Chapter Six

Burglars, Babysitters, and Persons

The hypotheses and results of the Philadelphia-Minneapolis study are presented below, beginning with the frequencies of the various generic pronouns and continuing into discussion of *he*, singular *they*, *he or she*, and *she* as observed in neighborhood usage. Finally, a class and age-based analysis of epicene *he* in oral versus written usage suggests that this form may be giving way to two alternative strategies. In the absence of any new, positive prescription, speakers appear to be choosing singular *they* and, especially in writing, pronoun avoidance.[1]

In order to minimize interruptions of the narrative, most tabulations have been placed in an appendix.

[1]As explained in Chapter Three, the envelope of variation was defined as the third-person pronouns listed above, along with pronominal *one* and *it*, when used in reference to an indefinite, hypothetical, or quantificational human antecedent regarded as formally singular in number. In previous chapters, and generally in the literature, such usage is designated as *generic* or (as in Newman 1992) *epicene.* In this chapter and in the conclusion, *epicene* is used in its original, narrower sense of "common gender." That is, an antecedent regarded as typically gender-inclusive, gender-indeterminate, or gender-neutral is classified as *epicene*, and so is any pronoun in anaphoric relation to it. In contrast are antecedents regarded as typically masculine or feminine, as well as their anaphoric pronouns. Examples from the neighborhoods will be found throughout the following discussion.

Frequencies

In a sample of 1,267 third-person generic pronouns, including both spoken and written examples, singular *they* was by far the most common form, followed by *he, she,* and other alternatives such as *he or she, it,* and *one.* At 81%, *they* occurred five times more often than *he* and fifty times more often than *she. He,* at 16%, was ten times more frequent than *she.* Any alternatives to *they* or *he* were extremely rare: taken together, *she, he or she,* and the others accounted for only 3% of the total. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

The overwhelming preponderance of *they* in this sample contrasts markedly with the results of experimental studies, where the focus is usually on *he* instead. Although *they* is used more often than *he* in television broadcast studios (Newman 1992), it is apparently less frequent there than in the homes of people who are not professional communicators. Of course, being interviewed by a stranger with a tape recorder makes for an unusual sort of discourse, far more self-conscious than talking casually to a friend, but adults in the neighborhoods used *they* for epicene singular antecedents more than ninety percent of the time, compared to about sixty percent on television. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.2.)

In addition to formal settings, a preponderance of masculine references has been shown to favor *he* over singular *they.* For example, the sixty percent figure just cited is artificially low because Newman includes as "epicene" such antecedents as *lumberjack* and even *man,* which account for "a large proportion" of the masculine pronouns (see his discussion, 463–465).

Television interview data further showed that 47.2% of all antecedents, generic or specific, were anaphorized as *he*. In the neighborhoods, however, *he* was used 47.8% of the time in adult speech (and 43.9% in adult writing) only for masculine-generic antecedents (a virtually identical outcome; p = approximately 0.9). When epicene and

feminine antecedents were included, the proportion of *he* in the neighborhoods dropped to about 15% ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.3). Thus, although the two studies differed slightly in methodology, comparison of the results strongly suggests that both formality and antecedent gender were significant influences on television speech.

HE

Hypotheses and Results

1. *He* will be the most commonly used generic pronoun.

   Not confirmed. Of the 1,267 examples of third-person generic pronouns, *he* accounted for only 15%. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

2. *He* and *they* will occur with equal frequency.

   Not confirmed. At 81%, *they* was five times as frequent as *he.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

3. Males will be the primary users of *he.*

   Confirmed. Males used *he* 31% of the time, other pronouns 69% of the time. Females used *he* 9% of the time, other pronouns 91% of the time. (All pronouns: males, 410; females, 857; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.4.)

4. For all speakers, the most frequent antecedents of *he* will be masculine. This trend will be led by males.

   Partially confirmed. Overall, antecedents of *he* were equally likely to be masculine (52%) or epicene (47%). (Total *he,* 208; $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.5.) But among females, *he* was more likely to be epicene (59%) than masculine (38%) ($p = 0.05$). Among males, *he* was, as predicted, more likely to be masculine (60%) than epicene (40%) ($p < 0.025$). (Total *he:* females, 79; males, 129; difference between male and female usage was significant at $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.6.) This difference was especially noticeable in speech: among females, 68% of 59 *he* were epicene; among males, 66% of 99 *he* were masculine. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.7.)

5. Most masculine antecedents will be associated with *he*. This trend will be led by males.

   Not confirmed. Masculine antecedents were associated about equally with *he* (46%) and *they* (53%), a chance distribution. (Total masculine antecedents, 237; $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.8.) Neither males nor females favored one pronoun over the other. (For either sex, $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.9.)

6. At least some epicene antecedents will be associated with *he.*

Confirmed. Epicene antecedents were associated with *he* 11% and with other pronouns 89% of the time. (Total epicene antecedents, 929; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

This trend will be led by:

a. college-educated speakers

Partially confirmed. Both primary-school students and college-educated people led this trend overall, compared to those with a secondary education ($p < 0.001$). The proportion of *he* among epicene antecedents was 16% for both the primary and the college-educated groups, which did not differ significantly from each another. (Total epicene antecedents: primary, 295; college, 167; see Table 6.10.) In writing, primary-school students appeared to be ahead at 22%, followed by college-educated writers at 15%, but this difference was not significant. (Total epicene antecedents, written: primary, 46; college, 61; $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.11.)

b. higher-income speakers

Not confirmed. No significant effect of income (place of residence) was found. ($p > 0.05$; see Table 6.12.)

c. those with higher-status occupations

Not confirmed. Among adults, those with the second-highest-status occupations used the most *he* (27%). All other occupational groups, considered together, used *he* only 5% of the time. (Total tokens: second-highest group, 82; all others, 449; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.13.)

d. Philadelphians

Confirmed. Philadelphians used more epicene *he* (14%) than did Minneapolitans overall (11%). (Total tokens: Philadelphia, 268; Minneapolis, 753; $p < 0.025$; see Table 6.14.) However, only oral data were available for Philadelphia. Direct comparison of spoken *he* between the two cities showed more significant contrast, 14% in Philadelphia and 8% in Minneapolis. (Total tokens: Philadelphia, 268; Minneapolis oral, 475; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.15.)

e. adults

Partially confirmed. The oldest and youngest people led this trend overall. The proportion of *he* for epicene antecedents was 22% among those older than sixty and 13% among those younger than twenty. (Total epicene antecedents: oldest, 97; youngest, 379; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.16.) In speech, the oldest people were ahead at 23%, followed by the youngest at 13%. (Total epicene antecedents, speech: oldest, 60; youngest, 319; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.17.)

A very strong combined effect of age and education was found for adults. College-educated people over the age of sixty used a far higher proportion of epicene *he* (46%) than did other adults (6%). (Total epicene antecedents, adults: college-educated and over sixty, 35; all other adults, 500; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.18).

f. females

Not confirmed. Males used *he* 22% and other pronouns 78% of the time for epicene antecedents. Females were even less likely to choose *he* (7%), compared to other pronouns (92%). (Total epicene antecedents: males, 228; females, 701; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.19.)

and occur more frequently in (g) writing.

Confirmed. Epicene *he* occurred 13% of the time in writing and 10% in speech. (Total epicene antecedents: written, 186; oral, 743; $p < 0.025$; see Table 6.20.) Style shifting in the use of epicene *he* is discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

7. Epicene NPs in a masculine context (e.g., a *person* playing a boys' game) will be associated with *he* less frequently than masculine NPs (such as a *burglar*), but more frequently than epicene NPs in a gender-neutral context.

Confirmed. Det + NP antecedents were compared. *Guy, man, burglar, boy,* and *mailman* comprised 67 pronoun tokens, of which 64% were *he,* regardless of context. NPs such as *person, leader, (the) one, one* (pronoun), *captain, kid, pitcher, runner, player, adult,* and *neighbor,* when used in a male-oriented context, comprised 75 pronoun tokens, of which 41% were *he.* Other epicene Det + NP antecedents, when used in a gender-neutral context, comprised 316 pronoun tokens, of which 31% were *he.* Across these three cases, *they* increased as *he* decreased, while other alternatives were almost never used. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.21.) In speech, this pattern was even more evident: *he* decreased (in favor of *they*) from 63% to 50% to 15% across the three categories. (Total NPs, speech: masculine, 38; epicene in masculine context, 48; epicene in gender-neutral context, 259; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.22.)

8. *He* will be used rarely, if ever, for feminine antecedents.

Confirmed. He referred to a feminine antecedent only twice (1 to 2%). (Total *he,* 208; total feminine antecedents, 101; $p < 0.001$; see Tables 6.5 and 6.8.)

9. The most frequent antecedents of *he* will take the form Det + NP.

Confirmed. Antecedents of *he* took the form Det + NP 69% of the time, Q-NP 24%, other forms 7%. (Total *he,* 199; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.23.)

10. Most Det + NP antecedents will be associated with *he.*

Not confirmed. The 539 Det + NP antecedents were associated with *he* 26% and with other pronouns 74% of the time. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.24.)

11. At least some Q-NP antecedents will be associated with *he.*

Confirmed. The 569 Q-NP antecedents were associated with *he* 8% of the time, other pronouns 92% of the time. However, different kinds of quantifier behaved differently. *Every, any,* and *no* were associated with *he* 2% of the time, while *some, one,* and *each* were associated with *he* 15% of the time. (Total antecedents: *every, any, no,* 273; *some, one, each,* 299; $p < 0.001$; see Tables 6.23 and 6.24.)

Quantifiers in the former category are analyzed below as a group. They occurred with *he* in both speech and writing, but only six times overall. In the latter category, just one quantifier, *some,* accounts for virtually all the tokens with *he,* and is analyzed below as representative. Although *some* was included as a cue in the writing task, it occurred with *he* only in speech.

