

Replacing one bias with another? The gender star form in German

Dominic Schmitz

Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, Germany

• in German, masculine role nouns with feminine counterparts can be used generically, i.e. independent of a referent's gender

• in German, masculine role nouns with feminine counterparts can be used generically, i.e. independent of a referent's gender

• the masculine as specific and as generic form

Tim ist **Lehrer** von Beruf. Anna ist **Lehrer** von Beruf.

'Tim is a teacher by profession.' 'Anna is a teacher by profession.'

- in German, masculine role nouns with feminine counterparts can be used generically, i.e. independent of a referent's gender
- the masculine as specific and as generic form

Tim ist **Lehrer** von Beruf.

Anna ist **Lehrer** von Beruf.

Tim is a teacher by profession.'

'Anna is a teacher by profession.'

the feminine as specific form

*Tim ist **Lehrer**<u>in</u> von Beruf.

Tim is a teacher by profession.'



Anna ist **Lehrer**<u>in</u> von Beruf.

'Anna is a teacher by profession.'



• generic masculines are

- generic masculines are
 - not different from explicit masculine forms in their orthographic or phonological form

- generic masculines are
 - not different from explicit masculine forms in their orthographic or phonological form
 - used to describe individuals of all genders in singular and plural contexts

- generic masculines are
 - not different from explicit masculine forms in their orthographic or phonological form
 - used to describe individuals of all genders in singular and plural contexts
 - traditionally assumed to "abstract away" notions of gender; to be "gender-neutral" (Doleschal, 2002)

- generic masculines are
 - not different from explicit masculine forms in their orthographic or phonological form
 - used to describe individuals of all genders in singular and plural contexts
 - traditionally assumed to "abstract away" notions of gender; to be "gender-neutral" (Doleschal, 2002)
 - apparently come with a strong male bias (e.g. Demarmels, 2017; Garnham et al., 2012; Gygax et al., 2008; Irmen & Kurovskaja, 2010; Irmen & Linner, 2005; Koch, 2021; Misersky et al., 2019; Schmitz et al., 2023; Schmitz, 2024; Stahlberg & Sczesny, 2001)

• the linguistic underrepresentation of genders other than the male has led to different linguistic inventions

- the linguistic underrepresentation of genders other than the male has led to different linguistic inventions
- some, esp. older, inventions focus on the representation of women

LehrerIn 'male or female teacher'

- the linguistic underrepresentation of genders other than the male has led to different linguistic inventions
- some, esp. older, inventions focus on the representation of women

LehrerIn 'male or female teacher'

 some rely on neutral word forms, i.e. words without counterparts of different grammatical genders

Lehrkraft 'teacher (of any gender)'

gender star form

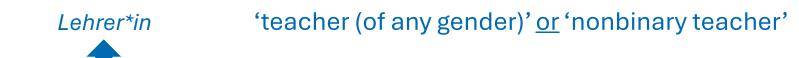
- the linguistic underrepresentation of genders other than the male has led to different linguistic inventions
- some, esp. older, inventions focus on the representation of women

LehrerIn 'male or female teacher'

 some rely on neutral word forms, i.e. words without counterparts of different grammatical genders

Lehrkraft 'teacher (of any gender)'

some explicitly aim to include genders beyond the binary



• what (little) we know thus far on comprehension

- what (little) we know thus far on comprehension
 - in exemplar recall, gender star forms show an **increased representation** of female individuals (Kurz & Mulder, 2023)

- what (little) we know thus far on comprehension
 - in exemplar recall, gender star forms show an **increased representation** of female individuals (Kurz & Mulder, 2023)
 - in assessing the ratio of male vs. female individuals in a group, gender star forms show an increased representation of female individuals even for stereotypically male groups (Schunack & Binanzer, 2022)

- what (little) we know thus far on comprehension
 - in exemplar recall, gender star forms show an **increased representation** of female individuals (Kurz & Mulder, 2023)
 - in assessing the ratio of male vs. female individuals in a group, gender star forms show an increased representation of female individuals even for stereotypically male groups (Schunack & Binanzer, 2022)
 - in sentence continuation tasks, gender star forms show a **female bias** (Körner et al., 2022)

