	24.5%	1	0.5%	0		1	0.3%	55	28.2%	25	18.9%	80	24.5%
that person	1	0.5%	0		1	0.3%							1	0.5%	0		1	0.3%
society	3	1.5%	0		3	0.9%								1%				
who													3	1.5%	0		3	0.9%
person							0		4	3 %	4	1.2%	0		2	1.5%	2	0.6%
what/that/who/which							40	20.5%	2	1.5%	42	12.8%						
himself							1	0.5%	0		1	0.3%						
Other	4	2.1%	1	0.8%	5	1.5%	20	10.3%	5	3.8%	25	7.6%	3	1.5%	1	0.8%	4	1.2%

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Figure 36. Stacked bar chart for language group for the 1st, 3rd and 4th blanks of text

Types of grammatical gender used in the text

	Blank 1		Blank3		Blank4	
	Spaniards	Finns	Spaniards	Finns	Spaniards	Finns
Masc. and Fem. Pronouns	31.46%	18.46%	37.63%	25.93%	32.37%	19.08%
Neutral form	29.78%	57.69%	6.45%	44.44%	28.90%	57.25%
Masc. pronoun	34.83%	19.23%	48.39%	25%	35.26%	19.08%
Fem. Pronoun	3.93%	4.60%	7.53%	4.63%	3.47%	4.58%

Legend: Fem. Pronoun, Masc. pronoun, Neutral form, Masc. and Fem. Pronouns
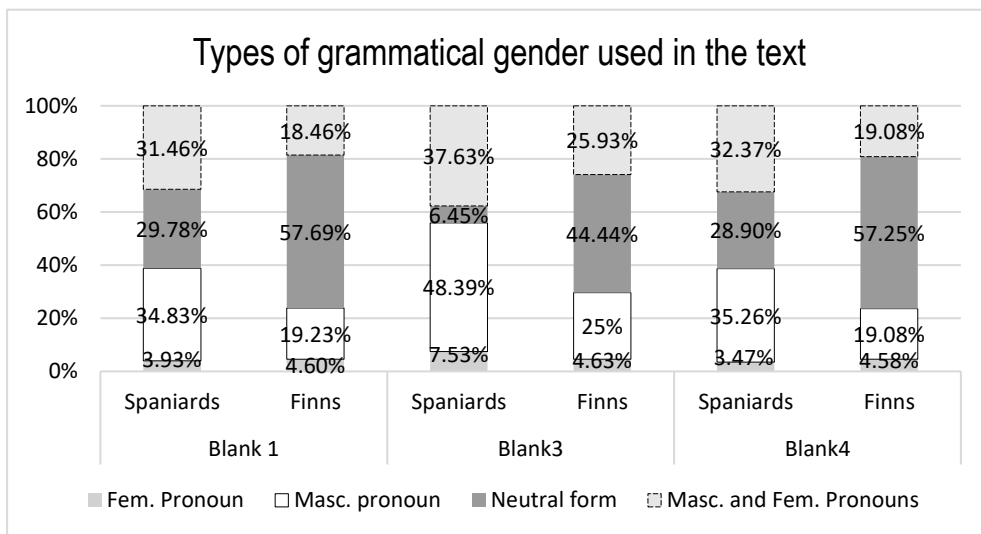
Concerning gender, the most common choice for men and women in the first blank were genderless forms (women 39.5%, men 43.3%), followed by the masculine forms (women 29.8% and men 28.4%) and the double-up pronouns (women 26.3% and 26.9%). In the third blank, men's answers were equally divided between the masculine forms (33.3%), genderless forms (31.3%), and double ups (33.3%). For women, the most popular choice was the masculine forms (38 %), followed by double ups (31.7%) and genderless forms (22.5%). In the fourth blank, the preferred option for both groups was genderless forms (38.5% women, men 44.3%), followed by the masculine forms (women 30.3%, men 27.1%), and the double ups (women 27.1% and men 27.1%) (see figure 37).

Figure 37. Stacked bar chart for language group for the 1st, 3rd and 4th blanks of text

Types of grammatical gender used in the text

	Women (Blank1)	Men (Blank1)	Women (Blank 3)	Men (Blank 3)	Women (Blank 4)	Men (Blank 4)
Masc. and Fem. Pronouns	26.30%	26.90%	31.70%	33.30%	27.10%	27.10%
Neutral form	39.50%	43.30%	22.50%	31.30%	38.50%	44.30%
Masc. pronoun	29.80%	28.40%	38.70%	33.30%	30.30%	27.10%
Fem. Pronoun	4.40%	1.50%	7.00%	2.10%	4.10%	1.40%

Legend: ■ Fem. Pronoun ▢ Masc. pronoun ■ Neutral form ▨ Masc. and Fem. Pronouns
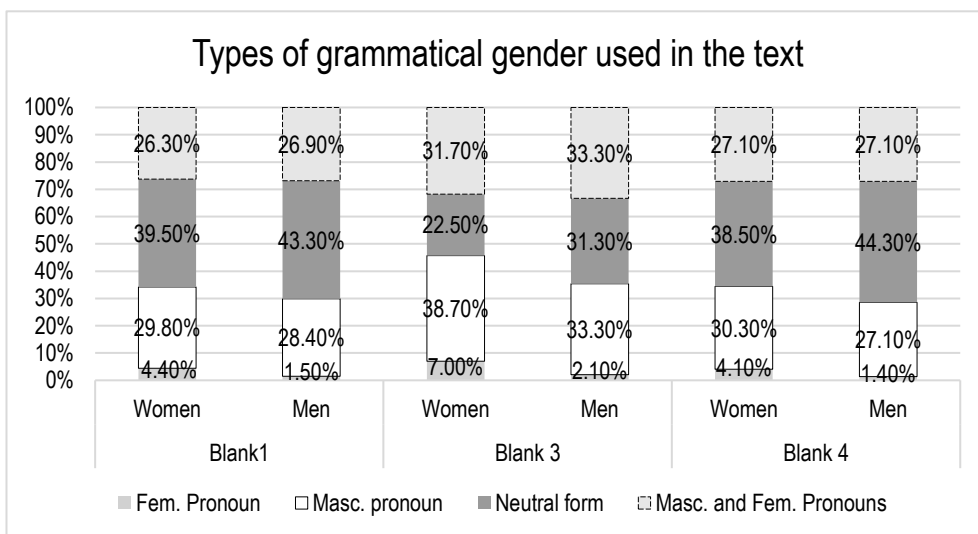
Table 58. Answers in the blanks of the text dealing with grammatical gender grouped by the type of grammatical gender and L1 of the participants

		fem. pronoun		masc. pronoun		genderless form		masc. and fem. pronouns		total	df	p-value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
blank1	Spaniards	7	3.93%	62	34.83%	53	29.78 %	56	31.46%	178	3	1.19E-05
	Finns	6	4.6 %	25	19.23%	75	57.69 %	24	18.46%	130		
	total	13	4.22 %	87	28.25%	128	41.56%	80	25.97%	308		
blank 3	Spaniards	7	7.53%	45	48.39%	6	6.45%	35	37.63%	93	3	3.85E-08
	Finns	5	4.63%	27	25%	48	44.44%	28	25.93%	108		
	total	12	5.97%	72	35.82%	54	26.87%	63	31.34%	201		
blank 4	Spaniards	6	3.47%	61	35.26 %	50	28.90%	56	32.37%	173	3	7.01E-06
	Finns	6	4.58%	25	19.08%	75	57.25%	25	19.08%	131		
	total	12	3.95%	86	28.29%	125	41.12%	81	26.64%	304		

Table 59. Answers in the blanks of the text dealing with grammatical gender and grouped by the type of grammatical gender and gender of the participants.

		fem. pronoun		masc. pronoun		genderless form		masc. and fem. pronouns		total	df	p-value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
blank1	women	10	4.4%	68	29.8%	90	39.5%	60	26.3%	228		
	men	1	1.5%	19	28.4%	29	43.3%	18	26.9%	67	3	0.70
	total	11	3.7%	87	29.5%	119	40.3%	78	26.4%	295		
blank 3	women	10	7.0%	55	38.7%	32	22.5%	45	31.7%	142		
	men	1	2.1%	16	33.3%	15	31.3%	16	33.3%	48	3	0.40
	total	11	5.8%	71	37.4%	47	24.7%	61	32.1%	190		
blank 4	women	9	4.1%	67	30.3%	85	38.5%	60	27.1%	221		
	men	1	1.4%	19	27.1%	31	44.3%	19	27.1%	70	3	0.63
	total	10	3.4%	86	29.6%	116	39.9%	79	27.1%	291		

The results for the blanks dealing with lexical gender give the impression of being the most challenging ones for the participants, due to the wide range of answers. In the second blank, the most repeated answer was *person* (51.5% of the Finns, no Spaniards), *that person* (29.7% of the Spaniards), and *citizen* (9.2% of the Spaniards and 10.6% of the Finns). Some participants left the blank purposely using symbols such as "–"or "*" (3.6% of the Spaniards and 15.2% of the Finns), whereas others typed in the word provided before the blank *one* to indicate that their wish was to leave the word as it is (7.7% of the Finns and 2.3% of the Spaniards)[82].

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[82] Participants gave this answer because the questionnaire did not permit blanks to be left unanswered.

	group				gender						total	
Table 60. Answers in the 2nd blank of the text dealing with lexical gender												
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
no answer	18	9.2%	3	2.3%	20	8.3%	1	1.4%	0		21	6%
blank deliberately -	7	3.6%	20	15.2%	17	7%	8	11%	2	15.4%	25	8%
not	3	1.5%	0		2	0.8%	1	1.4%	0		3	1%
verb form (is/has,etc)	12	6.2%	0		10	4.1%	2	2.7 %	0		12	4%
the	3	1.5%	0		3	1.2%					3	1%
what/that /who/which	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%					1	0%
she	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%					1	0%
citizen	18	9.2%	14	10.6%	26	10.7%	5	6.8 %	1	7.7%	31	9%
person	0		68	51.5%	45	18.6%	17	23.3%	6	46.1%	62	19%
he	2	1%	0		1	0.4%	1	1.4%			2	1%
man	4	2.1%	4	3%	5	2.1%	3	4.1%			8	2%
one	15	7.7%	3	2.3%	13	5.4%	5	6.8%			18	6%
it	2	1%	0		1	0.4%	1	1.4%			2	1%
its	1	0.5%	0		1	0.4%					1	0%
them	1	0.5%			1	0.4%					1	0%
he or she	5	2.6%	2	1.5%	4	1.6%	3	4.1%			7	2%
that person	58	29.7%			43	17.8%	13	17.8%	2	15.4%	56	17%
fellow	1	0.5%			1	0.4%					1	1%
individual	5	2.6%			1	0.4%	4	5.5%			5	2%
other nouns (thing/chance/ way/etc)	33	16.9%			29	12.1%	4	5.5%			33	10%
anyone/everyone			3	2.2%	2		1	1.4%			3	1%
other	5	2.6%	15	11.4%	14	5.8%	4	5.5%	2	15.4%	18	6%

In the fifth blank, the most popular answer was *a (responsible) citizen* (27.7% of the Spaniards 59.8% of the Finns), *that person* (10.3% of the Spaniards, no Finns), and *man* (5.6% of the Spaniards and 7.6% of the Finns). The answers by men and women in these blanks do not differ much. For instance, 39.4% of women and 39.7% of men used *a (responsible) citizen*, 3.73% of women and 3.74% of men used *person*. The biggest difference is in the use of *man*, 4.15% of women and 13.7% of men.

Table 61.   Answers in the 5th blank of the text dealing with lexical gender

	group				gender						total	
	Spaniards		Finns		women		men		gender non-conforming			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
no answer	18	9.2%			17	7%	1	1.4%			18	5.5
blank deliberately -	12	6.2%	7	5.3%	12	5%	7	9.6%			19	5.8
what/that/who/which	16	8.2%	3	2.3%	16	6.6%	3	4.1%			19	5.8
she	3	1.5%	1	0.8%	4	1.7%					4	1.2%
woman	1	0.5%			1	0.4%					1	0.3%
A (responsible) citizen	54	27.7%	79	59.8%	95	39.4%	29	39.7%	9	69.2%	133	40.7%
person	0		13	9.8%	9	3.7%	2	2.8%	2	2.%	13	4.0%
he	7	3.6%			6	2.5%	1	1.4%			7	2.1%
his	1	0.5%			1	0.4%					1	0.3%
man	11	5.6%	9	7.6%	10	4.1%	10	13.7%			20	6.1%
human being	0		15	11.4%	10	4.1%	5	6.8%	1	7.7%	15	4.6%
one	2	1%	1	0.8%	3	1.2%					3	0.9%
neutral singular noun	10	5.1%	1	0.8%	8	3.3%	3	4.1%			11	3.4%
it	12	6.2%			11	4.6%	1	1.4%			12	3.7%
he or she	9	4.6%			7	2.9%	2	2.7%			9	2.8%
his or her	1	0.5%	1	0.8%	1	0.4%	1	1.4%			2	0.6%
that person	20	10.3%			17	7. %	2	2.7%			20	6.1%
society	1	0.5%					1	1.4%			21	0.3%
himself or herself	1	0.5%	1		1	0.4%			1	7.7%	2	0.6%
other	16	8.2%	1	0.8%	12	5%	5	6.8%			17	5.2%

For the statistical analysis, the answers in the other categories were excluded along with those answers that were ungrammatical or semantically incoherent. The resulting number of valid answers can be found in table 62. Since there were cells with less than 20% of the expected value in both blanks, the answers had to be recoded to perform χ^2 tests. In the second blank, all gendered forms were placed in one category, that is masculine, feminine, and the combination of masculine and feminine forms. In the 5th blank, the visualization forms were grouped together, that is feminine forms and the combination of masculine and feminine forms. In this blank, masculine forms were kept apart from the other gendered forms for the statistical analysis (see tables 63 and 64).

Table 62. Numbers and percentages of valid and excluded answers in the blanks of the text dealing with lexical gender

	2nd blank		5th blank	
	n	%	n	%
valid	218	66.7%	249	76.1%
missing	109	33.3%	78	23.9%

As figure 38 shows, in the second blank, 89% of the Spaniards and 95% of the Finns used a genderless form, and the rest used a gendered form. The difference between these two groups was not statistically significant (see table 63). However as shown in figure 38, in the fifth blank, the percentage of genderless forms used by Spaniards and Finns decreased to 74% and 91% respectively. Such differences between the groups were statistically significant (see table 64)

Figure 38. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the 2nd blank of text
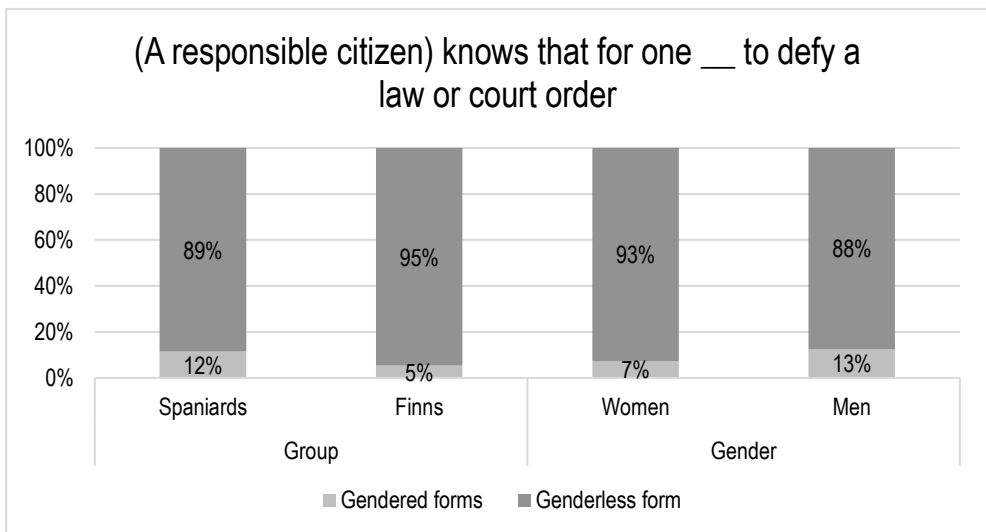
Figure 39. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the 5th blank of text
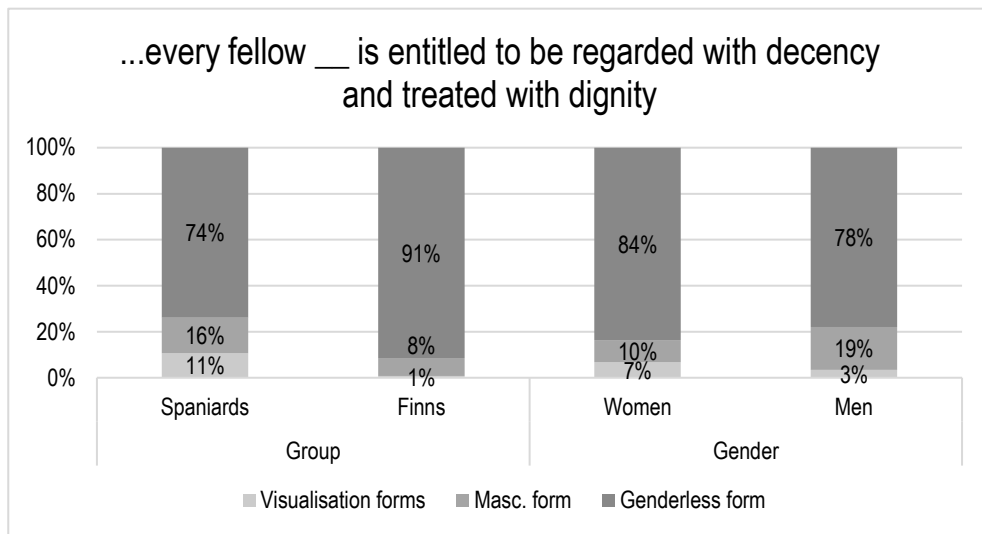
The analysis using gender as a variable revealed similarities in the answers of men and women (see table 64). In the second blank, 92% of the women and 87% of the men used a genderless form and in the fifth blank, the percentage also decreased to 83.6% for women and 78.0% for men.

Table 63. Summary of the results in the text blanks dealing with lexical gender grouped by the L1 of the participants

		masc. and fem. form		fem. form		masc. form		genderless form		total	df	p-value
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N		
blank2	Spaniards	5	4.8%	1	1 %	6	5.8%	92	88.4%	104		*83
	Finns	2	1.7%	0		4	3.5%	108	94.7%	114		
	total	7	3.2%	1	0.5%	10	4.6%	200	91.7%	218		
	re-coded	gendered forms (masc. forms + fem. forms + fem. and masc. forms)						genderless form		total		
		N		%				N	%	N		
	Spaniards	12		11.5%				92	88.5%	104		0.092
	Finns	6		5.3%				108	94.7%	114		
	total	18		8.3%				200	91.7%	218		

[83] The χ² test could not be done, because there were more than 20% of cells with less than the expected value.

		masc. and fem. form		fem.form		masc. form		genderless form		total		
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
blank 5	Spaniards	9	7.4%	4	3.3%	19	15.5%	90	73.7%	122		
	Finns	0		1	0.8%	10	7.8%	116	91.3%	127		*
	Total	9	3.6%	5	2 %	29	11.6%	206	82.7%	249		
	re-coded	visualization forms(fem.forms +masc. and fem. forms				masc. form		genderless form		total		
		N		%		N	%	N	%	N		
	Spaniards	13		10.6%		19	15.5%	90	73.7%	122		
	Finns	1		0.8%		10	7.8%	116	91.3%	127	2	2.9E 0-4
	Total	14		5.6%		29	11.6%	206	82.7%	249		

The results in the blanks in the text inquiring about lexical gender therefore indicate that most participants avoided gender, even though the original text used masculine generic forms (*man* and *fellowman*). Informants used genderless nouns such as *person*, *citizen*, *individual*, and *human being,* among others*,* to convey the same general reference without explicitly conveying gender.

Table 64.   Summary of the answers in the text blanks dealing with lexical gender grouped by the gender of the participants

		masc. and fem. form		fem. form		masc. form		genderless form		total	df	p-value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
blank2	women	4	2.6%	1	0.7%	6	4.0%	140	92.7%	151		
	men	3	5.4%	0		4	7.1%	49	87.5%	56		*84
	total	7	3.4%	1	0.5%	10	4.8%	189	91.3%	207		
	re-coded	gendered forms (masc. forms + fem. forms + fem. and masc. forms)						genderless form		total		
		n			%			n	%	n		
	women	11			7.3%			140	92.7%	151		
	men	7			12.5%			49	87.5%	56		*
	total	18			8.7%			189	91.3%	207		
blank 5		masc. and fem. form		fem.form		masc. form		genderless form		total		
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
	women	7	4%	5	2.8%	17	9.6%	148	83.6%	177		
	men	2	3.4%	0		11	18.6%	46	78.0%	59		*
	total	9	3.8%	5	2.1%	28	11.9%	194	82.2%	236		

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[84] The χ^2 test could not be done, because there were more than 20% of cells with less than the expected value.

re-coded	visualization forms (fem. forms +masc. and fem. forms)		masc. form		genderless form		total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n		
women	12	6.8%	17	9.6%	148	83.6%	177		
men	2	3.4%	11	18.6%	46	78%	59	2	0.13
total	14	5.9%	28	11.9%	194	82.2%	236		

Taken together, the results of the text indicate that informants were more likely to use masculine generic forms in the blanks dealing with grammatical gender than lexical gender, but also that the Spaniards were significantly more likely to use gendered forms than the Finns were. In other words, Spanish speakers not only used more generic pronouns (in some cases, the percentage of Spaniards was double the percentage of Finns), but also more double-up pronouns. On the other hand, the Finns used different strategies for employing genderless forms and avoiding expressing gender, although the use of *he* and double-up pronouns were still prominent (see figures 36 and 37).

In the blanks dealing with lexical gender, informants found it easier to avoid marking gender. The only significant difference in these blanks was in the last blank, in which the Spaniards used slightly fewer genderless forms than the Finns did. Over all, the analysis of the answers by women and men indicates that their answers did not differ much in any of these blanks, which suggests that men and women used lexical and grammatical gender similarly.

The next section will focus on perceptions of lexical gender, involving two questions in the questionnaire.

7.1.4   Perceptions of lexical gender

The goal of the two tasks belonging to this section was to investigate the participants' perception of lexical gender. The first task consisted of a set of words with similar meanings, but different lexical gender, such as *actor/actress*, *mister/mistres*s. Some of these sets of words contain clear lexical asymmetries. Thus, participants were asked to choose the one with negative connotations. In the second task, participants had to say whether the nouns underlined in sentences were specific or generic.

7.1.4.1   Lexical asymmetries

Lexical asymmetry is defined as the imbalance of meaning that feminine words have when compared with their masculine or genderless counterparts. This set of questions investigated the participants' awareness of lexical asymmetries in English. The task was described as follows: "11. In the next section, you are given sets of words. Please, choose the one you think has a negative connotation". This was a multiple-choice question, meaning participants could pick more than one option. The question consisted of four sets of words: *actor/actress*, *governor/governess*, *master/mistress*, and *bachelor/bachelorette/spinster*. The response rate for this question was 100%. However due to the low number of gender non-conforming participants (13), they were excluded from the statistical analysis when gender was used as a variable.

Actor/Actress

This first set of words, *actor/actress*, was the only set with no lexical asymmetry, which is corroborated by the answers of the participants. Over 93% of the participants in all the groups said that none of these words had negative connotations (see table 65). The χ^2 tests indicate that there were no discrepancies in the answers of the language and gender groups.

Table 65.	Answers in the set *actor/actress*										
		actor		actress		none		not sure		d.f.	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
group	Spaniards	3	1.5%	4	2.1%	185	94.9%	4	2.1%	4	0.38[85]
	Finns	0		6	4.5%	123	93.2%	3	2.3%		
	total	3	0.9%	10	3.0%	308	93.9%	7	2.1%		
gender	women	2	0.8%	7	2.9%	227	94.2%	6	2.5%	4	0.85[86]
	men	1	1.4%	1	1.4%	70	95.9%	1	1.4%		
	total	3	0.9%	8	2.5%	297	94.2%	7	2.2%		

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[85] More than 20% of the cells in this subtable have expected cell counts of less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.

[86] The minimum expected cell count in this subtable was less than one and more than 20% of the cells in this subtable have expected cell counts of less than 5. Chi-square results are invalid.

Figure 40. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the set *actor/actress*
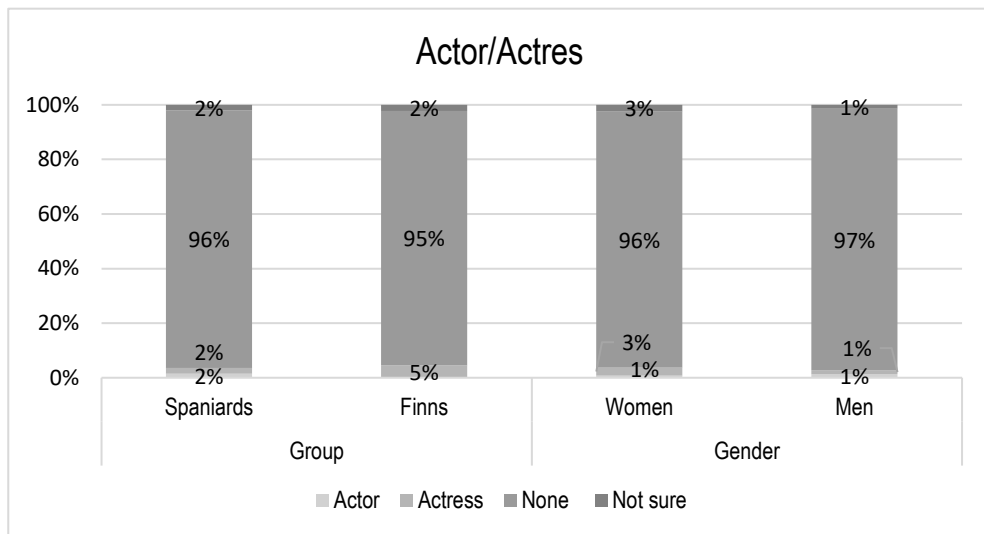
Since this question allowed participants to pick one or more answers, table 66 displays the number and percentage of informants who only picked the feminine noun from this set. The data shows that only those who picked *actress* did not pick any other answers.

Table 66.	Participants who only picked *actress* as the word with negative connotations		
		n	%
group	Spaniards	4	2%
	Finns	6	4.5%
gender	women	7	2.8%
	men	1	1.4%

Governor/Governess

The next set of words consisted of *governor/governess*. The masculine or genderless form refers to a tutor or a person who governs, whereas "governess has come to be used almost exclusively in the context of young children and not in the context that Queen Elizabeth I used it to denote her own power and sovereignty" (Spender 1980:18). Nowadays it refers to a woman who cares for and supervises a child, especially in private households. The majority of the participants, over 70% in all

the categories, said that none of these words had negative connotations. The second most popular choice after none was the feminine noun *governess*. However, the percentage of people who chose it is only around 12%. The χ^2 tests revealed no significant differences between the gender and language variables (see table below).

Table 67.   Answers in the set *governor/governess*

		governor		governess		none		not sure		d.f.	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
group	Spaniards	25	12.8%	22	11.3%	141	72.3%	14	7.2%		
	Finns	6	4.5%	18	13.6%	94	71.2%	15	11.4%	4	0.07
	total	31	9.2%	40	11.9%	235	70.1%	29	8.6%		
gender	women	23	9.5%	28	11.6%	172	71.4%	24	10%		
	men	5	6.8%	11	15.1%	54	74.0%	5	6.8%	4	1.94
	total	28	8.7%	39	12.1%	226	70.2%	29	9. %		

Figure 41. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the set *governor/governess*
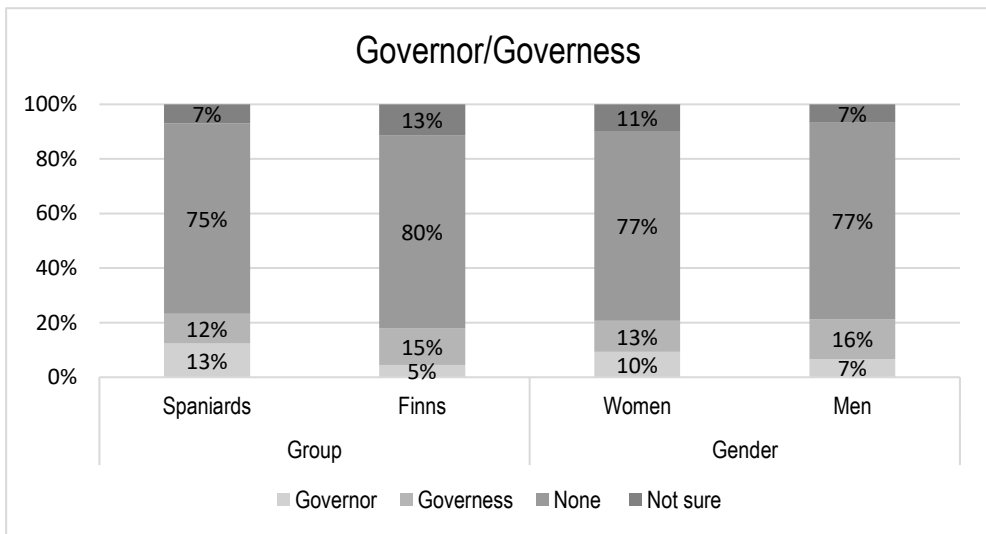
Of the 22 Spaniards and 18 Finns who selected governess as the word with negative connotations, 18 Spaniards and 17 Finns picked it as their only answer. The rest picked *governess* along with other options (see table below).

Table 68.	Participants who only picked *governess* as the word with negative connotations		
		n	%
group	Spaniards	18	9.2%
	Finns	17	12.8%
gender	women	24	9.6%
	men	10	13.7%

Master/Mistress

The set *master/mistress* not only has a large lexical gap, but also a large semantic asymmetry. *Mistress* was originally a form of address, the equivalent of *master*, but soon it began to be used to name the female lover of a married man. The answers in this question reveal great differences in the opinions of Spaniards and Finns. More specificly, 69.7% of Finns and 36.9% of Spaniards said that *mistress* had negative connotations (see table 69 and figure 42).