This trend will be led by:

a. college-educated speakers

Confirmed. Among college-educated speakers, *some* was associated with *he* 35% of the time, other pronouns 65%. *Some* was associated with *he* 20% of the time among primary-school students and 8% of the time among those with a secondary education. (Total *some:* college, 26; primary, 109; secondary, 118. Comparing college and secondary levels, $p < 0.001$; secondary and primary, $p < 0.005$; college and primary, $p = 0.001$; see Table 6.26.)

Overall, college-educated people accounted for four of the five tokens of *he with every/any/no.* The only person to use such a construction in speech was college-educated.

b. higher-income speakers

Confirmed. In the two lower-income neighborhoods, *some* was associated with *he* 20% of the time, other pronouns 80%. In the two middle-income neighborhoods, *some* was associated with *he* 8% of the time. (Total *some*: lower-income, 179; middle-income, 74; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.27.)

Overall, middle-income residents accounted for four of the five tokens of *he* with *every/any/no.* The only person to use such a construction in speech was a middle-income resident.

c. those with higher-status occupations

Confirmed. Among adults, those in higher-status occupational groups were the more frequent users of *he* with *some*: upper-middle and middle-middle, 22% of 45 tokens; lower-middle and working, 7% of 86 tokens ($p < 0.001$). No significant differences were found within these two groups ($p > 0.1$). (See Table 6.28.)

The most frequent users of *he* with *every/any/no* were those in the second-highest-status occupational group, at 15%. Only one other example of *he* was recorded for these antecedents. (Upper-middle, 0 of 34 tokens; middle-middle, 4 of 27 tokens; lower-middle, 1 of 100 tokens; working, 0 of 38 tokens.)

d. Philadelphians

Partially confirmed. Only oral data were available for comparison. In Philadelphia, *some* was associated with *he* 26% of the time, other pronouns 74%. In Minneapolis, *some* was associated with *he* only 9% of the time. (Total *some:* Minneapolis, 154; Philadelphia, 102; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.29.)

Only one of the five tokens of *he with every/any/no* came from Philadelphia.

e. adults

Partially confirmed. Among adults over age sixty, *some* was associated with *he* 33% of the time, other pronouns 67%. The youngest speakers were next at 18% *he,* followed by young and middle-aged adults at 8%. (Total *some*: sixty and up, 27; nineteen and below, 136; twenty to fifty-nine, 90; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.30.)

A very strong combined effect of age and education was found for adults. Among college-educated people over sixty, *some* was associated with *he* 61% of the time, other pronouns 39%. In no other group of adults (secondary or college-educated; over sixty or under) was *some* associated with *he* more than 7 or 8% of the time. (Total *some:* college, sixty and up, 13; college, under sixty, 13; secondary, sixty and up, 14; secondary, under sixty, 77; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.31.)

Four of the five tokens of *he with every/any/no* came from adults over sixty. All were college-educated. The only person to use such a construction in speech was seventy-one.

f. females

Not confirmed. Among males, *some* was associated with *he* 26% of the time, other pronouns 74%. Females followed with 11% *he*. (Total *some:* males, 89; females, 164; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.32.)

Three of the five tokens of *he* with *every/any/no* came from males. However, the only person to use such a construction in speech was female.

and occur more frequently in (g) writing.

Not confirmed. In Minneapolis, *some* was associated with *he* 9% of the time in speech but never in writing, an insignificant difference. (Total *some:* speech, 154; writing, 23; $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.33.) Only oral data were available for Philadelphia.

Every, any, and *no* were associated with *he* 1% of the time in Minneapolis speech and 5% in Minneapolis writing, also an insignificant difference. (Total *every, any, no:* speech, 106; writing, 83; $p > 0.05$; see Table 6.33.) As expected, however, four of the five tokens of *he* with these antecedents occurred in writing.

Discussion

A very strong two-way association between *he* and masculine-generic antecedents has been demonstrated so often in experimental settings that more research on this question would scarcely seem to be necessary. In the neighborhoods, however, this relationship was decidedly more complex, due to the overwhelming presence of singular *they.*

First, epicene *he* did occur in colloquial speech, as the following examples show (emphasis added).

(1) You think of a word. . . . An' then *somebody* has to try an' guess the letters, like S. I-S. T-E-R. J-O-S. E-P-H. There's no more. An' if *he* misses a word, like if *he* says, well um, "N"—"Sister Joseph," there's no N in it. So you write *'is* head, 'n'

then you make this little N. (Philadelphia girl, age 11, explaining the game "Hangman," played by girls and boys, PH-77-5-8)

(2) *One person* was determined to be It, and then *he* would take you and whip you around, and let you go, and however you landed you had to freeze and be a statue. (Minneapolis woman, 33, explaining the game "Statue Maker," played by girls and boys, MP-88-1-3)

Furthermore, when used at all, generic *he* was just as likely to be epicene as masculine (see Table 6.5). In the neighborhoods, therefore, any association between *he* and masculine antecedents appeared to be at most one-way.

Second, experimental studies (such as Martyna 1978a) indicate that the vast majority of masculine antecedents, a smaller proportion of epicene antecedents, and a minuscule number of feminine ones are associated with *he.* While results from the neighborhoods followed this general trend, *he* was associated with barely half of the masculine antecedents and about ten percent of the epicenes. In contrast to the experimental studies, therefore, observational data suggest that in colloquial usage the relationship between masculine pronouns and masculine generic referents is fairly weak.

Taking a closer look at the antecedents themselves, however, we find that the *salience* of a referent's gender also affects whether *he* will be used. Even as isolated words, *guy*, *man*, *burglar*, *boy*, and *mailman* have masculine connotations, but the interpretation of words like *person* depends more on presupposition and contextual cues. (In this respect, *person* as an antecedent parallels the pronoun *they.*)

(3) I don't believe in fightin' dirty unless *the guy* I'm fightin' is much bigger than I am an' *he* starts using some dirty tactics. (Philadelphia man, age 52, PH-77-5-14)

(4) If *the guy*'s coming, you sit down and you yell a TV show so that you can't get caught, but if *he* catches you, then you—I don't know how you get back out of it. (Minneapolis girl, age 10, explaining the game "TV Tag," played by girls and boys, MP-88-2-13)

(5) You'd grab the bat in a certain place, an' 'en *the other, opposing person* would put *his* hand over like that, and you'd keep goin' up like that, and you'd get to the top . . . . (Minneapolis man, age 69, explaining how boys chose teams for baseball, MP-87-1-2)

(6) My mother judged *a person* by *themselves.* And I'm the same way. . . . I never judge *a person* until I can say that I know *them.* (Philadelphia woman, age 42, PH-77-5-2)

Both in speech and in writing, *he* was used two-thirds of the time for lexical items with a masculine connotation (examples 3 and 4), regardless of context, but dropped off when other, less masculine referents were used (see Table 6.21). This pattern was particularly evident in speech: referents such as *person* were labeled as *he* half the time when depicted in a masculine context (example 5) but only fifteen percent when the context was gender-neutral or inclusive of females (example 6) (see Table 6.22).

The speaker's gender strongly influenced the use of *he*. Overall, males chose this pronoun three times more often than females did; furthermore, male usage and female usage showed opposite but mirroring tendencies. In male speech, *he* referred to a masculine antecedent two-thirds of the time, while female speech, by an equal margin, included more epicene than masculine *he*. These differences support the experimental finding (for example, Martyna 1978) that generic *he* tends to be masculine in male usage and gender-inclusive in female usage (see Tables 6.4 and 6.7).

In general, masculine antecedents were associated about equally with *he* and *they*. Although most of the tokens came from male usage, neither sex favored one pronoun over the other. (The differences seen in Table 6.9 were not significant.) That is, although males were more likely to generalize on male-oriented topics, both sexes were equally likely to use *he* and *they* in masculine-generic reference.

Epicene antecedents were associated with *he* only rarely, yet those who did favor this pronoun were three times more likely to be male (see Table 6.19). In addition, about half the tokens of epicene *he* came from males, a disproportionate share since females

generalized from epicene antecedents about three times more often than males did. These observations parallel the experimental finding that in gender-neutral contexts, males lead in the use of *he*. But were males choosing this pronoun more often then expected, or were females avoiding it?

An overall look at male and female usage suggests the latter inference, that females were indeed avoiding *he*. Among males, 56% of all pronouns, but 40% of *he,* had an epicene antecedent. Among females the gap was much wider: 82% of all pronouns, but only 59% of *he,* were associated with epicenes. (See Table 6.6.) Thus, although neither sex favored *he* for gender-neutral or inclusive reference, females' use of *he* in this situation was lower than expected. While consistent with two earlier studies (Martyna 1978a and Meyers 1990), this finding may seem unusual in light of women's greater preference for standard linguistic forms (Labov 1991: 210). However, if the avoidance of *he* is regarded as an incoming prestige pattern, women might be expected to take the lead in this as in other linguistic "changes from above" (Labov 1991: 213).[2] For additional discussion, see "Style-shift dynamics," below.

According to prescriptive grammarians, *he* rather than *they* should accompany epicene singular antecedents. In the neighborhoods, several trends suggest that even in colloquial usage, prescriptive influences were indeed at work. The people most likely to

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[2]According to Labov, such changes

> take place at a relatively high level of social consciousness, show a higher rate of occurrence in formal styles, are often subject to hypercorrection, and sometimes show overt stereotypes as with stable linguistic variables. Because changes from above share many of the properties of stable linguistic variables, it is not surprising that the role of the sexes is similar, and women lead in both the acquisition of new prestige forms and the elimination of stigmatized forms (1991: 213).

I am suggesting that the avoidance itself (rather than the adoption of a particular alternative pronoun) constitutes a new prestige pattern that now competes with traditional prescriptive *he*. This interpretation is consistent with the approach of contemporary style manuals (e.g., Frank and Treichler 1989), which generally counsel the avoidance of *he* through a variety of editorial means.

use *he* for epicene singulars fell into two educational groups: school-aged children and college-educated adults, especially senior citizens. Although students in college were not included in this study, experiments (e.g. Hyde 1984) have shown that they use epicene *he* more often than younger students, at least in laboratory and classroom settings.