- what (little) we know thus far on comprehension
 - in exemplar recall, gender star forms show an **increased representation** of female individuals (Kurz & Mulder, 2023)
 - in assessing the ratio of male vs. female individuals in a group, gender star forms show an increased representation of female individuals even for stereotypically male groups (Schunack & Binanzer, 2022)
 - in sentence continuation tasks, gender star forms show a **female bias** (Körner et al., 2022)
 - in picture naming tasks, gender star forms show not only an increased
 representation of female but also of nonbinary individuals (Zacharski & Ferstl, 2023)

- what (little) we know thus far on comprehension
 - in exemplar recall, gender star forms show an **increased representation** of female individuals (Kurz & Mulder, 2023)
 - in assessing the ratio of male vs. female individuals in a group, gender star forms show an increased representation of female individuals even for stereotypically male groups (Schunack & Binanzer, 2022)
 - in sentence continuation tasks, gender star forms show a **female bias** (Körner et al., 2022)
 - in picture naming tasks, gender star forms show not only an increased
 representation of female but also of nonbinary individuals (Zacharski & Ferstl, 2023)

what we don't know: everything else, a lot!

Today's research question

Today's research question

Do **semantic features** of generic masculines and gender star forms lead to the **comprehension differences** found in previous studies?

Linear discriminative learning

• simulate the comprehension process in a mental lexicon by implementing linear discriminative learning (LDL)



Step 1

Capturing the form of generic masculines and gender star forms

LDL: form matrix C

• as **form input**, we use trigraphs

	#le	leh	ehr	hre	rer	er#	eri	rin	in#	er*	r*i	*in
Lehrer _s	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lehrer _g	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lehrerin	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Lehrer*in	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
• • •												

Step 2

Capturing the semantics of generic masculines and gender star forms

distributional semantic approach: semantics are captured by numerical vectors

- distributional semantic approach: semantics are captured by numerical vectors
- distributional hypothesis: differences in meaning are represented in differences in distribution (Harris, 1954; Boleda, 2020)
 - if words occur in different contexts, their semantics are expected to be different
 - if words frequently occur in similar contexts, their semantics are expected to be similar

- distributional semantic approach: semantics are captured by numerical vectors
- distributional hypothesis: differences in meaning are represented in differences in distribution (Harris, 1954; Boleda, 2020)
 - if words occur in different contexts, their semantics are expected to be different
 - if words frequently occur in similar contexts, their semantics are expected to be similar
- several methods with different algorithms at work to arrive at semantic vectors are available
 - for the present study: fastText (Bojanowski et al., 2016)

Corpus

Corpus

• to train a *fastText* model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required

Corpus

- to train a fastText model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required
- the present corpus: 1,625,353 sentences, 25,528,231 tokens, 55,063 types

- to train a *fastText* model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required
- the present corpus: 1,625,353 sentences, 25,528,231 tokens, 55,063 types
 - 26,311 sentences with readily annotated generic masculines, specific masculines, specific feminines (Schmitz et al., 2023)

- to train a fastText model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required
- the present corpus: 1,625,353 sentences, 25,528,231 tokens, 55,063 types
 - 26,311 sentences with readily annotated generic masculines, specific masculines, specific feminines (Schmitz et al., 2023)
 - 199,042 sentences from the Tagesspiegel, including sentences with gender star forms

- to train a fastText model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required
- the present corpus: 1,625,353 sentences, 25,528,231 tokens, 55,063 types
 - 26,311 sentences with readily annotated generic masculines, specific masculines, specific feminines (Schmitz et al., 2023)
 - 199,042 sentences from the Tagesspiegel, including sentences with gender star forms
 - 1,400,000 pseudo-random sentences from the Leipzig Corpora Collection's news sub-corpus (Goldhahn et al., 2012)