Table 69.	Answers in the set *master/mistress*										
		master		mistress		none		not sure		df	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
group	Spaniards	21	10.8%	72	36.9%	94	48.2%	17	8.7%	41	4.0745E-14
	Finns	29	22.0%	92	69.7%	27	20.5%	7	5.3%		
	total	50	13.9%	164	45.6%	121	33.7%	24	6.6%		
gender	Women	35	14.5%	126	52.3%	83	34.4%	19	7.9%	4	0.102
	Men	12	16.4%	30	41.1%	34	46.6%	3	4.1%		
	total	47	13.7%	156	45.6%	117	34.21	22	6.4%		

The responses by men and women showed some degree of variation. For instance, 52.3% of the women and 41.1% of the men chose *mistress*, and 34.4% of the women and 46.6% of the men picked *none*. However, these differences are not statistically significant.

Figure 42. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the set *master/mistress*
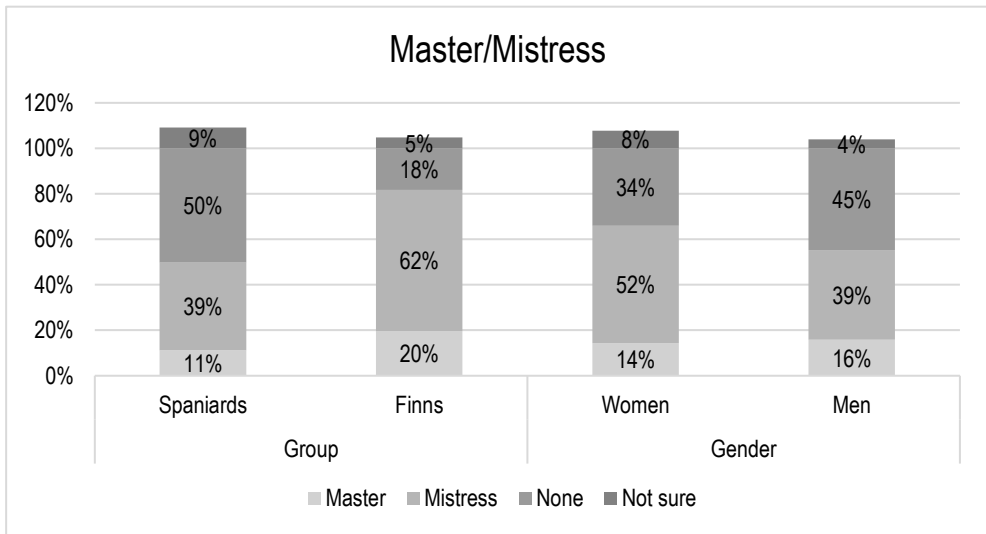
Of the 72 Spaniards who picked *mistress*, 62 picked it exclusively and of the 92 Finns who picked *mistress*, 70 selected it as their only choice (see table 70). In other words, of all the people who answered this questionnaire, only 32% of all the Spaniards and 53% of all the Finns picked just *mistress*, whereas the rest picked one more option or something else.

		n	%
Table 70.	Participants who only picked *mistress* as the word with negative connotations		
		n	%
group	Spaniards	64	32.8%
	Finns	70	53%
gender	women	105	42.3%
	men	25	34.2%

Bachelor/Bachelorette/Spinster

The last set contained the words *bachelor/bachelorette/spinster*. *Bachelor* is defined as a single man or a person who holds a degree from a university. The female counterpart of *bachelor* has traditionally been *spinster*. However *spinster* is often used to refer to older women beyond the usual age for marriage and it has a pejorative meaning. In the 20th century, the word *bachelorette*, first registered in American

English, was used to refer to an unmarried young woman, often one who is seeking or preparing to get married. This noun was probably coined as a euphemism to avoid the negative connotations of *spinster* (see section 4.1.1 under the title *Female suffixes* for more information on the *-ster* suffix and the noun *spinster*).

Table 71.	Answers in the set *bachelor/bachelorette/spinster*											
		bachelor		bachelorette		spinster		none		not sure		df	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
group	Spaniards	8	4.1%	21	10.8%	67	34.4%	29	14.9%	79	40.5%	5	6.2E-12
	Finns	8	6.1%	11	8.3%	92	69.7%	10	7.6%	25	18.9%		
	total	16	4.5%	32	9.1%	159	45.43	39	11.1%	104	29.7%		
gender	women	13	5.4%	25	10.4%	119	49.4%	23	9.5%	77	32%	5	0.26
	men	3	4.1%	5	6.8%	33	45.2%	14	19.2%	24	32.9%		
	total	16	4.7%	30	8.9%	152	45.24	37	11%	101	30%		

The statistical analysis for this set of words revealed significant differences in the answers of Finns and Spaniards (see table 71). In general, more Finns (69.7%) than Spaniards (34.4%) said that *spinster* had negative connotations. A large percentage of the Spaniards (40.5%) did not know whether any of these words had negative connotations, whereas the percentage of Finns not knowing was half of that (18.9%). The answers of men and women present little variation, which is supported by the χ^2 test. The most popular choice for both men and women was *spinster* (49.4% of men and 45.2% of women), followed by *not sure* (32% of men and 32.9% women) (see figure 43).

Figure 43. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender for the set *bachelor/ bachelorette/ spinster*
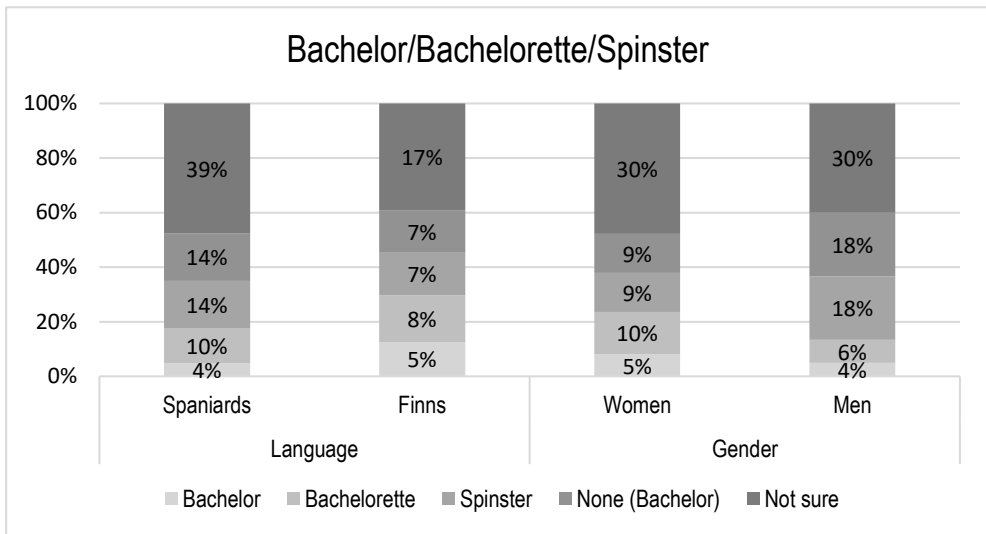
Table 72 shows the numbers and percentages of the informants who only picked one of the female nouns in this set or the combination of *spinster* and *bachelorette*. The results indicate that very few actually picked both female forms.

		spinster		bachelorette		spinster and bachelorette	
Table 72.		n	%	n	%	n	%
group	Spaniards	60	30.7%	18	9.2%	1	0.5%
	Finns	82	62.1%	1	0.7%	6	4.5%
gender	women	108	43.5%	16	6.4%	4	1.6%
	men	28	38.3%	2	2.7%	2	2.7%

Table 72. The participants who only chose *spinster*, *bachelorette* or both

Over all, the results indicate that participants are aware of the lexical asymmetries in these sets of words. The stronger the negative connotations that female nouns had, the higher the percentage of participants choosing the feminine word. However the percentage of Finns choosing female words was higher than the Spaniards' percentage, especially in the sets with larger lexical asymmetries. For example, in the sets *mister/mistress* and *bachelor/bachelorette*, the percentages of Finns who only chose *mistress* and *spinster* were double the percentage of Spaniards in the same categories (see tables 69 and 71). This could be for two reasons: a large

proportion of the Spanish participants are not aware of the negative connotations that some words such as *spinster* or *mistress* have and/or they are in favor of using such feminine words because they think they render women visible in English, the same way that feminine nouns are used in Spanish to increase women's visibility Regarding gender, women and men provided very similar responses in all the sets. This implies that gender does not play a role in the perception of lexical asymmetries.

7.1.4.2   Generic or specific

Question 12 consisted of sentences with words underlined. Participants had to tell whether these were *generic*, *specific*, or *ambiguous*[87]. The question was formulated as follows: "12. Read the following sentences. Are the underlined terms generic (not specific to any gender) or gender-specific (when it refers to one gender only)?". The sentences were inspired by the examples given in the non-sexist language guidelines. The words underlined were either masculine, e.g. *man* and *tailor*, or genderless, e.g. *actor* and *waiter*, and they all have well-known feminine alternatives. The goal of these tasks was to investigate whether participants were aware of the lexical gender of these nouns and whether they perceived them as generic or specific in each context. The number of cases processed in all the questions is 327, except when the variable of gender was used for the analysis, in which case the number was 314.

Men

Men is one of the nouns that have often been regarded as generic despite being masculine. The sentence where *men* was used was "12.3 All <u>men</u> are created equal", which is one of the first sentences used in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. This sentence is well-known, not only to people in the United States, but also abroad. It has generated a great deal of controversy, because those in favor of gender-inclusive language argue that *men* is no longer understood as a generic noun, and therefore it excludes women, children, and non-binary people. Non-sexist language guidelines suggest replacing *men* with *everybody*, *everyone*, and *people*. If

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[87] The definitions of *specific* and *generic* were included in the headline following the feedback received from test trial.

men refers to the world's population, the alternatives include *humankind*, *human race* or simply *humans*. If *men* refers to the citizens of a nation or a historical era, the alternatives include *citizens*, *civilization*, or *nation*.

In this sentence, over half of the Finns and Spaniards perceive the use of *men* as generic (55.90% of the Spaniards and 50% of the Finns). The remaining half is divided between specific (22.56% of the Spaniards and 21.97% of the Finns) and ambiguous (21.54% of Spaniards and 28.03%). Such similarities in the answers are supported by the χ^2 test (p.value: 0.387, df:2).

Figure 44. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "12.3 All <u>men</u> are created equal"
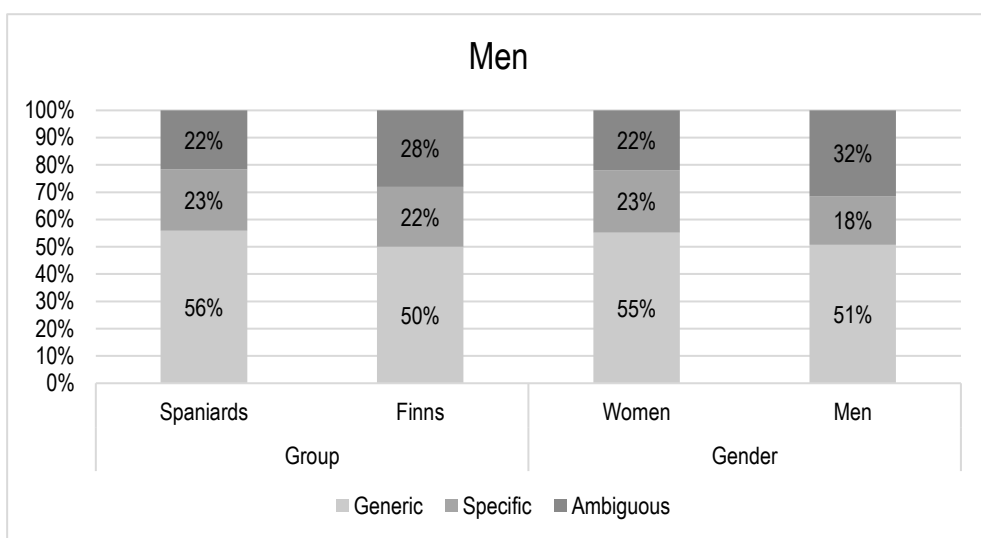
Concerning gender, over half of the women (55.19%) and half of the men (50.68%) who took part in the study said that *men* was generic, whereas 22.82% of the women and 17.81% of the men perceive it as specific, the remaining 21.99% of women and 31.51% claimed it was ambiguous. No significant difference between the two groups was evident (p.value: 0.228, df: 2).

Waiter

Waiter is a genderless noun, but it is often feminized to *waitress* when the referent is a woman. The sentence given was "12.2 We are hiring <u>waiters</u>". The results (see figure below) indicate that the majority perceived it as generic, but the percentage

of participants who said it was generic was much higher among the Finns (84.85%) than among the Spaniards (64.10%). Of the remaining 15% of the Finns, only 4.55% said it was specific and 10.61% ambiguous. However the percentage of Spaniards who said it was ambiguous or specific was the same (17.95%). These differences are statistically significant (p.value: 8.3E-05, df: 2)

Figure 45. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "12.2 We are hiring waiters"
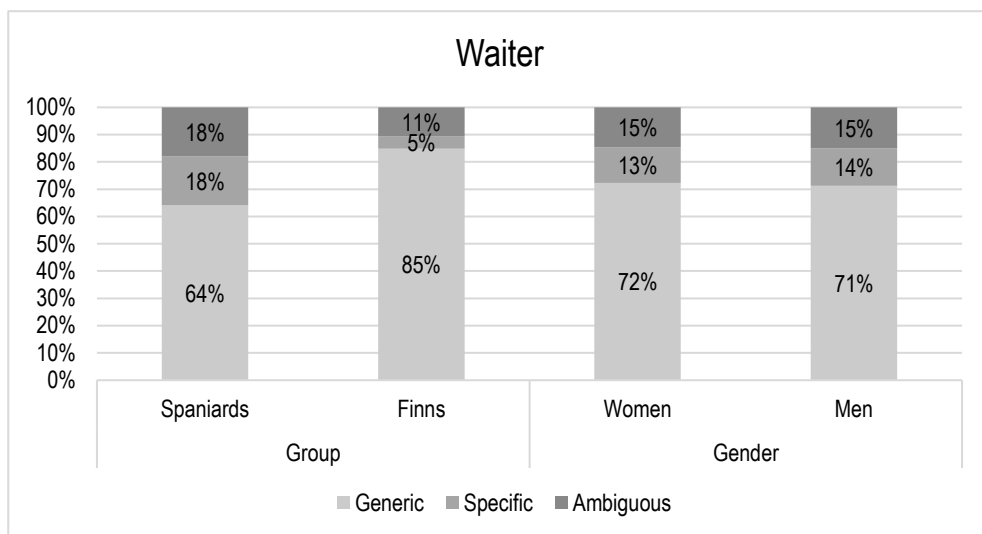
As the figure above shows, the answers provided by men and women were very similar. Over two-fourths of men and women said that *waiter* worked as a generic noun, around 15% said it was ambiguous, and the remaining 13% said it was specific. Given the similarity of the results, the χ² test did not show any significant differences between these two groups (p.value:0.97, df:2).

Tailor

The sentence provided was "12.5 Tailors needed to work for an important fashion company". The noun *tailor* is a male noun and its feminine alternatives are *seamstress* and *tailoress*. Despite this, the vast majority of Finns (91.67%) and over half of the Spaniards (56.41%) perceived *tailor* as generic. Only 16.41% of the Spaniards and 3% of the Finns said it was specific, and the remaining 27.18% of the Spaniards

and 5.3% of the Finns said it was ambiguous. The differences between the language groups are significant (p.value: 5.68E-11, df: 2)

Figure 46. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "12.5 Tailors needed to work for an important fashion company"
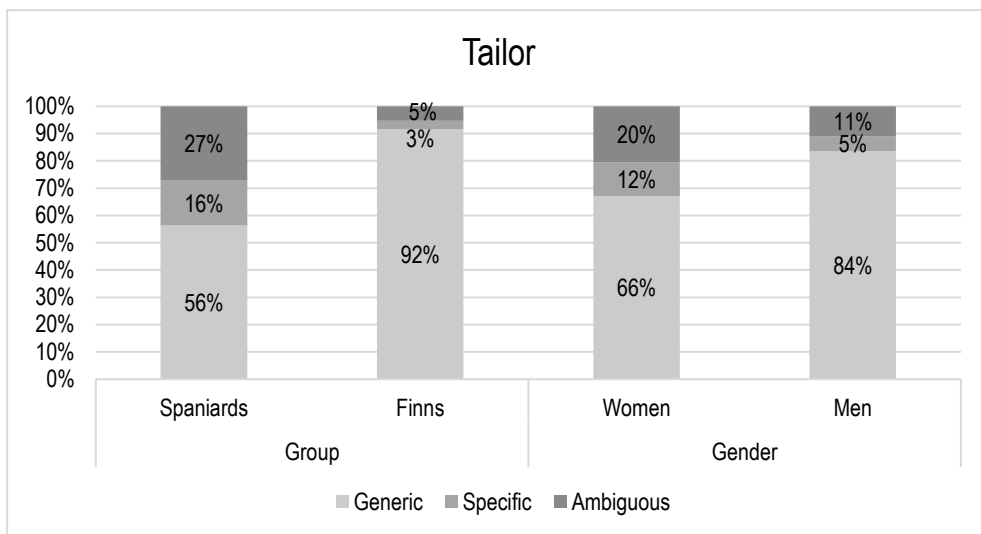
Unlike in previous answers in which men and women seemed to share the same views, the analysis of this question displays statistically significant discrepancies between the two groups (p.value 0.018, df:2). More specifically, 83.56% of men and 66.39% of women said that *tailor* worked as a generic noun, 10.96% of men and 20.33% of women said it was ambiguous, and 5.48% of men and 13.28% of women said it was specific.

Actor

The sentence given for *actor* was "12.4 An actor can take months to prepare for a role". As previously discussed, the feminine alternative for *actor* is *actress*, which is the best-known and most accepted noun containing *-ess*. The results, as shown in the figure below, indicate that a great number of the participants who answered the questionnaire perceived *actor* as generic. However the percentage of the Finns who said so is relatively higher than the percentage of the Spaniards (47.69% of the Spaniards and 70.45% of the Finns). On the other hand, 35.90% of the Spaniards and 12.12% of the Finns said that the noun was specific and 16.41% of the

Spaniards and 17.41% of that Finns said that it was ambiguous. These differences in opinion are statistically significant (p. value 6.0E-06, df:2)

Figure 47. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "12.4 An <u>actor</u> can take months to prepare for a role"
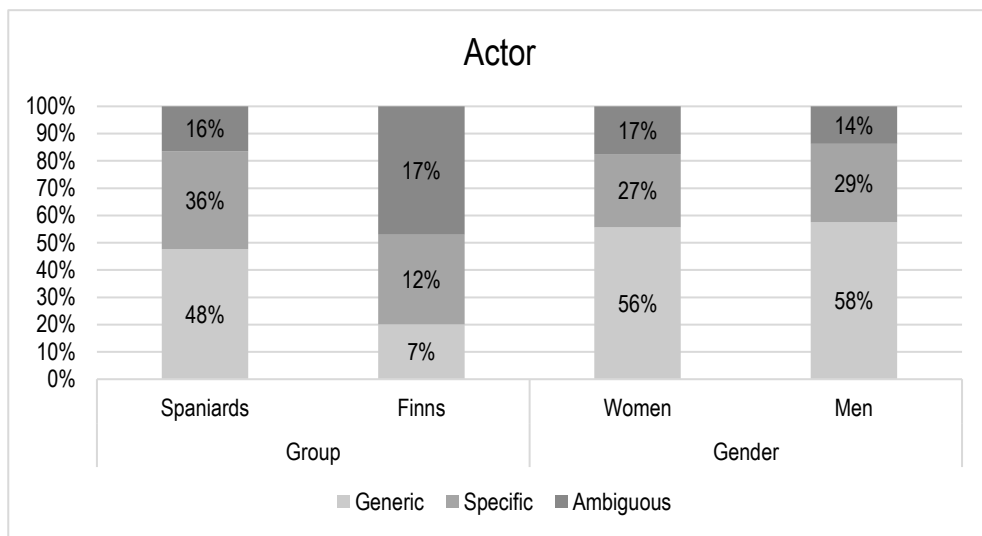
The results of the analysis with gender as a variable shown in Figure 47 reveal no statistical difference between the two groups (p.value:0.750, df:2). Over two-fourths of men and women said the noun *actor* worked as generic, over one fourth as specific and around 15% said it was ambiguous.

Over all, the results for this question indicate that at least fifty percent of the participants perceived all the words given as generics. The smallest percentage occurred with the word *actor* (47.7% of the Spaniards and 70.5% of the Finns) and the highest one with *tailors* (91.7% of the Finns and 56.4% of the Spaniards). However there are significant differences in the opinions of Spaniards and Finns. For example, the percentage of Spaniards who claim these words were generic is much lower than for Finns (for the Spaniards, the lowest percentage is found in *actor* with 47% and the highest in *waiter* with 64.1%, whereasd for Finns, it ranges from 50% in *men* to 91.7% in *tailors*). The only word on which the Finns and the Spaniards agreed is *men*, which was generic for 55.9% of the Spaniards and 50.0% of the Finns, and specific for 22.6% of the Spaniards and 22.0% of the Finns. *Men* is also the word with the highest percentage of Finns saying it is specific, around 22%. For Spaniards, the percentage of people saying that *men* is specific was 22.6%,

a percentage only surpassed by *actor*, with 35%. These results are in line with the previous results in this study that point out that Spaniards may perceive the English word *actor* as a masculine noun due to the fact that *actor* in Spanish is a masculine noun.

Table 73. Answers to the question "12. Are the underlined terms generic (not specific to any gender), specific (when it refers to one gender only), or ambiguous?"

			generic %	specific %	ambiguous %	df	p.value
actor	group	Spaniards	47.7%	35.9%	16.4%	2	6.00E-06
		Finns	70.5%	12.1%	17.4%		
	gender	women	55.6%	27.0%	17.4%	2	0.750613
		men	57.5%	28.8%	13.7%		
waiters	group	Spaniards	64.1%	17.9%	17.9%	2	8.30E-05
		Finns	84.8%	4.5%	10.6%		
	gender	women	72.6%	12.9%	14.5%	2	0.97
		men	71.2%	13.7%	15.1%		
men	group	Spaniards	55.9%	22.6%	21.5%	2	0.38
		Finns	50.0%	22.0%	28.0%		
	gender	women	55.2%	22.8%	22.0%	2	0.22
		men	50.7%	17.8%	31.5%		
tailors	group	Spaniards	56.4%	16.4%	27.2%	2	5.68E-11
		Finns	91.7%	3.0%	5.3%		
	gender	women	66.4%	13.3%	20.3%	2	0.018
		men	83.6%	5.5%	11.0%		

Overall, these results reveal that, despite the presence or absence of lexical gender, the percentage of participants saying that words were specific is higher among Spaniards than among Finns. However if words had lexical gender, such as *tailor* and *men*, the percentage of participants saying it was ambiguous is higher among Finns than Spaniards, whereas in words without lexical gender, it is the opposite. The answers given by men and women to these questions are almost identical, with the only exception being the word *tailor*, whose differences are statistically significant. Despite *tailor* having lexical gender, 66.4% of the women and 83.6% of men said it is a generic word. Another unexpected trend is the relatively higher percentage of women, compared to men, using or saying that masculine nouns worked as generics. More precisely, for the word *men*, 55% of women and 50.7% of men said the word *men* was generic. However the differences are so small that they are not statistically significant.

8 ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS: LIKERT AND OPEN QUESTIONS

The last section of the questionnaire combined close-ended questions such as Likert scale questions and open answer questions. These deal with seven different subtopics: (1) the differences between grammatical and referential gender, (2) linguistic sexism, (3) sexist language in the L1 and (4) in English, (5) actions regarding sexist language in English, (6) attitudes towards the proposals for non-sexist language and their application, and (7) opinions regarding teaching non-sexist language during English lessons.

Likert scale questions are among the most widely used tools in researching opinions. They measure the extent to which a sample group agrees or disagrees with a particular question or statement, and they facilitate the process of drawing conclusions (Batterton & Hale 2017). The answer rate in Likert scale questions was 100%, except in question 21. "What is your opinion on the proposals to avoid sexist language?" which I forgot to mark as compulsory, and as a result, it was answered by 312 participants, around 95% of the total. That is 15 participants fewer than in the rest of the questions. When gender was used as a variable for the analysis, 13 participants who were non-binary or did not want to disclose their gender had to be excluded, because the number of people in this category was too low for the χ^2 tests.

The open questions sought to get a deeper understanding of the thoughts and opinions of the participants regarding very specific issues. The answers were analyzed using inductive content analysis. The results of each question are presented in the sections with which they correspond and are in chronological order. The themes and the answers to the open questions are not presented according to the language group, but as a whole, because most of the themes were discussed by both language groups and all genders unless otherwise stated. The answers are presented as they were written by the subjects and may contain

grammatical errors, that, in most cases, do not interfere with the message being conveyed[88].

8.1   The difference between grammatical and referential gender

This first section consists of two questions, 13 and 13.1, dealing with grammatical and referential gender. Question 13 was as follows: "*Is there a difference between grammatical and referential (biological) gender?*". In the pilot study, this question did not contain the word *biological*, but the participants who answered this questionnaire complained that this question was difficult to answer. Then I added the word *biological* as a synonym, because I thought this was the best way of helping without interfering nor providing the right answer. Now I see that when I used the world *biological*, I may have implied that there are two genders and ignored the reality of non-binary and transgender people. For this, I apologize. Knowing now what I know today, I would have probably kept the question as originally formulated.

The answers indicate that 42% of the Finns and the Spaniards said there is a difference and 16% of the Spaniards and 19% of the Finns said there is not any. A great percentage of the participants in both groups, 42% of the Spaniards and 39% of the Finns did not know or were unsure. The χ^2 test did not show any significant differences between Spanish and Finnish (p.value: 0.75, df. 2).

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[88] In each theme, more than one answer is presented in the body of the text because, even if they are part of the same theme, they convey slightly different ideas and have slightly different connotations that the reader may find interesting and useful. Furthermore, they are presented as they were written without being edited, underlined or cut to respect the voice of the students who took part in this study.

Is there a difference between grammatical and referential gender?

	I don't know	Yes	No
Spaniards	42.05%	42.05%	15.90%
Finns	39.39%	41.67%	18.94%
Women	43.57%	39.83%	16.60%
Men	34.25%	43.84%	21.92%
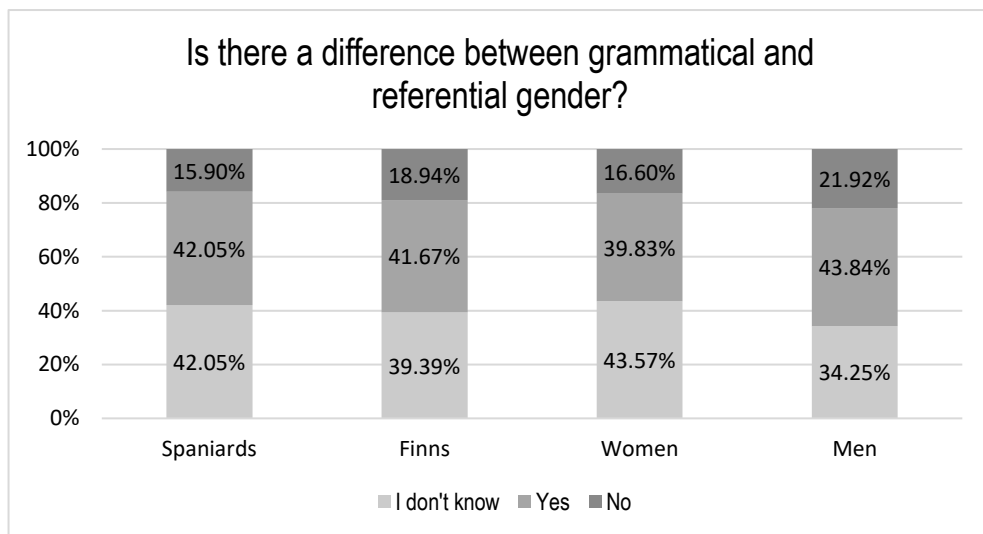
Regarding gender, 40% of women and 44% of men said that there is a difference, and 17% of women and 22% of men said there is not. The percentage of people not knowing the difference between grammatical gender and referential gender was higher among women (44%) than among men (34%). The χ^2 test did not show any significant differences between men and women (p.value:0.31, df.:2).

The follow-up question was "If so, explain how they are different". The goal of this question was to investigate whether learners were aware of such differences and how they understand them. There were some participants who, despite saying that there was no difference, still answered this question. That is the reason why only the answers from the participants who answered "yes" previously were taken into account. The analysis revealed that for some participants, grammatical gender is a feature of some languages that may match the referential gender of a person, whereas referential gender is a physical trait or a social construct:

> Biological gender is only present in some living organisms that have developed evolutionary differences. Grammatical gender is a construction that appears in some languages, Spanish among them, and may or may not be related to the biological gender.
>
> Participant 171, Spanish man

> Well, some languages assign gender to objects as well so the whole gender thing doesn't really have to be attached to genitals or something like that. Also, not all

languages treat objects as the same gender so they are debatable. Meanwhile, biological gender is of course a fact, and it is also directly related to one's genitals. (But biological gender still doesn't have to define a person as a stereotypical "man" or a "woman".)

<div align="right">Participant 326, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

Some participants discussed the fact that in some languages, grammatical gender is "a noun-class system" (participant 304, Finnish man) that involves a set of rules:

Grammatical gender is a noun class system wherein a division of noun classes forms an agreement system between nouns, adjectives, articles etc. In this system, every noun carries one value of the grammatical category of gender. French has un/une or le/la for masculine / feminine whilst other languages might also have a neuter, or they may be called inanimate/animate. Generally speaking, this division is not dependent on the biological gender of things and must, instead, be learned by heart.

<div align="right">Participant 327, Finnish woman</div>

Grammatical gender refers to the gender of words and is mostly based on the structure of the word, and on the meaning in some cases where an instance of the word could have a biological gender assigned to it. Biological gender is based on the biology of a human/animal/plant/mushroom/ehat have you. Referential gender is a social construct made to divide people into groups.