In addition, adults in the second-highest-status occupational group (lower-status professionals, managers) used epicene *he* most frequently—five to six times more often than adults in other occupations. This is the occupational group identified in sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Labov 1972, ch. 5) as the most sensitive to prescriptive pressure, and it incidentally accounted for a much higher proportion of adult speech in the Philadelphia sample (26%) than in Minneapolis (6%) ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.34). Thus the observation that epicene *he* was more frequent in Philadelphia most likely reflects a different occupational mix, influenced to a greater degree by prescriptive norms.[3]

An even more stringent prescription specifies that *he* rather than *they* must be used with quantified noun phrases, including words such as *everyone, anybody, no-one,* and *somebody,* and certain subject pronouns, such as *one* and *whoever*. Once again, school-aged children and college-educated adults, especially senior citizens, were most likely to follow this rule, and so were adults in second-highest-status occupations.

Those quantifiers with the widest scope—*every, any,* and *no*—were associated with *he* so seldom that comparative statistical analysis was impossible; however, four of the five examples came from college-educated senior citizens in second-highest-status occupations, and the fifth came from an upwardly mobile resident of a lower-income neighborhood. According to Newman (1992: 462), this pattern is extremely rare even in televised speech; in the present study, all examples but one occurred in writing.

[3]Due to the time lag in data collection, the possible influence of historic change must also be considered. See discussion under "Style-shift dynamics," below.

(7) [Q: *Everyone* has the right to express an opinion as long as] *he* is polite and reasonable.

(8) [Q: Usually *no-one* moves out of this neighborhood unless] *his* income gets very good and can afford a better.

(9) [Q: *Anyone* can get along in this neighborhood as long as] *he* is considerate of everyone here.

(Examples 7 to 9 from Minneapolis man, age 71, written responses to questionnaire, MP-87-1-1)

(10) There's Halloween night, that's when they go out trick-'n'-treatin'. There's Mischief Night, when they go around and . . . soap up cars. . . . Now for the last couple years, around here you don't find anything. Everything's alright. I leave my car out there, *everybody* leaves *his* car out, and . . . it's noticeably become less and less [troublesome] every year. (Philadelphia woman, age 71, PH-80-2-9)

(11) [Q: *Anyone* can get along in this neighborhood as long as] *he* doesn't get too nosy. (Minneapolis woman, age 40, written response to questionnaire, MP-88-2-11)

The only person to use *he* with *everybody* in colloquial speech (example 10) was demographically rather distinctive: a retired schoolteacher, aged 71, who had gone to college, never married, lived with her parents as an adult, and inherited their house in a middle-income neighborhood. Her very conservative style was also heavily influenced by the religious tracts she saw regularly as the head of a Christian Science reading room. Here are two more examples from the same interview:

(12) When you're trying to teach reading, which is the most complex of all things, *the child* cannot learn it if *he*—If *his* thoughts are not focused on it, you cannot do it. *He* can't do it.

(13) *Man* is, you see, *the man* is, you might say, *this character.* The qualities that *he*'s made up of, but this is the symbol. No matter what happens to this [individual], it can't affect the concept of *Man* as God created *him.* That's the basis of Christian Science.

If we assume that the prescriptive rules are currently being taught to school-aged children, then what can explain the relative preference for prescriptive *he* among college graduates over sixty? We might be seeing evidence of historical change: that is, perhaps singular *they* has become more acceptable, or merely more common, over time. Alternatively, we might assume that higher education, not age, was the major influence

on these speakers, but that does not explain why adults between twenty and sixty used prescriptive *he* at a much lower level, whether they went to college or not.

The most likely explanation is both social and historical: those who could afford to go to college before World War II were, socioeconomically, a fairly elite group, whose speech patterns were more likely to parallel prescriptive norms. Of the college-educated seniors in this study, the most conservative speaker (the retired schoolteacher quoted above) was born into this professional class, while the other three entered it through work or marriage.

It was somewhat surprising to find, overall, only slightly more epicene *he* in writing than in speech. For primary-school students, filling out a written questionnaire for an adult was definitely a testing situation, and the use of epicene *he* rose accordingly. Among adults, however, the proportion of *he* among all epicene pronouns appears to be subject to various demographic factors that nearly canceled each other out in the sample as a whole. A more detailed discussion of style shifting appears at the conclusion of this chapter.

Reference has already been made to the social factors (formality of setting, male speakers, and masculine references) which may account for the dramatic differences in the frequencies of *he* on television and in the neighborhoods. Grammatically, however, many of the results are parallel, although the overwhelming preference for *they* in colloquial speech qualifies some of Newman's conclusions.

On television, for example, most antecedents of *he* were definite or indefinite NPs rather than quantifiers. Conversely, compared to other NPs, quantifiers included a smaller proportion of antecedents for *he*. In the neighborhoods, likewise, most tokens of *he* occurred with determiner NPs *(a, the),* both in speech and especially in writing. The converse relationship was also parallel: compared to determiner NPs, quantifiers included

a smaller proportion of antecedents for *he*. However, social differences between the two studies are reflected in the fact that *they* dominated all categories of antecedent NPs in the neighborhoods, not just quantifiers as on television. For determiner NPs, most likely because of prescriptive pressure, the proportion of *he* increased between speech and writing in the neighborhoods ($p < 0.005$), and between neighborhood and television speech ($p < 0.001$). (See Tables 6.34 and 6.35.)

Another grammatical parallel between the two studies concerns solid as opposed to nonsolid reference. Recall that according to Newman, a nonsolid referent is "hypothetical, generic, or quantificational," and a solid referent is "a concrete specific entity" (1992: 459).[4] In television speech, Newman found that a "strong majority" (78%) of solid referents were associated with *he* and *she* rather than *they* (1992: 463). The inverse was true of nonsolid referents, of which an even stronger majority (89%) were associated with *they* rather than *he* and *she.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.37.)

In the neighborhoods, the results were similar. Although referentially solid *somebody* NPs were excluded from this study, they were recorded separately as marginal cases. Of the pronouns in this category, a weak majority (62%) were *he* and *she,* mostly the former. However, just as on television, the nonsolid *somebody* NPs were associated with *they* (84%) rather than *he* or *she* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.37). Across the two studies, despite the differences in social setting, the proportion of solid *he* (54%) was identical, and that of nonsolid *they* was statistically the same ($p < 0.01$).

(14) Whenever I'm in a fight and after, I always look back, and then I got [= hold] my arms like this. [Q: Just in case.] Yeah. I got my arm, and once *someone* jumped up behind me. *He* didn' know I was lookin', and *he* was creepin' behind and doesn't think that I was lookin', and I socked *'im* in the face again. (Minneapolis boy, age 7, MP-88-2-5; solid reference: narrative)

[4]Here Newman is using the term *generic* in its narrow sense to denote a representative of a class (1992: 471 n. 2).

(15) I don't like when people jump out [playing Hide and Seek at night]. And, like, if I was playin' with *someone*, like, I really hated, *they* would jump out. [Q: Oh, that's scary.] Yes! You won't know it's *them!* Or—God only knows who! Or if *they* weren't playing, but now *they* are. What if you hated *their* guts? And *they* hated your guts, and *they* jumped on you? Ugh! (Minneapolis girl, age 9, MP-88-1-7; nonsolid reference: hypothetical)

The concept of referential solidity can also be clarified in light of some results noted earlier: that *he* was associated most closely with lexical items like *burglar*, which have masculine connotations regardless of context; less closely with epicene referents like *person*, even when depicted in a masculine context; and least closely with epicene referents like *person* when the context was gender-neutral or inclusive of females. Although the actual referents were all hypothetical or generic, and hence nonsolid, this continuum of notional gender seems to have sharpened the speakers' mental imagery.

Although Newman identifies notional number as a "cline" (489), his treatment of gender is not so nuanced. While aware that "[m]any circumstances can influence the possible degree of masculinity or femininity imputed to a referent" (464), he is understandably reluctant to construct gender categories according to "social stereotypes" rather than the speaker's point of view. Consequently, as noted earlier, his "epicene" antecedents include words like *man* and *guy*, as well as stereotypically masculine occupations such as lumberjack and brain surgeon. Newman's attempts to correlate various pronouns with determinacy of gender result in "a degree of uncertainty" regarding *he* and "positive confusion" for singular *they* (465).

The present study avoided this problem in two ways: through interviews on a variety of neighborhood topics, which provided a great deal of pragmatic context for each speaker, and by asking interviewees to specify, for example, whether a given children's game was generally played by girls, boys, or both sexes. To a greater extent, therefore, it was the speaker's point of view (informed, of course, by social stereotypes) that determined the gender category of various roles and activities. The observed contrasts

among *burglars,* notionally masculine *persons,* and notionally epicene *persons* suggest that, given adequate social context, a degree of gender determinacy can not only be measured, but also correlated with *he* in a systematic way. Recognizing a continuum of notional gender as well as notional number strengthens the concept of referential solidity.

To summarize the neighborhood findings so far, we can say that, overall, the association between *he* and masculine-generic referents was not very strong. This pronoun was equally likely to be masculine-generic or epicene, and masculine-generic antecedents were associated equally with *he* and *they.* On the other hand, epicene antecedents were associated with *he* only one time in ten. Thus, although singular *they* occupied almost all of the generic-pronoun territory, *he* was especially visible in masculine-generic reference.

On the whole, males used *he* three times more often than females did. In male usage, moreover, referents of *he* were usually masculine-generic. Although females' *he,* when used at all, was typically epicene, females themselves apparently avoided this pronoun in neutral or inclusive reference. For this reason, although *they* was preferred by both sexes, males were the most frequent users of *he* as an epicene pronoun. Language-user sex differences in the use of *he* were limited to epicene referents. For masculine-generic antecedents, neither sex showed a particular preference for *he* over *they.* When the referent was feminine-generic, neither sex was inclined to use *he* at all.

