# A discriminative account of masculine generics and their masculine bias in German 

Dominic Schmitz, Viktoria Schneider, Janina Esser

## Generic masculines in German

## Generic masculines in German

- in German, role nouns such as Lehrer 'teacher' can be used as generic forms


## Generic masculines in German

- in German, role nouns such as Lehrer 'teacher' can be used as generic forms

| word | referent gender(s) | grammatical gender | number |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| Lehrer | male or female | masculine | singular |
| Lehrerin | female | feminine |  |
| Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| Lehrer | male or female | masculine | plural |
| Lehrerinnen | female | feminine |  |

## Generic masculines in German

- in German, role nouns such as Lehrer 'teacher' can be used as generic forms

| word | referent gender(s) | grammatical gender | number |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| Lehrer | male or female | masculine | singular |
| Lehrerin | female | feminine |  |
| Lehrer | male | masculine | plural |
| Lehrer | male or female | masculine |  |
| Lehrerinnen | female | feminine |  |

## Generic masculines in German

- in German, role nouns such as Lehrer 'teacher' can be used as generic forms

|  | word | referent gender(s) | grammatical gender | number |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
|  | Lehrer | male or female | masculine | singular |
| 3 \% | Lehrerin | female | feminine |  |
| $\frac{0}{0}$ | Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| $\bigcirc$ | Lehrer | male or female | masculine | plural |
|  | Lehrerinnen | female | feminine |  |

## Generic masculines in German

- in German, role nouns such as Lehrer 'teacher' can be used as generic forms

|  | word | referent gender(s) | grammatical gender | number |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| $\bar{O}$ | Lehrer | male or female | masculine | singular |
| $3 \cdot \frac{00}{0}$ | Lehrerin | female | feminine |  |
| $\frac{\pi}{0}$ | Lehrer | male | masculine |  |
| $\underset{\sim}{7}$ | Lehrer | male or female | masculine | plural |
|  | Lehrerinnen | female | feminine |  |

- generic masculines are
- orthographically and phonologically identical to explicit masculines
- used to describe individuals of all genders in singular and plural contexts
- traditionally assumed to "abstract away" notions of gender, i.e. to be gender-neutral (cf. Doleschal 2002)

Previous research

## Previous research

- however, previous research has cast doubt on the gender-neutral use of generic masculines


## Previous research

- however, previous research has cast doubt on the gender-neutral use of generic masculines
- most (if not all) behavioural studies on the subject find one overall result
$\rightarrow$ generic masculines are not gender-neutral but show a clear bias towards the explicit masculine reading (e.g. Demarmels 2017; Garnham et al. 2012; Gygax et al. 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja 2010; Irmen \& Linner 2005; Koch 2021; Misersky et al. 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)


## Previous research

- however, previous research has cast doubt on the gender-neutral use of generic masculines
- most (if not all) behavioural studies on the subject find one overall result
$\rightarrow$ generic masculines are not gender-neutral but show a clear bias towards the explicit masculine reading (e.g. Demarmels 2017; Garrham et al. 2012; Gygax et al. 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja 2010; Irmen \& Linner 2005; Koch 2021; Misersky et al. 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)
- even though a generic masculine may be used with the intention of considering all genders...


## Previous research

- however, previous research has cast doubt on the gender-neutral use of generic masculines
- most (if not all) behavioural studies on the subject find one overall result
$\rightarrow$ generic masculines are not gender-neutral but show a clear bias towards the explicit masculine reading (e.g. Demarmels 2017; Garrham et al. 2012; Gygax et al. 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja 2010; Irmen \& Linner 2005; Koch 2021; Misersky et al. 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)
- even though a generic masculine may be used with the intention of considering all genders...
- ...this intention is not fully translated by the receiver's comprehension system


## Previous research

- however, previous research has cast doubt on the gender-neutral use of generic masculines
- most (if not all) behavioural studies on the subject find one overall result
$\rightarrow$ generic masculines are not gender-neutral but show a clear bias towards the explicit masculine reading (e.g. Demarmels 2017; Garrham et al. 2012; Gygax et al. 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja 2010; Irmen \& Linner 2005; Koch 2021; Misersky et al. 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)
- even though a generic masculine may be used with the intention of considering all genders...
- ...this intention is not fully translated by the receiver's comprehension system
- instead, a reading favouring male individuals is received

Previous research - Issues

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.