<div align="right">Participant 308, Finnish man</div>

Grammatical refers to grammar rules doesn't it? Language rules depend on public/common agreement between a group of people but gender doesn't. Biological gender is a fact. Though it can be changed, as can language.

<div align="right">Participant 214, Finnish man</div>

They also describe the arbitrary nature of grammatical gender, especially in relationship to inanimate objects:

They are different when grammatical gender refers to objects. Grammatical gender only applies grammatically and does not refer to a chair having gender while referential gender has connotations and meaning in society.

<div align="right">Participant 192, Spanish woman</div>

In Spanish all nouns have gender, including objects. Objects can't have a biological gender.

<div align="right">Participant 126, Spanish woman</div>

Grammatical gender does not always match the bilogical gender. As for example the word "table" is femenine in Spanish but the object itself does not show any trait of gender.

<div align="right">Participant 181, Spanish woman</div>

Also inanimate objects that do not have biological gender can have grammatical gender.

<div align="right">Participant 303, Finnish woman</div>

Grammatical gender in most cases has no basis in reality (e.g. bridges have no gender).

<div align="right">Participant 307, Finnish woman</div>

Even inanimate objects can have a gender in some languages.

<div align="right">Participant 316, Finnish woman</div>

Interestingly, Finnish participants resorted to their knowledge of other languages, especially of those with grammatical gender, to elaborate their answers on the differences between grammatical and referential gender:

Depending on the language, grammatical gender might not have anything to do with biological gender. The grammatical gender varies independent of reality: a word for a thing might be feminine in German, but masculine in Russian, or vice versa, for no apparent reason

<div align="right">Participant 202, Finnish man</div>

Grammatical gender can be arbitrary and inconsistent: some words are marked for gender while some are not & there is the whole mess with gendered articles in Romance languages. This question is kind of weird though, because it is asking whether there are differences in a linguistic system and physical entities. One would expect that the linguistic is just the human way of assessing the physical realities, right(question mark)

<div align="right">Participant 212, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

This is not an issue in Finnish I think since Finnish does not denote gender on things. But for example in French everything is gendered but this does not mean that every cat you meet is male in their biological gender.

<div align="right">Participant 205, Finnish woman</div>

Personally I consider grammatical gender as an aid of language, which has been developed through time and need. This need does not necessarily exist, but language doesn't define anyone's sex.

<div align="right">Participant 281, Finnish woman</div>

Some participants mentioned, both implicitly and explicitly, the fact that masculine words may be used to refer to women and people, regardless of their gender. In their answers, they implied that the use of masculine generics is what makes grammatical gender different from referential gender:

> Grammatical gender, in Spanish, is the impossed "he"-gender. The so-called "neutral" gender in grammar is the perpetuation of the presence of men in every ambit[89], and therefore, the non-visibilization of women. Referential o biological gender is that which human beings are classified when born.
>
> Participant 94, Spanish man

> Since there are words in Spanish that don't include all genders, some people do not feel identified with the grammatical gender.
>
> Participant 63, Spanish woman

> Some people identify outside the binary genders (woman/man). For many people the gender pronouns 'she' and 'he' don't feel comfortable so they like to use the pronoun 'they' or neopronouns. Biological sex and gender are two different things and gender is the one that can be expressed in language.
>
> Participant 243, Finnish man

Taking into consideration the question asked about the differences between grammatical and referential gender, it can be deduced from the answers that some Finnish participants were implying that Finnish has grammatical gender. Therefore they were mistaking lexical with grammatical gender:

> Grammatical gender in words such as actor & actress assume the gender of the person being referred to, but the person may be of different gender than the word used (transgender, non-binary, agender)
>
> Participant 294, Finnish woman

> There are few cases in Finnish, but some jobs (fireman/palomies) still use a gender-specific term for their workers.
>
> Participant 213, Finnish man

> Compared to some other languages like German, Finnish isn't a heavily gendered language, but there still are some words that are unnecessarily gendered in a way that is not connected to the referent's biological and/or social gender. For instance, I can't think of another word for a mail man in Finnish than "postimies," even though not all people that deliver mail are men. There are countless of words like

---

[89] *ámbito* in Spanish means 'sphere'

this and, for example, all words for officers like the police or lawyers etc. have been historically male.

<div align="right">Participant 268, Finnish woman</div>

As seen from the previous answers, many participants mentioned non-binary and transgender people in their definitions. Participant 272 makes an interesting point, explaining why people may confuse grammatical gender with referential gender, especially in Romance languages:

> Grammatical gender only serves a grammatical purpose of what definitives to use with words and how to accord words adjacent to them. It may affect our views on referential gender, I would imagine especially with people who speak Latin-based languages as first language and are face to face with grammatical gender all the time, but all in all I do not believe grammatical or any linguistic gender markers have anything to do with anyone's actual gender. Just because in French I have to use female accord, and in English people who don't know me refer to me as "she" doesn't make me a woman. "Biological" gender is also a very questionable concept (we trans and nonbinay people exist, not to even mention intersex people) so really the only gender worth considering is the one people say they are.

<div align="right">Participant 272, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

This confusion is apparent in the answers of many participants who implied that grammatical gender only works as a dichotomy that makes words feminine and masculine to match the gender of men and women:

> Spanish grammar only suits men and women, sometimes by having specific words to gender and sometimes by having generic terms. However, there might be people who do not feel identified with neither or who do not believe in gender. In addition to this, Spanish tends to use masculine terms to comprise both men and women, thus, some argue that the language is sexist in a way for not having a neutral term valid for both genders.

<div align="right">Participant 97, Spanish woman</div>

> Someone can be borned male or female and feel the opposite or with no gender.

<div align="right">Participant 128, Spanish woman</div>

> yes, because the grammatical gender of a trans woman is not the same as her biological gender.

<div align="right">Participant 133, Spanish woman</div>

> Someone can feel she or he belongs to a gender that does not correspond to his/her sex

<div align="center">180</div>

There are only two gramatical genders in spanish (femenine and masculine), while biologically may be more genders.

Biological gender can be defined as describing the choromosomal makeup or the physical features of a person. In general, it is impossible to know these things about other people, i.e. referring to someone as he or she is based on a great degree of assumptions and/or guessing, perhaps based on a persons physical indications of gender, which are also a separate feature from biological gender.

If I understand the question correctly, I think the difference is whether a person wants to be referred to as belonging to their biological gender or whether they define themselves with another pronoun/associate themselves with another gender. However, I think people would more commonly talk about biological sex rather than gender, and gender as the social construct.

In fact, many participants associated grammatical gender with what is known in sociology as gender and referential gender with sex:

From my point of view, grammatical gender is the one that a person is identified by, whereas biological gender is represented with the reproductory system you are born with.

Grammatical gender is the way of naming a person/animal, while biological gender refers to the sex a person or animal has been born with. Grammatical gender can change during the lifetime of a person if she/he does not feel identified with her/his biological gender and decides to change it.

Despite 40% of participants saying that referential and grammatical gender were different, a great number of them were not able to provide valid examples that would indicate they know the difference. Some of these answers imply that they mistake grammatical gender for what is known in sociology as gender. While it may be partially true that in languages such as Spanish most feminine nouns are used to refer to women and masculine nouns to men and that it is almost impossible to refer to a person without choosing a grammatical gender, grammatical gender is rather complex: there are numerous examples of nouns that have only one fixed

form and/or only one grammatical gender that are used for people regardless of their referential gender (i.e. *victima*fem 'victim', *periodista*masc/fem 'journalist', *artista*masc/fem 'artist', *modelo*masc 'model', see definitions of epicene and common gender nouns on page 40, under the section 4.2.1 Gender in Spanish). Furthermore, there are countless languages with more than two grammatical genders and in which the gender of the word may not match the gender of the referent, regardless of the referent being a woman, a man, non-binary or transgender (i.e. German *Mädchen*neu 'girl'). As some informants explained, in languages with grammatical gender, all nouns, including inanimate nouns, possess a grammatical gender, and the gender assigned to these nouns corresponds more with more morphological or phonological features than any gender attributes that may be assigned to these nouns/objects. While some participants were well aware of the differences between grammatical and referential gender, in general, it can be assumed that some participants lacked a complete grasp of what grammatical gender is, even those whose L1 has grammatical gender.

The next question sought to investigate the understanding that students have of grammatical gender. It was elaborated as follows: "14. How would you define grammatical gender?". The answers were grouped into six main themes: word class, suffixes, lexical gender, pronouns, masculine generics, and referential gender. Although most answers only dealt with one theme, some participants covered two or more themes. In general, the most popular theme was word class. The answers in this category defined grammatical gender as a characteristic of nouns that exists in some languages. Some participants briefly mentioned agreement rules as part of their definition:

> Grammatical gender is an intrinsic characteristic of a word in several languages (mostly fusionant languages) which is strictly defined by the specific language, its etymology and its use. The grammatical gender can be expressed by adding suffixes, by the use of variable adjectives, or by the use of articles.

> Participant 23, Spanish man

> An agreement by which certain aspects of a language (usually nouns) are inflected in certain ways. Some of these might have to do with biological gender (such as inflecting gendered words according to their assigned sex), but most are arbitrary.

> Participant 297, Finnish man

> Grammatical gender is used to denote things as being feminine, masculine, or neutral. Grammatical gender does not have to be tied to the actual sex of the thing described. It is mostly used due to linguistically and culturally fixed tradition.

> Participant 326, Finnish, gender non-conforming

It is the gender we give to each noun. This makes us need to use a specific set of rules when using that word and its derivative forms.

Participant 185, Spanish woman

A few participants also referred to "suffixes" or morphemes to explain grammatical gender. For instance:

Those words that are given a gender, not only referring to biological gender but used depending on some grammatical rules (for example, lots of words ended in "a" are supposed to be feminine)

Participant 178, Spanish woman

I would define it as different inflections of certain words (nouns, articles, adjectives...) that take place in certain languages.

Participant, 171 Spanish man

Some participants used lexical gender to define grammatical gender. Three participants referred to the example of *actor/actress* to support their arguments:

Linking a person to a pronoun. The ending of words, specially in professsions: actor/actress.

Participant 77, Spanish, gender non-conforming

Words such as actress (vs. actor) to refer to women who are actors possibly show grammatical gender

Participant 224, Finnish woman

Could either be words such as actor & actress that refer to men and women. Or it could be the way some languages have masculine, feminine and neutral nouns, for example Spanish words un coche versus una dia[90].

Participant 294, Finnish woman

In order to define grammatical gender, some participants referred to pronouns. Sometimes their definitions were intertwined with the meaning of referential gender and discrimination against gender non-conforming and non-binary people:

Grammatical gender is for example the difference between he/she/his/her in the language.

---

[90] *un coche* 'a car' and *una (sic) día* 'a day' in Spanish. The word *día*, in spite of its ending in *-a*, is a masculine noun, therefore it should be *un día*.

The gender pronouns that you use of yourself and others are a part of the grammatical gender.

Participant 243, Finnish, gender non-conforming

Referring to gender with a specific word, for example a pronoun. Finnish doesn't have specific gender pronouns though, so I guess it's also about whether you refer to someone as male of female or something else.

Participant 225, Finnish woman

Grammatical gender refers to the pronouns a person wishes to use, be it she/her, he/him or they/them, regardless of their biological gender.

Participant 324, Finnish, gender non-conforming

Around 20 participants resorted to referential gender to explain grammatical gender, although most of these answers imply that they were confusing referential gender with grammatical gender:

Biological gender of person at hand, except transgender person's (man to woman or woman to man) where their wish counts.

Participant 306, Finnish woman

Usually only either or (man or woman) because those are the two gender forms many languages have.

Participant 300, Finnish woman

Grammatical gender is the gender you are referred to by speech, so he/she.

Participant 255, Finnish woman

Relating to the pronouns and what kind of referential words are used of a certain person.

Participant 206, Finnish woman

I would define it as the way we can differentiate one's gender when we talk or speak.

Participant 117, Spanish woman

It's the way in which we project in our language the difference between the two genders.

Participant 110, Spanish woman

I think that refers to the pronous you feel represented with.

Eight participants referred, directly or indirectly, to the use of masculine forms as generics to "explain" grammatical gender:

> Sometimes referential to humans (e.g. personal pronouns), sometimes not (e.g. grammatical gender of inanimate nouns). Still, a group of people (e.g. men) can benefit from being the standard in grammatical constructions.

Participant 226, Finnish, gender non-conforming

> Grammatical gender is the use of male forms in language to refer to a whole, referring to male and female individuals. In my opinion it is a sexist part of language that has the "excuse" to be used as the economy of language[91], I mean, not to refer to both men and women equally. The simplest solution is to create a neutral word and terms to each differentiation to denominate both genders, also including non-binary people without any discrimination.

Participant 153, Spanish man

A few participants said that they did not know what grammatical gender was, even if they spoke Spanish:

> I have never heard of this concept before, however, its own name leads me to believe that it refers to terms which have different suffixes to refer to a specific gender (?).

Participant 97, Spanish woman

Some Finnish participants seemed not to know whether Finnish is a language with grammatical gender and confuse it with lexical gender:

> In Finnish, I guess it's mostly seen in some specific words, not in pronouns.

Participant 213, Finnish man

> Some words in Finnish refer to only males or females

Participant 250, Finnish woman

> Finnish does not have grammatical gender per se, but some words and terms are either lexically gendered or contain hidden masculinity based on the gender majority of the group of people to which they refer.

---

[91] *Economía del lenguaje* (lit. translated here as 'economy of the language') in languages with grammatical gender such as Spanish or German is used to explain and encourage speakers to use masculine forms as generics.

In the Finnish context, I think it just means the gender associated or implicated in the word, whether it applies "in the real world" or not.

Participant 268, Finnish woman

Finnish has a gender-neutral third person pronoun, hän, which is used for all regardless of biological sex or gender. Gender-specific words do exist but are structurally more like the English -man/-woman terms (eg fireman).

Participant 289, Finnish woman

Finally, there were a few answers that were difficult to classify, but they made interesting points. For instance, participant 272 was very critical of grammatical gender because they find it artificial and useless:

Grammatical gender has developed from a misguided need to shove everyone and everything into a male/female box, and it is used to classify things and people this way despite gender being a social construct and grammatical gender as a concept being completely made up and unnecessary.

Participant 272, Finnish, gender non-conforming

In general, these answers helped to paint a picture of the participants' understanding of grammatical gender. Students in both groups said they did not know what grammatical gender was, and one even claimed that it was a completely new concept (see the answer from participant 97). It is difficult to believe that is the case for a Spanish speaker, especially for someone studying languages at university. Concepts and terminology such as grammatical gender are taught and learnt already at in secondary level education in Spain. It is also hard to comprehend how Finnish students could be uncertain whether Finnish has grammatical gender, that being one of the most outstanding features of the Finnish language when compared with the rest of the languages spoken in Europe.

As a whole, very few participants were able to provide definitions or examples that would prove that they have a full grasp of what grammatical gender is. Despite this, most of the answers dealt with one or several controversial issues that occur in languages with grammatical gender; that is masculine forms being used as generics and the lack of morphemes or pronouns for non-binary people, among others. The fact that many participants mentioned the lack of non-binary pronouns and morphemes in languages with grammatical gender indicates that it is a topic that concerns them, and that they would be willing to hear and discuss alternatives that would solve this problem.

8.2 Linguistic sexism

This section consists of questions dealing with linguistic sexism. The first one was a close-ended question in which participants had to say whether they had heard of linguistic sexism, and, in the follow up question, those who said that they had were asked to define it. The question was phrased as follows: "14. Have you heard of linguistic sexism?" and participants could choose from "I don't know", "yes", or "no". The results of this question revealed that 80% of the Spaniards and 58% of the Finns had heard of linguistic sexism, 10% of the Spaniards and 18% of the Finns had not, and 10% of the Spaniards and 23% of the Finns did not know (see figure below). These differences between the Spanish and Finnish groups were statistically significant (p.value: 6.10E-05, df:2). Concerning gender, 75% of women and 59% of men had heard of linguistic sexism, 12% of women and 19% of men had not, and 14% of women and 22% of men did not know. These differences are statistically significant as well (p.value:0.034, df:2).

Figure 49. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "14. Have you heard of linguistic sexism?"
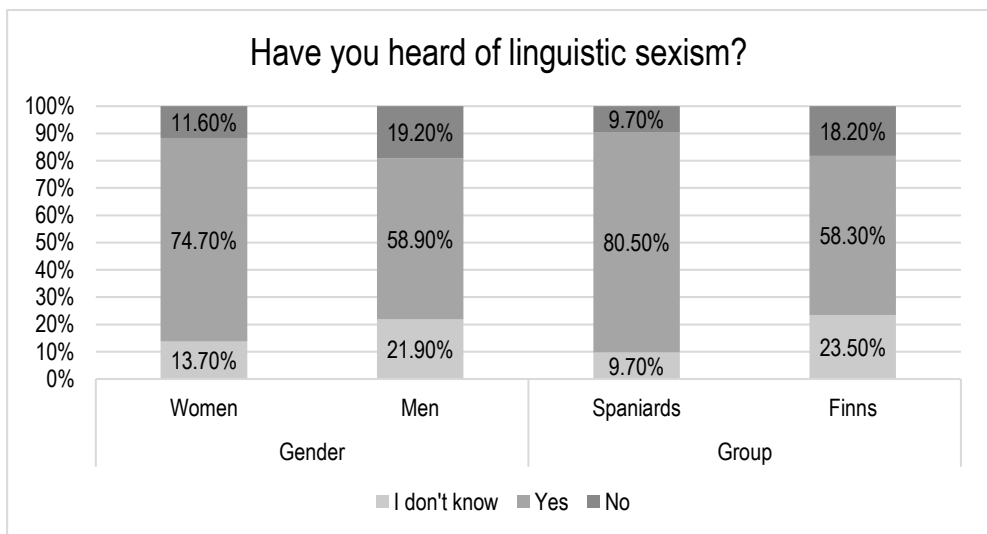
The follow-up question was "14.1 How would you define linguistic sexism?". In this case, only the answers of those who previously answered *yes* were analyzed. A common view among participants was that masculine forms, both pronouns and nouns, were a sexist characteristic found in languages. This idea was shared by 65

participants, of whom 48 were Spaniards and 17 Finns. The following three answers proved to be good summaries of this theme:

> Linguistic sexism is the using of masculine designations and forms in order to make the masculine more visual, as well as to ignore the figure of "the femenine".
>
> Participant 92, Spanish man

> The constant use of male pronouns and male titles in language, for example using only the pronoun "he" when discussing hypotheticals, only using words such as "policeman", "chairman", "congressman".
>
> Participant 216, Finnish man

> Linguistic sexism means language guides the speakers to consider male gender as a dominant one. For example, in many languages where 3.[92]person singular is divided according to gender, the pronoun referring to men is considered the one to be used in a generic context referring to both men and women, or in a context where the gender of the subject is unknown. Also, there are connotational differences between words that refer to females and the ones referring to males.
>
> Participant 273, Finnish, gender non-conforming

However, two divergent and often conflicting discussions emerged on the use of feminine forms as an alternative to these so-called generic forms. For Finns, using feminine forms is not a good solution:

> Having terms, such as job titles, that are masculine by default and therefore distance women from them, possibly with a feminine alternative that still results in an unnecessary distinction between men ('default') and women.
>
> Participant 245, Finnish man

Whereas for Spaniards, not using feminine nouns is sexist because women are kept hidden in the language (see also the answer from participant 92 on the previous page):

> Linguistic sexism is the use of the same words to address both men and women. When in fact, there should be one word for addressing men and another one for addressing women. Society tends to use the masculine form of words to address indiscriminately men and women.
>
> 173 Spanish woman

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[92] In Finnish, dots are used after numbers to denote numerals. Therefore, this means 3rd.

The lexical pair *actor/actress,* which was discussed by four participants, is very illustrative in this regard. A Spanish informant stated that using *actor* excludes women and suggested that *actress* should be used to visualize the existence of female actors, whereas Finnish participants stated that using a gender-specific noun, in this case, *actress,* discriminates against women by referring to them differently:

> It could be the exclusion of women when we say sentences like "Actors need lots of practice" because we are not mentioning women.

> Participant 173, Spanish woman

> Using words that are meant to put someone down so to speak. A female actor can be singled out by calling her an actress. "Men" is usually used to imply all genders, so "women" is just a subcategory.

> Participant 214, Finnish, gender non-conforming

> I'm not entirely sure but I guess this means for example the use of "he" as a generic word instead of "they" or "he or she" etc. or using words that encourage gender-specific readings ("actor is a male, actress is a female").

> Participant 302, Finnish woman

> I'm not 100% sure, but I think it means that the generic, basic word for a certain profession (for example) is male, like in the case of "actor." Instead of calling female actors just actors, people have created a new word "actress" for them. This new word has negative connotations and, to many people, just sounds like a "lesser actor."

> Participant 268, Finnish man

Another theme that came up in the answers was lexical asymmetries. According to participants, many masculine nouns do not have female alternatives, and when they do, the female nouns may have negative connotations or significant differences in meaning (see also the answer from participant 268 above):

> The existence of double standards when it comes to words that have the same meaning within themselves but a different grammatical gender, giving the female gender a negative connotation and the male one, a positive one.

> Participant 40, Spanish woman

> Linguistic sexism would be the linguistic attitude in which genders are very markedly separate, and in some cases, the words which are supposed to be used for female are pejorative

> Participant 178, Spanish woman

Participants resorted to their L1 to give examples of lexical asymmetries. For instance, participant 134 described how Spanish words like *polla* 'dick' meaning 'great' and *cojonudo* meaning 'awesome' (related to *cojón* 'ball/testicle') have positive connotations whereas the feminine counterparts, i.e., *coñazo* 'bore/drudgery' (related to *coño* 'cunt') convey negative meanings:

> I can explain it with an example, in Spanish when you are talking about something goof, funny, cool.. You use expressions such as "la polla", "cojonudo". However, when something is boring or not cool you say "coñazo". With these words you can see that the good words are from a male body part and only the bad ones are from a famle body part.
>
> Participant 134, Spanish woman

Another type of lexical asymmetry mentioned by participants is the one that occurs when women carry out an activity that was usually performed by men and it is marked and specified, whereas the one performed by men is not, for instance, in sports:

> It occurs when speaking of a generalized group of people, it is qualified as masculine even though there are more women than men. For example (in Spanish): consejo de ministros (in masculine, although there are more women ministers than men ministers)[93] Or in sport, referring to football and women's football. They are both the same and yet one of them is called 'women's football'.
>
> Participant 27, Spanish woman

> For example, having words like "palomies" [94]in Finnish, which makes it a gendered word. Also sometimes words describing men and women that basically mean the same thing, but the word for women has negative connotations.
>
> Participant 273 Finnish woman

Participant 93 referred to another type of lexical asymmetry that occurs in the form of address. Even though forms of address in Spanish are different from what they are in English, in the media and closed circles, women may be referred to by their relationships with their husbands or fathers:

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[93] The participant is referring to the Spanish cabinet that was formed in 2020 and which consisted of more female ministers than male ministers. Some people referred to it as the *consejo de ministras*$_{fem}$ rather than *ministros*$_{masc}$ to visualize the fact that there were more women than men in the cabinet. Yet language prescriptivists argued that the correct way to address the cabinet was by exclusive use of the 'generic' masculine form.

[94] *Palomies* 'fireman' does not have a genderless nor feminine alternative.

The way languages has been developed thorough history and due to this and society there are some terms, actions, ... which are related to women or men depending on the circumstances. For instance, it is commonly found that press refers to women as "men property" (la mujer de..., la hija de,...) [95]or in professions...

Participant 93, Spanish woman

Four participants mentioned social gender as a defining characteristic of grammatical gender, for instance:

Words that have a sexist connotation. That is, a word that is referring to just a gender, but does not necessary is played by that role (gender), aka: babysitter is usually related to women, although there are men who also do that job. Or similars.

Participant 51, Spanish woman

Not including a certain gender when we are talking about people, or taking for granted that if we are talking about a doctor, it is a man.

Participant 117, Spanish woman

Overall, these results indicate that participants had heard of linguistic sexism, although the percentage is significantly higher among Spaniards and women, which was expected, because the debate over sexist language is more vigorous in Spain than it is in Finland, and studies show that women are more aware of these issues than men are. These answers from the open questions taken together suggest that participants, regardless of their gender and L1, agree on the issues that are perceived as sexist in a language. These are masculine generics, forms of address, lexical asymmetries, and so on. Yet they disagree on the use of feminine forms: some Spaniards think that they render women visible in the language, whereas some Finns say that they discriminate against them. Such disagreements are influenced by the norms and use of feminine forms in their L1. As discussed in chapter 4, feminine forms are not popular and carry derogative connotations in Finnish, whereas in Spanish, feminine forms are being used as alternatives to masculine generics. This strategy is generally employed in languages with grammatical gender to render women visible when masculine forms are used as generic forms. Although as some Spanish participants pointed, out there are still plenty of examples of lexical asymmetries occurring in Spanish.

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[95] *La mujer de* lit. 'the woman of' meaning 'the wife of' and *la hija de* 'the daughter of'.

8.3 Sexist Language in their L1

This section deals with the answers regarding linguistic sexism in Finnish and Spanish. It consists of two Likert scale questions and two open follow-up questions. Since these questions were different for the Finns and the Spaniards, the analysis and the answers are also presented separately, but one after the other, to permit comparison of the answers regarding sexism in Finnish and Spanish.

The first question was presented as follows: 15. Do you think Spanish/Finnish is a sexist language? Most of the Spaniards perceived Spanish as a sexist language and most of the Finns did not perceive their language as such. More specifically, as shown in table 74, 75% of the Spaniards said that Spanish was a sexist language, of which 29% strongly agreed and 46% agreed. 13% of the Spanish informants disagreed, of whom 7% strongly disagreed and 6.2% simply disagreed. The remaining 12% said they did not know.

Table 74.	Answers to the questions "15. Do you think Spanish is a sexist language?"												
		I don't know		strongly agree		agree		disagree		strongly disagree		df	p.value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Spaniards	women	16	10%	48	31%	72	47 %	9	5.8%	9	6%	4	0.23 [96]
	men	7	18%	8	21%	15	39 %	3	7.9%	5	13%		
	gender non-conforming	1	33%	0		2	67 %	0		0			
	total	24	12%	56	29%	89	46 %	12	6.2%	14	7%		
Re-coded	women	16	10%	120		78 %		18		12%		2	0.08
	men	7	18%	23		61 %		8		21%			

Based on gender, the results indicate that the percentage of women who say Spanish is a sexist language is higher (both 'agree' and 'strongly agree'), whereas men have higher percentages in the categories of disagreement (both 'I disagree' and 'strongly disagree') and 'I don't know'. The results were organized into three categories: 'I don't know', 'I agree' and 'I disagree' in order to obtain a valid result with the χ^2 test. These analyses indicate that the differences in results were not significant based on gender (p.value:0.088, df:2).

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[96] More than 20% of the cells in this subtable have expected cell counts of less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.

Figure 50. Stacked bar chart of the answers to "15. Do you think Spanish is a sexist language?"
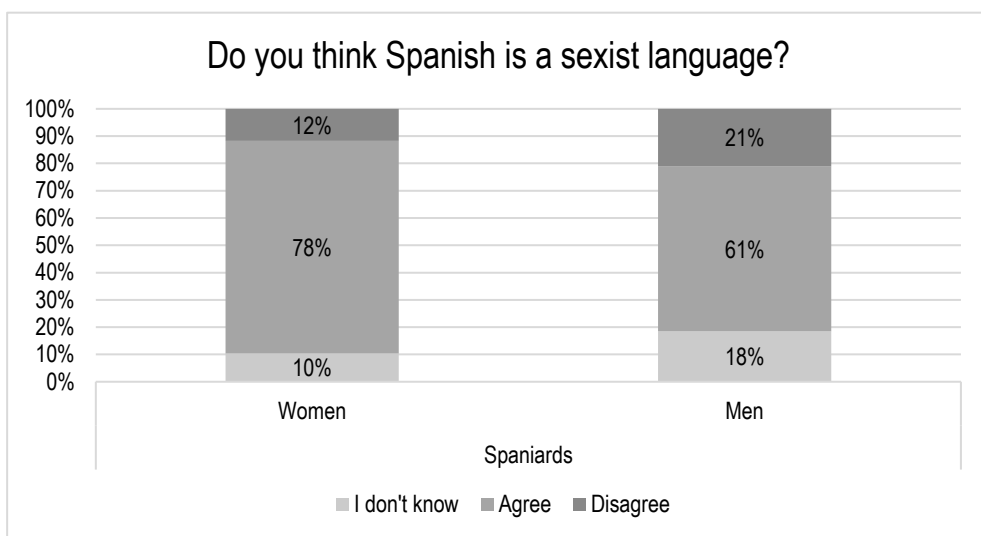
In the follow-up question, students were asked to elaborate on their answers. The question was: 15.1 Why do you think Spanish is or is not a sexist language? For the analysis, the open answers were categorized in three groups according to the answer provided in the previous Likert question: agree, disagree, and I don't know. In the agree group, a number of issues were identified among the participants who said that Spanish was a sexist language. One of the most frequently-mentioned issues was masculine generic forms, which were described as follows:

> As mentioned previously, the Spanish language tends to comprise both genders in a masculine term when instead of using or creating a neutral one; for instance, when someone is greeting his/her group of friends (men and women) in Spanish, he/she would say something similar to "Hola, chicos."[97]."Chicos" is used to comprise both genders, however, the suffix "-o-" is, usually, specific to the masculine gender.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 97, Spanish woman</div>

> Spain has been, and still is a sexist country and, even though it is slowly changing, sexism has been included in the language, often using the male gender in every sentence, for example: "los actores de hollywood ganan mucho dinero", [98]in this

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[97] "Hola, chicos$_{masc}$" means "Hi, boys/guys"

[98] "Los actores$_{masc}$ de Hollywood ganan mucho dinero" is translated as "Hollywood actors earn a lot of money".

case, the word "actores" is referring to both sex, but it is written with the male gender.