This pronoun, therefore, still tends to be associated with either masculine referents or male speakers; in addition, *he* is likely to occur in a more self-conscious, prescriptively influenced style, as shown by results from lower-status professionals and managers, current students, and college-educated senior citizens.

He also tends to be associated with definite and indefinite NPs rather than quantifiers, and with solid rather than nonsolid referents, not only in televised interviews but also in neighborhood usage.

SINGULAR THEY

Hypotheses and Results

1. Singular *they* will be the most commonly used generic pronoun.

   Confirmed. As noted above, singular *they* accounted for 81% of the 1,267 third-person generic pronouns. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

2. *They* will follow *he* in frequency.

   Not confirmed. He, at 16%, was far behind *they* in frequency. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

3. The primary users of *they* will be:
   a. noncollege adults

      Confirmed. Overall, those with a high-school education used slightly more *they* (87%) than college-educated people (74%) or primary-school students (77%), and led in both oral and written usage. (All pronouns: high-school, 602; college, 278; primary school, 384; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.38.)

   b. lower-income residents

      Not confirmed. The frequency of singular *they* was virtually identical in middle-income neighborhoods (75%) and lower-income neighborhoods (78%). (All pronouns: middle-income, 309; lower-income, 618; $p > 0.1$; see Table 6.39.)

   c. those with lower-status occupations

      Confirmed. The primary users of *they* were the two lower-status occupational groups (86%). Adults in the second-highest-status occupational group used the least *they* (66%) but did not differ significantly from adults in the highest-status group (75%). (All pronouns: upper-middle, 168; middle-middle, 114; lower-middle, 348; working, 120; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.40.)

   d. children

      Not confirmed. Young and middle-aged adults (ages 20 to 59) were the most frequent users of *they,* at 86%. Following were the youngest speakers (79%) and older people (65%). (All pronouns: young and middle-aged adults, 611; children and adolescents, 492; older adults, 164; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.41.)

   e. females

Confirmed. Females used *they* 87% of the time, compared to males at 67%. (All pronouns: females, 857; males, 410; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.4.)

4. *They* will be used more often in speech than in writing.

Partially confirmed. In Minneapolis, singular *they* was indeed more common in speech (84%) than in writing (76%). For primary-school students, this difference was especially great (86% in speech, 67% in writing). (Total *they*, Minneapolis: speech, 618; writing, 278; $p < 0.001$. Primary-school students, *they*, Minneapolis: speech, 181; writing, 70; $p < 0.001$. See Table 6.42.)

5. Spoken usage will include more *they* than *he or she*.

Confirmed. Alternative generic pronouns, including *he or she*, amounted to only 2% of 989 oral tokens, compared to *they* at 82%. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.43.)

6. For all speakers, the most frequent antecedents of *they* will be epicene. Females will lead this trend.

Confirmed. Of the 1,023 antecedents associated with *they*, 80% were epicene ($p < 0.001$). A higher proportion of *they* was epicene among females (86%) than males (65%). (Total *they:* females, 749; males, 274; $p < 0.001$; see Tables 6.5 and 6.6.)

7. Most epicene antecedents will be associated with *they*.

Confirmed. Of the 929 epicene antecedents, 88% were associated with *they*. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

This trend will be led by:

a. females

Confirmed. Females led this trend, choosing *they* 92% of the time for epicene antecedents. The male preference for epicene *they* (78%) was not as strong. (Total epicene antecedents: females, 701; males, 228; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.19.)

b. Minneapolitans

Confirmed. The preference for *they* in Minneapolis (92%) was slightly higher than in Philadelphia (83%). (Total epicene antecedents: Minneapolis, 475; Philadelphia, 268; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.15). Only oral data were available for comparison.

8. Epicene NPs in a gender-neutral or inclusive context (e.g. a *person* playing a game open to both sexes) will be associated with *they* more frequently than epicene NPs in a gendered context (e.g. a *person* playing a boys' game or a girls' game). Gendered NPs (such as a *burglar* or a *babysitter*) will be associated with *they* less frequently than epicene NPs.

Confirmed. Epicene NPs such as *person* were associated with *they* 79% of the time when the context was gender-neutral or inclusive, but 66% when the context was gendered ($p = 0.05$). Compared to epicene NPs, gendered NPs such as *burglar* or *babysitter* were associated with *they* only 40% of the time, regardless of context ($p < 0.001$). (Total epicene

Det + NPs: in gender-neutral or inclusive context, 356; in gendered context, 122. Total gendered Det + NPs, 97; see Table 6.44.)

9. At least some *they* will be used for masculine antecedents. Males will lead this trend.

Partially confirmed. Of the 1,023 antecedents associated with *they,* 12% were masculine ($p < 0.001$). Conversely, among the 237 masculine antecedents, the difference between *they* (53%) and *he* (46%) was not significant ($p > 0.1$). (See Tables 6.5 and 6.8.)

Regardless of their own sex, people chose *they* for masculine antecedents about half the time. However, *they* was six times more likely to be masculine in male usage (31%) than among females (5%). (Total *they:* males, 274; females, 749; $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.6.)

10. More masculine antecedents will be associated with *they* than with *he or she.*

Confirmed. Of the 237 masculine antecedents, only four (2%) were associated with any pronoun other than *they* or *he.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

11. *They* will be used least often for feminine antecedents. Females will lead this trend.

Confirmed. Only 7% of the antecedents associated with *they* were feminine, about half the proportion of masculine antecedents ($p < 0.001$). But *they* was more likely to be feminine in female usage (9%) than in male usage (4%). (Total *they:* females, 749; males, 274; $p < 0.001$. See Tables 6.5 and 6.6.)

12. More feminine antecedents will be associated with *they* than with *he or she.*

Confirmed. Three quarters of the 101 feminine antecedents were associated with *they,* regardless of speaker sex. Alternatives, including *he or she,* amounted to only 23%. ($p < 0.001$; see Tables 6.6 and 6.8.)

13. *They* will be used more frequently for Q-NP antecedents than for Det + NP antecedents.

Partially confirmed. Of the 757 tokens of *they* in speech, about half (56%) co-occurred with Q-NP antecedents. Just over a third (37%) were associated with Det + NP ($p < 0.001$). Among the 212 written tokens, however, the proportions of Q-NP (48%) and Det + NP (42%) did not differ significantly ($p > 0.1$). (See Table 6.45.)

14. Most Q-NP antecedents will be associated with *they.*

Confirmed. Of the 569 Q-NP antecedents, 91% occurred with *they.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.24.)

15. Most Det + NP antecedents will not be associated with *they.*

Not confirmed. A majority (69%) of the 539 Det + NP antecedents were associated with *they* ($p < 0.001$). This trend was stronger in speech (73%) than in writing (59%). (Total Det + NP antecedents: speech, 390; writing, 149; $p < 0.001$. See Tables 6.23 and 6.34.)

Discussion

The major finding of this study regarding singular *they* is how universal it seems to be: not only did *they* account for eight of every ten third-person generic pronouns, but it also spilled over, as we have seen, from epicene into masculine reference. If scarcity obscures the analysis of overtly gendered pronouns such as *she* and *he*, the nearly categorical use of *they* poses the opposite problem, that of finding any variation at all. Nevertheless, both social and grammatical factors do influence who uses this pronoun, and under what circumstances.

There is a very strong two-way relationship between epicene generic antecedents and singular *they.* More than nine hundred such antecedents were recorded, and nine out of ten were anaphorized in this manner. Conversely, *they* was associated with over a thousand generic singular antecedents, of which eighty percent were epicene and the rest were gendered. To repeat Newman's own observation, "These results provide support to the intuitions of a number of authors . . . that singular *they* is probably the most common epicene pronominal in English" (1992: 460).

Both masculine and feminine generic antecedents were also associated with singular *they,* but not in parallel fashion. While *they* and *he* were used equally often for masculine generic antecedents, feminine ones were anaphorized as *they* three-quarters of the time. That is, even when the referent was both singular and female, *they* was evidently felt to be more suitable than *she* for generic use, a consideration that did not apply to the masculine pronoun. Just as some people say *chairperson* when they mean 'chairwoman,' could there be a touch of euphemism in this feminine singular *they?* Some examples:

(16) [Q: What would happen if *a girl* asked a boy to dance?] *They*—some people would dance with *them,* but, like, others wouldn't. [Q: How come?] It depends on the girl—who the girl is. (Philadelphia girl, age 12, PH-77-5-4)

(17) I consider [childbirth] the most important event of my life. An' it's somethin' I'll never forget, an' I'm glad I had the opportunity to have a child an' to see

> everything. I can't imagine *anyone* just being knocked out an' wake up an' have the baby in *their* arms. I think *they* miss so much. (Philadelphia woman, age 29, PH-77-5-5)

As was the case with *he,* both speaker sex and prescriptive pressure affected the distribution of *they;* however, the fact that *they* is nonstandard as well as gender-neutral creates a potential conflict for self-conscious language users, especially women. Nevertheless, based on experimental evidence (Martyna 1978a), one would expect females to lead both in frequency and in inclusive as well as feminine uses of this pronoun.

In the neighborhoods, when the referent was epicene, females almost invariably chose *they,* while the male preference was not as strong. When the referent was gendered, no effect of speaker sex was found. Both males and females, in about equal proportions, used *they* quite freely for masculine antecedents and overwhelmingly for feminine ones, a result also reported by Wang (1991).

Sex differences in the choice of topic also influenced the frequency of *they* relative to other pronouns. *They* was far more likely to be epicene or feminine in female usage, not only because females preferred this pronoun for non-masculine referents, but also because such referents occurred much more often in female speech. Conversely, male usage included a greater proportion of masculine *they,* but only because males generalized more often about masculine topics than females did.