- to train a *fastText* model, i.e. to obtain semantic vectors for words based on a given text corpus, such a corpus is required
- the present corpus: 1,625,353 sentences, 25,528,231 tokens, 55,063 types
 - 26,311 sentences with readily annotated generic masculines, specific masculines, specific feminines (Schmitz et al., 2023)
 - 199,042 sentences from the Tagesspiegel, including sentences with gender star forms
 - 1,400,000 pseudo-random sentences from the Leipzig Corpora Collection's news sub-corpus (Goldhahn et al., 2012)
 - overall: 11,829 generic masculines, 10,302 specific masculines, 4,180 specific feminines, and 9,093 gender star forms

LDL: semantic matrix S

• as **semantic input**, we use the semantic vectors generated by *fastText*

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5
Lehrer _s	-0.1698544	-0.02062269	0.13144101	0.3224960	-0.356934960
Lehrer _g	-0.1212999	0.23588210	0.03618920	0.1520513	-0.128548180
Lehrerin	-0.1826415	0.20812154	0.18063703	0.7124651	-0.071787140
Lehrer*in	-0.4508312	0.24953875	0.26571685	0.1784766	0.001742567
• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •

Step 3

Capturing the comprehension process in the mental lexicon

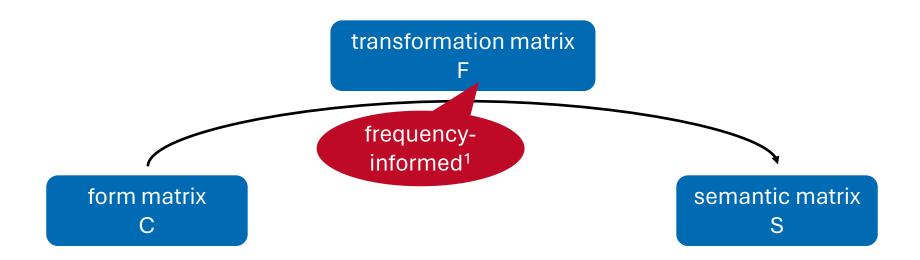
Linear discriminative learning

• simulate the comprehension process in a mental lexicon by implementing linear discriminative learning (LDL)



Linear discriminative learning

• simulate the comprehension process in a mental lexicon by implementing linear discriminative learning (LDL)



¹Heitmeier et al. (2024)

• instead of creating 1 model, 20 models were created

- instead of creating 1 model, 20 models were created
 - model 1: frequency of gender star forms = 0

- instead of creating 1 model, 20 models were created
 - model 1: frequency of gender star forms = 0
 - model 20: frequency of gender star forms = frequency of generic masculines

- instead of creating 1 model, 20 models were created
 - model 1: frequency of gender star forms = 0
 - model 20: frequency of gender star forms = frequency of generic masculines
- each model was created 100 times
 - difference: randomised increases of gender star form frequencies across targets

- instead of creating 1 model, 20 models were created
 - model 1: frequency of gender star forms = 0
 - model 20: frequency of gender star forms = frequency of generic masculines
- each model was created 100 times
 - difference: randomised increases of gender star form frequencies across targets
- overall: 2000 models
 - reflect the comprehension of gender star forms with increasing frequency, while taking into account that frequencies increase non-uniformly

• from each model, one can derive multiple measures

- from each model, one can derive multiple measures
 - comprehended semantics

how a word was understood

- from each model, one can derive multiple measures
 - comprehended semantics

how a word was understood

semantic COACTIVATION

how strongly are semantic dimensions activated when a given word is comprehended

- from each model, one can derive multiple measures
 - comprehended semantics

how a word was understood

semantic coactivation

how strongly are semantic dimensions activated when a given word is comprehended

word-level CERTAINTY

how certain is the model in comprehending a word on the level of the individual word