<div align="right">Participant 154, Spanish man</div>

As one participant pointed out, despite the use of masculine generics, social gender is perceptible in Spanish when feminine nouns are used by default in occupational titles that deal with subordinate positions and/or were traditionally taken by women. This still occurs with occupational nouns such as *nurse*, as participant 188 describes:

> We always use masculine pronouns when speaking in general. When speaking about a profession, if it was done in the past by mostly men or women, we still use the old term, e.g. "la enfermera" assuming the nurse tending the patient is a woman.

<div align="right">Participant 188, Spanish woman</div>

The second most popular theme dealt with was lexical asymmetries. Most participants referred to the negative connotations that female nouns have when compared with their masculine counterparts. For instance:

> There are many terms and words in Spanish that do not carry a bad or negative connotation in the masculine form, and that they express a -more or less- positive feature while that same term in the feminine form is considered to be disrespectful and mocks the other gender.

<div align="right">Participant 177, Spanish man</div>

> Spanish language has a lot of femele gender words that mean something bad while male gender words mean something good. For example, if someone is a "zorra"[99], she is a slut. But if he is a "zorro" he is really smart. This occures with many many other words.

<div align="right">Participant 187, Spanish woman</div>

> Because there're some words which seem to be created only for females and make them markedly inferior (as 'chacha'[100] or insults as 'zorra' or 'puta' which have not masculine equivalent).

<div align="right">Participant 178, Spanish woman</div>

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[99] *Zorro$_{masc}$* 'fox' is used to call someone 'witty', 'cunny', 'crafty' whereas *zorra$_{fem}$* 'female fox' is used to call someone a 'whore' or a 'slut'.

[100] *Chacha $_{fem}$* pejorative term for 'help' or 'maid'

Because, usually, we tend to use the masculine form for everything, and femenine forms are usually despective while masculine forms are just natural (as, for example, zorro vs. zorra). It is true that nowadays we are trying to inverse this trend but I personally think that it is far away from being reversed.

<div align="right">Participant 176, Spanish man</div>

As can be seen in the answers from participants 187, 178 and 176, the examples given are the same. The lexical asymmetries *zorro/zorra*, along with *ser la polla /cojonudo* and *ser un coñazo*, discussed on page 190 by participant 134, were the most frequently used examples when describing sexist language in Spanish. The fact that the very same examples are repeated throughout the questions suggests that the participants may have been taught these during a course or a lecture during their studies.

Other participants blamed the patriarchy that is present in the Spanish culture. For instance, participant 7 (woman) stated that "language is influenced by the material reality where it is produced, and since we live in a sexist society we can say that our language is also sexist". Participant 75 (woman) said that Spanish is a sexist language because it "is a reflection of society, in this case, male dominant and patriarchal". A lesser popular, yet relevant, argument was the absence of genderless forms in Spanish, which are especially important for designating non-binary people:

In spanish we always have to chose either a female or male pronoun, we cannot stick to "they/them" as in English. Besides, most of our words have gender, you are either a "doctor" or "doctora", and in order to generalize we tend to use the male word.

<div align="right">Participant, 8 woman</div>

On the other hand, there were 26 informants (13% of the total) who said Spanish was not sexist. The most common argument used was that languages are not sexist, but the speakers are because they use the language for sexist purposes. For instance:

A language cannot be or not be sexist on its own. It reflects a cultural reality.

<div align="right">Participant 49, woman</div>

I don't believe that a language can be sexist on its own since grammar is merely the result of an involuntary evolution. The speakers however, through the use of certain expressions, can use it in a sexist way. I believe sexism is in our choice of words rather than being an integral part of our language.

Another reported argument was that Spanish has words for men and women; therefore, there is no discrimination:

> It is a language that has words for both men and women so there is no discrimination between them

<div align="right">Participant 1, woman</div>

And a less common argument was that the masculine gender can be used as generic and thus includes everyone. For example:

> I do not think is sexist because the words we use were not created to offend no one. We use the termination -o because it includes both genders, not because we are sexists.

<div align="right">Participant 125, woman</div>

When Finnish speakers were asked whether their L1 was a sexist language, more than half of the informants (55.3%) said that Finnish was not a sexist language. More precisely, 51.52% of Finns disagreed and 3.79% strongly disagreed. On the other hand, no Finn strongly believed that Finnish was a sexist language and the percentage of people who simply agreed was 28%. The remaining 16.67% of the Finns said that they did not know. To obtain a valid result, the numbers of people disagreeing and agreeing were combined into one category each (see table 75).

Table 75.	Answers to the question "15. Do you think Finnish is a sexist language?"											
		I dont know		strongly agree		agree		disagree		strongly disagree		df	p.value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Finns	women	11	12.6%	0		31	35.6%	43	49.4%	2	2.3%	4	0.011[101]
	men	9	25.7%	0		3	8.6%	23	65.7%	0			
	gender non-conforming	2	20%	0		3	30%	2	20%	3	30%		
	Total	22	16.4%	0		37	27.9%	68	51.5%	5	7.2%		
re-coded	women	11	12.6%	31		35.6%		45		51.7%		2	0.0066
	men	9	25.7%	3		8.5%		23		65.7%			

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[101] More than 20% of the cells in this subtable have expected cell counts of less than five and the minimum expected cell count in this subtable is less than one. Chi-square results may be invalid.

As seen in figure 51, the percentage of Finns stating that Finnish was a sexist language is higher among women than men (36% of women and 9% of men). The percentage of participants not knowing (13% of women and 26% of men) and disagreeing (52% of women and 66% of men) was higher among men than women. The differences in the opinions of men and women were statistically significant (p.value:0.0066, df:2).

Figure 51. Stacked bar chart of the answers to "15. Do you think Finnish is a sexist language?"
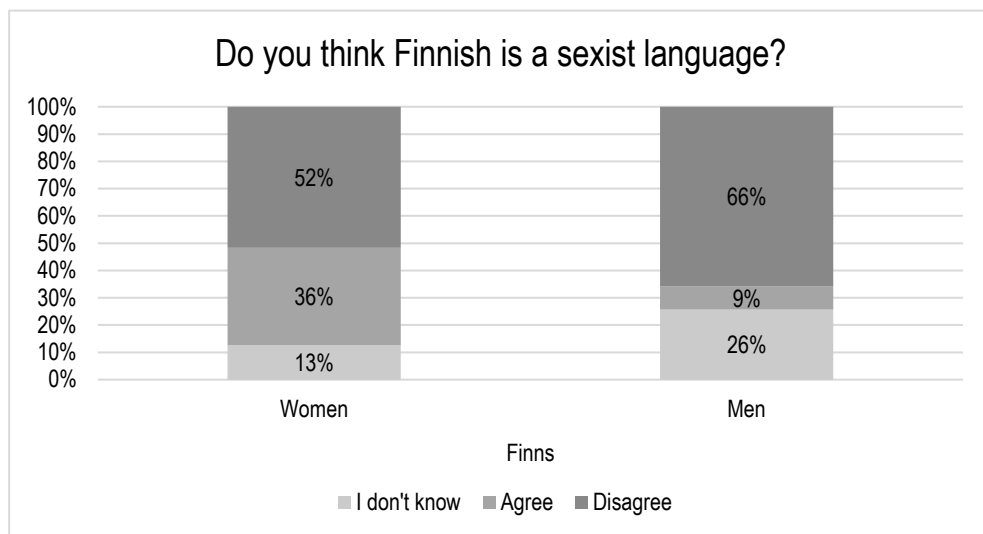
As discussed, most Finns said that Finnish was not a sexist language. Four major broad themes emerged from the analysis of these answers: (1) languages are not sexist, but users are, (2) masculine nouns, especially occupational titles, are generic, (3) alternatives for masculine nouns have been successfully implemented, and (4) Finnish has no grammatical gender, therefore it cannot be sexist. In the first group, Finnish speakers argued, like many Spaniards, that languages are not sexist, but the speakers are, because they are the ones who use the language in a sexist and derogatory manner. For instance:

> I don't believe that a language can be sexist. Language can be used to express sexism.

> Participant 263, woman

> I disagree with the notion in that no language is inherently sexist, but that it can merely become/be sexist through the usages employed and connotations born within the minds of the users. The issue of sexist language is context-specific, at

least in the case of Finnish, and though there are some words and phrases with strong connotations of a certain sex or gender, the sexism or lack thereof is born more from the context and the intent of the speaker(s).

<div align="right">Participant 319, man</div>

I think any language can hardly be sexist in itself, because languages are subject to constant change, and sexism arises from actions. While a language in itself is not sexist, it language can be used in sexist purposes.

<div align="right">Participant 202, man</div>

However, the most common view amongst participants was that the absence of grammatical gender, especially in the pronouns, is what makes Finnish more inclusive than most languages:

It's hard to say exactly, but I suppose the fact that we don't have gendered pronouns or articles helps keep things gender neutral. The suffix -tar/-tär (e.g. näyttelijätär) is also considered old-fashioned and rarely used anymore, unlike -ess in English.

<div align="right">Participant 222, woman</div>

I don't think Finland is very sexist because we don't have gendered personal pronouns, which is a huge part of why English is so sexist. When you talk about actors, even if you don't mention a name, the gender of the referent is made known by your choice or pronouns, which then leads to terms like "actress" being used. Finnish does have some pretty old word-related gendered vocabulary, though, but I have seen people discuss whether these words should be changed (ie. palomies --> palopelastaja).

<div align="right">Participant 268, man</div>

While Finnish does have some, mainly occupational terms, such as fireman, chairman, that do not have a female/gender-neutral alternative, in general Finnish is a very neutral language gender-wise, having no grammatical gender, or different third person pronouns for males and females, for example

<div align="right">Participant 307, woman</div>

As stated in the two previous answers, most of the participants who mentioned the absence of grammatical gender also alluded to the existence of masculine occupational nouns in Finnish. Yet they disagree on whether they work as truly generic nouns or whether they should be replaced. A large number of participants stated that Finnish was not a sexist language because masculine nouns are generic, even if they refer to people who are not male. The following participants discussed why they do not perceive masculine occupational titles as sexist:

First, we don't have gender-specific pronouns ("hän" could be a man or a woman). Second, if we think about words like "palomies" or "tiedemies", I think it's pretty established that these don't have to refer to men only.

Participant 302, woman

Finnish does not have separate pronouns for males and females. Finnish does have some terms, like fireman, that defines gender, but they are mostly used for both genders.

Participant 292 woman

Gender-neutral pronouns. Finnish does have gendered names for different careers (mail man etc.) but they seem kind of gender-neutral to me even so.

Participant 255, woman

Even though Finnish does have words to describe men and women, the main pronouns referring to people are neutral. Additionally, most people tend to use a more neutral, for example, occupational term even if there are versions to denote specifically women. (Näyttelijä instead of näyttelijätär.) On the other hand, the more "neutral" term might often clearly refer to a more masculine form, but it doesn't seem like people put much emphasis on it. I mean, a police officer can easily be referred to as a 'police man' even if they are a woman, I think. And that doesn't demean the woman's femininity or somehow establish the men as some kind of a superior gender. For me, 'man' can be used as a generic term. But of course there are people who will feel differently. Then again, I don't think anyone would refer to an actual police 'man' as a 'police woman'... Well, perhaps it is in part due to Finnish culture in general that referring to people with masculine terms doesn't seem that thought-provoking since men and women have been treated mostly equal. At least, compared to many other cultures, that is. I think.

Participant 326, gender non-conforming

I do not think that Finnish is sexist because I personally do not think that for example the word puhemies (-mies, a man) refers to the person as being a man, but as a title, that is not gender-specific.

Participant 271, man

We do have the 'man' in most professions, but I don't think that is offensive or sexist, but I don't oppose fluent gender-neutral alternatives either.

Participant 278, man

Others argue that Finnish is not a sexist language because it has successfully implemented strategies for avoiding these masculine generic forms. For instance:

The "worst" words like "palomies" have been changed to neutral terms. No words oppress women nor lead to women's inequality.

We've moved from -man or -woman words mostly into 'doer of x' type words and nowadays such expressions with gender tend to be archaic.

The rest of the informants who did not perceive Finnish as a sexist language argued that masculine nouns need to be replaced by genderless alternatives:

I think Finnish is less sexist than some other languages because of the gender neutral 'hän'. However, there are still some words (f. ex. job related) that refer to a gender. In my opinion, that is unnecessary nowadays and people are trying to change that (f. ex. Case Aamulehti).

Participant 244, man

Compared to other languages such as Spanish or German, Finnish has relatively few blatantly sexist qualities such as gendered pronouns. The Finnish society however tends to cling on to old sexist ways of language use, such as gendered job titles.

Participant 322, woman

There is no grammatical gender and the third person singular form is gender-neutral. However, there are still many gender-specific terms in use in everyday life, for example for professions, but over time they may slowly stop being used.

Participant 213, man

Why would it be sexist to refer to someone by their gender? There is also gender-neutral terms in Finnish, if one wants to use them, so no, Finnish is not sexist.

Participant 250, woman

On the other hand, the general feeling among the participants who stated that Finnish was a sexist language was that, as a language, it is less sexist than most languages, due to the absence of grammatical gender in the pronouns. However lexical gender, and more specifically the use of masculine occupational nouns as generics, are according to some, sexist features:

I think Finnish is less sexist than many European languages in terms of pronouns and a lack of gendered definitives, but we still use a huge number of male words to describe everyone, esp. in profession names (puheMIES, paloMIES, lakiMIES etc)

Participant 272, gender non-conforming

In my opinion Finnish is and isn't sexist because we have professional words which end in "man" like "palomies", but we have a pronoun for both genders which is "hän".

Most languages probably are sexist to some extent. Finnish is not the most sexist, as it for instance has the gender-neutral "hän" (he/she) and words like "näyttelijä" (actor/actress) "puheenjohtaja" (chairman) are gender-neutral. However, there are words like "palomies" (firefighter) that do have a gendered tone in them.

Participant 314, woman

Finnish doesn't use sex-based pronouns, but still use terms which are gender-related such as "policemen" and "firemen". However, those terms are going through a change and people are starting to use terms such as firefighter and so on, which would improve Finnish language to be more gender-neutral and equal.

Participant 87, woman

We have a lot of titles and jobs that end in -man (-mies) and it seems like it´s not going away. We also attach negative connotations to words in a way that maybe speak about sexist attitudes, like a woman is called a whore or a slut (huora, lutka) but men are called bulls or stallions (sonni, ori). And I don't think there are any positive words for a woman who has a lot of sex, at all, while there are tons for guys. But on the other hand, our pronouns are completely gender neutral.

Participant 212, gender non-conforming

Eventhough there are no different personal pronouns for he/she, the sexism can be seen in many job titles, such as "fireman". Women can be firemen or spokesmen and people rarely see it weird, but for men there has to be a gender neutral title (Finnish stuertti and "flight mistress". It can also be seen when in similar situations people tend to refer men and women with a different word, such as Finnish form of "spinster" while there is no word for only for men.

Participant 204, woman

Moreover, these forms also prevent gender non-conforming people from using a title with which they would feel identified or included:

Finnish does not have gender-specific pronouns but it has terminology that is suggestive of which gender is more suitable for certain positions. This creates unnecessary gender binaries that affect what opportunities we see as available for people and is especially harmful for people who do not identify as their assigned gender.

Participant 218, woman

In question 16, informants were asked whether they tried to avoid sexist language in their L1. First, the answers of the Spanish-speaking participants will be presented, followed by the responses of the Finnish speakers. When Spanish

informants were asked whether they avoid sexist language in Spanish, the majority said that they did: 63.59% agreed, 12.8% disagreed (9.7% simply disagreed and 3.1% strongly disagreed), and the rest (23.6%) did not have an opinion regarding this matter. The answers had to be re-coded into three categories for the χ^2 test (see table below).

Table 76. Answers to the question "16. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in Spanish."

		I don't know		strongly agree		agree		disagree		strongly disagree		df	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Spanish	women	39	25.3%	39	25.3%	58	37.7%	14	9.1%	4	2.6%	4	0.70
	men	7	18.4%	8	21.1%	16	42.1%	5	13.2%	2	5.3%		
	gender non-conforming	0		1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0		0			
	total	46	24.5%	48	25.5%	76	40.4%	19	10%	6	3.2%		
re-coded	women	39	25.3%	97		63%		18		11.7%		2	0.43
	men	7	18.4%	24		63.2%		7		18.4%			

As seen in the figure below, there are strong similarities in the opinions of Spanish-speaking men and women; 63% of women and men avoid sexist language in Spanish, 11.7% of women and 18.4% of men do not, and 25.3% of women and 18.4% did not know. Consequently, the χ^2 test corroborated that there were no significant differences (p.value:0.434, df:2).
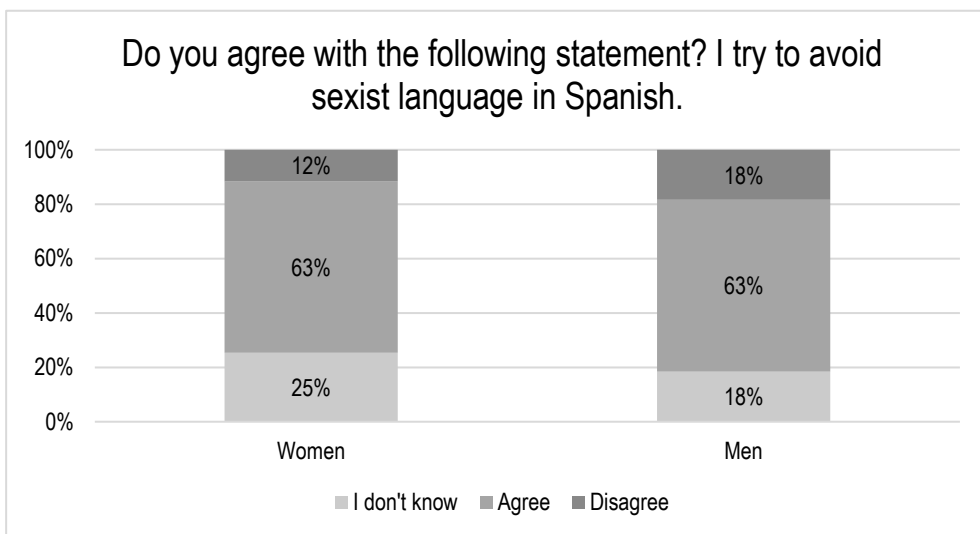
In the follow-up question, informants were asked to elaborate on the strategies they use in their L1 to avoid sexist language. For Spaniards, the most common sexist features to avoid were lexical asymmetries, and sexist idioms and expressions. They described using double-up, feminine, and genderless forms as alternatives to the sexist features mentioned.

Those who discussed lexical asymmetries explained that they avoid words that can have negative connotations in their feminine form, or else do not exist in masculine form or vice versa. For instance:

> I try not to use words that I know in advance that have a negative connotation in the feminine form as they are a way of degrading or mistreating women.
>
> Participant 189, woman

> Trying to create new equivalent words for those that are only masculine.
>
> Participant 144 woman

Lately I have been trying not to say insults which refer to women indirectly, like "hijo de puta"[102], or to use a male word with the same negative connotation that the same word has in female.

<div align="right">Participant 25, woman</div>

I try not to use terms which are incredible discriminatory, like "solterona"[103], "fresca"[104], or things like that.

<div align="right">Participant 62, woman</div>

Using the same word for boths. Example: Una tia puede ser campeona si sale con muchos hombres, y un tio puede ser un puto si es ligado de muchas (no si liga con muchas).

Translation: A girl can be a champion if she goes out with many men and guy can be a whore if he gets picked up by many (not if he picks up many)

<div align="right">Participant 127, woman</div>

The ones who mentioned sexist idioms and expressions said that they simply do not use them:

Trying not to use femenine words as insults, saying femenine and masculine form when possible...

<div align="right">Participant 50, woman</div>

I try to avoid sexist language, which critizes women for her sexual life or her life style or her decisions. Terms such "zorra", "puta", "solterona", "marimacho"[105]

<div align="right">Participant 88, woman</div>

By being careful with my choice of vocabulary: avoiding sexist expressions, sayings or cultural references that reinforce stereotypes.

<div align="right">Participant 171, man</div>

However, the most controversial issue for Spanish informants was masculine generic forms which are avoided by using visualization and neutralization strategies. Those who mentioned visualization strategies described using double-ups:

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[102] *Hijo de puta*, lit. 'son of a bitch' similar to 'motherfucker' in English.

[103] *Solterona* 'spinster'

[104] *Fresca* lit. 'fresh one', meaning 'slut'

[105] *Zorra* lit. 'vixen', meaning 'whore', *puta* means 'whore', and *marimacho* 'tomboy', 'butch'.

By saying todos y todas, instead of "todos, by trying to use the femenine versión of as many nouns as possible...

Participant 85, man

Using todos y todas for example and this doesn't exclude the women.

Participant 89, group 2

It is important to include both sex when we are talking or writing, specially in those situations where the speaker tends to generalize. There might be some scenarios where it could be difficult to avaoid so, in that case, the speaker should try to specify, or simply include both sex.

Participant 92, woman

I try to find neutral words, also using the @ or including both genders.

Participant 180, man

Another visualization strategy employed were feminine forms as substitutes of masculine generics. For instance:

When I generalize and there are more women than men, I generalize in feminine. I do not disqualify women for what they do or for whether they decide to have a partner or not, just as it has never been done for men.

Participant 27 woman

Using ^^vosotras^^ if the majority of a group are girls. Even if there are some boys.

Participant 123 woman

I have started to say words like "todas" (everybody) or "nosotras" (we) if there are more women than men. However, this is creating some discomfort between some men.

Participant 182, woman

Yet the most popular solution for avoiding masculine generics was neutralization strategies. As mentioned in 4.2.2 feminist language reform in Spanish, neutralization strategies are complex and require a great mastery of Spanish. Participants said that they avoided gender by using noun phrases and collective nouns, i.e. *el alumnado* 'student body' instead of *los alumnos$_{masc}$* 'students', *todo el mundo* 'the entire world' instead of *todos$_{masc}$* 'everyone', and *quienes* 'who' instead of *los$_{masc}$/las$_{fem}$ que* 'those who'. These are their responses:

I usually use a neutral word instead of the word with the masculine designation, or if it is not possible, I use the femenine designation.

by saying generic terms such as "persona" instead of "hombre" or even adding an "x" in the place of masculine "o"

Participant 195, man

Try to use words that do not have gender completely defined (estudiantes/alumnos, clase/compañeros de clase, ...)

Participant 21, gender non-conforming

By trying to use generic words that help to integrate everybody (for example, instead of "todos los hombres", I usually say "todo el mundo"). Nevertheless, it is not always easy, since many words don't really make sense in a generic form, or it does not even exist.

Participant 176, man

I always try to include women when I am talking, or use neutral words (such as "quienes..." instead of "los que..."/"las que...").

Participant 183, man

When referring to professions I try to say "personal de"[106] and the profession instead of assuming the gender. I also try to use "él o ella" and other related uses to avoid using one gender. I'd like to find words that can include genderfluid people.

Participant 188, woman

Especially when using the plural form, I try to always use neural invented forms so as to not exclude women. For instance: instead of writing "chicos" to refer to a group of people which contains both men and women, I would write "chicxs" or I would say "chiques". These are, quite clearly, invented terms, nonetheless, I believe they are more correct than the ones the Spanish language tends to use.

Participant 97, participant 1

not using "men" to refer "human beings", or using -e when I am not sure what pronoun I should use to referring someone

Participant 133, woman

I always try to use neutral pronouns and try to avoid adjectives that end in o/a, either using ones that don't end in that, or ending the adjective with an e. "Guape[107]".

Participant 74, gender non-conforming

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[106] *Personal de* can be translated as 'staff/members'.

[107] *guapa/o* 'pretty/handsome', therefore *guape* is the genderless alternative.

I use neutral gender (which is not recognised in RAE but was invented by lgbt community to use when refering to someone non-binary) when writing, and sometimes when speaking in a safe-space with no lgbtphobia or sexism.

Participant 135, woman

Nowadays, on twitter, for example, people have started using -e to talk about groups of people or when the genre of the subject is unknown, or also when the subject is non-binary, like for example "elle", and I'm starting to using it too. However, people usually don't take it seriously just because it has never it used, but I believe that little by little, if they wanted, they could use it too and they would help a little.

Participant 179, woman

In Spanish, there are many challenges that emerge when using non-sexist language, and more specifically, neutralization strategies. One of them is that not all gendered words have a collective noun that can be used as an alternative. Moreover, it can become tedious when there are other elements in the sentence, such as articles, determiners, and adjectives, that need to agree in gender and number with the collective noun. Participant 195 mentioned the use of *x* as a suffix as in *latinx* to avoid marking gender. However the resulting words are impossible to pronounce out loud. Another neutralization strategy that has become popular recently, but that is also very controversial, is the use of the morpheme -e (see the answers by participants 74, 135 and 175), which is much easier to pronounce, but as described in section 4.2.2 feminist language reform in Spanish, this new morpheme has been met with strong criticism and mockery, despite the well-intended spirit of its implementation.

Now answers by Finnish informants will be presented. When Finnish participants were presented with the question: 16. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in Finnish, 13.7% disagreed (11.4% disagree and 2.3% disagree) and the rest, which is around 23.5%, did not know (see table below).

Table 77. Answers to the question "16. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in Finnish".

		I don't know		strongly agree		agree		disagree		strongly disagree		df	p. value
		n	%¤	n	%¤	n	%¤	n	%¤	n	%¤		
Finnish	women	23	26.4%	16	18.4%	39	44.8%	8	9.2%	1	1.1%	4	0.09 1[108]
	men	7	20%	1	2.9%	19	54.3%	7	20.0%	1	2.9%		
	gender non-conforming	1	10%	5	50%	3	30%	0		1	10%		
	total	31	23%	22	17%	61	46%	15	11%	3	2%		
re-coded	women	23	26.4%	55		63.2		9		10.3		2	0.18
	men	7	20.0%	20		57.1		8		22.9			

As seen in the figure below, around 63% of women and 57% of men try to avoid sexist language in Finnish, 26% of women and 20% of men do not know, and the remaining 10% of women and 23% of men do not. Therefore, it is evident that Finnish men and women share the same views, which is corroborated by the χ^2 test (p.value:0.18, df:2).

Figure 53. Stacked bar chart of the answers to "16. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in Finnish."

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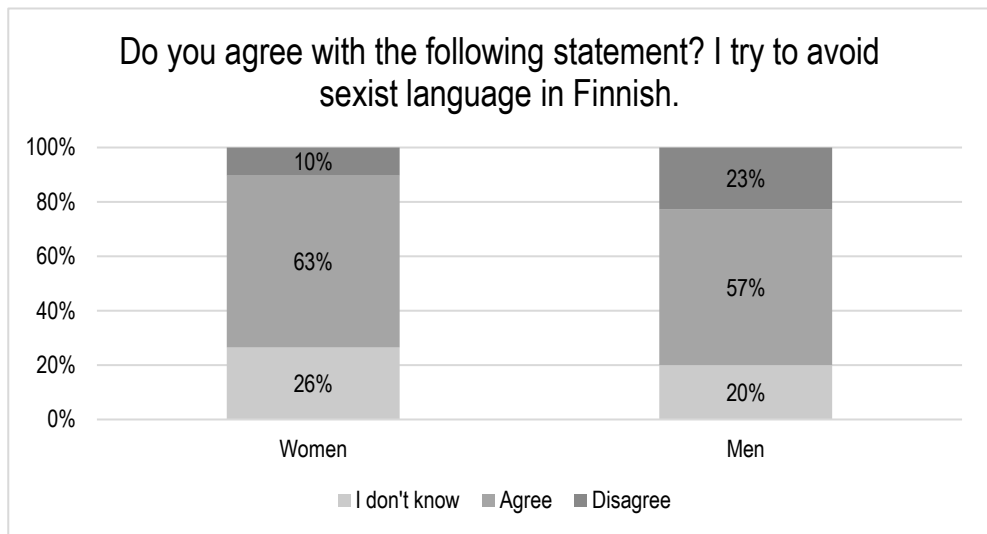
[108] More than 20% of the cells in this subtable have expected cell counts of less than five and/or the minimum expected cell count in this subtable is less than one. χ^2 results may be invalid.

The follow-up open question was "16.1 If so, how do you try to avoid sexist language in Finnish?". According to the answers, the most reported issues that Finnish students try to avoid are sexist idioms and expressions, masculine generics, and more specifically masculine occupational nouns. They do so by using genderless forms, which are among the neutralization strategies. More specifically, these neutralization strategies involve the use of collective nouns, i.e. *poliisi* 'police' instead of *poliisimies* 'policeman', synonyms such as *juristi* 'lawyer' instead of *lakimies* lit. 'lawman', the creation of new compounds with *kantaja* 'carrier' as in *postikantaja* 'mail carrier', *henkilö* 'person' as in *esihenkilö* 'civil servant' instead of *mies* 'man', new derivational nouns by adding the suffix *-ja* 'doer' as in *asianajaja* 'lawyer', or *toimittaja* 'journalist'. For instance:

> Usually i try to use the gender neutral words for professions rather than the masculine ones, for example, I would use poliisi (police) rather than poliisimies (policeman).
>
> Participant 199, woman

> I prefer to use words that don't have the gendered tone to them as much as possible. For instance using postinkantaja instead of postimies (mailman).
>
> Participant 301, woman

> I try to use gender neutral words in my speech, for example when referring to a job (lehtimies vs. toimittaja[109]).
>
> Participant 244, woman

> By using terms not spesific to gender (pelastustyöntekijä vs. palomies, johtohenkilö vs esimies[110])
>
> Participant 286, man

> I will try to use profession titles that do not have the term -man (-mies) in them and instead use -person (-henkilö) or some other term that doesn't define a person at all.
>
> Participant 308, woman

> For example, I prefer to use gender-neutral titles such as "juristi" instead of gendered "lakimies" ("lawyer").
>
> Participant 313, woman

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[109] *Lehtimies* lit. 'paperman' meaning 'journalist' and *toimittaja* 'supplier' but also 'reporter'.

[110] *johtohenkilö* 'manager' and *esimies* lit. 'pre-man' meaning 'boss' or 'supervisor'.