## Issue 2: Data

Studies make use of data elicited for the respective study, not of natural language data.

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.

## Issue 2: Data

Studies make use of data elicited for the respective study, not of natural language data.

## Issue 3: Semantics

Most studies provide evidence for a masculine bias but do not deliver an explanation for the masculine bias.

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.
$\rightarrow$ stereotypicality as covariate

## Issue 2: Data

Studies make use of data elicited for the respective study, not of natural language data.

## Issue 3: Semantics

Most studies provide evidence for a masculine bias but do not deliver an explanation for the masculine bias.

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.
$\rightarrow$ stereotypicality as covariate

## Issue 2: Data

Studies make use of data elicited for the respective study, not of natural language data.
$\rightarrow$ use corpus data

## Issue 3: Semantics

Most studies provide evidence for a masculine bias but do not deliver an explanation for the masculine bias.

## Previous research - Issues

## Issue 1: Stereotypes

Potential effects of stereotypicality are rarely taken into account in previous studies.
$\rightarrow$ stereotypicality as covariate

## Issue 2: Data

Studies make use of data elicited for the respective study, not of natural language data.
$\rightarrow$ use corpus data

## Issue 3: Semantics

Most studies provide evidence for a masculine bias but do not deliver an explanation for the masculine bias.
$\rightarrow$ use naive and linear discriminative learning

Research questions

## Research questions

## RQ1

Does discriminative learning provide insight into the semantics of masculine generics, masculine explicits, and feminine explicits?

## Research questions

## RQ 1

Does discriminative learning provide insight into the semantics of masculine generics, masculine explicits, and feminine explicits?

RQ 2
If so, how do the semantics of masculine generics differ from the semantics of masculine explicits and feminine explicits?

## Method

Discriminative Learning

## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)


## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries


## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries


## 1. corpus

## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries


Corpus: Targets

## Corpus: Targets

- 113 target word paradigms were adapted from a study on the influence of stereotypicality on the comprehension of generic masculines (Gabriel et al. 2008)


## Corpus: Targets

- 113 target word paradigms were adapted from a study on the influence of stereotypicality on the comprehension of generic masculines (Gabriel et al. 2008)
- all target word paradigms
- consist of role nouns
- have common explicit feminine forms


## Corpus: Targets

- 113 target word paradigms were adapted from a study on the influence of stereotypicality on the comprehension of generic masculines (Gabriel et al. 2008)
- all target word paradigms
- consist of role nouns
- have common explicit feminine forms

| generic \& explicit <br> masculines |
| :--- |
| Anwalt |
| Bäcker |
| Historiker |
| Maurer |
| Professor |
| Wärter |


| translation |
| :--- |
| 'lawyer' |
| 'baker' |
| 'historian' |
| 'mason' |
| 'professor' |
| 'guard' |

## Corpus: Targets

- 113 target word paradigms were adapted from a study on the influence of stereotypicality on the comprehension of generic masculines (Gabriel et al. 2008)
- all target word paradigms
- consist of role nouns
- have common explicit feminine forms

| generic \& explicit <br> masculines | explicit <br> feminines | translation |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Anwalt | Anwältin | 'lawyer' |
| Bäcker | Bäckerin | 'baker' |
| Historiker | Historikerin | 'historian' |
| Maurer | Maurerin | 'mason' |
| Professor | Professorin | 'professor' |
| Wärter | Wärterin | 'guard' |

Corpus

## Corpus

- 10 million sentences were extracted from the Leipzig Corpora Collection's subcorpus "News" (Goldhahn et al. 2012) $\rightarrow 1$ million for each year from 2010 to 2019


## Corpus

- 10 million sentences were extracted from the Leipzig Corpora Collection's subcorpus "News" (Goldhahn et al. 2012) $\rightarrow 1$ million for each year from 2010 to 2019
- from the 10 million sentences, the following was sampled
- 800,000 sentences without any target words
- 30,000 sentences with target words
- 49,044,960 words overall