- from each model, one can derive multiple measures
 - comprehended semantics

how a word was understood

semantic coactivation

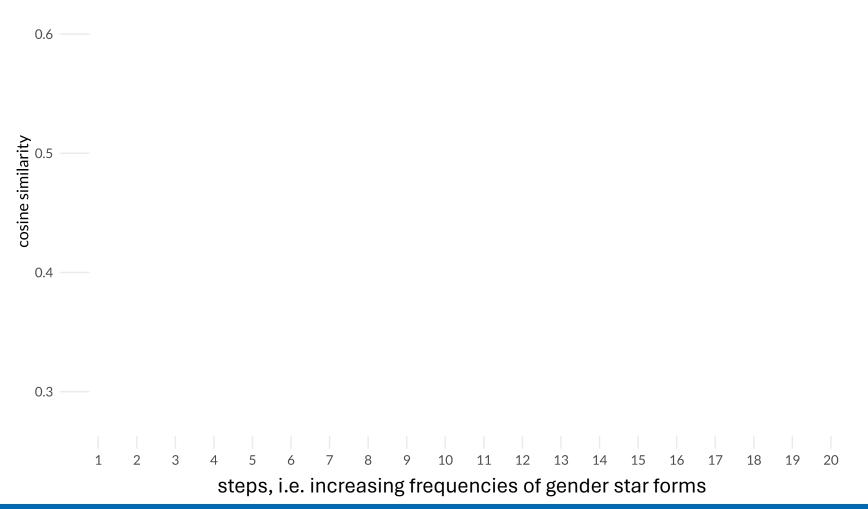
how strongly are semantic dimensions activated when a given word is comprehended