Given the prescriptive pressure in favor of *he,* it was not surprising to find that *they* was most common among those with a high-school education, rather than college-educated people or primary students still in school. In Minneapolis, where oral and written usage could be compared, the last-named group also showed the most style shift. In addition, speakers over age 60 were more conservative than younger adults, the most frequent users of singular *they.* Among occupational groups, *they* was used almost

invariably by adults of lower status and least by adults of second-highest status. As discussed above (see Table 6.34), the second-highest occupational group formed a greater part of the Philadelphia sample and probably accounts for the lower incidence of *they* in that city.[5] Otherwise, place of residence (by neighborhood income) appeared to have no effect on either oral or written usage.

Just as Newman (1992) observed in televised speech, *they* as used in the neighborhoods was associated more often with quantifiers *(every, any, some)* than determiners *(a, the).* About half the tokens of *they* had antecedent quantifiers, and over a third had antecedent determiners. Conversely, quantifiers themselves were almost invariably anaphorized as *they,* but so were most of the determiners. As noted earlier, the predominance of this pronoun in both categories reflects the difference in social setting between neighborhood and studio interviews; however, the grammatical trends are parallel in the two studies.

Examples of *they* with a quantifier or relative pronoun are given above, (15) and (17), and below:

(18) *Every alcoholic* has a person that *they* nail [= abuse]. (Minneapolis woman, age 28, MP-88-2-15)

(19) *Each of our children* has *their* own room. (Minneapolis woman, age 46, MP-88-1-9; has both sons and daughters)

(20) Ya all run around the yard, and, you know, one person was It, then *whoever* you tagged, then *they* were It. (Minneapolis woman, age 40, MP-88-2-11, explaining children's game of Tag)

(21) The closest we've gotten to any of our neighbors would probably be on either side of us. . . . But otherwise, *nobody*'s ever, you know, gone out of *their* way to talk to us. (Minneapolis woman, age 33, MP-88-2-9)

Some examples of *they* with determiners are:

(22) I'll tell you, today, with all this child abuse, *a parent* is a little more hesitant to lay *their hands* on the children. (Philadelphia woman, age 29, PH-77-5-11)

[5]As mentioned above (note 2), however, historic change might also be a factor. See discussion under "Style-shift dynamics," below.

(23) Usually, if one [spouse] is Catholic, as long as *the other*'s Catholic, whichever nationality *they* are doesn't matter, as long as *they*'re Catholic. I mean if *they*'re a good Catholic, you know. (Philadelphia woman, age 39, PH-77-5-1)

Also note the exchange that immediately followed:

(24) [Q: What's "a good Catholic"?] *One* who loves *their* religion, practices *their* religion.

A further grammatical parallel concerns notional number: that is, the semantic as opposed to the formal syntactic scope of the referent. Formally, and prescriptively, the antecedent of a pronoun must be either singular or plural; thus, quantifiers such as *somebody* and even *everybody* are counted as singular, along with relative pronouns *(whoever, whichever)* and determiner NPs. Notionally, however, Newman has shown that semantic neutrality constitutes a third category of number relevant to generic pronoun reference; in his study, "any referent that was not clearly a single entity, and so singular, or clearly multiple and therefore plural, was classified as neutral" (458).

Following Newman's model, the present study classified the quantifiers *every, any*, and *no* as notionally plural; the quantifiers *some* and *each*, pronominal *one*, and the relative pronouns *(wh-)* as notionally neutral; and determiner-NPs as notionally singular. In speech, as expected, the frequency of *they* dropped steadily from 98% to 85% to 73% across these three categories ($p < 0.001$). Presumably due to prescriptive influence, the written responses fell into only two, with 59% *they* for determiner-NPs and 96% *they* for all others ($p < 0.001$). No difference was observed between notionally neutral and notionally plural antecedents, suggesting an expansion of *they* even in this relatively self-conscious, binary classification. (See Table 6.46.)

The concept of notional gender, discussed above, also appeared to influence the distribution of this pronoun. From epicene *person* to gendered *person* to gender-stereotyped *burglar* and *babysitter* (and the like), the incidence of *they* fell from 79% to 66% to 40%. (See Table 6.44.) Though all such antecedents are *formally* epicene, *they*

was preferred when the pragmatic context supported a gender-neutral or inclusive scope. In speech, from epicene *person* to masculine *person* to stereotypically masculine *burglar* (and the like), the incidence of *they* fell from 83% to 48% to 37% (see Table 6.22).

Another comparison for referential solidity was made between hypothetical and actual *somebody* (see examples 15 and 14, above, and Table 6.37). *They* was used 84% of the time in the former case and only 36% in the latter, a result which supports Newman's finding that "the overwhelming majority of nonsolid tokens use *they* as an anaphor, and a similarly strong majority of solid ones contain a singular pronominal" (463).

We therefore find, in contrast to *he,* that singular *they* occurs most often in a colloquial, relatively unselfconscious style, particularly among female speakers and those with a high-school education. Grammatically, Newman's conclusions may also be cited here:

> *They* most strongly corresponds to epicene gender, and the singular pronominals to their respective genders. Numerically, singularity is associated with formally singular pronominals, whereas plurality—and perhaps to a lesser extent neutrality—are associated with *they*. In terms of referential solidity, *they* is suggestive of nonsolid, and the singular pronominals of solid referents (470).

Small wonder, then, that singular *they* is overwhelmingly favored in generic usage. In addition, the "euphemistic" use of *they* for feminine antecedents is likewise a function of diminished referential solidity. Just *why* such euphemism seems to be necessary will be discussed later in this chapter.

Alternation between they *and other pronouns*

Occasionally, *they* was found to co-occur with a formally singular third-person generic pronoun for the same antecedent. Shifting between the two is rarely discussed in studies of generic pronoun usage, yet a related phenomenon is recorded as far back as Middle English, according to Schlauch (1959):

> A curious example of deviation from modern habits of speech appears in the employment of what we may call a generic singular pronoun of indefinite reference. A plural noun may be followed by a singular pronoun referring to it, when the former designates a group of people. In such cases the singular pronoun stands for a generic representative of the group. . . . We find the same sort of substitution of a generic singular for an expected plural in popular literature dealing with types of persons in the nether world: tricksters, vagabonds, and the like. Descriptions of these types frequently begin with a plural noun and then shift to a singular pronoun in reference. . . . Sometimes on the other hand the shift is from singular to plural . . . (97–98).

Although her examples come from colloquial literature, Schlauch points out that "shifting from a plural to a generic singular is also to be found occasionally in more learned writers" (99n9; see also 74n22).

Three studies of personification (one by Mathiot (1979) and two by MacKay and Konishi ([1980] 1981) have attempted to account for third-person pronoun alternation in terms of the speaker's attitude toward a nonhuman referent. Switching to a gendered pronoun was associated with personal involvement or empathy, while the use of *it* appeared to signal emotional distance.

Pronoun shifting is also recorded in two observational studies of contemporary American English. Both Meyers (1990) and Newman (1992) label their examples as "inconsistent" usage, a residual category that covers disfluency or error. "Consistency carries weight in this study because it suggests control," writes Meyers, "which in turn suggests conscious editorial choices" (231). Similarly, Newman commented on the use of *he or she:* "The fact that it most frequently appears in inconsistent use suggests that it is the result of on-line editing" (460). An example is given in Wang 1991.

In contrast, the present data suggest that, self-conscious or not, shifting between singular *they* and other third-person generic pronouns is a remarkably consistent rhetorical strategy. In 18 of the 23 examples recorded here, *they* was used to express rules and generalizations, to set up a conceptual frame for hypothetical or specific actions, to distance the narrator from the content of the narrative, and to distinguish nonsolid from

solid antecedents. In 16 of these examples, *he* and *she* were associated with specific, hypothetical, or solid referents, typically in actions or situations within a general frame.

For instance:

(25) Sometimes *the mailman* doesn't stick [the Social Security check] through, you know, the wooden door. You know, *he*'ll stick it through the storm door. And, like, the kids could open it. It could fall down. . . . So if it's important mail, *they* should stick it through the big door. (Philadelphia woman, age 25, PH-77-5-12)

The speaker uses *he* when reporting the actual behavior of her mailman but switches to *they* when making a generalization about what mailmen (including her own) ought to do.

Another woman quoted the advice her grandmother Nette once gave her on sex roles in marriage:

(26) "Take care of *your man*. You know, *he* goes and works, and you come home, you take care of the kids. You take care of *him*, there's nothing *he* ever has to go without." I said, "Where's the time for you to be your own person?" And Nette says, "After *they* die." I says, "All them years?" (Minneapolis woman, age 28, MP-88-2-15)

The grandmother's advice, although traditional, is at first directed toward the younger woman by means of a personal, specific *you.* The granddaughter's question, "Where's the time for you to be your own person?" shifts to an impersonal, generic *you* that widens the scope: 'Where's the time for any wife (including me) to be her own person?' In response, the grandmother's shift to *they* subtly reaffirms the idea that traditional sex roles ought to apply to marriages in general.

The exceptions to this trend were also interesting. All but one were associated with epicene rather than stereotypically gendered antecedents, not surprising given the relative nonsolidity of epicene gender. Three followed conjunctions (e.g., *and then*) signaling a new episode or other semantic shift, a pattern also observed by Newman. One (see below) was a reversal, where *they* was hypothetical and *he* was general—a semantic contrast, nonetheless. There were only two examples of apparently free variation, one of which came from a speaker aged seven. Just one instance of hesitation and backtracking

was found, where *it*, referring to traffic, was replaced by *they*, meaning commuters. This statement occurred in a narrative as a specific, rather than generic, reference.