## Corpus

- 10 million sentences were extracted from the Leipzig Corpora Collection's subcorpus "News" (Goldhahn et al. 2012) $\rightarrow 1$ million for each year from 2010 to 2019
- from the 10 million sentences, the following was sampled
- 800,000 sentences without any target words
- 30,000 sentences with target words
- 49,044,960 words overall
- overall frequency of target word paradigms in our corpus is relative to their overall frequency in the 10 million sentences, e.g.
- target word paradigm with 20,000+ occurrences $=600$ samples
- target word paradigm with fewer than 200 occurrences $=100$ samples

Corpus: Annotation

## Corpus: Annotation

- the 30,000 sentences containing target words were manually annotated by two authors and two assistants, all of which were native speakers of German


## Corpus: Annotation

- the 30,000 sentences containing target words were manually annotated by two authors and two assistants, all of which were native speakers of German
- for each target word occurrence, it was annotated whether the form was
- masculine or feminine; singular or plural; explicit or generic


## Corpus: Annotation

- the 30,000 sentences containing target words were manually annotated by two authors and two assistants, all of which were native speakers of German
- for each target word occurrence, it was annotated whether the form was
- masculine or feminine; singular or plural; explicit or generic
- the 800,000 sentences without and the 30,000 sentences with target words were then automatically analysed and annotated using the RNNTagger software (Schmid, 1999)


## Corpus: Annotation

- the 30,000 sentences containing target words were manually annotated by two authors and two assistants, all of which were native speakers of German
- for each target word occurrence, it was annotated whether the form was
- masculine or feminine; singular or plural; explicit or generic
- the 800,000 sentences without and the 30,000 sentences with target words were then automatically analysed and annotated using the RNNTagger software (Schmid, 1999)
- tagged information consisted of words' base forms and information on inflectional grammar


## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries


Semantic vectors

## Semantic vectors

- semantic vectors were computed based on the corpus for words and inflectional functions with Naive Discriminative Learning (NDL; e.g. Baayen \& Ramscar, 2015)


## Semantic vectors

- semantic vectors were computed based on the corpus for words and inflectional functions with Naive Discriminative Learning (NDL; e.g. Baayen \&

Ramscar, 2015)

- NDL follows the Rescorla-Wagner rules (Rescorla \& Wagner, 1972)
- outcomes (word forms) are predicted by cues (words/inflection)
- the associative strength between an outcome and a cue is represented by a single number


## Semantic vectors

- semantic vectors were computed based on the corpus for words and inflectional functions with Naive Discriminative Learning (NDL; e.g. Baayen \&

Ramscar, 2015)

- NDL follows the Rescorla-Wagner rules (Rescorla \& Wagner, 1972)
- outcomes (word forms) are predicted by cues (words/inflection)
- the associative strength between an outcome and a cue is represented by a single number
- we used each sentence to predict each individual word within the sentence by the other words in that sentence


## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits


## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

red
sweet
round
yellow
sweet
long
orange
sour
round
blue
sweet
round
red
sweet
round
long
yellow sharp round long