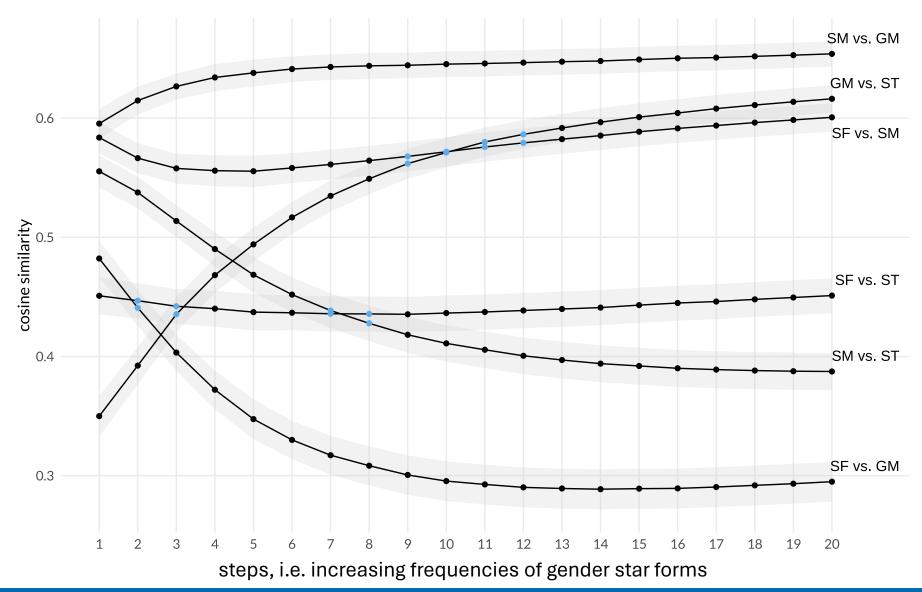
word-level CERTAINTY

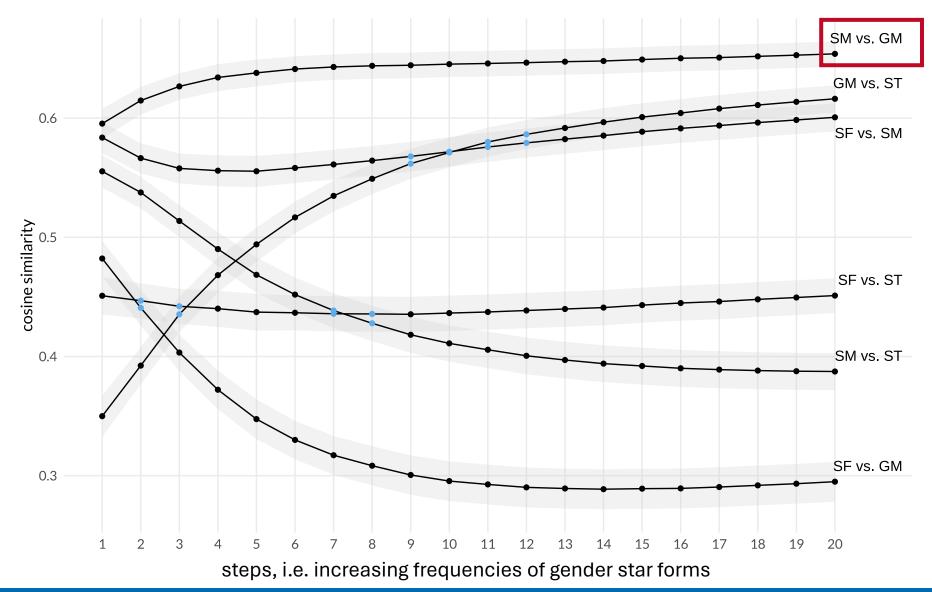
how certain is the model in comprehending a word on the level of the individual word

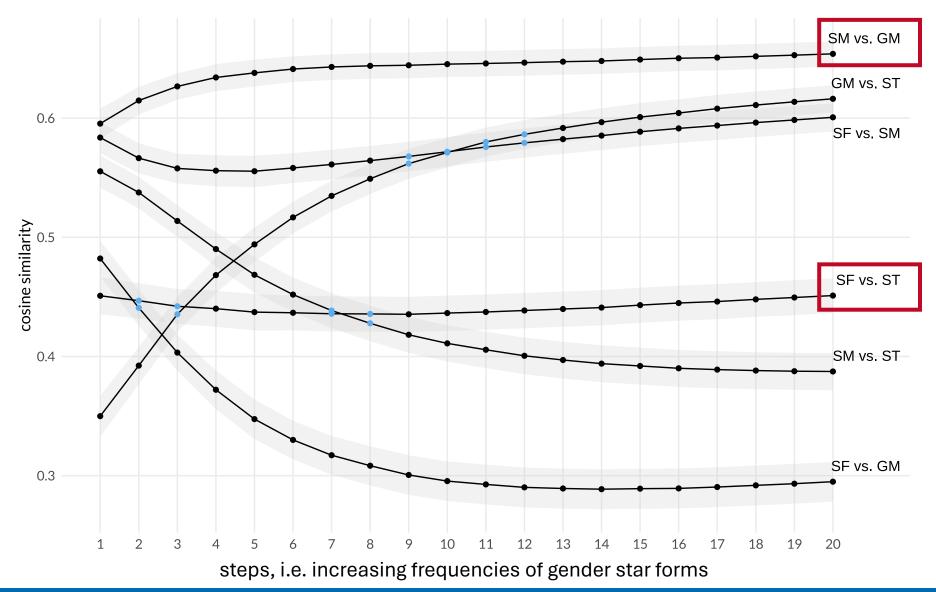
lexicon-level uncertainty

how uncertain is the model in comprehending a word taking into account the whole lexicon