In the following explanation, reversing the usual trend, *he* is used in stating general rules, while *they* occurs in a qualifying situation and commentary:

> [Q: If *somebody* came up to one of you and said, "I'll give you a fair fight," what's a fair fight?]
>
> (30) [rule #1] A fair fight is *he* gets to fight with no weapons, and the other person gets to fight with no weapons. . . .
>
> (31) [qualification] Don't say, "Come 'ere," and when *they*'re running, put out your foot, like you're Master Kung Fu. . . .
>
> (32) [commentary] Like, *they*'re not seeing, *they* don't see your foot, so that—"Come run and fight with me," and *they*'re goin' past you, and *they* trip and hit you when you put your leg out.
>
> (33) [rule #1a] If you trip, that's cheating.
>
> (34) [rule #1b] Another thing that's cheating is, "Close your eyes for a second," and punchin' *'im* in the face.
>
> (35) [rule #1c] Another one is sneak up on—behind *him* and kick *him* right in the back.
>
> (Minneapolis boy, age 7, MP-88-2-5)

The following description of a turn-of-the-century parlor game was not counted as an example of pronoun switching because *they* and *he* have different antecedents. But observe how these two pronouns help to distinguish a relatively nonsolid figure from a relatively solid one—a rhetorical function that parallels the switching phenomenon:

> (36) All the men would have to come in the living room, and in the dining room they had a chair tha', you know, they could lean back on. And they would blindfold *the man*, and they would say, "Would you like a certain young lady to kiss you?" And, "Oh, yes," *they* would.
>
> (37) But they had *one man, he* would do the kissing.
>
> (38) And then they'd say, "Would you like another one?" And, "Oh, yes, yes." So then they would take the blindfold off and said *they* could watch while the next fella—*they* saw that it was a man doing the kissing.
>
> (Philadelphia woman, age 71, PH-80-2-16)

In (36) and (38), *the man,* that is, any of several players who might consent to be blindfolded, takes the pronoun *they.* In contrast (example 37), *one man*—the particular player who did all the kissing—is differentiated as *he.*

Clearly, error alone cannot account for the "inconsistent" use of generic pronouns, at least in speech. Instead, the phenomenon of pronoun shifting, though fairly rare, is quite consistent with the rhetorical connotations of singular *they.*[6]

HE OR SHE

Hypotheses and Results

1. In speech, *he or she* will follow *they* in frequency.

   Not confirmed. Among 989 tokens of generic pronouns in speech, *he or she* occurred only once (0.1%), while *she* was used twelve times (1.2%). *He* was used in speech 158 times (16%). *They* overshadows all the rest. ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.43.)

2. *He or she* will be used more in writing than in speech.

   Not confirmed. Although four of the five tokens were found in writing, these numbers are too small for meaningful comparison. (See Table 6.43.)

3. Written usage will include more *he or she* than *they.*

   Not confirmed. The 278 written tokens included 76% *they* but only 1.4% *he or she.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.43.)

4. The primary users of *he or she* will be . . .

   Not confirmed. The primary users of *he or she* cannot be determined from such small numbers. The relevant trends are:

   a. females

      Four of the five tokens came from females, including two from the same woman.

   b. college-educated speakers

      All of the tokens came from college-educated people or their spouses.

   c. higher-income speakers

[6]Foregrounding and backgrounding information through pronoun shifts in colloquial English might be compared to alternation between the standard French *passé composé* and *imparfait,* which serves a similar rhetorical function in past-tense narratives.

Two of these individuals lived in middle-class neighborhoods, and the other two said that their household income and middle-class orientation set them apart from their neighbors.

d. Minneapolitans

Four of the five tokens came from Minneapolis writing, and the fifth was from Philadelphia speech. No regional comparison is possible because no written data were collected in Philadelphia.

e. adults

The four individuals ranged in age from 29 to 47.

5. *He or she* will be used most often for epicenes, less often for feminine referents, and least often for masculine ones.

Not confirmed. Again, statistical comparison is impossible. *He or she* was used three times for feminine referents and once each for epicene and masculine ones. (See Table 6.5.)

6. More epicene referents will be associated with *he or she* than with *he.*

Not confirmed. In a total of 929 epicene referents, 98 (11%) were associated with *he* and only one (0.1%) with *he or she.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

7. More feminine antecedents will be associated with *he or she* than with *they.*

Not confirmed. As noted earlier, three-quarters of the 101 feminine antecedents were associated with *they. He or she* was used just three times for feminine antecedents, about the same as prescriptive *he.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

8. *He or she* will be used more for Det + NP antecedents than for Q-NP ones.

Not confirmed. Statistical comparison is not possible; however, all five tokens of *he or she* did occur with Det + NP antecedents. (See Table 6.24.)

Discussion

Approved by grammarians, accepted by feminists, and judged as inclusive by both sexes, the disjunctive pronoun *he or she* might have been expected to turn up fairly frequently in a sample of nearly thirteen hundred generic pronouns. In an attitudes survey (Harrigan and Lucic 1988), as we have seen, adults in a university setting estimated that in speech, *he or she* accounted for about one pronoun in five, about the same rate as singular *they.* In actual speech, however, the present study found that *he or she* was about 800 times less common than *they,* accounting for about one pronoun in a thousand. This

result is comparable to Newman's finding for televised speech, where "the explicitly mixed gender form . . . was rarely used" (460).

He or she was also quite rare in writing, with just four instances recorded in this study. They are:

(38) [Q: If *a person* runs out of sugar while baking a cake,] *he or she* would go buy some. (Minneapolis man, age 47, MP-88-1-10)

[Q: If *a babysitter* hears a suspicious noise outside,]

(39) *she or he* should call 911. (Minneapolis woman, age 49, MP-88-1-6)

(40) *he/she* would investigate the noise. (Minneapolis woman, age 33, MP-88-2-9)

(41) [Q: If *a burglar* hears you coming in the front door, chances are that] *he/she* will escape through window or side door. (Minneapolis woman, age 33, MP-88-2-9)

The primary users of *he or she*—if any exist—could not, of course, be statistically determined from a total of five tokens. On the other hand, younger, college-educated women with a middle-class outlook might be expected to use *he or she* in writing. No regional comparison was possible.

Again due to lack of evidence, no statistical correlation could be confirmed between *he or she* and antecedent gender. Not surprisingly, *he* was used more often than *he or she* for generic masculine antecedents, but this was also true when the antecedent was gender-neutral or inclusive. Even when the antecedent was generic and feminine, *he or she* was no more frequent than prescriptive *he*, each occurring once for every 24 instances of singular *they.* Also note the use of *they,* rather than *he or she,* with an antecedent of disjunctive gender:

(42) [Q: When you were a kid, did you have any rules about whether you could stay out late at night? Or did you have to be in at a certain time?] When it got dark, you were in. . . . Inna summer, as long as you were—well, I'll speak for my family—when *my mother or father* came out the door, *they* better be able to see me. . . . [If] *they* couldn't see me, I was in trouble. (Philadelphia man, age 52, PH-77-5-14)

Self-conscious usage is suggested by the fact that four of the five examples came from writing and were associated with gendered, especially feminine, antecedents. The fifth instance—the only example recorded from speech—was hypercorrect:

(43) My husband and I wanted a child for a long time, but we really didn't think it was best while he was in school. And uh I—we decided that when we did have *a child,* I—you know, I would want—to stay home with . . . . I wouldn't want to put *he or she* into a nursery school. (Philadelphia woman, age 29, PH-77-5-5)

Finally, the five instances of *he or she* were associated with determiner-NPs, consistent with other formally singular pronouns such as *he.*

Why does the disjunctive pronoun appear so seldom? Perhaps those who accept it most readily—prescriptive grammarians and their feminist critics—are the very groups with whom *he or she* is most strongly identified. Although language attitudes were beyond the scope of this study, the pronoun *he or she,* apparently so innocuous, may sound, to some ears, either too pedantic or too political.

SHE

Hypotheses and Results

1. *She* will be the least commonly used generic pronoun.

   Not confirmed. The least commonly used generic pronouns were *one* (2 tokens), *he or she* (5 tokens), and *it* (6 tokens). *She* was next at 21 tokens, or 1.6% of the total. On the other hand, *he,* at 16%, appeared ten times more often, while *they,* at 81%, was fifty times more frequent than *she.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.1.)

2. Females will be the primary users of *she.*

   Confirmed. Of the 21 tokens, 17 came from females. (See Table 6.4.)

3. The most frequent referents of *she* will be feminine.

   Confirmed. Referents of *she* were feminine in 19 of 21 cases. (See Table 6.5.)

4. Most feminine referents will be associated with *she.*

   Not confirmed. Only 19% of the 101 feminine referents were associated with *she,* compared to 75% with *they.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

5. *She* will be used rarely, if ever, for epicene referents.

   Confirmed. Referents of *she* were epicene just twice in 21 examples. (See Table 6.5.)

6. (Self-conscious, feminist usage) Epicene referents will rarely, if ever, be associated with *she.*

   Confirmed. Compared to other pronouns, the proportion of epicene referents associated with *she* was vanishingly small (0.2%). ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

   This trend will be led by . . .

   The primary users of epicene *she* cannot be determined from only two written tokens. For the record, one individual was a nine-year-old girl from a middle-class neighborhood, and the other was a forty-year-old woman, not college-educated, from a working-class neighborhood. Both lived in Minneapolis.

7. *She* will not be used for masculine referents.

   Confirmed. Out of 237 instances, no masculine referents occurred with *she.* ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.8.)

8. The most frequent antecedents of *she* will take the form Det + NP.

   Confirmed. All of the 19 known antecedents of *she* took the form Det + NP (two could not be determined).

9. (Prescriptive usage) At least some antecedents of *she* will take the form Q-NP.

   Not confirmed. Q-NP never occurred with *she.*

Discussion

Contrary to expectation, *she* was not the least common generic pronoun used in the neighborhoods. That dubious honor belongs to pronominal *one* (2 tokens), followed by *he or she* and *it,* the latter referring to a baby.[7] Yet in nearly thirteen hundred tokens, generic *she* appeared just 21 times: for every instance of *she,* there were ten examples of *he* and fifty of singular *they.* Why is generic *she* apparently so scarce in colloquial usage?