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| \% |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
|  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  |
|  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
|  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $B$ | 30 |  |  |  |  | 30 |  | 30 |  |
| $\mathcal{Z}$ |  | 15 |  |  |  | 15 |  |  | 15 |
|  |  |  | 18 |  |  |  | 18 | 18 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 10 |  | 10 |  | 10 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 5 |  | 5 |  |
|  | 45 |  |  |  |  | 45 |  | 45 | 45 |
|  |  | 20 |  |  |  |  | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\Omega$ | 29 | 1 |  |  |  | 30 |  | 30 |  |
| $\mathcal{Z}$ |  | 15 |  |  |  | 15 |  |  | 15 |
| (88) |  |  | 18 |  |  |  | 18 | 18 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 10 |  | 10 |  | 10 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 5 |  | 5 |  |
|  | 45 |  |  |  |  | 45 |  | 45 | 45 |
|  |  | 20 |  |  |  |  | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| い | 29 | 1 |  |  |  | 29 | 1 | 30 |  |
|  |  | 15 |  |  |  | 15 |  |  | 15 |
|  |  |  | 18 |  |  |  | 18 | 18 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 10 |  | 10 |  | 10 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 5 |  | 5 |  |
|  | 45 |  |  |  |  | 45 |  | 45 | 45 |
|  |  | 20 |  |  |  |  | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W | 29 | 1 | -1 | -3 | -2 | 29 | 1 | 30 | -1 |
|  |  | 15 |  |  |  | 15 |  |  | 15 |
|  |  |  | 18 |  |  |  | 18 | 18 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 10 |  | 10 |  | 10 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 5 | 5 |  | 5 |  |
|  | 45 |  |  |  |  | 45 |  | 45 | 45 |
|  |  | 20 |  |  |  |  | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 29 | 1 | -1 | -3 | -2 | 29 | 1 | 30 | -1 |
| $\bigcirc$ | -10 | 15 | -10 | -8 | -6 | 15 | -11 | -5 | 15 |
|  | -6 | -7 | 18 | -14 | -15 | 3 | 15 | 18 | -2 |
|  | -5 | -1 | -6 | 10 | -9 | 5 | 5 | 10 | -7 |
|  | -6 | -9 | -19 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 | -5 |
|  | 45 | -6 | -9 | -14 | -1 | 25 | 20 | 45 | 45 |
|  | -1 | 20 | -5 | -6 | -8 | -4 | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour | round | long |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 29 | 1 | -1 | -3 | -2 | 29 | 1 | 30 | -1 |
| $\mathcal{Z}$ | $-10$ | 15 | -10 | -8 | -6 | 15 | -11 | -5 | 15 |
| $8$ | -6 | -7 | 18 | -14 | -15 | 3 | 15 | 18 | -2 |
|  | -5 | -1 | -6 | 10 | -9 | 5 | 5 | 10 | -7 |
|  | -6 | -9 | -19 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 | -5 |
|  | 45 | -6 | -9 | -14 | -1 | 25 | 20 | 45 | 45 |
|  | -1 | 20 | -5 | -6 | -8 | -4 | 20 | 20 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

|  | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| apple | 29 | 1 | -1 | -3 | -2 | 29 | 1 |
| banana | -10 | 15 | -10 | -8 | -6 | 15 | -11 |
| orange | -6 | -7 | 18 | -14 | -15 | 3 | 15 |
| grape | -5 | -1 | -6 | 10 | -9 | 5 | 5 |
| blueberry | -6 | -9 | -19 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| strawberry | 45 | -6 | -9 | -14 | -1 | 25 | 20 |
| lemon | -1 | 20 | -5 | -6 | -8 | -4 | 20 |

## Naive Discriminative Learning

toy example: different fruits

| apple | red | yellow | orange | purple | blue | sweet | sour |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| banana | -10 | 1 | -1 | -3 | -2 | 29 | 1 |
| orange | -6 | -7 | 18 | -10 | -8 | -6 | 15 |
| grape | -5 | -1 | -6 | 10 | -15 | 3 | 15 |
| blueberry | -6 | -9 | -19 | 2 | -9 | 5 | 5 |
| strawberry | 45 | -6 | -9 | -14 | -1 | 25 | 20 |
| lemon | -1 | 20 | -5 | -6 | -8 | -4 | 20 |

## Semantic vectors: Role nouns

- for content words, their semantic vector is the sum of the vectors of their parts, e.g. $\overrightarrow{\text { apples }}=\overrightarrow{\text { apple }}+\overrightarrow{p l u r a l}$


## Semantic vectors: Role nouns

- for content words, their semantic vector is the sum of the vectors of their parts, e.g. $\overrightarrow{\text { apples }}=\overrightarrow{\text { apple }}+\overrightarrow{p l u r a l}$
- thus, e.g., the semantics of the target word paradigm Lehrer 'teacher' consists of

| target | base |  | number |  | gender |  | genericity |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lehrer | $\overrightarrow{\text { Lehrer }}$ | + | $\stackrel{\text { singular }}{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { masculine }]{ }$ | + | $\stackrel{\text { generic }}{ }$ |
| Lehrer | $\overrightarrow{\text { Lehrer }}$ | + | $\stackrel{\text { singular }}{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { masculine }]{ }$ | + | explicit |
| Lehrerin | $\overrightarrow{\text { Lehrer }}$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { singular }]{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { feminine }]{ }$ | + | $\overrightarrow{\text { explicit }}$ |
| Lehrer | $\overrightarrow{\text { Lehrer }}$ | + | $\overrightarrow{\text { plural }}$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { masculine }]{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { generic }]{ }$ |
| Lehrer | $\overrightarrow{\text { Lehrer }}$ | + | $\stackrel{\text { plural }}{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { masculine }]{ }$ | + | explicit |
| Lehrerinnen | $\stackrel{\text { Lehrer }}{ }$ | + | $\stackrel{\text { plural }}{ }$ | + | $\xrightarrow[\text { feminine }]{ }$ | + | $\overrightarrow{\text { explicit }}$ |

## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries


Forms

## Forms

- word forms are represented by triphones


## Forms

- word forms are represented by triphones

| form | \#le | ler | erA | rA\# | Arl | rln | In\# |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lehrer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lehrer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lehrerin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Method

- we simulate a mental lexicon by implementing a linear discriminative learning network (e.g. Baayen et al. 2019)
- using this mental lexicon, we can extract semantic measures for its entries



## Learning comprehension

- Comprehension is learnt by linearly mapping the matrix of forms onto the matrix of semantic vectors


## Learning comprehension

- Comprehension is learnt by linearly mapping the matrix of forms onto the matrix of semantic vectors


## forms

## semantic vectors

## Learning comprehension

- Comprehension is learnt by linearly mapping the matrix of forms onto the matrix of semantic vectors



## Learning comprehension

- Comprehension is learnt by linearly mapping the matrix of forms onto the matrix of semantic vectors



## Learning comprehension

- Comprehension is learnt by linearly mapping the matrix of forms onto the matrix of semantic vectors



## Analysis

Multinomial Logistic Regression

Variables

## Variables

- COMPREHENSION QUALITY
correlation of a target's original and estimated vectors
higher correlation = higher comprehension quality


## Variables

- COMPREHENSION QUALITY
correlation of a target's original and estimated vectors
higher correlation = higher comprehension quality
- NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY
correlation of a target with its 8 nearest neighbours higher density = denser neighbourhood


## Variables

- COMPREHENSION QUALITY
correlation of a target's original and estimated vectors higher correlation = higher comprehension quality
- NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY
correlation of a target with its 8 nearest neighbours
higher density = denser neighbourhood
- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY

Euclidian norm of a target's vector
higher norm = higher degree of co-activation

## Variables

- COMPREHENSION QUALITY
correlation of a target's original and estimated vectors higher correlation = higher comprehension quality
- NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY
correlation of a target with its 8 nearest neighbours
higher density = denser neighbourhood
- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY

Euclidian norm of a target's vector
higher norm = higher degree of co-activation

- STEREOTYPICALITY
adopted from Gabriel et al. (2008)

Multinomial Logistic Regression

## Multinomial Logistic Regression

- dependent variable: TYPE
singular generic masculine; singular explicit masculine; singular explicit feminine plural generic masculine; plural explicit masculine; plural explicit feminine


## Multinomial Logistic Regression

- dependent variable: TYPE
singular generic masculine; singular explicit masculine; singular explicit feminine plural generic masculine; plural explicit masculine; plural explicit feminine
- explanatory variables


## Multinomial Logistic Regression

- dependent variable: TYPE
singular generic masculine; singular explicit masculine; singular explicit feminine plural generic masculine; plural explicit masculine; plural explicit feminine
- explanatory variables
- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY


## Multinomial Logistic Regression

- dependent variable: TYPE
singular generic masculine; singular explicit masculine; singular explicit feminine plural generic masculine; plural explicit masculine; plural explicit feminine
- explanatory variables
- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY)


## Multinomial Logistic Regression

- dependent variable: TYPE
singular generic masculine; singular explicit masculine; singular explicit feminine plural generic masculine; plural explicit masculine; plural explicit feminine
- explanatory variables
- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY)
- STEREOTYPICALITY JUDGEMENTS (Gabriel et al. 2008)


## Results

## ACTIVATION DIVERSITY

##  <br>  <br>  <br> - - - - Singular $\quad$ Plural

## Results

## ACTIVATION DIVERSITY



## Results

## ACTIVATION DIVERSITY



-     -         -             - Singular

Plural

## Results

## ACTIVATION DIVERSITY



-     -         -             - Singular

Plural

## Results

## COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY



-     -         -             - Singular

Plural

## Results

## COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY



-     -         -             - Singular

Plural

## Results

## STEREOTYPICALITY JUDGEMENTS

no significant effects!