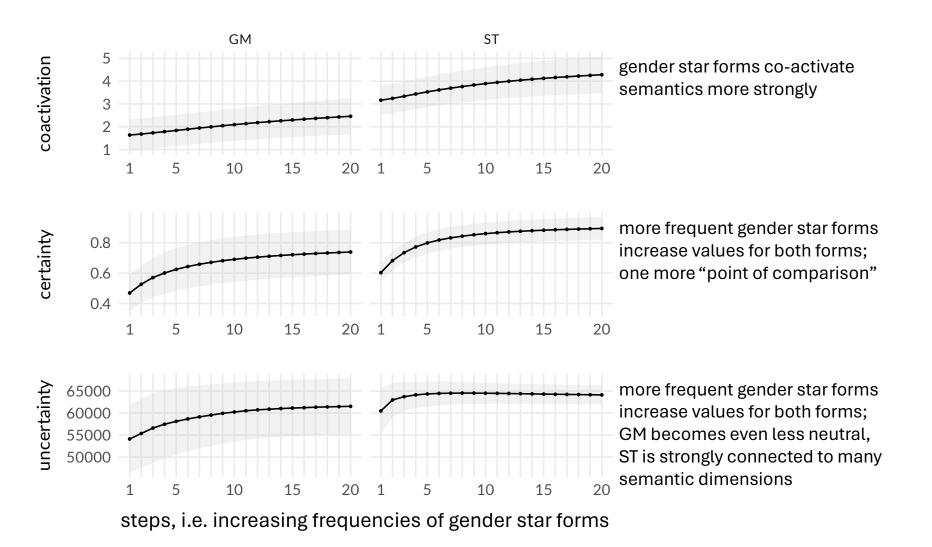








Results: LDL measures



Step 4

Re-analysing previous findings with LDL comprehension measures

Setup

• judgment task on sentence continuations with female or male referent; either generic masculines or gender star forms in first sentence

Setup

• judgment task on sentence continuations with female or male referent; either generic masculines or gender star forms in first sentence

Procedure

 participants evaluated if a continuations meaningfully continued the first sentence

Setup

• judgment task on sentence continuations with female or male referent; either generic masculines or gender star forms in first sentence

Procedure

 participants evaluated if a continuations meaningfully continued the first sentence

Analysis

• judged continuation appropriateness (yes/no answers) and RTs

Setup

 judgment task on sentence continuations with female or male referent; either generic masculines or gender star forms in first sentence

Procedure

 participants evaluated if a continuations meaningfully continued the first sentence

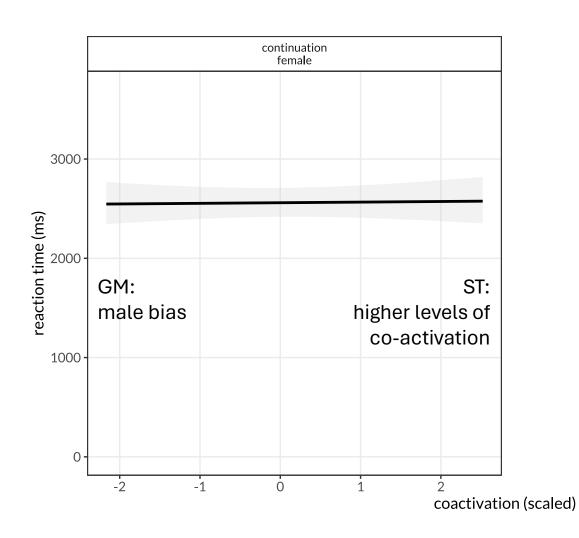
Analysis

judged continuation appropriateness (yes/no answers) and RTs

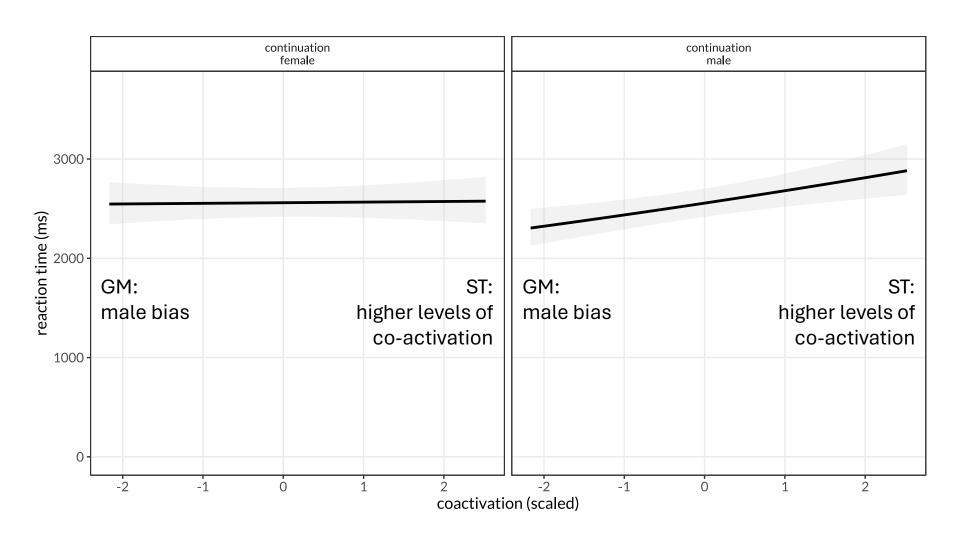
Result

- generic masculines: lower RTs for male continuations
- gender star forms: lower RTs for female continuations