Experimental studies of comprehension (see Chapter Two) indicate quite clearly that the feminine pronoun, to a greater extent than the masculine, is understood to

[7]McConnell-Ginet (letter to author, 13 April 1997) points out that *one* differs grammatically from other pronouns in that it does not take full NP antecedents: **A person likes one's meals on time.*

highlight sex-specific characteristics. In neighborhood usage, *he* was equally likely to be masculine-generic or epicene, but the antecedents of generic *she* were almost invariably feminine. Although epicene antecedents were associated with *he* about one time in ten, *she* was used in this way only twice, or about one time in fifty. Moreover, both examples appear to be self-referential:

[Q: When *a teenager* wants to stay out late,]

(44) ask *her* parents. (Minneapolis girl, age 9, MP-88-1-7; written answer to questionnaire)

(45) *her* mother gets upset. (Minneapolis woman, age 40, MP-88-2-11; has a teenage daughter; written answer to questionnaire)

In a 1991 study based on interview data, Wang likewise found that *he* occurred in response to masculine-stereotyped antecedents more often than *she* in response to feminine ones. Semantically, therefore, compared to *he,* the feminine pronoun occupies a fairly narrow, even marginal space.

Thence arises the difficulty of referring, unselfconsciously, to a generic antecedent that just happens to be feminine. In four-fifths of such cases, *she* was *not* used: the neighborhood solution, as we have seen, was singular *they.* Note examples 16 and 17, as well as the following:

(46) Years ago, you never seen *a girl* playin' baseball. You know, jus' like, you know—I mean, if *they* were a tomboy. But I was never, you know, athletic or anything like that. (Philadelphia woman, age 25, PH-77-5-12)

Although *they* was preferred by speakers of both sexes, those who did use *she* were more likely to be female.

Self-consciousness may also explain why generic *she* was more frequent in television interviews than in the neighborhoods, where colloquial norms allow a freer use of *they*. Ironically, the rate of 19% *she* that Newman found so disturbingly low turns out to be about ten times higher than the neighborhood rate of 1.6%.

As expected, however, *she* was associated with determiner-NPs rather than quantifiers. To a greater extent than *he*, and in marked contrast to *they*, the feminine pronoun tends to be sex-specific, and hence more referentially solid.

Pronoun switching between *they* and *she*, when it does occur, appears to make use of this semantic distinction. In example 47, *they* refers to babysitters in general, while *she (= her)* denotes a hypothetical, untrustworthy one.

(47) [Q: You think it's okay for *a babysitter* to have friends over?] . . . Well, girlfriends, alright. And boyfriends, I don't see why not. I mean, I remember when we were kids, we did it. I mean, it depends on how old *they* are, too. And it depends on what kinda person *they* are. If *they*'re the kind of person that you don't want, you know, *her* friends in your house—well, first of all, you wouldn't have that kind of person babysittin' for your kids. (Philadelphia woman, age 29, PH-77-5-9)

In the next example, a young girl uses *she (= her)* in specific questions about a childbirth she watched on television; her mother answers with a generalization, using *they*, that provides rhetorical distance from a sensitive topic.

(48) There was a movie on TV recently about uh the birth a babies. And she [= young daughter] watched it. . . . She watched the birth a twins. So afterwards [she began to ask questions]: "Did the baby come outa the belly? Did it come outa *her* boobies?" They're too young to really—but you can't ignore it either. You have to say, "Alright," you know, "it does come outa *their* stomach." *How* it comes out, well—that's a problem I'll deal wit' later. (Philadelphia woman, age 29, PH-77-5-9)

PRONOUN AVOIDANCE AND STYLE SHIFTING

Pronoun Avoidance

A recent study of 392 adult college students in Minneapolis found that about half of these writers (48%), when asked to define "an educated person," used no third-person generic pronouns whatsoever. "To what extent this was intentional, or what motivations obtained, we cannot know," observed the author. "It seems likely that some writers consciously avoided the third generic singular approach, where issues of consistency, inclusivity, and style confound even the most skilled writer" (Meyers 1990: 232). As a

possible strategy for sidestepping what some regard as a thorny question of usage, this alternative approach deserves a closer look.

Minneapolis writers in the present study were asked to complete twelve sentence fragments, of which seven contained determiner-NP antecedents and five included quantifiers. The determiner-NP fragments included two feminine, two masculine, and three epicene antecedents. The quantifier fragments, all gender-neutral, varied as to the scope of notional number: plural, neutral, or singular. A total of 425 responses were recorded, about 62% from girls and women.

When completed, one third (35%) of the sentences contained no third-person generic pronoun; instead, imperative forms, with deleted *you,* were frequently used.[8] The avoidance rate was lowest for notional plurals *(everyone, anyone, no-one),* higher for notional neutrals *(someone, whoever),* and highest for notional singulars (determiner-NPs), a pattern that most likely reflects prescriptive pressure. (Between plural and neutral, $p < 0.05$; between neutral and singular, $p < 0.025$; between plural and singular, $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.47.)

Notional plurals	27/110	25%
Notional neutrals	24/70	34%
Notional singulars	96/245	39%

In addition to notional number, antecedent gender appeared to influence the avoidance rate for determiner-NPs. Epicene antecedents (such as *a person*) prompted avoidance nearly half the time, a result which supports Meyers' finding. Pronoun avoidance was highest for generic-feminine and lowest for generic-masculine antecedents. (No significant difference was found between feminine and epicene, $p > 0.1$;

[8]For example: *If a babysitter hears a suspicious noise outside . . . call 911.* Instead of: *. . . [she, they, etc.] should call 911.*

but each of these, and both of them together, differed significantly from masculine, $p < 0.001$; see Table 6.48.)

Determiner-NPs

Feminine	34/70	49%
Epicene	47/104	45%
Masculine	15/71	21%

For these gendered (as opposed to epicene) determiner-NPs, avoidance rates were relatively low among children, all still in school, and high among adults. (See Table 6.49.) When the antecedent was masculine, pronoun avoidance was lowest among males. (See Table 6.50.)

Determiner-NPs, gendered

Age 20 and above	40/87	46%
Age 19 and below	9/44	20%

Determiner-NPs, masculine

Females	11/41	27%
Males	4/30	13%

Likewise, gender considerations no doubt motivated the only spoken instance of pronoun avoidance, which came from this study's most grammatically prescriptive speaker, the retired schoolteacher. At one point during her oral interview, where *he* would have had to include *all the mothers and fathers,* she repeated the antecedent instead:

(49) [Q: The men and the women here, . . . are they equally involved in block (= neighborhood) affairs?] Oh, I think they are. I think they are. And at Christmastime, when all the children come [to the neighborhood party], you know, all the mothers and fathers, *everybody* takes care of *everybody's* children. (Philadelphia woman, age 71, PH-80-2-9)

This participant was also the only person to use generic *he* with *everybody* (example 10) in speech.

Intentional or not, the avoidance of third-person generic pronouns in Minneapolis writing appears to have been a systematic response to prescriptive pressure, which seems to be especially acute when the referent is or could be female. In such cases, for certain

writers, *he* may be misleading, *they* looks incorrect, *he or she* sounds artificial, and *she* calls too much attention to what may be the incidental fact of gender. Although the small number of tokens makes statistical exploration somewhat difficult, the disparities noted above at least suggest that pronoun avoidance reflects the writers' uncertainty.[9]

Style-shift dynamics: He *as a proportion of all epicene pronouns*

Earlier in this chapter was noted the somewhat surprising finding that minimal stylistic differences were observed in the proportion of *he* among epicene pronouns. Normally one would expect that prescriptive influences on writing would result in a greater proportion of epicene *he*, as was found in the present study among school-aged children. Style shifting among adults, however, is not only more complex but also suggests that competing prescriptive standards—not just the traditional one taught in school—condition the usage of this pronoun. At the same time, measures of pronoun avoidance (avoidance of all epicene pronouns, not just *he*) provide an index of the uncertainty associated with ongoing linguistic change.

In the following analysis, oral data from Minneapolis and Philadelphia adults were combined to correct for the occupational imbalance between the two samples (see Table 6.51). It was possible to do so because, when the distribution of epicene pronouns in Philadelphia speech was mapped onto the Minneapolis occupational mix, no significant differences between the two cities were found (see Tables 6.51 to 6.53; for Table 6.54, $p > 0.1$). Regional dialect, therefore, was assumed to have no significant influence on the frequency of epicene *he.* No written data were available for Philadelphia.

[9]This was certainly the intuition of Densmore (1970: 10), in one of the earliest analyses of generic pronoun usage.

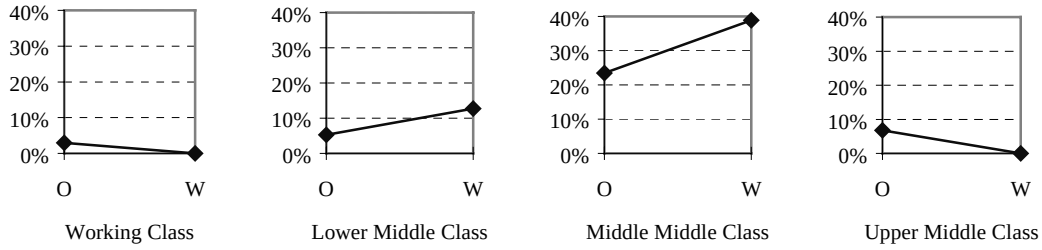

FIGURE 6.1. *He* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, adult usage, by style and occupational status (from Table 6.55). O = oral; W = written.

The first observation to be made about the style shift of epicene *he* is that it is a class-based, even middle-class, phenomenon. Taking occupational status as an indicator of class, we can say that no style shift was observed among working-class adults, who tended not to use prescriptive *he* either in speaking or in writing. (See Table 6.55 and Figure 6.1.) Across the four occupational groups, a comparison of the mean oral/written scores also reveals significant class differences in prescriptive usage ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.56 and Figure 6.2.)