I always try to avoid sexist language. For instance, I try not to use words like "postimies" but say "postinkantaja" instead. Overall, I avoid gendering people if it's not necessary. For instance, I won't talk about "that girl who wrote the book" unless the writer's gender is important: if she's the first woman to write a book like this and it's socially important, it's worth mentioning. But if she's just another author and mentioning her gender might lead to other people dismissing the value of her work, I'll just talk about an author. On the other hand, I sometimes talk about neutral people as women/feminine as a counter-attack of sorts. This is easier to do in English because I can achieve this just by using the general she as a neutral personal pronoun.

<div align="right">Participant 268, woman</div>

Some of the students who said they use neutralization strategies explained that they do so in order to make non-binary and gender non-conforming people feel included in the language:

When meeting with someone who identifies as non-binary, I try to choose words that dont refer to gender: for example instead of boyfriend/girlfriend, refer to them as partner or companion.

<div align="right">Participant 198, woman</div>

I aim to not assume anyone's gender and to use gender neutral terms. Instead of speaking of 'lentoemäntä' and 'stuertti', I call them 'lentokoneen henkilökunta', for example.

<div align="right">Participant 322, man</div>

I try to avoid assuming genders of people I hear reference of and I usually speak of people like authors and researchers in genderless terms instead of referencing them as "mies" or "nainen." I do use old terms that include an implication of gender, like the aforementioned "palomies" to refer to all firefighters though.

<div align="right">Participant 207, woman</div>

I try to use generic references and take notice on multiple genders. Sometimes I use terms divided into two genders, but avoid doing so publicly or at official surroundings (such as school or public overall). By using the neutral terms I try to develop language into accepting the differences between humans and their personal ways. The gender of others doesn't concern me and thus, I don't want to use language that would force anyone to operate under linguistic terms that I "dictated".

<div align="right">Participant 287, woman</div>

However some challenges arise from the use of these neutralization strategies. Some participants claimed they struggle to know the context in which the use of

genderless and gendered forms would be acceptable. Others expressed the view that some of these forms sound weird or have different (legal) meanings:

> I try to avoid it, but I am also quite sensitive about the sex/gender matters in general, so I sometimes find myself a bit lost - I think I might over-emphasize neutrality so that I avoid using gender-specific words even where it would be okay and justified, because I am afraid I might hurt someone´s feelings, which I avoid doing as much as I just can.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 206, man</div>

> I do try to avoid it, but some gender-neutral equivalents of gendered words just sometimes sound a bit wrong. Maybe they should just be used more?
>
> <div align="right">Participant 254, woman</div>

> I usually try to use gender-neutral expressions when possible, unless using a gender-neutral word sounds too awkward to me, like it sometimes does in the spoken language.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 200, woman</div>

> I try to avoid using job titles with the ending -mies, although many factors need to be taken into consideration. For instance, "asianajaja" refers only to a member of the Finnish Bar Association, whereas "lakimies" refers to any lawyer.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 321, man</div>

Interestingly, among the participants who said that they avoid sexist language, some said that they use masculine occupational nouns because they apply to all genders:

> I try to avoid degrading expressions and, also, any proverbs or sayings that I find sexist. I do use -man -ending words but that is because I do not connect the ending with a male subject, it's just a part of the word. Sometimes I might specify that I'm talking about a woman but usually it's not necessary.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 273, woman</div>

> I try not to specifically call anyone anything they dont want to be called at least, I try to break free from gendered jobs like lentoemäntä or poliisimies, I might use the word as it is, but still try to remember that it also applies to all genders
>
> <div align="right">Participant 282, woman</div>

> I avoid using the -tar-ending (tarjoilijatar, näyttelijätär). I do talk about palomies though. But instead of "postimies" I use "posteljooni" or "postinjakaja".
>
> <div align="right">Participant 227, woman</div>

When it comes to sexist expressions and idioms, in most cases and whenever possible, Finns opt to leave them out:

> There are offensive terms towards both genders, and I try not to use them. I also won't use feminine words as insults, such as telling someone "you throw like a girl", or saying to a man "don't be such a girl". I resent the phrase "man up".
>
> <div align="right">Participant 279, woman</div>

> not saying things like se käyttäyty ku mikäki tyttö[111]
>
> <div align="right">Participant 257, woman</div>

> I try to avoid degrading expressions and, also, any proverbs or sayings that I find sexist. I do use -man -ending words but that is because I do not connect the ending with a male subject, it's just a part of the word. Sometimes I might specify that I'm talking about a woman but usually it's not necessary.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 273, woman</div>

In summary, most Spaniards perceived Spanish as a sexist language and most Finns do not perceive Finnish as such; 75% of the Spaniards said that Spanish was a sexist language and 55.3% of all the Finns do not think that Finnish is a sexist language. These results further support the fact that the debate over sexist language in Finland is not as active as in other language communities (Coady 2018, Engelberg 2018). Based on gender, the results indicate that the percentage of women who said that Finnish was a sexist language is higher than the percentage of men who said this. These results match the findings in previous research, which showed that women are more consistently supportive of non-sexist language than men are (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012; Douglas & Sutton, 2014).

Spaniards said that Spanish was a sexist language because of the patriarchy, masculine generic forms and lexical asymmetries. A lesser popular, yet relevant, argument was the absence of genderless forms in Spanish, which are especially important for designating non-binary people. Those who said that Spanish was not a sexist language argued that languages are not sexist, but the speakers are because they use the language for sexist purposes. Spanish participants also said that Spanish does not discriminate on the basis of gender, because it has words for men

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[111] *käyttäyty ku mikäki tyttö* or, in standard Finnish, *hän käyttäytyy kuin mikäkin tyttö*, means "he/she/they behaves like a girl".

and women, whereas others also claimed that masculine forms function as generic ones and are therefore inclusive.

As discussed, the majority of the Finns believed that Finnish was not a sexist language. The five major reasons given are that languages cannot be sexist, masculine nouns work as real generics, alternatives for masculine nouns have been successfully implemented, and Finnish lacks grammatical gender. In the first group, Finnish speakers argued, as did many of the Spanish participants, that languages are not sexist, but the speakers are because they are the ones who use them in a sexist and derogatory manner. As discussed in Chapter 4.3, Finnish is perceived as a neutral gender language, due to the absence of grammatical gender in it. These results further support this.

Those who said that Finnish is a sexist language argued that Finnish is less sexist than most languages, due to the absence of grammatical gender in the pronouns, yet they consider lexical gender, and more specifically masculine occupational nouns, to be a sexist feature in Finnish that prevents gender non-conforming people from using a title with which they would feel represented or identified. This also accords with Engelberg's observations. In her research, she has pointed out that the sensitivity towards sexist language in Finnish has increased lately, with occupational titles ending in -*mies* 'man'. Yet people believe these compound words have a gender-neutral meaning and tend to prefer them over the feminine or neutral forms (Engelberg 1998, 2002).

8.4   Sexist language in English

This section consists of a Likert scale question and a follow-up question regarding sexist language in English. These questions sought to investigate whether participants perceived English as a sexist language and the features they felt may or may not make English a sexist language. The first question was: 17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language. The analysis revealed that two-fifths of the Spaniards and one-fifth of the Finns did not know whether English was a sexist language. Around 30% of the Spaniards said that they perceived English to be a sexist language (3.58% strongly agreed and 27.18% agreed) and the other 30% disagreed (25.63% disagreed and 5.13% strongly disagreed). In the Finnish sample, 60% of the participants said that English was a sexist language (11.36% strongly agreed and 50% agreed), and the remaining 17%

disagreed (15.15% disagreed and 2.27% strongly disagreed). The χ^2 analysis revealed statistical significance in these answers (p.value: 2.00E-06, df: 4)

Figure 54. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language."
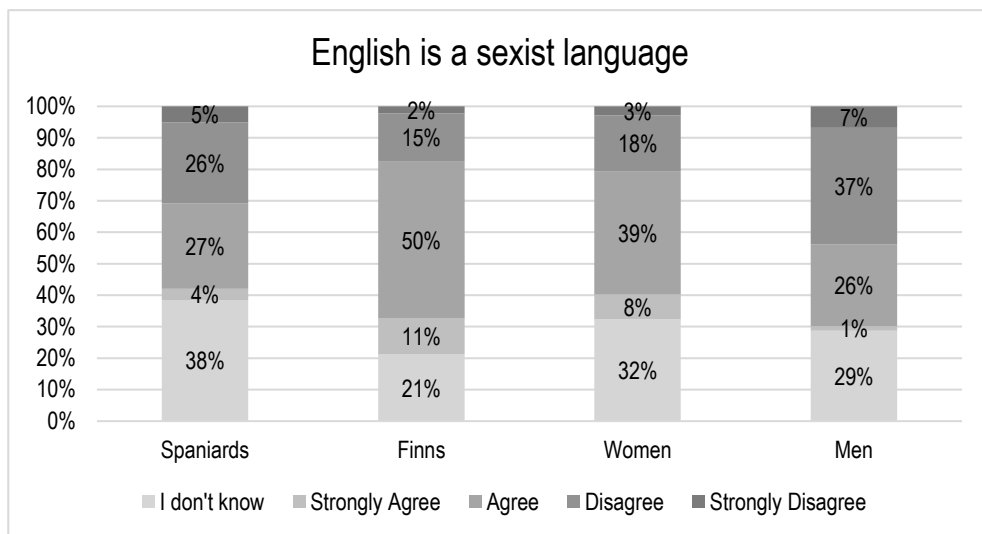
Concerning gender, almost 50% of women (7.88% strongly agreed and 39% agreed) and 30% of men (1.37% strongly agreed and 26.03% agreed) said that English was a sexist language, the percentage of women almost double that of men. Around 20% of the women (17.84% disagreed and 2.9% strongly disagreed) and 43% of the men (36.99% disagreed and 8.85% strongly disagreed) claimed that English as a language was not sexist. The only similarity in the opinions of men and women in this question was the percentage of people who did not know, which was around 30%. Therefore the χ^2 corroborated the fact that the differences in opinion are statistically significant (p.value:0.0012, df:4).

The follow-up question was "17.1 Why do you think English is or is not a sexist language?", which was intended to study the features that students deemed to be sexist. The answers to this open question were categorized in three groups, depending on the answer provided in the previous Likert question. Those who agreed or strongly agreed were placed in the "I agree" group. Those who disagreed or strongly disagreed were placed in the "I disagree" group, and those who did not know in a third group.

The analysis of the answers by the students who claimed that English was a sexist language revealed five major reasons for characterizing English as a sexist language: masculine generics, lexical asymmetries, sexist idioms, grammatical gender, and the patriarchy. Of all the reasons, the most frequently reported features was masculine generics, because they do not function as generic or inclusive words:

> Because there are word such as postman which only includes men.
>
> Participant, Spanish 63 woman

> I believe English is a sexist language, although to a lesser extent than Spanish. Since the plural forms are gender neutral, only while using words ending in "man" or "woman" is when distinctions are not made, predominantly employing the male form.
>
> Participant 24, Spanish woman

> It has the advantage of the existence of the neutral pronoun but masculine is also used as neutral in many cases, so it's quite the same as Spanish.
>
> Participant 30, Spanish woman

> I think that it is on a smaller scale comapared to Spanish, but you can find many examples, for instance when talking about jobs is always -man, instead of -woman, or even a neutral suffix that can include everyone.
>
> Participant 120, Spanish woman

> The most common third person pronoun is still 'he' if the gender of the subject is unknown.
>
> Participant 260, Finnish woman

> English has a strong tendency to prefer the masculine forms of professions (actor instead of actress). It also tends to use the pronoun "he" over "she"/"it"/"one" in the 3rd person singular context and we often choose "man" to refer to humanity at large rather than going for "person"/"people"/"human(s)".
>
> Participant 327, Finnish woman

Moreover, the use of masculine generics involves a view of the world from a masculine perspective and/or it implies that being a man is the norm, and being a woman is a subcategory:

> Even if there are ni grammatical genders in English, we tend to generalize with nouns such as "men" to refer to humanity.
>
> Participant 18, Spanish woman

It is a sexist language because it usually uses the male gender in every generic aspect.

<div align="right">Participant 154, Spanish man</div>

As in Spanish, English speakers use the masculine to refer also women.

<div align="right">Participant 85, Spanish man</div>

"Men" is used as a gender neutral term. It implies that men are the norm and women are the subcategory.

<div align="right">Participant 205, Finnish man</div>

It still, even to this day, has a tendency to be male-oriented, aka use words like "mailman" and use general "he".

<div align="right">Participant 217, Finnish woman</div>

There are a lot of expressions and words that denote a large entity (generalisations) but that are defined through male perspective (e.g. mankind).

<div align="right">Participant 230, Finnish woman</div>

The existence of lexical asymmetries was another sexist feature that prevails in English. This theme was only discussed by women and non-binary people. They described how feminine words and expressions are loaded with negative connotations. Moreover, some positive masculine nouns do not have symmetrical feminine alternatives:

There are some words that do not represent the same for men than for women, and when words for women are used, thet do not have the same effect on meaning.

<div align="right">Participant 28, Spanish woman</div>

They have many pejorative words for women that do not exist for men,

<div align="right">Participant 68, Spanish woman</div>

It is, because it has several titles that are tied to gender, and some words that are feminine-leaning and have bad connotations, as well as many casual words that are masculine and have no natural feminine alternatives (guy, dude, bro).

<div align="right">Participant 245, Finnish man</div>

There are many words in English that have a different connotation in feminin and masculin form. Also, the use of personal pronouns has sexist features.

<div align="right">Participant 273, man</div>

Everything is completely gendered and the connotations of words really reflect some sexist attitudes. Like again, no positive words for females who have lots of sex

<div align="center">216</div>

but tons for men (stallion, stud, Romeo, Don Juan). Also, it seems like the female titles have a lot less impressive connotations compared to the male titles, like headmistress does not seem as authoritative as headmaster at all

Participant 212, Finnish gender non-conforming

Another topic raised by a small group of Spanish informants and one Finn was that English was sexist because all languages are sexist:

I think almost every language is actually sexist because we all have a strong culture based on sexism.

Participant 65, Spanish woman

I think every language can be a bit sexiest if looked at very carefully.

Participant 80, Spanish woman

As I said before, every language is sexist.

Participant 107, Spanish woman

This view was echoed by another Spanish informant who felt that the patriarchy present in English-speaking nations was to blame for the sexism in English:

Since people who speak english live under the patriarchy just as people who speak Spanish do, it is obvious that English will also be sexist.

Participant 7, Spanish man

On the other hand, a small group of Finns complained about the presence of grammatical gender, which is what makes English a sexist language:

English (like all languages, probably) is the language of a patriarchal society; as such, it has been shaped by the ideals of that society and therefore necessarily includes sexist ideas, connotations and constructs. The he/she pronoun division is problematic, and personally I prefer the singular they in general. In English, the tendency to describe a female worker of a profession with affixes, such as "actress", or with extra specification such as "female author", while allowing male actors and authors to remain unmarked gender-wise, assumes maleness as the norm and femaleness as marginal.

Participant 201, Finnish woman

I think English is a sexist language in a very similar way that Finnish is: Job titles and using different words for men and women in same situation, e.g. the same word "spinster", although there is "bachelor" for men as well. English also uses more -tress suffix that can rather easily be attached to almost any word and people seem

happy using them. Also distinction between he and she as personal pronouns seems very important and it can be seen funny or even insulting if someone would mix them up.

<div align="right">Participant 204, Finnish woman</div>

There's a shitton of words, again esp. in profession names, that are gendered, TOTALLY UNNECESSARILY. And the male word is used to refer to all such people, whereas the female often has negative connotations. And while cissexism isn't as bad in English as it is in Latin languages (because at least there's "they" to use as a gender-neutral singular pronoun), it's still pretty bad as many people still only accept he/she as proper singular pronouns.

<div align="right">Participant 272, gender non-conforming</div>

Gendered pronouns. He/him is usually the first choice. There are also many gendered professions just as in Finnish, but maybe worse because the gender difference is highlighted more, for example the differentiating between actors and actresses. Actor is the baseline male status, while actress is something else that needs to be differentiated.

<div align="right">Participant 299, Finnish woman</div>

Gendered pronouns he/she (though "they" as a third person singular is also used) and many gendered words such as actor/actress, stuert/stewardess, mailman and policeman. However, English does not have a grammatical gender, meaning nouns and adjectives are not gendered unlike for example in Spanish or German.

<div align="right">Participant 301, Finnish woman</div>

When answering this question, participants from both language and gender groups compared English with their L1 and/or other languages they speak. In this regard, Spanish participants were unanimous in the view that English is less sexist than Spanish:

It is less sexist than Spanish, but it does not mean it is not sexist. For example, there are some words like "master" or "mistress" which differentiate both men and women, but there are some other terms that when you hear them you only think of a male or female person, like "nanny" or "nun". Additionally, when no gender is told, sentences contain pronouns like "he", "his" or "him".

<div align="right">Participant 182, Spanish woman</div>

I think it's less sexist than for example Spanish because one can chose to use they/them, and nouns and adjectives do not usually have a male or female form. But it is undenieable that it's not perfect and posses some sexist traits sometimes.

<div align="right">Participant 8, Spanish woman</div>

I think that it is on a smaller scale comapared to Spanish, but you can find many examples, for instance when talking about jobs is always _-man, instead of _-woman, or even a neutral suffix that can include everyone.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 90, Spanish woman</div>

It still is a sexist language, but I think that it is way less sexist than Spanish, just because adjectives are not masculine or femenine most of the times (big chair, big is not really "genderful") while in Spanish, we have to link both the adjective and the noun to a gender. Nonetheless, sexims arises in English wwhen using generic words, or pronouns.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 176, Spanish man</div>

I think that, as in Spanish, there are some words that are masculine when used in a generic way, as could be the use of the term "policeman". But I think it less sexist than Spanish because it can avoid grammatical gender.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 182, Spanish man</div>

Finns mentioned that English was more sexist than Finnish because of the traces of grammatical gender in the pronoun system:

Somewhat, at least more than Finnish. Finnish is more neutral/ambiguous. I´ve used to see the English pronouns as a richness, but I see they are causing problems for us, too. I´m mostly thinking about pronouns now, but probably there are other aspects, too.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 206, Finnish woman</div>

English attaches gender to the pronouns he and she, which means that gender is unnecessarily referred to when speaking about a person, even when the person's gender is irrelevant or unknown. English, perhaps even more so than Finnish, also tends to treat males as the default (mankind, etc.) and women as the exception (actor vs. actress).

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 235, Finnish woman</div>

English has gendered personal pronouns, which I find unnecessary. English also has gendered profession titles that are more widely used than their Finnish counterparts.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 268, Finnish woman</div>

Gendered pronouns. He/him is usually the first choice. There are also many gendered professions just as in Finnish, but maybe worse because the gender difference is highlighted more, for example the differentiating between actors and actresses. Actor is the baseline male status, while actress is something else that needs to be differentiated.

<div style="text-align: right">Participant 299, Finnish woman</div>

However, not all Finns perceived English as more sexist than English. Two Finns claimed that Finnish was as sexist as English:

> I think English is a sexist language in a very similar way that Finnish is: Job titles and using different words for men and women in same situation, e.g. the same word "spinster", although there is "bachelor" for men as well. English also uses more -tress suffix that can rather easily be attached to almost any word and people seem happy using them. Also distinction between he and she as personal pronouns seems very important and it can be seen funny or even insulting if someone would mix them up.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 204, Finnish man</div>

> I do not live in a country where English is the main language, so I do not have much personal experience in the matter. I have heard it is much the same as in Finland, though some progress has been made.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 324, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

Most of the participants who said they did not know whether English was a sexist language did not explain why. Due to the low number of answers, it was difficult to find themes or common ideas. In many cases, this gap inspired participants to reflect on the topic of linguistic sexism, in some cases for the first time:

> I haven't really thought about it before but having seen this, maybe in the generic use of "he" and some job names.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 186, Spanish woman</div>

> It is quite useless to differentiate job titles by gender (actor/actress). I don't know if it's sexist though.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 244, Finnish man</div>

> I don't agree or disagree too much in either way. English does have gender-specific pronouns and some other cases where a person's gender is brought forward without needing to. However, I don't feel it's very heavy-handed in that regard. Mostly I find the use of "he/she" cumbersome.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 213, Finnish man</div>

> Well, the pronouns have been used to clearly denote people's gender, but I'm not sure whether that's enough to deem a language sexist. Also, I think the situation has grown somewhat better because some have begun to use the word 'they' to refer to people. On the other hand, English has tended to favour the usage of masculine forms. In older times, at least. And the ideals inherent in those tendencies have partly stuck. For example the usage of 'man' (which can be used in reference to mankind) has been used to favour biological males which, for some, has established the idea that males are better than females.

Participant 326, non binary

I'm not sure if I would go all the way of saying English is a sexist language, but nowadays there seems to be much discussion about equality and some occupation words for example to tend to sound overly masculine.

Participant 249, Finnish man

Well, there are the endinds -ess for many things, but I'd be just as happy to use the male versions for both sexes, it's really not a necessary specification.

Participant 278, Finnish man

Some participants, especially the Spanish ones, argued, that they were not entitled to take a strong stand on this issue as English was not their L1 nor had they lived in a country where it was used as the L1. For example (see also the answer of participant 324 aforementioned):

For example with the article 'the' there is no difference between men and women. But I don't know English as my mother language to know if there is sexism in their expressions

Participant 170, Spanish woman

Students argued, that despite English having some sexist features, it had the ability to convey genderless messages:

It is true that there is a certain sexism in some Ensligh words (there are less words than Spanish), but it is true, also, that we must have a critical and open-mind when we deal with these issues, since from a linguistic and etimological perspective, those theories can not be so true as they seem.

Participant 150, Spanish man

Same that in spanish, it is considered to be bcs we use the masc. forms fto refer to a mixed group, but, if we don't use sth it would be a mess.

Participant 158, Spanish woman

It could be considered somewhat sexist, since many words in the English language have a somewhat "gendered" meaning, but as gender-neutral expressions are becoming more common, I do not think that it is as sexist as it might have been at some point. English does, however, have gendered pronouns, and since saying "he or she" might sound a bit clumsy in some contexts, the pronoun "he" is still often used to refer to people in general.

Participant 200, Finnish woman

Perhaps not sexist in itself, but the way people use it and understand it. Such as man referring to the whole of humanity, some people just want to understand it to exclude women and other people even if it doesn't.

<div align="right">Participant 214, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

I think that with English it's maybe a bit easier (than in Finnish) to make words suit both genders, such as actor-actress, or chairman-chairwoman, but the problem is that they're still two words for a single position, and not one gender-neutral word. Also I feel like English still has a lot of that "you throw like a girl" -feel I wrote of earlier.

<div align="right">Participant 279, Finnish woman</div>

According to the answers of the participants who did not think that English is a sexist language, there are two main reasons why this is the case: languages are not sexist and English lacks grammatical gender, which makes it an inclusive language. The first argument was provided by both Spaniards and Finns:

Because of the same argument I proposed before: We have plenty of words both in Spanish and English that can be used in a sexist way. But only a speaker can be sexist, not the language specifically.

<div align="right">Participant 55, Spanish woman</div>

A language is just as sexist as a person makes it to be. My personal view on this is possibly affected by my own gender, but at this point in time I do not consider English to be a sexist language and if it was, it would not harm my mental health.

<div align="right">Participant 271, Finnish man</div>

Sexism implies intetion. Again, the language may have unnecessarily gender-specific words, and maybe they were born from sexist attitudes, but I doubt people cling onto the words because of sexism. It's just that they're used to the words and maybe aren't thinking about how charged they may be.

<div align="right">Participant 285, Finnish man</div>

That's something that varies from speaker to speaker, since there are more ways to express things more gender neutrally than ever. Not to say that the language can't be used in a very sexist way.

<div align="right">Participant 286, Finnish man</div>

The second argument was that English is not a sexist language because it lacks grammatical gender. This argument was mostly provided by Spaniards, except for three Finns who also discussed it:

I disagree because in English most of the words do not age gender, they are said in the same way for men and women

Participant 19, Spanish woman

Because it does not specify the gender (doctor, flight attendant) instead in Spanish it does (azafata, azafato[112])

Participant 39, Spanish woman

As an example of being less sexist than Spanish, the word "they" include both women and men.

Participant 101, Spanish woman

Even though I cannot think of very specific examples in which English varies from Spanish in this matter, English is always perceived as a more neutral language that does not take that much into account gender in material things for example. We use 'it' instead of Spanish 'el/la'.

Participant 178, Spanish man

There are a lot of words that, unlike Spanish, don't even have a gender (such as "friend", "child", "kid"...). This means gender is less important than in Spanish, and I believe as a result there is more equality.

Participant 183, Spanish man

English lacks grammatical gender, and people have come up with replacements for many gender-specific terms (firefighter instead of fireman, for example)

Participant 208, Finnish man

English doesn't have genders for words either and although the pronouns aren't generic, English doesn't favour the masculine over the feminine like Roman languages do.

Participant 221, Spanish woman

Lastly, there were some additional notions that were discussed. However, the low number of participants who discussed these issues was so small that they cannot be categorized as themes. For instance, four Finnish speakers said that they did not find English sexist because masculine nouns are true generics:

I don't think that for example fireman to be sexist to call a woman fireman

Participant, Finnish woman 236

---

[112] *Azafato/a* 'flight attendant'

> Same as with Finnish, though perhaps more apparent. Still, I do not think English to be particularly sexist and most of the terms that appear masculine have or are seen mostly as universal terms.
>
> Participant 284, Finnish man

> The generally hated word "man" still applies for all humans for me, so I can't see the sexism in it.
>
> Participant 306, Finnish woman

Two Finnish men claimed that English is not sexist because it has been fixed:

> English lacks grammatical gender, and people have come up with replacements for many gender-specific terms (firefighter instead of fireman, for example)
>
> Participant 208, Finnish man

> English, especially nowadays, is fairly easy to use in a gender-neutral way (many occupational terms have gender-neutral versions, they as a third person singular pronoun), and the custom is growing in acceptance. Still, in the past, and some people nowadays do use English in a more sexist manner, retaining the male-oriented vocabulary and general reference using he
>
> Participant 307, Finnish man

The results in this section have helped to determine the influence that gender and L1 influence may have on opinions regarding sexism in English. The analysis revealed that 30% of the Spanish participants and 60% of the Finnish participants claimed that it is a sexist language, while 30% of the Spaniards and 17% of the Finns disagree. Almost 50% of women and 30% of men think that English is a sexist language, with women at practically twice the percentage found for men., 20% of the women and 43% of the men believe that English as a language is not sexist. The analysis of the responses to the open questions for the students who think that English is a sexist language revealed five major reasons provided that would cause English to be a sexist language: masculine generics, lexical asymmetries, sexist idioms, grammatical gender, and the patriarchy. The most reported issue was masculine generics, which in the opinion of the participants, involves a view of the world from a masculine perspective and/or it implies that maleness is the norm (Hamilton 1988, 1991, Hyde 1984). Spanish students blamed patriarchy for causing sexism in languages, whereas Finns argued that grammatical gender is what makes English a sexist language. On the other hand, women and non-binary people discussed how feminine words or expressions are loaded with

negative connotations and that some positive masculine nouns do not have a symmetrical feminine alternative.

In their answers, students compared English with their L1 or other languages they speak, which indicates that they rely on these languages to assess linguistic sexism in an L2. In this regard, Spanish participants unanimously believed that English is less sexist than Spanish, while Finns stated that English was more sexist, due to the traces of grammatical gender. However, for some Finns, their L1 was as sexist as English, due to masculine generic forms. Those who said that English was not a sexist language provided two arguments. The first one, which was raised by both Spaniards and Finns, was that English was not sexist because languages cannot be sexist. The other argument, mostly given by Spaniards, was that English was an inclusive language because it lacks grammatical gender.

8.5 Actions regarding sexist language in English

This section contains the questions intended to investigate whether participants used non-sexist language in English, and how consistent they are in avoiding it. The first question was a Likert scale question formulated as follows: 18. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in English.

Figure 55. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "18. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in English"
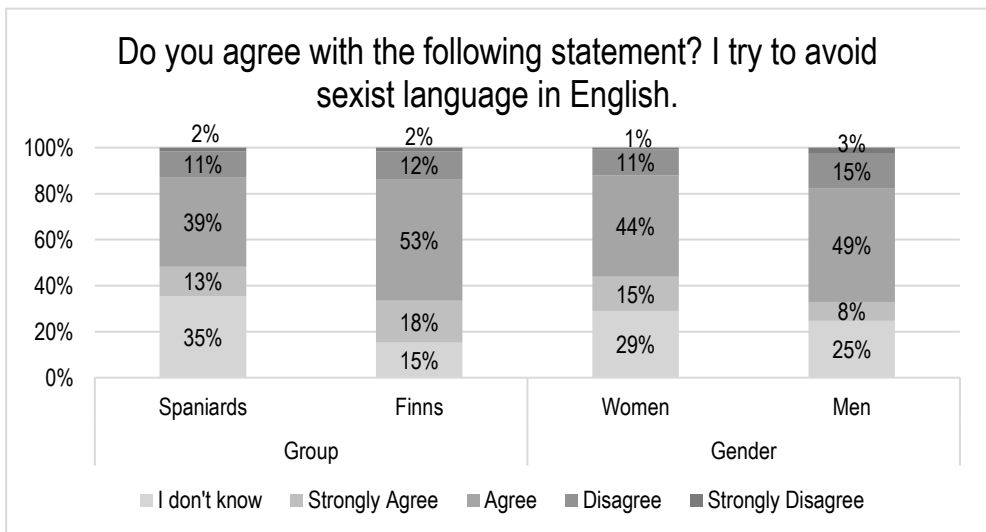
The results indicate that 29% of the women and 25% of the men said that they did not know whether they avoid sexist language, 59% of women and 58% of men said they tried to avoid it, and the remaining 11% of women and 18% of men said that they do not. The similarity in the answers was corroborated by the χ^2 test (p.value:0.295, df:4). Regarding the language groups, over half of the Spaniards (strongly agreed 12.8% and agreed 39.0%) and two-thirds of the Finns agreed with this statement (of the Finns, 18.2% strongly agreed and 53.0% agreed). The percentage of disagreement is relatively low in both groups, 13.6% of Finns (disagreed 12.1% and strongly disagreed 1.5%) and 12.8% of Spaniards (disagreed 11.3% and strongly disagreed 1.5%).