Re-analysis



Re-analysis



Summary

Summary

- when the continuation sentence contained a male referent, reaction times
 changed significantly across the range of COACTIVATION values
 - → male continuations are more difficult to judge after gender star forms
 - → more difficult due to the higher degree of semantic COACTIVATION

Summary

- when the continuation sentence contained a male referent, reaction times
 changed significantly across the range of COACTIVATION values
 - → male continuations are more difficult to judge after gender star forms
 - → more difficult due to the higher degree of semantic COACTIVATION
- when the continuation sentence contained a female referent, reaction times
 did not change across the range of COACTIVATION values
 - → with forms of lower semantic COACTIVATION levels, i.e. generic masculines, a male bias is connected, while with forms of higher semantic COACTIVATION levels, i.e. gender star forms, more lexicon entries are coactivated

- when the continuation sentence contained a male referent, reaction times
 changed significantly across the range of COACTIVATION values
 - → male continuations are more difficult to judge after gender star forms
 - → more difficult due to the higher degree of semantic COACTIVATION
- when the continuation sentence contained a female referent, reaction times
 did not change across the range of COACTIVATION values
 - → with forms of lower semantic COACTIVATION levels, i.e. generic masculines, a male bias is connected, while with forms of higher semantic COACTIVATION levels, i.e. gender star forms, more lexicon entries are coactivated
- similar re-analyses of Kurz & Mulder (2023) and Schunack & Binanzer (2022) also showed that LDL measures account for differences between generic masculines and gender star forms

What should we take away from today's results?

Summary and discussion

- the inclusion of gender star forms with increasing frequencies leads to a 'recalibration' of the semantic comprehension of related role nouns
 - all models confirm previous findings, i.e. generic masculines are more similar to specific masculines than to specific feminines

- the inclusion of gender star forms with increasing frequencies leads to a 'recalibration' of the semantic comprehension of related role nouns
 - all models confirm previous findings, i.e. generic masculines are more similar to specific masculines than to specific feminines
- generic masculines and gender star forms are different in terms of their semantic features

- the inclusion of gender star forms with increasing frequencies leads to a 'recalibration' of the semantic comprehension of related role nouns
 - all models confirm previous findings, i.e. generic masculines are more similar to specific masculines than to specific feminines
- generic masculines and gender star forms are different in terms of their semantic features
- these features account for differences in language behaviour found in previous studies on the gender star form

- the inclusion of gender star forms with increasing frequencies leads to a 'recalibration' of the semantic comprehension of related role nouns
 - all models confirm previous findings, i.e. generic masculines are more similar to specific masculines than to specific feminines
- generic masculines and gender star forms are different in terms of their semantic features
- these features account for differences in language behaviour found in previous studies on the gender star form
- computational methods are a valuable addition to the study of gender and language

• while the present findings allow for the conclusion that gender star forms more readily represent female individuals...