-     -         -             - Singular

Plural

Research questions

## Research questions

## RQ1

Does discriminative learning provide insight into the semantics of masculine generics, masculine explicits, and feminine explicits?
$\rightarrow$ yes!

## Research questions

## RQ 1

Does discriminative learning provide insight into the semantics of masculine generics, masculine explicits, and feminine explicits?
$\rightarrow$ yes!

RQ 2
If so, how do the semantics of masculine generics differ from the semantics of masculine explicits and feminine explicits?
$\rightarrow$ well...

## Research questions

## RQ 1

Does discriminative learning provide insight into the semantics of masculine generics, masculine explicits, and feminine explicits?
$\rightarrow$ yes!

RQ 2
If so, how do the semantics of masculine generics differ from the semantics of masculine explicits and feminine explicits?
$\rightarrow$ well...

## Discussion

So what do we learn from all of this?

Discussion

# Discussion 

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms
- medium for masculine forms


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms
- medium for masculine forms
- low for plural feminine forms


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms
- medium for masculine forms
- low for plural feminine forms
- PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY)


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms
- medium for masculine forms
- low for plural feminine forms
- PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY)
- feminine role nouns 'live' in their own part of the semantic space
$\rightarrow$ nearest neighbours are all other feminine role nouns


## Discussion

- ACTIVATION DIVERSITY
- high for singular feminine forms
- medium for masculine forms
- low for plural feminine forms
- PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (COMPREHENSION QUALITY + NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY)
- feminine role nouns 'live' in their own part of the semantic space
$\rightarrow$ nearest neighbours are all other feminine role nouns
- feminine role nouns show interpretable exponent of their grammatical gender
$\rightarrow$ shift in semantic space

Discussion

## Discussion

- our findings are in line with assumptions found in previous research


## Discussion

- our findings are in line with assumptions found in previous research
- Stahlberg et al. (2001)
masculine gender of [masculine] generics has a semantic component of "maleness"


## Discussion

- our findings are in line with assumptions found in previous research
- Stahlberg et al. (2001)
masculine gender of [masculine] generics has a semantic component of "maleness"
- Irmen \& Linner (2005)
semantic similarity of generic and explicit masculines due to their resonance with the lexicon and each other


## Discussion

- our findings are in line with assumptions found in previous research
- Stahlberg et al. (2001)
masculine gender of [masculine] generics has a semantic component of "maleness"
- Irmen \& Linner (2005)
semantic similarity of generic and explicit masculines due to their resonance with the lexicon and each other
- Gygax et al. (2012) and Gygax et al. (2021) generic masculines activate the underlying representations of explicit masculines, leading to a semantic activation of explicit masculines, thus a male bias

Conclusion

## Conclusion

- the masculine bias found in generic masculines is due to their underlying semantic features which they share with explicit masculines


## Conclusion

- the masculine bias found in generic masculines is due to their underlying semantic features which they share with explicit masculines
- the language itself is the reason for the masculine bias, not any non-linguistic influences


## Conclusion

- the masculine bias found in generic masculines is due to their underlying semantic features which they share with explicit masculines
- the language itself is the reason for the masculine bias, not any non-linguistic influences
- our findings confirm the bias found in previous behavioural studies (e.g. Demarmels, 2017; Garnham et al., 2012; Gygax et al., 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja, 2010; Irmen \& Linner, 2005; Koch, 2021; Misersky et al., 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)


## Conclusion

- the masculine bias found in generic masculines is due to their underlying semantic features which they share with explicit masculines
- the language itself is the reason for the masculine bias, not any non-linguistic influences
- our findings confirm the bias found in previous behavioural studies (e.g. Demarmels, 2017;

Garnham et al., 2012; Gygax et al., 2008; Irmen \& Kurovskaja, 2010; Irmen \& Linner, 2005; Koch, 2021; Misersky et
al., 2019; Stahlberg \& Sczesny, 2001)

- future research will show
- whether the LDL measures computed for our data are predictive of behavioural measures
- how (new \& allegedly) more neutral forms, e.g. Lehrer*innen, LehrerInnen, perform