Table 78. Participants who said that they did not know if English was a sexist language and their answers to the question "18. I try to avoid sexist language in English"

18. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in English	I don't know If English is a sexist language							
	Spanish				Finnish			
	women	men	gender non-conforming	total	women	men	gender non-conforming	total
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
I don't know	31	4	0	35	5	1	0	6
strongly agree	4	3	1	8	0	0	0	0
agree	20	5	1	26	3	5	0	8
disagree	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	61	12	2	75	8	6	0	14

The most striking result to emerge is the high percentage of Spanish participants who didn't know (35.4%), which is more than double the percentage of Finns in the same category (15.2%). Such differences are statistically significant (p.value: 0.002, df:4). These results are somewhat counterintuitive because previously only 30% of the Spaniards and 61% of the Finns said English was a sexist language, yet the percentage of participants avoiding sexist language in English is relatively higher. How is it possible to avoid sexist language in English if you do not know whether it is a sexist language? In other to find out, I checked the answers to this question by the participants who said they did not know whether English was a sexist language. The results revealed that almost half of the Spanish and Finnish students (34 Spaniards and 8 Finns) who said they did not know whether English was a sexist language said they avoid sexist language (see table below). Dissonance in opinions and statements such as this one is discussed later in Chapter 9.

Table 79.   Answers to the question "18.1 If so, please, indicate how often you structure your language to avoid sexist language in English".

		Frequently		Sometimes		Rarely		Never		d f	p. value
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Group	Spaniards	41	40.6%	45	44.5%	12	11.9%	3	2.9%	3	0.0062
	Finns	45	47.9%	48	51.1%	1	1.1%	0			
	Total	86	44.1%	93	47.7%	13	6.7%	3	1.5%		
Gender	Women	64	45.1%	70	49.3%	8	5.6%	1	0.7%	3	1.48E-52
	Men	14	33.3%	22	52.4%	5	11.9%	1	2.4%		
	Total	77	41.8%	92	50%	13	7.1%	2	1.1%		

The follow-up question sought to investigate the frequency with which participants avoided sexist language in English. The question was presented as follows: "18.1 If so, please, indicate how often you structure your language to avoid sexist language in English". Since the matter of interest was how often those who said they avoided using sexist language actually did so it, they, the participants who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the previous question were excluded from the analysis. So the total number of informants was 195, 184 when gender was used as a statistical variable.

Figure 56. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "18.1 If so, please indicate how often you structure your language to avoid sexist language in English"
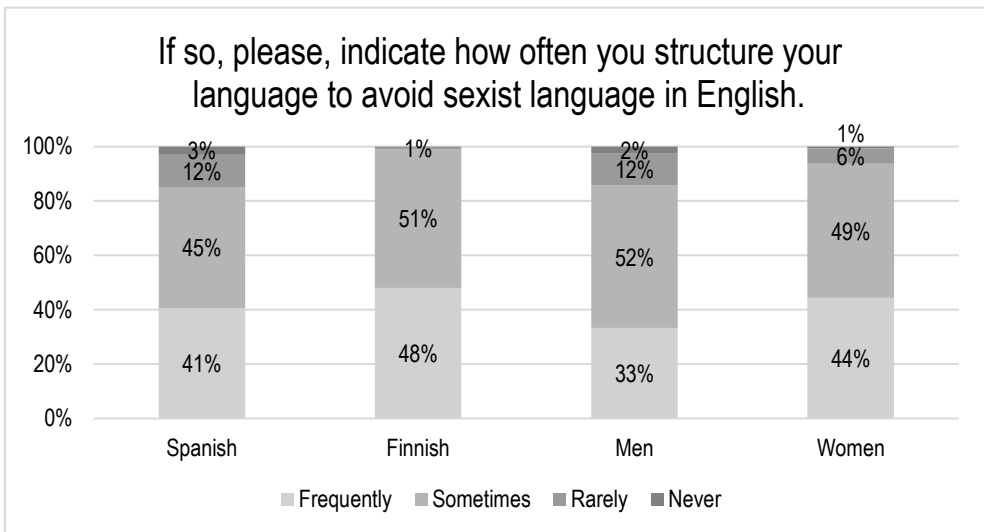
The results indicate that 41% of the Spaniards and 48% of the Finns who said they avoided sexist language do so frequently, 44% of the Spaniards and 48% of the

Finns do it sometimes, and the remaining 15% of the Spaniards and 1% of the Finns rarely or never. These differences are statistically significant (p.value: 0.0062, df:2). Regarding gender, 44% of women and 52% of men avoid sexist language frequently, 49% of women and 52% of men sometimes, and the remaining 7% of women and 14% of men only rarely or never. These differences in use are also statistically significant (p.value:1.49E-52, df:3).

8.6 Knowledge and attitudes toward the proposals for non-sexist language in English

This section will address the impact of the feminist language reform in English, the necessity of using strategies to avoid sexist language in and outside the classroom, and the types of strategies used by the participants. It consists of four close-ended questions, of which one is a yes/no question and three Likert scale questions, and two open follow-up questions.

The first question sought to investigate whether the students thought that the feminist language reform has had an impact on English. The question was the following: "19. Do you think that non-sexist language has had an impact on the use of English nowadays?". Around 70% of the Finns believe that non-sexist language has had an impact on present-day English (10.6% strongly agree and 59.1% agree). Almost one half of the Spaniards said they agreed as well (7.7% strongly agree and 40.5% agree) and the other half (44.6%) did not know. The number of Finns who did not know is only close to one third (27.3%) and the remaining 3% disagreed. The percentage of Spaniards who disagreed was 7.2%. The χ^2 test indicates that the differences in the opinions of Spaniards and Finns regarding the proposals in English are statistically significant (p.value:0.003, df:4).

Figure 57. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "19. Do you think that non-sexist language has had an impact on the use of English nowadays?"
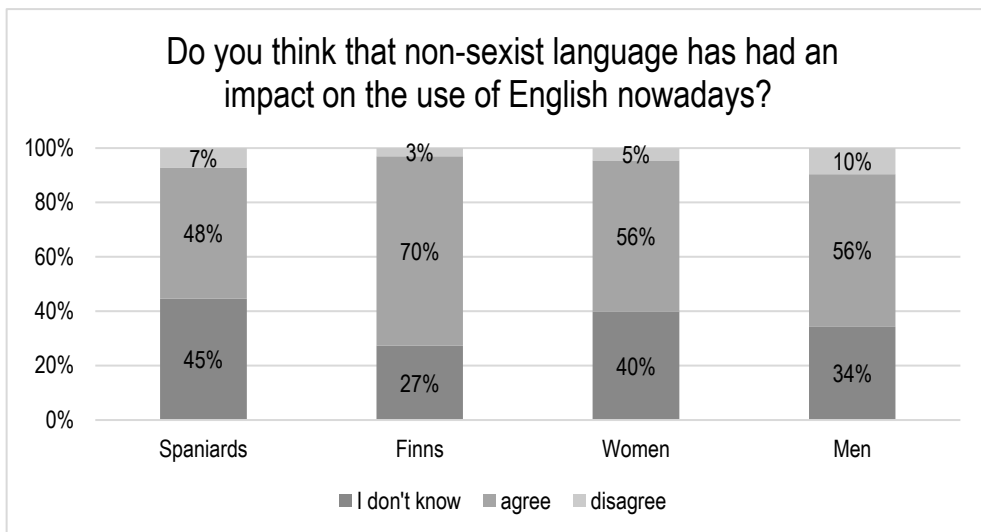
The χ^2 test could not be done with gender as a variable because some of the categories had fewer than 5 tokens. For that reason, the answers were regrouped into three: agree, disagree, and I don't know. The results indicate great similarities between the opinions of men and women: 40% of women and 35% of men did not know whether English has had an impact on present-day English, 56% of women and men thought it has, and 5% of women and 10% of men disagreed. Consequently, the χ^2 test corroborated that there was no significant difference between men and women (p.value:0.330, df:4).

Table 80. Answers to the question "20. Do you know any proposals for non-sexist language in English?"

		yes		no		total	df	p.value
		n	%	n	%	n		
group	Spaniards	54	27.7%	141	72.3%	195	1	6.04E-8
	Finns	76	57.6%	56	42.4%	132		
	Total	130	39.8%	197	60.2%	327		
gender	Women	87	36.1%	154	63.9%	241	1	0.23
	Men	32	43.8%	41	56.2%	73		
	Total	119	37.9%	195	62.1%	314		

In the following question (see figure 58), participants were asked if they knew any proposals for non-sexist language in English; 58% of the Finns and 28% of the

Spaniards answered affirmatively, and the rest said that they did not know any. Regarding gender, 36% of women and 44% of men said they knew non-sexist language proposals. These differences are statistically significant on language (p.value:6.04E-8, df:1), but not on gender (p.value:0.23, df:1). This question was used to assist in the analysis of the following opening question, which asked the participants to provide some examples of the proposals they knew of.

Figure 58. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "20. Do you know any proposals for non-sexist language in English?"
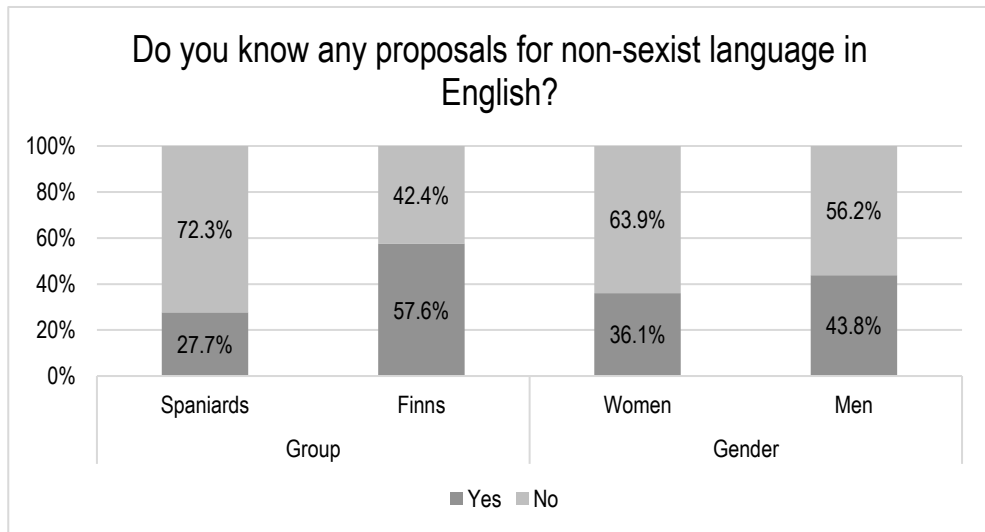
In total, 130 students said they knew of proposals for non-sexist language in English, of which ten did not answer and/or did not provide any examples. Of the 120 students who replied, only nine gave examples of visualization strategies. However even those who referred to visualization strategies also discussed neutralization strategies. The visualization strategies used by the students dealt mostly with pronouns:

> The use of s/he instead of they or even use she as the generic.

> Participant 140, Spanish woman

> He/she instead of just saying he. The use of they instead of providing a gender if you don't fully know the gender of the person you're talking to. Avoiding expressions like "policemen"

> Participant 176, Spanish man

> I really only know about using they as a gender neutral singular 3rd person pronoun. And adding "he or she" instead of "he".
>
> Participant 212, Finnish, gender non-conforming

Yet some students also used visualization strategies in the lexicon:

> The use of the designation "-tress", for example, authoress in order to visualize the feminine.
>
> Participant 94, Spanish man

> Chairwoman as well as chairman (i dont know if this counts), firefighter instead of fireman
>
> Participant 197, Finnish man

However the majority of the informants who answered this question described only neutralization strategies. Of these 120 participants, 85 referred to genderless pronouns, and more specifically, 82 mentioned singular *they* as a strategy.

> As I said before the use of plural pronouns to generalize for example, when a student is studying, they have to put away their phone
>
> Participant 22, Spanish woman

> They/them in order to avoid gender, which goes even further than Spanish "él o ella".
>
> Participant 188, Spanish woman

> Again, if I get the question right, I think the introduction of ´they´ to replace the binary he/she in some situations is one proposal quite extensively used already. Another example might be the talk about whether to use gendered titles of jobs, etc. or how to avoid that.
>
> Participant 206, Spanish woman

> When it comes to pronouns, they is becoming a grammatically accepted form to refer to a single person to exclude gender from the context.
>
> Participant 214, Finnish, gender non-conforming

Participants explained that they used singular *they* for several reasons: (1) as an alternative to masculine generic pronouns, (2) as an alternative to the double-up pronoun *he/she,* or (3) to refer to non-binary people or those whose gender is unknown:

For exmaple when you don't know the gender of someone, using they/their/them, instead of he/his/him.

<div align="right">Participant 90, Spanish woman</div>

The use of genderless pronouns such as in the use of "they" instead of his/her.

<div align="right">Participant 171, Spanish man</div>

Using pronouns such as "they" or "them" for non-binary people.

<div align="right">Participant 18, Spanish woman</div>

Use the pronoun "they" if we do not know someone's gender or what pronouns they prefer to be referred to.

<div align="right">Participant 63, Spanish woman</div>

Many participants, including several who mentioned the use of singular *they*, also described other strategies for avoiding expressing gender. One of these strategies involved the use of synonyms or alternatives to avoid nouns such as *man*, *mankind*, and *policeman*:

Regarding the topic of gendered professions, some people have started saying police officer, or firefighter, for example. Also, a group of important linguistics have declared "they" as the word of the year for 2017. "They" in the singular, when used as a gender-neutral term.

<div align="right">Participant 189, Spanish woman</div>

Trying to use gender-neutral expressions instead of those that seem to specifically refer to one gender only ("people" or "humankind" instead of "men" or "mankind") and using the pronoun "they" instead of the somewhat clumsy "he or she" when possible.

<div align="right">Participant 192, Spanish woman</div>

Using older male titles for both women and men (eg. actor for everyone instead of actor/actress), replacing s/he with they, using 'humans' instead of 'men'.

<div align="right">Participant 223, Finnish man</div>

I prefer to use "one" or "their" in academic texts, but sometimes fail to do so. Also, there are some terms I am unsure whether they are sexist or just common terms in the language (as in man/mankind while referring to the entire population). If I am unsure I tend to avoid such terms.

<div align="right">Participant 287, Spanish woman</div>

Informants also mentioned substituting *-man* and/or *-woman* for *-person* in compounds, and refraining from using adjectival modifications to specify the gender of the referent in front of occupational nouns. For instance:

> Using they/them pronouns. Instead of using man/woman at the end of a word, using person. Not sportsman, sportswoman but sportsperson.
>
> > Participant 74, Spanish, gender non-conforming

> I just know a bit about them. I heard that some female actors were claiming that we should use the term "actor" for both male and female workers. The use of the singular they can also be a good option, which also includes non-binary people. Regarding the terms for some jobs we could change the ending in "-man" or "-woman" to "-person".
>
> > Participant 181, Spanish woman

> person instead of man (chairperson) or other gender-neutral alternatives (firefighter); omission of gender-marking affixes (nurse rather than male nurse); use of singular they instead of he/she, s/he, etc.
>
> > Participant 201, Finnish woman

> The use of the gender-neutral "they" as a third-person singular pronoun, as well as promoting non-gendered forms of certain titles ("chairperson", etc.).
>
> > Participant 297, Finnish man

Another neutralization strategy discussed dealt with the avoidance of female suffixes:

> Unisex "they", using alternative expression to those implying maleness (e.g. "postman") or femaleness (e.g. actress).
>
> > Participant 223, Finnish, gender non-conforming

> normalizing they pronouns, referring to female actors simply as actors not actresses as if a dimunitive or a different profession, asking about a persons pronouns
>
> > Participant 241, Finnish woman

> - not using the masculine pronoun "he" by default - normalizing the use of the singular "they" pronoun - avoiding words like "actress" or "waitress"
>
> > Participant 268, Finnish woman

In summary, 36% of women and 44% of men said they knew of proposals for non-sexist language. Regarding the language groups, 58% of the Finns and only

28% of the Spaniards said that they did. Although the vast majority described neutralization strategies, the few that mentioned visualization strategies described the doubling up of pronouns. The neutralization strategy most frequently discussed was singular *they*. Participants also mentioned using synonyms or alternatives for avoiding masculine nouns such as *man* and *mankind*, substituting *-man* and/or *-woman* for *-person* in compounds, and refraining from using both adjectival modifications and female suffixes.

Next, the results of question 21 regarding the necessity of using non-sexist language will be discussed (see figure 59). The vast majority, that is 78% of the total, said they were necessary or very necessary. Regarding the language groups, 60% of the Spaniards and 35% of the Finns said that avoiding sexist language was very necessary, 20% of the Spaniards and 39.5% of Finns said it is moderately necessary, and 11% of Spaniards and 18% of Finns stated that it is slightly necessary. Only 8.5% of the Spaniards and 8% of the Finns said that it was not necessary, or they are ruining the language. These differences are statistically significant (p.value:0.000106, df:4).

Figure 59. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "21. What is your opinion on the proposals to avoid sexist language?"
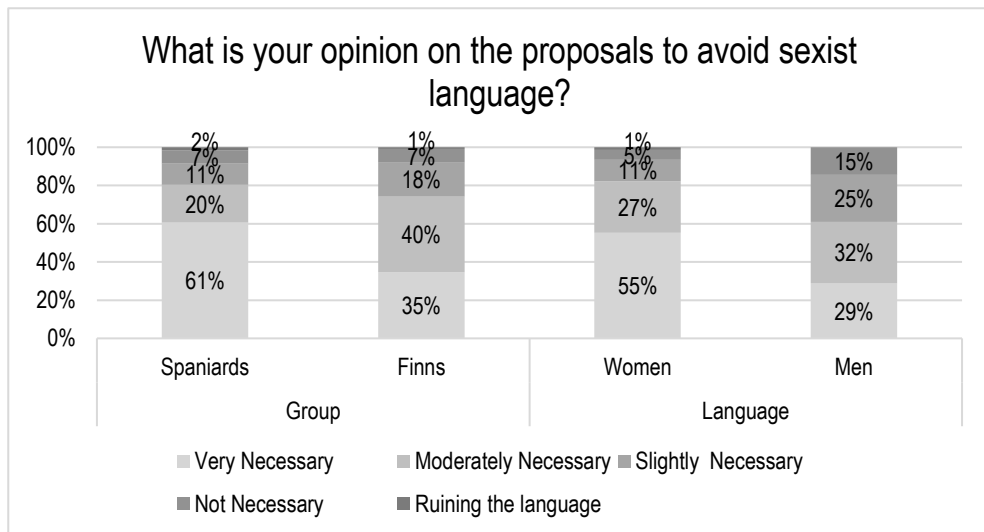
Concerning gender, the opinions of men and women were also statistically significantly different (p. value:0.00025, df:4). Around 93% of women and 87% of men said proposals for avoiding sexist language are needed. More precisely, 55% of

women and 29% of men said that these proposals are very necessary, 27% of men and 32% of women said they are moderately necessary, and 25% of men and 11 % of women said that they are slightly necessary. The rest, which consists of 14% of men and 5% of women, claimed that avoiding sexist language is not necessary, and only 1% of women said that these proposals are ruining the language.

The follow-up question was "21.1 Why do you think that such proposals are necessary/unnecessary?" This open question was analyzed in three blocks, depending on what informants had answered in the previous one[113]. The first group was comprised of the answers of the participants who said that avoiding sexist language was very and moderately necessary, the second group contained the answers of the participants who answered that avoiding sexist language was slightly necessary, and the last one had the answers of the participants who said avoiding sexist language was not necessary or was ruining the language. Those in favor of avoiding sexist language argued that it was necessary because it promotes equality, inclusivity, because language and thought are linked, because it visualizes certain gender groups, and is respectful towards women and non-binary people.

Equality was one of the most reported arguments among informants in favor of avoiding sexist language. They discussed how non-sexist language encourages and promotes equality. Yet two discrete reasons emerged from this theme. First, some students argued that in a male-dominated language, women are marginalized and hidden:

> Women are evidently equal to men and there shouldn't be a predominant male form in language.

> Participant 24, Spanish woman

> We live in the 21st century and as such, we women deserve the same right as men to be equal in terms of linguistics and if we don't start a revolution to try and change things, our language will keep on being sexist.

> Participant 97, Spanish woman

> When we look at the history, we can clearly see that many societies are built on the inequality of the sexes and on the principal that the male is superior to the female. This has obviously reflected itself into language and can be seen clearly in more subtle instances as well. Language shapes the way we think and form concepts, how we understand the material world around us. If we want to have an equal society we need to be able to move past sexist and in other ways hurtful language usage.

---

[113] This question was answered by 312 participants, 15 fewers than in the other questions, because I forgot to mark this question as compulsory.

Language is our most powerful tool to promote gender equality, and so it should not be biased towards a particular gender

Participant 307, Finnish woman

If everyone is to truly be in equal position, the way they are spoken about/to should also be equal. We don't want any kind of generalisations or negative connotations to restrict someone from advancing in life.

Participant 279, Finnish woman

Secondly, some participants implied that gendered language places people in different categories, which is harmful to women and gender non-conforming people. Thus, the only way of achieving equality is by erasing gender markers:

Because the female (or non-binary genders) will not be treated as social minorities but as an equal to males

Participant 178, Spanish woman

Gendered language can negatively affect gender equality.

Participant 102, Spanish man

Because gender neutral terms are a way of promoting equality and democracy.

Participant 291, Finnish woman

I believe changing the norm of the language into a more genderless version will also affect the way people view reality and advance equality. I dont think we should try to force people into adapting genderless language though, like I am sure some would like to, I think people should be allowed to speak the way they want to (within reasonable limits, of course). I think assuming genderless language in public communication by companies and governmental institutions is a very good idea and I believe it will lead to the public eventually assuming such language as well.

Participant 207, Finnish man

One participant, despite saying that strategies for non-sexist language were necessary, believed that there are bigger issues to be fixed before eradicating sexist language. This is one of the counterarguments for non-sexist language discussed by Blaubergs (1980) in his framework and later reviewed by Parks & Roberton (1998):

I think they are necessary to involve women and men equally. To finish with the bad connotation femenine gendered words has. BUT I also think that it is not a

priority. There are other things we have to change first, for example, to fisght against wars, hunger, ignorance, ...

<div align="right">Participant 142, Spanish woman</div>

Another popular theme was inclusivity. Some participants argued that non-sexist language was necessary to be more respectful, welcoming and to make everyone feel included:

> I think that such proposals are necessary because language should be inclusive and we as people have to stop ignoring minorities.

<div align="right">Participant 72, Spanish woman</div>

> I think that how we apeak matters and that we should be concious and make changes to be more inclusive and respectful.

<div align="right">Participant 73, Spanish woman</div>

> They are necessary since gender/sex issues are very real for many people, and I don´t believe it does good to ignore that or force anything on anyone. By making these proposals, people are making others aware of the extense of patriarchy in at least Western societies (and likely many others, too).

<div align="right">Participant 206, Finnish woman</div>

> So that people wouldn't feel excluded. There should be a non-gender specific term for every profession. Or a term for both genders.

<div align="right">Participant 325, Finnish man</div>

The major difference in the answers of Finns and Spaniards was that there were more Finns who explicitly mentioned the need to be inclusive towards non-binary and gender non-conforming people, whereas Spaniards were more generic in their answers:

> They are necessary because nowadays there are much more different types of gender beyond the classic male-female, so it is important society can adapt the language in order to make these persons feel more integrated.

<div align="right">Participant 173, Spanish woman</div>

> Because some colectives can feel unconfortable or offended.

<div align="right">Participant 179, Spanish woman</div>

Because there are people who do not feel identified and included with the usage of some terms.

<div align="right">Participant 182, Spanish man</div>

I believe words should apply to as many people as possible, whether they are male, female or non-binary, to avoid feelings of exclusion

<div align="right">Participant 208, Finnish man</div>

Sexism is harmful, and unnecessary distinctions only work in its favor. Neutral forms could also help not only in this but by being more inclusive of nonbinary people.

<div align="right">Participant 245, Finnish man</div>

Gendered profession names might direct only/mostly a specific gender to the profession, and other genders might not be valued as much in such professions. Gender-neutral words and especially pronouns also make life easier and more fair for, for instance, non-binary people and other non-cis people.

<div align="right">Participant 301, Finnish woman</div>

In general, the most frequently reported argument supporting non-sexist language was based on linguistic relativity or the weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, although it was not explicitly mentioned. Informants claimed that language and thought were closely linked and that, for that reason, using expressions and words implying inferiority of any gender or minorities can influence the mindset of the speakers, which eventually influences their behaviour and actions:

Because language is the base of our society and we express ourselves through it, hence if all that is sexist it will affect the way society is structered.

<div align="right">Participant 88, Spanish woman</div>

To end with sexism we need to make little (or big) steps in everything that is or seems sexist. If we try to change everything but we still talk in a sexist way, we won't be changing anything. Furthermore, language is the way we spread our idiology, if we keep spreading sexism, it will mainain as "normal" language.

<div align="right">Participant 187, Spanish woman</div>

The language can affect the attitudes people have and since I think majority of the people build thoughts with words, the sexists language can create the tendency to think in a more sexist way without it being a conscious decision.

> I think many are unaware of how the use of language affect on what we consider the norm in society. Unfortunately as many in charge of English speaking countries are white males they are not aware of the struggles faced by those excluded from this privileged group and thus might not consider these proposals as necessary as they actually are to the upbringing and forming of identity for those who do not enjoy this position in society.

Participant 218, Finnish woman

Despite the importance of avoiding sexist language, two participants discussed the challenges that arise when using proposals for non-sexist language. For example, Participant 175 finds using certain visualization strategies, such as the double pronouns, tedious, and participant 319 discussed how messages containing non-sexist language strategies are subject to criticism and mockery:

> They are necessary becuase our way of speaking is directly linked with our way of thinking, but we should try to find the way of managing that without it being noticeable (i mean to make discuss natural and fluent which difficul if we constantly repeat he/she for instance) or at least not doing our speech become too tedious..

Participant 175, Spanish woman

> Language shapes and constructs our reality, and it is worthwhile to pay attention to our use of certain words/phrases or the lack of use as the case may be. But, and this is a far more intricate issue to discuss than this space will allow, we should take care on when choosing the hills we are willing to die on. Much better to choose our battles wisely in order to promote equality than to create easy-to-dismantle and ridicule targets for the adversaries. Case in point, the recent PETA campaign to discourage the use of phrases that contain a lexical element with either connotations or denotations towards animals. The campaign was ridiculed, and rightly so, and in the case of sexism, extra care should be taken when embarking on campaigns towards a more neutral language or parole. And, we should always remember that our role as linguists is not one of prescription but that of description, always.

Participant 319, Finnish man

Some participants argued that sexist language and, more particularly, gendered occupational nouns can be harmful, especially when the gender of a person and the occupational noun do not match. As discussed in Chapter 3, professions with lower status tend to be feminine because they are mostly performed by women, which at the same time, may imply that these jobs are restricted to females. For

instance, Participant 8 refer to the social gender attached to the profession of *cleaner*:

> Because language is a reflection on how a specific society works, and at the same time it's also language which shapes a specific society. If, for example, we stop asociating cleaners to women, maybe women will stop being the only ones that clean.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 8, Spanish woman</div>

However, this also applies to other nouns such as *policeman*. Some participants argued that the use of masculine generic nouns, mainly for professions that lack genderless and feminine alternatives, may imply that men are the norm and/or that these jobs are only for men:

> Because language constructs reality and we might create expectations like these jobs are for women and and these for men only. This is very harmful.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 262,Finnish man</div>

> Because as the world moves forward, the realities that the language used to convey (all police officers being men) will change and so the language has to evolve in the same way.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 192, Spanish woman</div>

Some participants were not as specific, but still referred to the negative associations that arise when masculine generics are used to refer to larger groups of people:

> I think that language does affect the way we think at least to some extent, and by using masculine words to refer to people in general we might unconsciously associate those words men.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 193, Spanish woman</div>

> Our languages shape the way how we see the world. There is no reason to use man as a norm: we are humans, not men; if a person's gender is unknown, they're as likely to be a woman as a man.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 219, Finnish woman</div>

> Avoiding sexist language is extremely important because language heavily controls the way that we think. If we are surrounded by sexist language that a) assumes all people are either men or women, and sees gender as something that affects a

persons value and/or a) belittles women, it will lead to future generations internalizing these values.

<div align="right">Participant 268, Finnish woman</div>

Because the way we speaks is the way we think, so if we generalise in male gendered words, that means we understand the world through male eyes, as well as we view thing through the bad connotation of doing things like a girl, or the "unblameablity" of boys not matter what they do.

<div align="right">Participant 135, Spanish woman</div>

The last theme is visualization. It was suggested that non-sexist language should be used to render people, mostly women, visible in the language. This theme was discussed by only five Spanish participants. Their answers were the following:

Because sexism has to be abolished in all aspects, but language is one of the most important, because as long as it continues to be generalized among men, even though there are more women, it is as if the female sex is invisible. As if the presence of one man weighed more heavily than that of 20 women.

<div align="right">Participant 27, Spanish woman</div>

They are necessary because women are always in a second place and that's not fair.

<div align="right">Participant 50, Spanish woman</div>

I think they are necessary to make everyone visible in this society

<div align="right">Participant 90 Spanish woman</div>

They are necessary because language is another ambit [114]in which women are not visible.

<div align="right">Participant 94, Spanish man</div>

Because it's time to start giving credit to woman, not to say to non binary genders.

<div align="right">Participant 195, Spanish man</div>

Next, the answers of those who said that proposals for non-sexist language were slightly necessary will be presented. The number of themes in this group is smaller than in the previous category, due to the significantly lower number of participants

---

[114] *ambit*, probably meaning *ámbito* in Spanish can be translated as 'environment', 'field', 'sphere', 'scope', or 'level'.

who said that non-sexist language was slightly necessary (around 14% of the total, 11% of Spaniards, 18% of Finns, and 11% women and 24% men). Participants who selected this option are neither against the proposals nor strongly in favor of them. The general idea to be gleaned from their responses is that non-sexist language is useful, because it represents a shift and change in mentality, but it is neither pivotal nor vital:

I don't think that they are REALLY that necessary because language reflects the way of thinking of a society and changing the language before having changed the education won't have as much impact. But not to the extent of being completely unecessary.