• while the present findings allow for the conclusion that gender star forms more readily represent female individuals...

one major issue remains: nonbinary representation

- while the present findings allow for the conclusion that gender star forms more readily represent female individuals...
- one major issue remains: nonbinary representation
- we have little to no data available
 - on gender stars in connection with nonbinary representation, e.g. from psycholinguistic studies
 - when it comes to corpora with a sufficient number of nonbinary individuals included

- while the present findings allow for the conclusion that gender star forms more readily represent female individuals...
- one major issue remains: nonbinary representation
- we have little to no data available
 - on gender stars in connection with nonbinary representation, e.g. from psycholinguistic studies
 - · when it comes to corpora with a sufficient number of nonbinary individuals included
- without data to work with, computational approaches like today's cannot provide any relevant insight

- while the present findings allow for the conclusion that gender star forms more readily represent female individuals...
- one major issue remains: nonbinary representation
- we have little to no data available
 - on gender stars in connection with nonbinary representation, e.g. from psycholinguistic studies
 - · when it comes to corpora with a sufficient number of nonbinary individuals included
- without data to work with, computational approaches like today's cannot provide any relevant insight
- overall, more research on gender star forms and nonbinary linguistic representation is called for

• what do today's findings imply for everyday life German?

- what do today's findings imply for everyday life German?
- first, the generic masculine is (still) biased towards male readings

- what do today's findings imply for everyday life German?
- first, the generic masculine is (still) biased towards male readings
- second, the gender star form appears to be more gender-inclusive

- what do today's findings imply for everyday life German?
- first, the generic masculine is (still) biased towards male readings
- second, the gender star form appears to be more gender-inclusive
- third, the gender star form appears to be more complicated to comprehend,
 at least in some sense

- what do today's findings imply for everyday life German?
- first, the generic masculine is (still) biased towards male readings
- second, the gender star form appears to be more gender-inclusive
- third, the gender star form appears to be more complicated to comprehend,
 at least in some sense
- fourth, whether we include genders beyond the binary on a linguistic level by using gender star forms is still unclear



Thank you!

References

- 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, 4895891. https://doi.org/10.1155/2019/4895891
- Bojanowski, P., Grave, E., Joulin, A., & Mikolov, T. (2016). Enriching word vectors with subword information. *Transactions of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 5, 135–146. https://doi.org/10.48550/arxiv.1607.04606
- Boleda, G. (2020). Distributional semantics and linguistic theory. Annual Review of Linguistics, 6(1), 213–234. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011619-030303
- Demarmels, S. (2017). "Gesucht: Assistentin oder Sekretär der Geschäftsleitung" Gendersensitive Formulierungen in Stellenanzeigen aus der Perspektive der Textsorte. In M. Nielsen, K. Luttermann, & M. Lévy-Tödter (Eds.), Stellenanzeigen als Instrument des Employer Branding in Europa: Interdisziplinäre und kontrastive Perspektiven (pp. 249–270). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-12719-0_11
- Doleschal, U. (2002). Das generische Maskulinum im Deutschen. Ein historischer Spaziergang durch die deutsche Grammatikschreibung von der Renaissance bis zur Postmoderne. *Linguistik Online*, 11(2). https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.11.915
- 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
- Harris, Z. S. (1954). Distributional structure. WORD, 10(2-3), 146-162. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1954.11659520
- Heitmeier, M., Chuang, Y.-Y., Axen, S. D., & Baayen, R. H. (2024). Frequency effects in linear discriminative learning. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 17. https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2023.1242720
- 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.
- Kurz, P., & De Mulder, H. (2023). A star is born? the German gender star and its effects on mental representation. *Psychology of Language and Communication*, 27(1), 384–404. https://doi.org/10.58734/PLC-2023-0018
- 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
- Schmitz, D. (2024). Instances of bias: The gendered semantics of generic masculines in German revealed by instance vectors. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Schmitz, D., Schneider, V., & Esser, J. (2023). No genericity in sight: An exploration of the semantics of masculine generics in German. *Glossa Psycholinguistics*, 2(1). https://doi.org/10.5070/G6011192
- Schunack, S., & Binanzer, A. (2022). Revisiting gender-fair language and stereotypes A comparison of word pairs, capital I forms and the asterisk. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 41(2), 309–337. https://doi.org/10.1515/zfs-2022-2008
- 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
- Zacharski, L., & Ferstl, E. C. (2023). Gendered Representations of Person Referents Activated by the Nonbinary Gender Star in German: A Word-Picture Matching Task. *Discourse Processes*, 60(4–5), 294–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2023.2199531