## Thank you!

Newly published in Glossa Psycholinguistics: 10.5070/G6011192

## References 1/2

Baayen, R. H., Chuang, Y.-Y., Shafaei-Bajestan, E., \& Blevins, J. P. (2019). The discriminative Lexicon: A unified computational model for the lexicon and lexical processing in comprehension and production grounded not in (de)composition but in linear discriminative learning. Complexity, 2019, 1-39. https://doi.org/10.1155/2019/4895891

Baayen, R. H., \& Ramscar, M. (2015). Abstraction, storage and naive discriminative learning. Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics, 39, 100-120. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110292022-006

Chuang, Y.-Y., Vollmer, M. L., Shafaei-Bajestan, E., Gahl, S., Hendrix, P., \& Baayen, R. H. (2021). The processing of pseudoword form and meaning in production and comprehension: A computational modeling approach using linear discriminative learning. Behavior Research Methods, 53(3), 945-976. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-020-01356-w

Demarmels, S. (2017). „Gesucht: Assistentin oder Sekretär der Geschäftsleitung" - Gendersensitive Formulierungen in Stellenanzeigen aus der Perspektive der Textsorte. In Stellenanzeigen als Instrument des Employer Branding in Europa. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-12719-0_11

Gabriel, U., Gygax, P., Sarrasin, O., Garnham, A., \& Oakhill, J. (2008). Au pairs are rarely male: Norms on the gender perception of role names across English, French, and German. Behavior Research Methods, 40(1), 206-212. https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.40.1.206

Garnham, A., Gabriel, U., Sarrasin, O., Gygax, P., \& Oakhill, J. (2012). Gender Representation in Different Languages and Grammatical Marking on Pronouns: When Beauticians, Musicians, and Mechanics Remain Men. Discourse Processes, 49(6), 481-500. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.688184

Goldhahn, D., Eckart, T., \& Quasthoff, U. (2012). Building Large Monolingual Dictionaries at the Leipzig Corpora Collection: From 100 to 200 Languages. Proceedings of the 8th International Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'12).

Gygax, P., Gabriel, U., Sarrasin, O., Oakhill, J., \& Garnham, A. (2008). Generically intended, but specifically interpreted: When beauticians, musicians, and mechanics are all men. Language and Cognitive Processes, 23(3), 464-485. https://doi.org/10.1080/01690960701702035

Gygax, P., Sato, S., Öttl, A., \& Gabriel, U. (2021). The masculine form in grammatically gendered languages and its multiple interpretations: a challenge for our cognitive system. Language Sciences, 83, 101328.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2020.101328

## References 2/2

Gygax, P., Sato, S., ÖttI, A., \& Gabriel, U. (2021). The masculine form in grammatically gendered languages and its multiple interpretations: a challenge for our cognitive system. Language Sciences, 83, 101328. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2020.101328

Irmen, L., \& Kurovskaja, J. (2010). On the semantic content of grammatical gender and its impact on the representation of human referents. Experimental Psychology, 57(5), 367-375. https://doi.org/10.1027/1618-3169/a000044

Irmen, L., \& Linner, U. (2005). Die Repräsentation generisch maskuliner Personenbezeichnungen. Zeitschrift Für Psychologie / Journal of Psychology, 213(3), 167-175. https://doi.org/10.1026/0044-3409.213.3.167

Koch, M. (2021). Kognitive Effekte des generischen Maskulinums und genderneutraler Alternativen im Deutschen - eine empirische Untersuchung. Master's Thesis. Technische Universität Braunschweig.

Misersky, J., Majid, A., \& Snijders, T. M. (2019). Grammatical Gender in German Influences How Role-Nouns Are Interpreted: Evidence from ERPs. Discourse Processes, 56(8), 643-654. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2018.1541382

Schmid, H. (1999). Improvements in part-of-speech tagging with an application to German. In S. Armstrong, K. Church, P. Isabelle, S. Manzi, E. Tzoukermann, \& D. Yarowsky (Eds.), Natural language processing using very large corpora (pp. 13-25). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-2390-9_2

Schmitz, D., Plag, I., Baer-Henney, D., \& Stein, S. D. (2021). Durational Differences of Word-Final /s/ Emerge From the Lexicon: Modelling Morpho-Phonetic Effects in Pseudowords With Linear Discriminative Learning. Frontiers in Psychology, 12. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.680889