Participant 160, Spanish man

I believe they may be important but there are more important things to fight against sexism.

Participant 110, Spanish woman

Some old work titles could be changed to be gender neutral, just to lessen the mental image the word creates about men and women. But generally I see no problems.

Participant 306, woman

It is natural for a language to follow general sentiments and currently gender equality seems to be in focus. While these changes are not vital they do communicate a shift in attitudes.

Participant 209,Finnish man

Some participants, despite saying that non-sexist language is not that important, stated that it can help non-binary people feel included:

They are necessary to integrate those who don't agree with their gender, but there are more important things to start with, rather than changing the language as soon as possible

Participant 137, Spanish man

They make many feel more included than they have done before. We should be conscious of the fact that not everyone thinks like we do, feels like we do and identifies like we do: as such, understanding the impact the vocabulary we use can

have on people is important and having options (and I must stress the freedom to still use these other equally correct forms) allows us to include everyone.

<div align="right">*Participant 327, Finnish woman*</div>

One of the recurrent themes among the participants in this category is that language does not affect our thinking. For example:

> They are necessary in a way that they help us be more respectful towards women and their feelings, but they are not very useful in the sense that the system is what codifies the language and not the other way around, so we should focus on modifying the system instead of modifying the language.

<div align="right">*Participant 7, Spanish man*</div>

> I don't think that these choices massively impact our thinking, but if there is an easy way to avoid misunderstanding, then why not.

<div align="right">*Participant 302, Finnish woman*</div>

Lastly, we will see the answers of those who said that non-sexist language was not necessary or that it was ruining the language. The percentage of participants in these two categories was the smallest of the entire set (8.6% of Spaniards, 8% of Finns, and 7% of women and 14% of men). Participants in this category expressed a variety of arguments to support their point of view. One argument, which was discussed previously, was that languages are not sexist, but the users are:

> Explained on previous questions. There are no such things as sexist languages. The problem are on people, who feel too atacked by nothing.

<div align="right">*Participant 51, Spanish woman*</div>

> It doesn't matter. People who are sexist will be sexist and people who aren't won't be sexist, no matter the terms they use in their language.

<div align="right">*Participant 252, Finnish man*</div>

> We should focus on the language users, not the medium itself.

<div align="right">*Participant 261, Finnish man*</div>

Some participants argued that non-sexist language was unnecessary because languages are by nature inclusive:

Languages are made to include every member of the society that speaks that language.

<div align="right">Participant 58, Spanish man</div>

Because it is not necessary to make language go to an end but to change people's behaviours

<div align="right">Participant 149, Spanish woman</div>

As I said, I don't feel discriminated as a woman for being included in a "male" form. There are more important things to take care of.

<div align="right">Participant 191, Spanish woman</div>

Other participants maintained that languages should not be changed for several reasons: the proposed changes are either useless, unnatural, or the demands of minorities should not be accommodated:

Because language is something natural and you can't force it. Trying to look for proposals make it not natural

<div align="right">Participant 140, Spanish woman</div>

A language should not be modified to satisfy the necessities of minorities.

<div align="right">Participant 49, Spanish woman</div>

I've yet to hear any convincing arguments beyond political correctness in favor of these proposals.

<div align="right">Participant 220, Finnish man</div>

The only example I can think of is trying to replace they with different pronouns, which is useless in my opinion.

<div align="right">Participant 228, Finnish man</div>

In summary, these results show significant differences in the opinions of men, women, Finns, and Spaniards towards the proposals for non-sexist language. Taken together, these findings suggest that the vast majority, but more women and Spaniards, support the use of non-sexist language. Those in favor of the proposals argued that using non-sexist language promotes equality, inclusivity, visualizes certain gender groups, and is respectful towards women and non-binary people. Another recurrent theme was a sense among participants that language and thought are closely linked, therefore it is essential to eradicate sexist language in order to achieve gender equality in our society. Some participants, despite being in

favor, expressed their concerns about the challenges of using non-sexist language. For instance, one participant defined it as tedious and another said that it is subject to mockery.

Those who do not find non-sexist language vital argue that there are bigger problems to solve before eradicating linguistic sexism. Some also argued that eradicating sexism in our society was needed before fixing language because it is "the system is what codifies the language and non the other way around" (Participant 7). The participants who said that the proposals for non-sexist language were not needed or were ruining the language said that languages are by nature inclusive or that forcing the changes was unnatural. Both are counterarguments for non-sexist language accounted for in Blaubergs' (1980) and Parks' and Roberton's (1998) framework.

Figure 60. Stacked bar chart for language group and gender of the answers to "22. Do you think that using masculine forms as generics is discriminatory against women?"
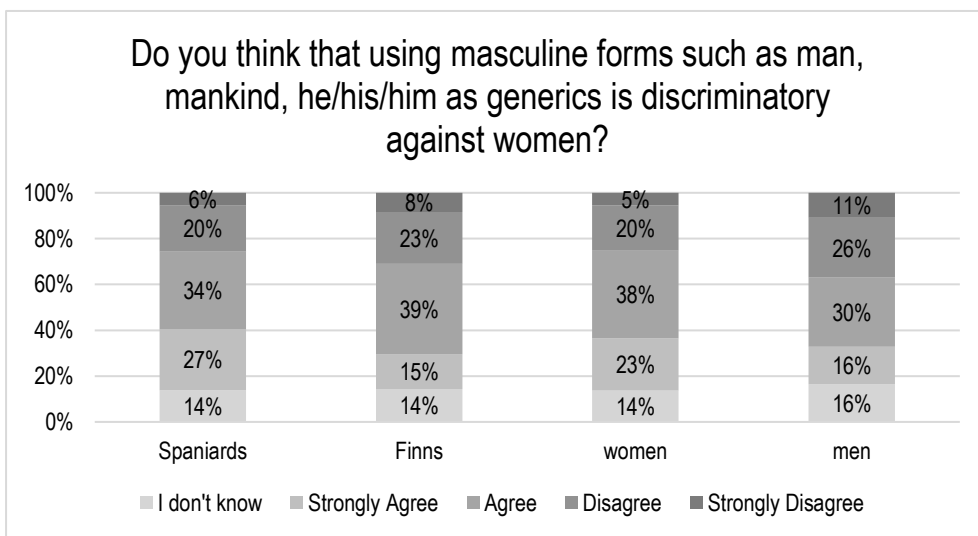
The following question dealt with one of the most controversial topics: masculine generic pronouns. It was formulated as follows: 22. Do you think that using masculine forms as generics, such as 'man', 'mankind', 'he/his/him', is discriminatory against women? The results showed that both language groups and genders share similar views: 61% of the Spaniards and 45% of Finns think that masculine generic forms are discriminatory. The percentage of Spaniards strongly agreeing is almost double the percentage of Finns (26.67% of Spaniards and 15.15% of Finns). On the contrary, 25% of the Spaniards and 37% of the Finns

disagreed with this statement and the remaining 14% of Spaniards and Finns did not have an opinion regarding this matter. Concerning gender, 14% of women and 16% of men said they did not know, 61% of women and 55% of men agree and 25% of women and 37% of men disagreed with this statement. Consequently, there is no statistical difference based on language or gender (gender as a variable, p.value:0.20, df:4, and language as a variable: 0.16, df:4).

8.7   Opinions regarding teaching non-sexist language in English classes

This section is comprised of two questions dealing with the teaching of non-sexist language in English classes. The Likert scale question was: Do you think that non-sexist language and the proposals to avoid it should be used and learnt during English lessons? The results indicate that most of the participants support the idea of non-sexist language being taught in the classroom. More particularly, 73% of the Spaniards agreed, of which 37.44% strongly agreed and 36.41% simply agreed, and 83% of the Finns agreed, of which 23.82% strongly agreed and 58.82% simply agreed (see figure 61). Only 7.6% of the Spaniards and 6.1% of the Finns disagreed with this statement. Such differences in the opinions are corroborated by the χ^2 test which indicates a high statistical difference between the language groups (p.value:0.008, df:4).
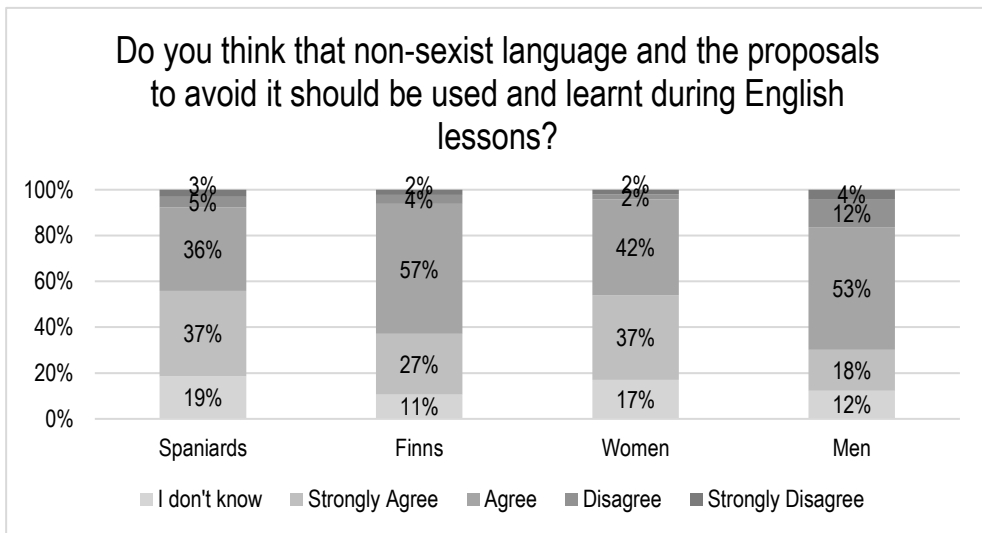
The analysis on gender revealed that 78.86% of women and 71.23% of men thought that non-sexist language should be taught and used in English classes, 17% of women and 12.3% of men did not know and the remaining 4.2% of the women and 16.4% of men disagreed. The χ^2 test confirmed that the differences in the opinions are statistically significant (p.value:1.30E-04, df:4).

The last question was intended to study the reasons why participants think that non-sexist language should or should not be learnt in English classes. It was formulated as follows: "24. Why do you think that using the proposals for non-sexist language should or shouldn't be used and learnt during English lessons?". For the analysis, answers were grouped into three according to the answer provided in the previous Likert scale question. The first category consisted of the answers of those who (strongly) support the idea of using and learning non-sexist language during English lessons, the second category was comprised of those participants who did not know and the third category involved participants who were strongly opposed or simply opposed it.

Five broad themes emerged from the analysis of the answers of the participants who said that proposals for non-sexist language should be used and learned: (1) non-sexist language is widely used, (2) it promotes inclusivity, (3) the proposals are the key to solving the problem of linguistic sexism, (4) they help to eradicate

sexism because language and thought are closely linked, and (5) students should be presented with alternatives because learning them outside the classroom is difficult.

The first theme was the popularity of non-sexist language. Informants argued that non-sexist language is widely used and not learning (about) it leaves future English learners in an awkward position:

> Whether you agree or disagree with the proposals, they are widely used in English and not knowing them would create confusion
>
> <div align="right">Participant 256, Finnish woman</div>

> Students should learn the current state of English, and as humanists and highly educated people they should be aware of the multitudes of ways of existing as a human being and using language to accommodate for them. You cannot extract language from its societal context, and experts of language should know this.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 308, Finnish woman</div>

> Language lessons should reflect the language that is actually being used. In the case of English, that includes more and more gender neutral terms. Therefore, they should at least be mentioned
>
> <div align="right">Participant 315, Finnish man</div>

> They should be taught, in short, because they represent novel and interesting issues that relate to a wider sociological context.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 319, Finnish man</div>

Some participants discussed language evolution and the need to teach students the language being used currently and not an outdated version of it. For instance:

> Language is evolving, and using these proposals in learning environment makes the idea of non-sexist language normal to the younger generations. Thus, changes to English language could come faster.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 269, Finnish woman</div>

> Language evolves. We should be teaching second language learners of English the current state of the language rather than what it was like 600 years ago. However, these should only be taught once students know the basics of the language and understand that these proposals may not be commonly accepted in, say, academic texts. I also think we should make a point of teaching them how commonly these options we present students are in use.
>
> <div align="right">Participant 327, Finnish woman</div>

It's important to be aware of how you speak just as much as it is to know what you speak of, because the way you say something will have a tremendous impact on how it's recieved.

<div align="right">Participant 279, Finnish woman</div>

If we want to change how language is learned, the school system is the best place to start.

<div align="right">295, Finnish man</div>

There were some participants, however, who implied that these proposals are not yet widely used. However, if they start to be widely used, they should be taught:

If these forms become standard (used regularly) they should absolutely be taught

<div align="right">Participant 234, Finnish man</div>

If they are in general use, then of course they should be taught in class. + it's always good to give out options,

<div align="right">Participant 306, Finnish woman</div>

If the use of non-sexist language is becoming more popular in general, I think it´s fair to learn it during English lessons.

<div align="right">Participant 200, Finnish woman</div>

Another popular theme was inclusivity. The Spaniards who discussed this theme mostly referred to the inclusivity of women, whereas for Finns, it was the inclusivity of everyone, regardless of gender. The general opinion was that learning a non-sexist language gives students the tools not to be rude or impolite and teaches them to be respectful towards women and non-binary people.

It should be used because teaching non-sexist language would avoid much trouble when facing the real world, in society there are different genders and we should try to make the person comfortable by addressing her/him as it is required.

<div align="right">Participant 173, Spanish woman</div>

People may be offended. Also if the students aren't binary they aren't represented if they keep learning a sexist language.

<div align="right">Participant 126, Spanish woman</div>

I think the language learners should learn the more inclusive terms because it teaches them a different orientation towards gender roles.

<div align="right">Participant 225, Finnish man</div>

As I said above, it is important for people to learn how to speak in a way that doesn't offend people and includes everyone. If people would already learn this early on in schools, we wouldn't have problems with it later.

<div align="right">Participant 312, Finnish woman</div>

The best way for the proposals to get accepted is to have people use them. Also teaching them would help people avoid being accidentally rude or sexist due to lack of understanding of the situation.

<div align="right">Participant 317, Finnish, woman</div>

It would show for children that there is an imbalance and that they have a choice with their words to change that, as well as it would help to normalize non-gendered language use, which will in turn be helpful for people who are trying to figure out their identities. When they know the language and people around them use it, they might be more able to describe their experiences and will be more accepted in society.

<div align="right">Participant 196, Finnish man</div>

It is worth mentioning that in this question, two Finnish participants who are in favor of teaching non-sexist language explained why they perceive words such as *mankind* and other masculine nouns as true generics:

I think it's important to learn about singular they and not using "he" in general contexts just so we don't thoughtlessly promote gender stereotypes & because people who are not comfortable being called he or she should be accomodated. From the students' point of view, it's about basic respect and not accidentally causing offence. On the other hand, I'm kind of iffy about whether or not "mankind" and similar words should be discouraged, since the origin is general reference (I think? from "werman" and "wifman").

<div align="right">Participant 212, Finnish, gender non-conforming</div>

In opinion, 'mankind' isn't necessarily sexist if there are "female" words as well. Such as 'mother tongue'. But I think alternatives should be learnt at school, too. (like 'native tongue' instead of 'mother tongue'.

<div align="right">Participant 244, Finnish woman</div>

One of the most popular themes was that younger generations play a key role in fixing sexism in our society. According to participants, there are several reasons,including the fact that younger speakers are more likely to adopt language innovations than older speakers are, and that education opens people's minds and helps to fix societal problems. The following responses elaborated on this theme:

I think they should be taught since education is often times the key to finding equality. If we are trying to change the way people think, what better place for it than in schools which are supposed to, you know, enliven the minds of people? Besides, presenting these things in school as legitimate options shows people that they are indeed correct and usable alternatives. Authority and all that.

Participant 326, Finnish and, gender non-conforming

If when we are learning the language, we are told since the very beginning these possibilities, we are probably going to pute them into practice if we agree with them. But if we are not taught that these possibilities and variations exist, it is almost impossible for us as second or third language students to acknowledge them.

Participant 178, Spanish man

In order to achieve change and to be equally as important as men in terms of linguistics, we do not only need to re-educate our generation and the ones above us, but we need to educate the ones to come.

Participant 97, Spanish woman

Because it should be part of the language, and there is no reason to teach us "wrong". Youth are usually also the first to pick up on such changes, and we don't need any more people trying to hinder the development.

Participant 245, Finnish man

The only reason people are having issues changing their language use towards a more gender-neutral form of expression is the fact that they are used to doing things a certain way. Children and teenagers are obviously more receptive to new ideas than older folks, many of whom are already set in their ways.

Participant 297, Finnish man

A common view among participants was that language and thought are closely linked, and we will not achieve gender equality unless we stop using sexist words and structures that characterize people as inferior based on gender. As discussed in previous questions, this is the weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis:

Because I believe that language influence our personality and our way of thinking. If we use non-sexist language, we may end up living in a non-sexist society.

Participant 80, Spanish woman

Because language shapes the way we see the world, and it also shapes people's brains, so if we learn in an inclusive way, there will be no conflict with these issues in the future.

Participant 182, Spanish woman

Because language has a huge impact on society and we need to change the way we speak in order to influence our behaviour.

<p align="right">Participant 185, Spanish woman</p>

One of the way to solve the problem of sexual discrimination is by language. Language is very related to the way we think. It is not the big step we need but it is one important step to reach the big change we need.

<p align="right">Participant 194, Spanish man</p>

Because language shapes the way we think and it will be more difficult to reduce prejudices and needless assumptions if those ideas are still embedded in language.

<p align="right">Participant 226, Finnish and, gender non-conforming</p>

Because you are learning not only language, but equality, and a mindset which is tolerant and see every gender and person the same way

<p align="right">Participant 135 Spanish woman</p>

We are socialised to be members of society strongly through the language(s) we speak, and if we learn from a young age that the default option is man, and that male experience is universal whereas female experience is niche, that only serves to marginalise women and gender minorities and tells young girls that they're worth less than their male counterparts.

<p align="right">Participant 272, Finnish and, gender non-conforming</p>

A recurrent theme was the sense amongst participants that students should be introduced to alternatives to sexist language, because it is difficult to learn about them otherwise:

Foreing students need to know how to avoid sexist language and it is really difficult to do it if you have not the background.

<p align="right">Participant 190, Spanish woman</p>

I think they should be explained at least and all students should be aware of the reasoning behind these proposals. There is no need to impose them if some students strongly oppose them but they should know.

<p align="right">Participant 193, Spanish woman</p>

To inform the students about this practice. I would teach or at least inform students about the possible usage of "they" or including both he and she when speaking of an unknown person (who's gender you don't know I mean)

<p align="right">Participant 227, Spanish woman</p>

I think you can mention the alternatives because it really does not take a lot of effort to mention that instead of using this particular term there is a better term for it.

<div align="right">Participant 199, Spanish man</div>

To make changes in our society. But I would not teach "proposals", and "not-sexist languag", I would teach the language as is should be normal (non sexist, but without mention it).

<div align="right">Participant 187, Spanish woman</div>

One participant argued that the reason why English learners may use masculine generics is that they have not been taught any alternatives to them:

I think many non-native speakers of English use "he" as a the generic because they might not know any other suitable ways to express the same idea.

<div align="right">Participant 204, Finnish man</div>

Yet, many Finnish students believe that, despite not using non-sexist language in English, a little awareness does not do any harm:

People need to be aware of different possibilities of using language.

<div align="right">Participant 265, Finnish woman</div>

While I don't think it absolutely necessary, a little awareness goes a long way.

<div align="right">Participant 286, Finnish man</div>

It would be useful to increase awareness, for example I am not so familiar with the topic.

<div align="right">Participant 311, Finnish woman</div>

Not all learners will use English professionally or go on to study it in higher education, but they will have to be at least aware of such connotations to avoid insults and conflict.

<div align="right">Participant 293, Finnish woman</div>

Cause they are not so frequent yet in speech in general so it would be a good start to teach it to students that study English

<div align="right">Participant 266, Finnish woman</div>

The participants who did not know did not elaborate on their responses, except for participant 171 who said the following:

> While I, with more or less success, try to use non-sexist alternatives myself I tend not to teach them as they are not so widely accepted and I don't want to transmit to my students a knowledge that could be deemed wrong when they are employing the language in the real world. I do, however, always mention the current trend towards inclusive language and how things may change.

<div align="right">Participant 171, Spanish man</div>

The remaining 23 students said that these proposals should not be taught. Some of the reasons are similar to the previous answers; languages are not sexist, masculine forms work as generics, and non-sexist language is not an important issue to be taught. However the following participants explained their opinions in somewhat greater detail:

> Because being sexist or not depends on the education of each person, not on the type of language that is taught. Each person will decide to use non-sexist language or not if they consider that it is discriminatory or not.

<div align="right">Participant 64, Spanish man</div>

> Because what wants to be achieved by the change of the language is some equality that can only be achieved by changing the the way some people behave

<div align="right">Participant 148, Spanish woman</div>

> Because there are different opinions about this topic so the theory may vary from one teacher to another and, therefore, make the learner feel confused.

<div align="right">Participant 140, Spanish woman</div>

> For me, teaching non-sexist language as a part of education would sound like unnecessary and ideology-driven language policing. Non-sexist language can, of course, be brought up in education, but too much emphasis on the matter would be counterproductive.

<div align="right">Participant 202, Finnish man</div>

> Lessons are busy enough as it is. Unless I'm presented with good reasons for including these proposals in language education, I will remain against it.

<div align="right">Participant 220, Finnish man</div>

The questions regarding teaching non-learning during English lessons indicate that the vast majority of the informants believe that it is important to teach non-sexist language to English learners, although the percentages of informants agreeing were slightly higher among Finns and women. According to participants, English learners should study proposals for non-sexist language because they are widely

used in English, it can be difficult to learn about them outside the classroom, this would promote inclusivity, and it will help to eradicate not just sexist language, but also sexism in society. The participants who were unsure or were against teaching non-sexist language did not provide elaborate responses, but those who did answer provided arguments that had been discussed before: languages cannot be sexist, masculine forms can work as true generics, and non-sexist language is not relevant enough as a topic to be studied.

Over all, the results in this chapter indicate that the majority of the participants had heard of linguistic sexism, although the percentage is significantly higher among Spaniards and women. A common view among students was that the greater the presence of grammatical gender in a language, the more sexist the language is. This explains why Finns perceive English as a more sexist language than Finnish and Finnish as a gender-neutral language. On the other hand, Spanish speakers perceive their language to be a sexist language and English to be a less sexist language than Spanish.

More Spaniards also perceive Spanish as sexist because the debate over sexist language is more vigorous in Spain than in Finland. In Spain, the topic of linguistic sexism has been a constant source of debate and controversy since it was first raised in the nineteen eighties. This debate has resulted in countless guidelines published by official and unofficial institutions, both at regional and national levels. Most universities, including Alcalá, have their own guidelines in this regard. The debate is constantly present in the media and there are countless academic and non-academic publications on the topic (Calvo 2017, Castaño 2019, Martín Barranco 2019, Burgen 2020). Studies have also indicated that proposals have been successfully implemented to some extent (Bengoechea & Simon, 2014). Furthermore, some Spanish students mentioned some of the topics regarding non-sexist language being discussed in the media at the time the data was gathered (see the answer of participant 27 on page 189 referring to what is discussed in the article by Burgen *idem*).

On the other hand, the discussion of sexist language in Finnish is restricted to the masculine generic forms (Engelberg 2002:127, Aamulehti 2017:127). However these forms are not only still being used, but research has revealed that the number has increased in the last fifteen years (Engelberg 2018:82-83). Despite the tardiness of the feminist language reform in Finland, the study revealed that Finns are more likely than Spaniards to espouse positive attitudes and opinions towards non-sexist language in the questions dealing with linguistic sexism in English. The only

exception to this was in the question regarding the use of masculine generics in English, which revealed similarities in the opinions of both language groups.

Interestingly, one of the most striking results to emerge from some questions is the percentage of Spanish participants who did not know about sexist language in English. For example, in the question "18. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in English", 35% of the Spanish participants did not know whether they avoid sexist language in English, almost double the percentage of Finns in the same category. In the question, "19. Do you think that non-sexist language has had an impact on the use of English nowadays?", 48% of the Spaniards said that they did not know. These answers correlate with some of the answers provided in the open questions, in which some participants stated that they felt they were not entitled to take a position on this topic, because they did not live in an English-speaking country or did not know enough about the topic.

This lack of opinions among the Spanish sample, when contrasted with the Finnish one, may be a result of the differences in the educational systems in both countries. On one hand, the Finnish educational system is known for encouraging critical thinking (Horn & Veermans, 2019). On the other hand, the Spanish educational system is generally known for promoting other skills, such as the memorization of content, and does not encourage or promote of critical thinking (Agudo-Saiz, Salcines-Talledo & González-Fernández, 2021). This was palpable in the open questions: when Finns who did not know or disagreed with the questions raised, they still pondered or elaborated on their answers and explained their choices, whereas Spaniards who did not know mostly left these unanswered or said they were not entitled or knowledgeable enough to take a stand.

Unlike the analysis of the questions using the L1 as a variable, which revealed significant results in most of the answers, the analysis using the gender of the informants yielded significant results in six out of ten questions in this section. These were the questions "14. Have you heard of linguist sexism? (see figure 49)", 15. Do you think that Finnish is a sexist language? (see figure 51), "17. Do you agree with the following statements: English is a sexist language?" (see figure 55), "18.1 Please indicate how often you structure your language to avoid sexist language in English" (see figure 56) "21. What is your opinion on the proposals to avoid sexist language?" (see figure 59) and "23. Do you think that non-sexist language and the proposals to avoid it should be used and learnt during the English lessons?"(see figure 61) The results indicate that Finnish women perceive Finnish as sexist more than men do and that in general women, regardless of their L1,

perceive English to be more sexist than men do. They also believe that the proposals for non-sexist language and teaching these in the English lessons are more necessary than men do. These results are aligned with previous research that suggests that women are more receptive to non-sexist language than men (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014).

Yet one of the most interesting findings is the deep concern of the participants for the inclusion of non-binary and gender non-conforming people in the language. This was a topic that was raised in all the open questions by participants of both language groups and all genders, even if the question was not related to the lack of a gender-inclusive lexicon. This supports the idea that sexist language is no longer perceived as discriminatory against women, but against *people* based on *gender*.

9 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this final chapter, the main results of the eye tracking study and the questionnaire will be summarized and discussed. This will be followed by a discussion of the possibilities for future research, as well as its limitations.

Figure 62. Scope of the study

9.1 Language processing

The eye tracking study was designed to determine the effect of an individual's L1 and gender on their processing of sexist and non-sexist language in English (see figure 62). The eye tracking measurements used to obtain empirical data on the processing of these forms were fixations and visit counts; previous studies have shown that long fixation times and many regressions indicate greater difficulties in the comprehension of a word (Reali *et al.* 2014:992). Therefore, it was hypothesized that when Spanish participants encountered masculine generic forms and genderless pronouns, they would have longer fixation times and more visit counts than Finns because masculine generic forms are one of the targets of the Spanish language reform while neutralization strategies are rarely used. On the other hand, it was expected that when Finns encountered generic pronouns, which do not exist in Finnish, and visualization strategies, which exist but are not used, they would

fixate longer and have more visit counts than Spaniards. Of the 34 different AOIs that were tested, there was one almost significant result on the visit counts (word *chairperson*, visit counts by Spaniards: 4.27 and Finns: 3.00, p.value:0.054, df:1), one in the fixation times with gender as a variable (word *him*; total fixation times for women: 0.38 seconds and men: 0.21 seconds, p.value:0.038, df:1), and one interaction effect in the fixation times (word *One*; total fixation times for Spanish: 0.74 seconds, Finnish: 0.42 seconds, men: 0.53 seconds and women: 0.61 seconds, p.value:0.036, df:1). The rest of the results were not statistically significant. Therefore, the eye tracking experiment did not reveal consistently significant results either with gender or L1 as variables. The results in this study thus do not support the hypothesis that an individual's L1 and gender influence the way sexist and non-sexist language is processed in an L2. In other words, this study did not find evidence that would support the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that states that languages influence cognition.

9.2   Language use

The questionnaire was designed to investigate more conscious language processes, that is language production and attitudes (see figure 60). This section includes the summary and discussion of the results on language use, which is comprised of the results on the use of grammatical and lexical gender and the perceptions of lexical gender.

9.2.1   Grammatical and lexical gender

The study of actual language use involved several questions that dealt with lexical and grammatical gender. The results revealed significant differences between Finns and Spaniards in the use of gender in English, and contrary to expectation, similarities between men and women (see chapter 7). Firstly, the cloze test revealed variation in the use of lexical gender: Spaniards use more feminine nouns if the sentence contains female referents or cues. Finns, on the other hand, were more likely to use genderless nouns because in Finnish, as in English, using female suffixes creates nouns laden with negative connotations. Given these results, Spaniards use more female lexical gender forms to render women visible in

English, while Finns avoid female forms because of the different linguistic norms that are used in their L1.

The results in the sentences without referents or gender cues revealed statistically significant results, but no pattern would explain their significance. In some sentences, Finns used more gendered nouns, i.e. *tailor* and *nanny,* than Spaniards did. In others, it was the other way around: Spaniards used more gendered nouns, i.e. *postman* than the other group. This inconsistency may be due to the variety of English being taught in the classroom. If the variety of English being taught is British, students may be more likely to use *nanny* over *babysitter.* Another factor that may have influenced the vocabulary choices of the participants is the social gender of the occupations in the countries of the speakers; perhaps in Finland, fixing and altering clothes is an occupation mostly ruled by men and that is why Finns prefer *tailor* over *seamstress.* Given these inconsistencies, more research is needed to develop a fuller picture that would explain the lexical choices of occupational nouns when there is no referential gender.

With grammatical gender, the trends were clear: Finns used more genderless strategies, while Spaniards not only used more visualization strategies but also masculine generic forms. However the analysis did not show any significant differences between men's and women's use of grammatical gender. As stated, Finns used more genderless forms, although the percentage varied depending on the type of verb. In sentences with modal verbs, Finns unanimously used genderless forms (up to 94%), and more precisely the pronoun *they.* In sentences with an inflected verb, the use of these forms decreased in favor of the double-up pronouns and masculine generic pronouns. Yet the percentage of genderless forms used by Finns was still higher than the combination of all gendered forms. On the other hand, Spaniards used more gendered forms, which not only include visualization strategies such as double ups but also masculine pronouns. If the sentence contained a modal verb, Spaniards were, depending on the blank, divided more or less equally between genderless forms, double ups and masculine generic pronouns. However if the sentence contained an inflected verb, genderless forms dropped to 4.5%. The use of masculine pronouns among Spaniards remained one of the most popular choices throughout the questions, ranging from 24% to 46%, and the Spaniards were, in all the blanks, the group which used them most often. The preference of Spaniards for gendered forms, sexist or not, can be due to several factors. First, Spaniards constantly convey gendered messages in their L1 and avoiding gender may be something they are not that familiar with nor prioritize. The other reason has to do with the level of adherence of the

participants to the grammatical rules of a language. In Finnish, the differences between the standard and non-standard varieties encompass not only the lexicon and pronunciation, but also the morphology and the grammar. For instance, in spoken dialects, the conjugations of the verbs in the plural forms are rarely used. Instead, speakers use the third person singular verb forms even when the subject is plural (*he*$_{3PL}$/*ne*$_{3PL}$ *tekee*$_{3SG}$ [*tekevät*$_{3PL}$] 'they do') and the passive forms replace the first-person plural forms (*me*$_{3PL}$ *tehdään*$_{PASS}$ [*teemme*$_{1PL}$] 'we do'). In Spanish, a language heavily supervised by institutions such as RAE, the differences between the accents deal more with the lexicon and the pronunciation rather than with the grammar. That is why for Spanish speakers, these practices may be regarded as errors instead of variation. In other words, Spaniards may be more reluctant to use new and creative forms of avoiding gender[115] because they may perceive them as ungrammatical, whereas Finns embrace these new forms and constructions because Finnish is a more flexible language. Another factor that may explain these differences is "the issue of linguistic prescriptivism" in an L2. According to Pauwels (2010:27), "foreign language learners are more likely than first language speakers to be influenced by the linguistic norms and rules" because "they seek confirmation of their linguistic choices from an authoritative source: the language teacher, the dictionary, the grammar book, etc.". This means that the differences attested in this study could be due to different levels of adherence to the English feminist language reform by teachers and materials in each country. This study, however, did not consider this possibility. In future studies, this would therefore be advisable.

Over all, the answers of Finns and Spaniards match the grammatical and lexical features of their respective languages and the recommendations for non-sexist usage in each of the languages. Therefore, these results agree with the hypothesis of this study, according to which Finns would opt for neutralization strategies and Spaniards would prefer visualization strategies. The result on the use of masculine grammatical gender also aligns with the hypothesis that stated that Spaniards would use it more often than Finns. With respect to gender, the analysis of the answers of men and women did not reveal any significant differences in the use of lexical and grammatical gender. As a matter of fact, none of the questions in this section were statistically significant when gender was used as a variable. This means that men

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[115] As previously discussed (see section 4.4.1 and 6.5), singular *they* has existed for centuries. However, if those who took part in this study were not aware of this use, they may perceive it as new and ungrammatical.

and women used gender similarly in English. Therefore, the results of this study revealed that the gender of the person does not play nearly as important a role as the L1 does in the use of lexical and grammatical gender.

9.2.2   Perceptions of lexical gender

The questions on the perception of lexical gender revealed significant differences between the two language groups, but not between genders. In the first task, in which participants had to select from a set of words (*actor/actress*, *governor/governess*, *master/mistress* and *bachelor/bachelorette/spinster)*, the one with pejorative connotations, more Finns than Spaniards chose the feminine nouns as the pejorative terms. More particularly, the percentage of Finns choosing the female word was in some of these sets twice as high as the percentage of Spaniards. This means that a large proportion of the Spanish sample were either not aware of the negative connotations that some words such as *spinster* or *mistress* have or did not select them because they thought they render women visible in English, the same way that feminine nouns are used in Spanish to give visibility to women. These results corroborate the hypothesis that Finns avoid feminine forms because in English, as in Finnish, the use of feminine nouns is advised against, while in Spanish, feminization is a strategy commonly employed to avoid the so-called masculine generic forms.

In the second task, participants had to tell whether a word in a given context functioned as generic or specific. The percentage of Spaniards who claimed that these words were generic is much lower than Finns, except in the word *men*, which was perceived as equally specific and generic by all groups. This implies that, regardless of the lexical gender of the nouns, Spaniards perceive these as more specific than Finns. This can be because, in Spanish, all words, and especially occupational titles, have grammatical gender which in turn conveys gender. For example, the noun *actor* in English is genderless, but its Spanish cognate *actor*, is masculine and refers to men. This means that Spaniards, regardless of the actual lexical gender of a word, bring to English the gender connotations that some of these occupational titles have in Spanish.

As in the previous questions, the answers provided by men and women in these two tasks revealed many similarities in the perceptions of lexical gender. That is, in particular, that the gender of a person does not play a role in the perception of lexical gender. This finding, along with the findings on the use of linguistic gender,

is contrary to findings in previous studies, which have suggested that women adhere significantly more strongly to the proposals for non-sexist language (Parks & Roberton, 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014).

9.3 Attitudes and Opinions

Unlike in the previous two sections dealing with language processing and use in which the gender of the participants was not a significant variable, the analysis of the questions dealing with attitudes and opinions revealed that in some cases there were significant differences between the opinions of men and women: Women were more aware of linguistic sexism and claimed to avoid it more often (see questions 15. Do you think Spanish/Finnish is a sexist language? 17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language and 21. What is your opinion on the proposals to avoid sexist language? in Chapter 8). More precisely, women perceived their L1 and English as more sexist than men and not only did they find the feminist language reform more necessary, but also believed that teaching it is more important. However, the percentages of women who said they avoid sexist language and find masculine generics discriminatory are not significantly higher than the percentage of men. One reason is that many men, despite not thinking that English nor their L1 were sexist, stated that they avoided sexist language in both languages. This is caused by what is known as *social desirability*, which is the tendency to underreport socially undesirable attitudes and behaviors and to overreport more desirable attitudes (Johnson & Van de Vijver 2003, Krumpal 2013). In this case, it occurred when men, who do not think that sexist language existed, later said they tried to avoid it. Over all, the significant results match the findings in previous research (see Parks & Roberton 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014), which showed that women are more consistently supportive of non-sexist language than men (46.9% of women and 27.4% of men said that English is a sexist language and 36.9% of women and 17.8% of men strongly believed that non-sexist language in English should be taught).

The open questions demonstrated the similarity in the opinions of men and women regarding sexist language. One of the differences, however, was that women and non-binary respondents were the ones who discussed the pejoration of feminine words and the asymmetrical marking of gender. The relative lack of awareness on the part of men regarding such issues, which obviously concerns and

upsets women and non-binary people, is due to the fact that men, unlike the gender categories, hardly ever reflect on language to find suitable words, such as occupational nouns and titles, to refer to themselves.

In addition, there were also clear differences between the Spaniards and the Finns regarding sexist language. For instance, the Spaniards were more familiar with the expression *sexist language* than the Finns were, and therefore found the proposals for non-sexist language more necessary. This was an expected result because the debate over sexist language is reportedly more vigorous in Spain than it is in Finland (Bengoechea & Simon 2014, Engelberg 2018:82-83). The participants' open responses indicate that they find the same issues problematic as those addressed by the feminist language reform. These were the forms of address, lexical asymmetries, and masculine generics. However, the Finns and the Spaniards disagreed on the tactics with which to tackle these. Spaniards prefer using feminine forms because they render women visible in the language, whereas for Finns, feminization leads to discrimination. Such disparity of opinions can only be understood by looking at the recommendations for non-sexist language in the respective L1s of the participants, who in turn are influenced by the grammatical features of the language and the preferences of the language community.

The general trend for participants to assess the degree of sexism in a language was to compare the *degree* of grammatical gender present in a language with that of another. Consequently, as a rule, Spaniards perceived Spanish to be a sexist language and most Finns did not perceive Finnish as such, yet when asked about sexist language in English, the percentage of Finns who perceived it as sexist was double the percentage of Spaniards who did so. The participants' open responses further support this interpretation in many ways. For example, Spaniards expressed the opinion that English was less sexist than Spanish, because of the absence of grammatical gender in English, whereas Finns claimed that English was sexist because of the traces of grammatical gender.

The results also revealed that, even though Spaniards are more familiar with the general concept of linguistic sexism, Finns are more aware of sexist language in English. This is partly explained by fact that there was a significant percentage of Spaniards who, in questions 17-21, said that they did not know and/or did not explain why they did not know in the open questions (the highest percentage was 60% in question 21). The reluctance of the Spanish subjects to express their thoughts was, according to some of their answers, because they felt they were not entitled to have an opinion regarding sexism in a language that was not their L1. It is also possible that the Spaniards did not express their views because they have

not been encouraged to do so, and are therefore not used to doing so. After all, they grew up with an educational system that is known for not cultivating critical thinking (see section 8.7. for a more elaborate discussion).

Regarding the approaches towards sexist language in English, there was a clear preference for neutralization strategies in general and more particularly for singular *they*. These results align with results from previous research that indicate a clear increase in the use and popularity of this form (Hekanaho 2020, Stormbom 2021). The general feeling was that singular *they* functions as a perfect alternative to masculine generic pronouns and the double-up pronouns *he/she* for two reasons: it can be used when referential gender is unknown or irrelevant and it also includes non-binary people. As a matter of fact, the inclusivity of non-binary people in the language was a major topic in the answers of the participants throughout the questionnaire, regardless of the question and the topic being asked.

9.4 Language Comprehension, Use and Attitudes

The results of the eye tracking study show that neither the L1 nor the gender of a person impacts their comprehension of sexist and non-sexist language in an L2. The second major finding was that Spaniards and Finns used linguistic gender differently. More specifically, Spaniards used more gendered forms, some of which are perceived as sexist in English, and more visualization strategies, while Finns avoided expressing gender, both lexically and grammatically. The findings not only align with the grammatical features of their L1, but also match the proposals for non-sexist language in Finnish and Spanish. This means that these two aspects are instrumental in the use of linguistic gender in an L2 and that they influence the speakers' perception of what is sexist or not. The third finding was that both an individual's L1 and gender contribute to the opinions and attitudes towards sexist and non-sexist language. Therefore the principal theoretical implication of this study is that the influence of language is limited: it does not affect unconscious processes such as reading comprehension of (non-)sexist language, but it does influence more conscious processes such as the use of and attitudes towards sexist language, even if these two are dissonant. This contradicts the findings of some studies that indicate that women advocate more for non-sexist language than men (Parks & Roberton 2002, 2005, Sarrasin *et al.* 2012, Douglas & Sutton 2014). However other studies have also suggested that there are more relevant factors that determine the support of speakers for the non-sexist language proposals, such as

beliefs, age, education, and so on (see Vervecken & Hannover 2012, Parks & Roberton 2008)

Over all, these findings suggest that the comprehension, use, and attitudes towards sexist and non-sexist language are discordant. On the one hand, the participants' comprehension of gender was very similar, but on the other, their language use differed from what they thought or said they do. For instance, the most popular strategy for avoiding sexist language in English, according to participants, was neutralization strategies, but the results from the language use questions indicate that gendered forms were more widespread in some cases. However differences such as the ones attested in this study have long been known to exist in studies dealing with *cognitive dissonance*, which investigate the discomfort people feel when two cognitions, or a cognition and a behavior, contradict each other (see Festinger 1957). These studies suggest that when people confront such dissonance, they employ different tactics: they either change their behavior or their cognition, they justify one of them, or they deny the existence of the conflict altogether. A natural progression of this work would be to investigate how language users react when they confront the dissonance between their attitudes and language use, and whether they would justify their linguistic choices or resort to strategies for avoiding sexist language.

9.5   The future of non-sexist language

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that the majority of participants support non-sexist language. The results corroborate this finding in different ways. The overwhelming majority of the participants in this study believe that non-sexist language should be taught in English lessons. As a matter of fact, this was the question from the questionnaire that received the most support. This means that, even if some participants did not think that English was a sexist language, the majority find learning about non-sexist language useful. Furthermore, the open questions showed that the participants are aware of neutralization strategies and are willing to use them, because they include non-binary people in the language. This was an omnipresent topic in the answers of the participants, which shows how important the inclusivity of people in the language is for this generation. This implies that non-sexist language is no longer trying to reduce stereotyping and discrimination against women in the language, but to avoid discriminating against people based on their gender. Further research could

usefully explore the implications that this has in the language, beyond the use of pronouns and occupational titles.

9.6 Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. The first limitation arises from the demographics of the respondents, who were recruited using a convenience sample. Male, female, and non-binary participants were represented unequally within the sample, because of the already existing gender imbalance in the study programs from which participants were recruited. A larger sample size would have enabled a third gender category consisting of people who do not identify as men or women for the statistical analysis. This would allow gender non-conforming people to have their own voice in a topic that is so relevant for them.

The present study was restricted to Spanish speakers from Spain and Finnish speakers from Finland. Future research should draw from different language communities within a language, i.e. Argentinian, Mexican, native speakers of Swedish in Finland, and different languages, especially those with different representations of gender, to allow for the comparison and deeper understanding of the role that language plays in the study of sexist and non-sexist language. Moreover, the recruitment method was biased towards students in higher education. Investigating participants across the entire lifespan and different educational backgrounds would be beneficial for studying the influence of other variables such as age, level of education, social class, political belief, and so on.

Regarding the eye tracking method, the generalizability of the results is subject to its own limitations, some of which can explain the lack of statistically significant results. One is the previously-mentioned sample limitation. In future research, a more gender-balanced sample and a larger number of participants would allow for more confidence in the findings. Another limitation was the methodology itself. The current study may have failed to record the cognitive differences because the eye-tracker was possibly not sensitive enough to measure these differences. If these cognitive differences exist, a more precise eye tracker could record them. Another possibility is that these differences are so small that no eye tracker would be able to recognize them at all. Therefore using other methods and techniques such as neuroimaging technologies, which include magnetoencephalography (MEG), may also be useful in the study of the processing of sexist language. MEG is a new technique that measures the minute magnetic fields generated by electric neuronal

activity and that has been used as a tool for functional mapping of language (Frye, Rezaie & Papanicolaou, 2009). Thus, for the eye tracking study, a further study with a larger sample and more variation in methods is suggested.

9.7 Concluding remarks

This work has added to the body of research on sexist language from a cross-linguistic and multilingual perspective, which is unfortunately relatively small (see for other crosslinguistic and multilingual studies on sexist language Coady 2018, Fraser 2015, Gabriel et al. 2008, Hodel et al. 2017, Pauwels 1998). The present dissertation suggests that the influence of the L1 is limited to conscious processes such as the use of and attitudes toward sexist language in an L2, even when these two are dissonant. On the other hand, this study has also revealed that the L1 of a speaker does not affect unconscious processes such as reading comprehension of (non-)sexist language in the L2. More precisely, the findings suggest that a person whose L1 has grammatical gender is more likely to use gendered forms in the L2 compared with another language user whose L1 lacks it. In addition, the findings suggest that the gender of a speaker does not play a significant role in the processing and use of gender, although it affects the attitudes toward (non-)sexist language. More particularly, the findings suggest that in some instances women are more receptive to non-sexist language than men are, despite their actual language use not differing much.

This dissertation has important implications for the study and understanding of the role of the L1 in the application of non-sexist language in multilingual and multicultural environments, and the importance of exposing language learners not only to the practices that are used in a language community in order to avoid sexist language, but also to the specific linguistic features that are perceived as sexist. My interest in this topic arose from intellectual curiosity, but with the passing of years and thanks to the people who took the time to participate in this research, I have come to the realization that this is a relevant and important topic for younger people, despite the fact that it is still often neglected or belittled.

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APPENDIX

A. CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GAZE-BASED TECHNIQUES FOR READING IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

Gaze-based techniques use information on eye movements and gaze directions which are detected by an eye tracker. Questionnaire

DESCRIPTIONS: Your task will be to read short sentences. It is important that you understand and comprehend what you are reading, rather than how fast you read it. Before the experiment begins, the researcher will calibrate the machine, and make sure there is a certain distance between you and the laptop. Sentences will appear on the screen. Once you read the sentence, you click the space bar to move to the next sentence. Between sentences, you will have a black page that will mark the position where the next sentence will begin. Once the eye-tracker experiment finishes you will be asked to answer an online questionnaire.

RISKS AND BENEFICTS: This technique is fully non-intrusive and does not inflict any major discomfort or pain. Because you will have to move your eyes, there may be some minor tiredness in your eyes. In this case, you can take a break. *Please, note that you may pause or quit the experiment at any time.*

Your privacy is protected by experimental data and reports based on that data.

PLACE AND DURATION: The experiment is carried out in the GAZE Lab in Pinni B 1071 (University of Tampere)/Biblioteca CRAI, 2ª Planta, Zona A, sala de visionado de microformas (University of Alcalá). Conducting the experiment takes approximately an hour.

By signing this consent form, I agreed to participate in the experiment, and I confirm that there is no monetary compensation for participating and that my participation is voluntary, and I am entitled to refuse to participate or stop the performance at any time.

Tampere/Alcalá de Henares, [date]

I agree to participate in this study   Person receiving the consent
Participant's signature Researcher's signature
Name in print

CONTACT INFORMATION: IF you have any questions, concerns or complaints about these experiments, the procedures, risk and benefits, contact Mónica Sánchez (email: sanchez.torres.monica.x@studen.uta.fi or monica_sanchez89@hotmail.com)

B. EXPERIMENTAL SENTENCES

Grammatical gender

Sexist
Generic pronouns he, his, him
- As someone grows older, he grows more reflective.
- Tell that special person you love him before he's gone.
- Every student should take pen and paper with him before entering the class.

Non-sexist alternatives
One
- If one is to rule, and to continue ruling, one must be able to dislocate the sense of reality.

He or She
- One of the duties of a USA citizen is to serve in a jury when he or she's called upon.
- When a nurse comes on duty s/he starts by checking on his/her patients.
- Once a doctor is ready to operate, she or he must wash his or her hands.

They, their, themselves
- The mother or father of the student should send their approval for the trip to Paris.
- On a day like today, anyone would want to wear their best clothes.

Lexical gender

Sexist
Generic Man
- Evidence shows that men and dinosaurs never coexisted.
- The earliest evidence of man-made fire dates back a million years ago.

Compounds with -man
- Mari Murunen, spokesman from the Finnish Environment Institute, says the Baltic sea is highly polluted.
- Claudia Tenney just sworn in as freshman Congresswoman.

Derived nouns with the suffix -ess
- Anna Wintour works as an editress for Vogue magazine.
- Penelope Cruz became the first Spanish-born actress to win an Oscar.
- Louise Arner Boyd was an American adventuress who wrote extensively of her explorations.
- Gloria Fuertes was a Spanish poetess who wrote for kids.
- J.K Rowling is one of the bestselling authoress of all times thanks to Harry Potter series.
- When I went back, Miss Lee, the Headmistress of the school asked why I had been absent.

Non-sexist alternatives
- Maria Lohela is the current chairperson of the Parliament of Finland.
- Thomb Raider is one of the most famous heroes in gaming.
- Meryl Streep is the actor with the most golden globes nominations.
- Filler sentences and trial sentences

C. TRIAL AND FILLER SENTENCES

Explanation text

You are going to see in the screen slides with sentences. You mark the speed of your reading by pressing the next with the keyboard. In between sentences, there is a slide with a dot that marks where the next sentence begins. Like this one (press space bar)

Please, try to read as you read <u>normally</u>, not too fast, not too slow. Try to comprehend what you read. What follows are three trial sentences (press next).

Trial sentences:

1. This could be your chance to be rich
2. Success, let alone stardom, must have felt light years away for Elvis Presley.
3. Distributing revenge porn has been an offence in California since 2013.

Filler sentences

1. He met his first serious high school girlfriend right after New Year's.
2. Victoria stood for ages looking up at the school, and she turned and walked away.
3. Success, let alone stardom, must have felt light years away for Elvis Presley.
4. Jamie Oliver closes flagship Barbecoa restaurant.
5. VicShortage of chicken forced KFC to close 562 of its restaurants in UK last February.
6. One for both, both for each other.
7. Distributing revenge porn has been an offence in California since 2013.
8. Figs have been cultivated since ancient times.
9. US court rules that Trump's travel ban is unconstitutional.
10. Cristiano Ronaldo has five Ballon d'Or awards, the most for a European player.
11. Should I let my neighbours use my wifi?
12. Fear and abuse won't change their minds.
13. She sells seashells by the seashore.
14. She wasn't happy until she had me all to herself.
15. Gateshead and Newcastle were towns in different countries united by the River Tyne and its bridges.
16. The union of the crowns took place in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became also James I of England.

17. No one ever told me the truth about growing up and what a struggle it would be.
18. Too much alcohol will kill you.
19. Finnish President Niinistö won a second six-year term with 62.7 % of the votes in the first round.
20. Zagreb is a humble city of overlooked treasures and untold stories.
21. Antonio Banderas will play Picasso in two different roles.
22. Paris counts 3,000 homeless living on its streets in the first ever census.
23. Don't worry, robots aren't coming to take our jobs.
24. An Italian chef rescued a fish from a baking tray and set it free.
25. Do we really need another Bush in the White House? We have had enough of them.
26. The electrician tried to fix the fridge but eventually failed. She didn't charge me anything.
27. The janitor doesn't work all the hours she is supposed to.
28. The new carpenter does marvellous carvings on the wood. This table was made by her.
29. The au pair left the family he was working for before his contract ended.
30. The beautician said he plans to own his own saloon in the future.
31. The butcher is struggling to get her stock in the van.
32. There's only two types of people in the world: the ones that entertain, and the ones that observe.
33. During the brief stop, the conductor in the last carriage began talking to himself.
34. Before and after each class, students and teacher stand, bow and thank each other.
35. World War II ended when German surrendered in late April and early May 1945.
36. The secretary distributed an urgent memo- He made it clear that work would continue as normal.
37. The executive took a day off work and went home. He has lost his interest in his work.
38. The trucker likes litetning to the raidio while driving. She finds it a good way to stay wake in the night.
39. The sun was shinning the whole day
40. Peter used to play games as a kid. Not any more.
41. He is one of the best playsers in the team. He's got a sweet left foot.
42. She is cool as a cumbmber even when things seem to go wrong.
43. They say it takes two to dance Tango.
44. You are done with the sentences thank you
45. The astronaut likes watching all sorts of movies. He said his favourite one was Citizen Kane.

46. The nanny liked to visit the zoo. He found it a perfect way of relaxing after work.
47. Do you prefer summer or winter?
48. He blames his father for his current problems
49. The current crisis in Spain has destroyed many dreams
50. The soldier was given permission to return home. She had been in Afghanistan for 6 months already.

D. QUESTIONNAIRE

Description of the research and consent

The following informed consent is required for any person invited to participate in a research study conducted at Tampere University and Universidad de Alcalá. This study has been approved by Tampere University's ethical research committee.

For this study, you will be completing a short survey about the linguistic choices made in a given context. This survey is part of an international study that will compare the language use among Finnish and Spanish students of English. This survey does not measure your linguistic skills, so feel free to answer as freely as you want. This survey will take up to 10 minutes to complete.

Your survey and your responses will be completely confidential.

If you have any questions before or after you complete this survey, please email me, Mónica Sánchez at Sanchez.torres.monica.x@student.uta.fi. When the results of the study are reported, you will not be identified by name or any other information that could be used to infer your identity.

By clicking the box below you acknowledge that you have read and understood that:
- Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the survey at any time. Your refusal to participate will not result in any penalty.
- You do not waive any legal rights or release Tampere University, Universidad de Alcalá, their agents, or the investigator from liability for negligence.
- You have given consent to be a participant in this research.

□ I give my consent to participate: I'll take the survey
Background information
1. Gender: □ Female, □ male, □ non-binary □ I don't want to say
2. Year of birth_____
3. Nationality: _____
4. Mother tongue: _____
   4.1 Second mother tongue (if applies):_____

5. Profession: _____
6. University/Institution:
    6.1 Universidad de Alcalá
    6.2 Other:

Degree programs at Universidad de Alcalá
7. Program:
    7.1 Degree in English Studies (Alcalá):

    - Degree in Modern Languages Applied to Translation (Alcalá)
    - Degree in Modern Languages Applied to Translation (Guadalajara)
    - Master's Degree Program in American Studies
    - Master's Degree Program in Intercultural Communication and Public Service Interpreting and Translation
    - Master's Degree Program in Teacher Training for Compulsory and Upper Secondary Education, Vocational Training and Foreign
    - Master's Degree Program in Teaching English as a foreign language
    - Other (specify the degree program and university if it applies):
8. Year:
    □ 1st year □ 2nd year □ 3rd year □ 4th year □ 5th year □ 6th year □ 7th year □ 8th year or more

Other University (ONLY if you clicked "other" in question 6)
    7. 1 University: _____
    7. 2 _____
    8. Year:
Fill-in-the blanks questions
9. Fill in the blanks with the word that suits best in your opinion.
    9.1 Penelope Cruz is a Spanish _____ known for roles in such films as Vanilla Sky, Blow, Nine and her Oscar-winning performance in Vicky Cristina Barcelona.
    9.2 The _____ delivers the mail every day except Sundays.
    9.3 I went to a _____ to get the sleeves of my jacket shortened.
    9.4 The _____ comes to my apartment once a week to do some basic chores, such as cleaning or doing the laundry, while I'm away working in the office.
    9.5 Ana Botín was appointed chair_____ of Santander's bank after the death of her father Emilio Botín.
    9.6 When I was little, my parents hired a _____ to take care of me because they were both working long hours.
    9.7 Emily Dickinson was an American _____. Some of her poems were published in Springfield Republican between 1858 and 1868.
    9.8 Dancing is a great way for your child to exercise. At the same time, _____ will also be developing large muscle skills, improving

coordination, gross motor skills, and developing eye-hand coordination.

9.9 If a student plans ahead, _____ will save a lot of effort and time.

9.10 While it may appear your toddler is simply having fun, _____ (1) is actually exploring _____ (2) imagination, fantasies and thoughts while dancing.

9.11 Any doctor should review (1) _____ notes before (2) _____ performs an operation.

10. What follows is a coherent text missing some words. Please, write the missing forms you think match the best in the blanks below:

A responsible citizen knows that law is the adhesive force in the cement of society, creating order out of chaos and coherence in place of anarchy. _____ (1) knows that for one_____ (2) to defy a law or court order _____ (3)does not like is to invite others to defy those which they do not like, leading to a breakdown of all justice and all order. _____ (4) knows, too, that every fellow_____ (5) is entitled to be regarded with decency and treated with dignity.

11. In the next section, you are given sets of words. Please, choose the one you think has a negative connotation:

11.1 In your opinion, which word has a negative connotation?
□ Governor □ Governess □ None□ Not sure

11.2 In your opinion, which word has a negative connotation?
□ Actor □ Actress □ None □ Not sure

11.3 In your opinion, which word has a negative connotation?
□ Master □ Mistress □ None □ Not sure

11.4 In your opinion, which word has a negative connotation?
□ Bachelor □ Bachelorette □ Spinster □None □Not sure

12. Read the following sentences. Are the underlined terms generic (not specific to any gender) or gender-specific (when it refers to one gender only)?

12.1 A good <u>man</u> is something hard to find.
man: □ Generic □ Specific □ Ambiguous

12.2 We are hiring <u>waiters</u>.
waiter: □ Generic □ Specific □ Ambiguous

12.3 All <u>men</u> are created equal.
men: □ Generic □ Specific □ Ambiguous

12.4 An <u>actor</u> can take months to prepare for a role.
actor: □Generic □ Specific □ Ambiguous

12.5 <u>Tailors</u> needed to work for an important fashion company.
tailor: □Generic □Specific □ Ambiguous

Open questions about Spanish/Finnish

These are open questions about linguistic sexism in Spanish/Finnish. There are no right or wrong answers. Please, answer as freely as you want.

13. Is there a difference between grammatical and referential (biological) gender?
    □ Yes □ No □ I don't know

    13.1   If so, explain how they are different:

    _____
    _____

    13.2   How would you define grammatical gender?

    _____
    _____

14. Have you heard of linguistic sexism?
    □ Yes □ No □ I don't know

    14.1   How would you define linguistic sexism?

    _____
    _____

15. Do you think Spanish is a sexist language?
    □ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

    15.1   Why do you think Spanish is or is not sexist?

    _____
    _____

16. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in Spanish
    □ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

    16.1   If so, how do you try to avoid sexist language in Spanish?

    _____
    _____

Open questions about English
This is the last section of the questionnaire. These questions deal with linguistic sexism in English. Please, answer as freely as you want.

17. Do you agree with the following statement? English is a sexist language
    □ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

    17.1   Why do you think English is or is not a sexist language?

    _____

18. Do you agree with the following statement? I try to avoid sexist language in English
□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

    18.1   If so, please, indicate how often you structure your language to avoid sexist language in English:
    □ Frequently □Sometimes □Rarely □Never

19. Do you think that non-sexist language has had an impact on the use of English nowadays?
□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

20. Do you know any proposals for non-sexist language in English?

_____
_____

    20.1   If you marked yes, please, give some examples:

_____
_____

21. What is your opinion on the proposals to avoid sexist language?
□They are very necessary. □ They are moderately necessary. □ They are slightly necessary □ They are not necessary. □ They are ruining the language.

    21.1   Why do you think that such proposals are necessary/ unnecessary?

_____
_____

22. Do you think that using masculine forms as the generic, such as 'man', 'mankind', 'he/his/him', is discriminatory against women?
□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

23. Do you think that non-sexist language and the proposals to avoid it should be used and learnt during English lessons?
□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ I don't know □Disagree□ Strongly disagree

24. Why do you think that using the proposals for non-sexist language should or shouldn't be used and learnt during English lessons?

_____
_____

Thank you for your answers. If you have something to say or add, feel free to do it below. If not press 'next'.

25. Is there anything you would like to comment or add?

_____
_____

<div align="center">THANK YOU</div>