Sering, T., Weitz, M., Künstle, D.-E., Schneider, L.,\& Shafaei-Bajestan, E. (2022). Pyndl: Naive discriminative learning in python. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo. 597964

Stahlberg, D., \& Sczesny, S. (2001). Effekte des generischen Maskulinums und alternativer Sprachformen auf den gedanklichen Einbezug von Frauen. Psychologische Rundschau, 52(3), 131-140. https://doi.org/10.1026//0033-3042.52.3.131

Stahlberg, D., Sczesny, S., \& Braun, F. (2001). Name Your Favorite Musician. Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 20(4), 464469. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X01020004004

Corpus

## Corpus

- using data from news websites allowed us to strictly control for genre


## Corpus

- using data from news websites allowed us to strictly control for genre
- our results cannot be potential artefacts of 'genre confusion', i.e. of chance due to an uncontrolled mix of different styles and genres


## Corpus

- using data from news websites allowed us to strictly control for genre
- our results cannot be potential artefacts of 'genre confusion', i.e. of chance due to an uncontrolled mix of different styles and genres
- however, this indicates that chances are given that other sources/genres/styles might lead to different results


## Corpus

- using data from news websites allowed us to strictly control for genre
- our results cannot be potential artefacts of 'genre confusion', i.e. of chance due to an uncontrolled mix of different styles and genres
- however, this indicates that chances are given that other sources/genres/styles might lead to different results
- our corpus did not contain any 'new forms', e.g. gender star forms or capital-I forms: Lehrer*in or LehrerIn 'teacher (of any sex or gender)'


## Corpus

- using data from news websites allowed us to strictly control for genre
- our results cannot be potential artefacts of 'genre confusion', i.e. of chance due to an uncontrolled mix of different styles and genres
- however, this indicates that chances are given that other sources/genres/styles might lead to different results
- our corpus did not contain any 'new forms', e.g. gender star forms or capital-I forms: Lehrer*in or LehrerIn 'teacher (of any sex or gender)'
- hence our simulated lexicon will not be 'confused' by such forms / if the generic masculine shows a bias, it is not due to such new forms





## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| teacher | + | + | + |  |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| teacher | + | + | + | + |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| teacher | + | + | ++ | + |  |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher | + | + | ++ | + | + |  |  |
| villain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Method



Example: All teachers are nice.

| all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| teacher | + | + | ++ | + | + | - | - |
| villain | - | - | - | - | - |  |  |

Method
Semantic vectors

## Method

## Semantic vectors

- repeating this procedure for 830,000 sentences, we obtained association weights for all target words, inflectional functions, and a huge number of other words


## Method

## Semantic vectors

- repeating this procedure for 830,000 sentences, we obtained association weights for all target words, inflectional functions, and a huge number of other words
- taking these rows of association weights, we obtain semantic vectors of individual words and inflectional functions of length 7,500


## Method

## Semantic vectors

- repeating this procedure for 830,000 sentences, we obtained association weights for all target words, inflectional functions, and a huge number of other words
- taking these rows of association weights, we obtain semantic vectors of individual words and inflectional functions of length 7,500
- for example:

|  | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher | 0.31 | 1.0 | 0.57 | 0.43 | 0.15 | 0.00071 | 0.0007 |
| villain | 0.0003 | 0.001 | 0.0005 | 0.0004 | 0.0091 | 1.0 | 0.96 |

## Method

## Semantic vectors

- repeating this procedure for 830,000 sentences, we obtained association weights for all target words, inflectional functions, and a huge number of other words
- taking these rows of association weights, we obtain semantic vectors of individual words and inflectional functions of length 7,500
- for example:

| teacher | all | teacher | PLURAL | be | nice | villain | evil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teacher | 0.31 | 1.0 | 0.57 | 0.43 | 0.15 | 0.00071 | 0.0007 |
| villain | 0.0003 | 0.001 | 0.0005 | 0.0004 | 0.0091 | 1.0 | 0.96 |

## Semantic Measures

## COMPREHENSION QUALITY

correlation of a target's original and estimated vectors higher correlation = higher comprehension quality


## Semantic Measures

## NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY

correlation of a target with its 8 nearest neighbours
higher density = denser neighbourhood


## Semantic Measures

## ACTIVATION DIVERSITY

Euclidian norm of a target's vector
higher norm = higher degree of co-activation