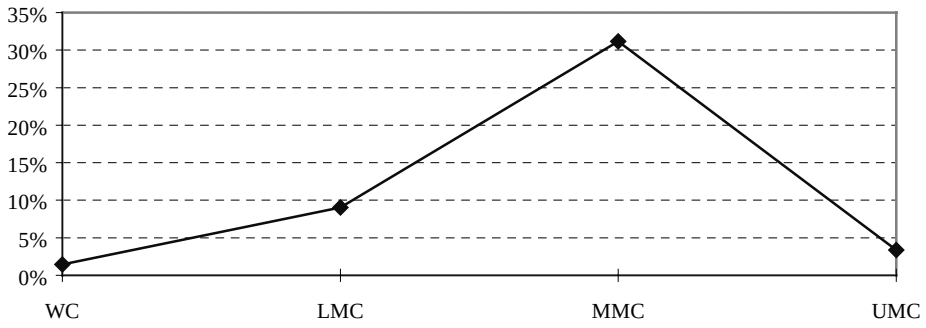

FIGURE 6.2. *He* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, mean of oral and written scores, adult usage, by occupational status (from Table 6.56).

For reasons which remain unclear, the working-class rate of pronoun avoidance in the written sample was relatively high ($p < 0.01$; see Table 6.57 and Figure 6.3). Quite possibly these adults were less comfortable than middle-class people with the writing task. Alternatively, they may have interpreted the test items as requests for advice and

responded directly, using second-person imperatives ("call 911") instead of third-person hypothetical statements ("she should call 911").

Among middle-class adults, two distinct patterns were observed, subject to variations by age and gender. In general, women and younger adults led the middle-class trend away from epicene *he;* age will be discussed in more detail below. Compared to women of the same socioeconomic level, men tended to lag approximately one stage behind. The patterns (normed to women's usage) are as follows:

1. *Traditional* style shift. More epicene *he* was used in writing than in speaking, while the rate of pronoun avoidance was not particularly high. This pattern, typical of lower and middle middle-class speakers, appeared to reflect the influence of the prescriptive rule and the confidence to apply it in writing. (See Tables 6.54 and 6.56, and Figures 6.1 and 6.3.)

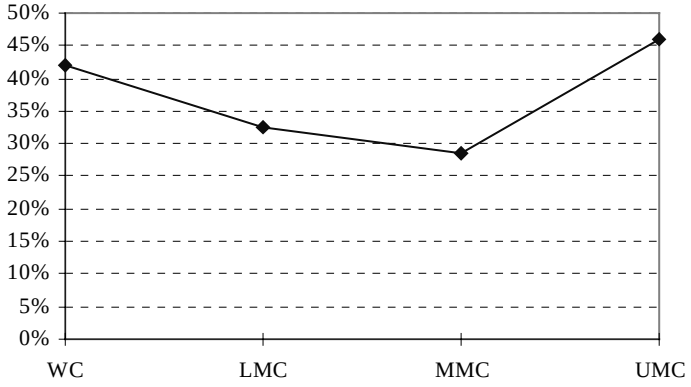

FIGURE 6.3. Avoidance rate, in adult writing, of *all* epicene pronouns, by occupational status (from Table 6.57).

Although the results for these two occupational groups were parallel, higher status was consistent with more prescriptive usage. The difference between lower middle-class oral and written scores was not significant but did shift in the expected direction;

meanwhile, the low rate of pronoun avoidance approached that of middle middle-class writers.

Users of the Traditional pattern included a retired police inspector who had married into the middle class and gone to college late in life, and four women in their 30s and 40s, all with high-school educations: a real-estate agent and three women (two upwardly mobile, one downwardly mobile) who straddled the occupational line between working and lower-middle class.

2. *Advanced* style shift. Epicene *he* was rarely, if ever, used either in speaking or in writing, while the rate of pronoun avoidance was quite high ($p < 0.001$). In an interesting convergence with working-class usage, this typically upper middle-class group, self-consciously or not, appeared to have abandoned the prescriptive rule altogether, but without any certainty as to which pronoun, in writing, should be used instead. (See Tables 6.54 and 6.57, and Figures 6.1 and 6.3.)

Users of the Advanced pattern included a college-educated housewife in her 40s, married to a physician; and an avowedly feminist woman in her 50s who was herself a physician.

Variation by Age and Gender. Evidence that the avoidance of epicene *he* is an incoming trend comes from observations based in real time (usage over a period of years) as well as apparent time (current usage across generations). In the first place, controversy about generic pronouns, in both academic and journalistic contexts, has been perennial since the 1970s, constituting an unusual degree of public interest in a point of prescriptive grammar. During the same period, the actual avoidance of this form has been documented for published writing (Cooper 1984) and observed in the speech of professional communicators addressing audiences of women (Kramarae 1981).

Likewise, in the present study, we have already seen that among adults, the most frequent users of prescriptive *he* were college-educated senior citizens. But we also find a steady overall decline in *he* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, both oral and written, from a high of about 20% among adults over 60 to complete avoidance among adults in their 20s ($p < 0.001$). Taking the mean of oral and written scores, the proportion of epicene *he* declined about 5% for every ten years of age, or about 10% per generation (including a plateau at ages 30 to 49; see Table 6.58 and Figure 6.4). When only written examples were considered, the decline in *he* was practically a straight-line drop. (See Table 6.59 and Figure 6.5.) This is especially noteworthy because prescriptive usage would be expected to persist, if anywhere, in writing.

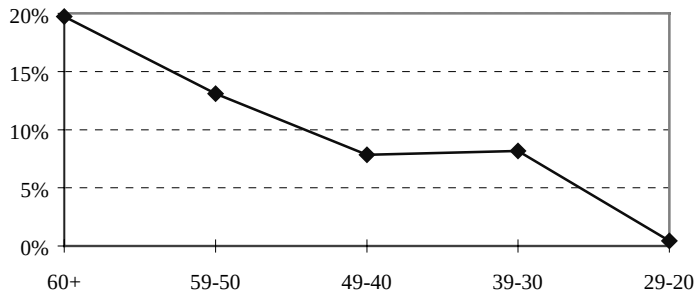

FIGURE 6.4. *He* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, mean of oral and written scores, adult usage, by age (from Table 6.58).

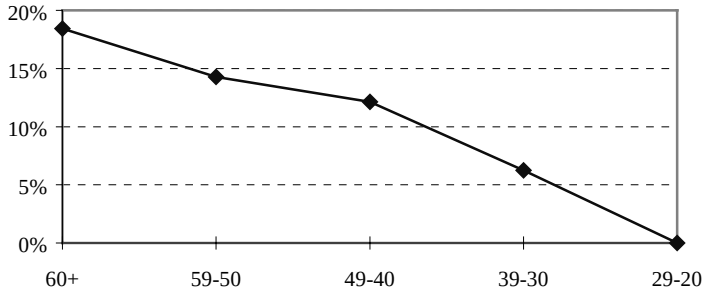

FIGURE 6.5. *He* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, adult writing, by age (from Table 6.59).

Distinctive patterns of usage were also correlated with different age groups in exactly the manner one would expect for an incoming change. (See Table 6.59 and Figure 6.6.) Characteristic of the oldest generation of adults, those over 60, was a high proportion of epicene *he* both in speaking and in writing, with no significant style shift between the two.

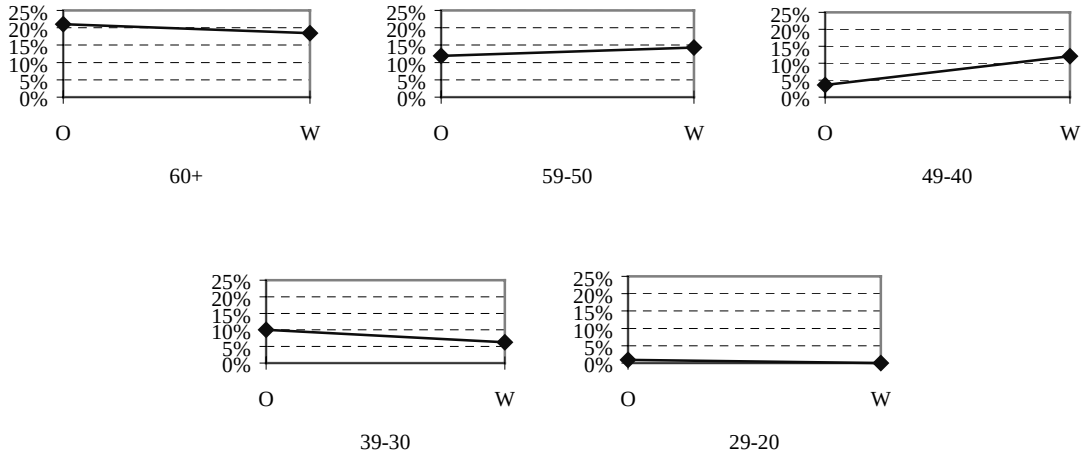

FIGURE 6.6. *He* as a proportion of all epicene pronouns, adult usage, by style and age (from Table 6.59). O = oral; W = written.

Adults in their 50s, a transitional age group, used less *he* overall, especially in speech, while the Traditional pattern (described above) was typical of the middle generation, adults in their 40s, again with a lower overall score for *he.*

Among adults in their 30s, another transitional group, epicene *he* was used less often in writing than in speaking, a pattern that anticipates the Advanced pattern of complete avoidance typical of the youngest generation of adults, those in their 20s.

Before we conclude, however, that a historic process is at work, the combined effects of age and education must be disambiguated. (So as not to overly subdivide the data, education rather than occupation is used here as a proxy for class. The results for education and occupation were parallel, but only two educational levels were measured for adults, as opposed to four levels of occupational status.)

Across the different age groups in this sample, the educational mix was sufficiently varied that tokens collected from adults in their 20s were less likely, and those in their 40s and 60s more likely, to come from college graduates ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.18). Therefore, the higher overall proportion of epicene *he* among college graduates could have been due to a preponderance of data from older adults; conversely, the age effect described above may simply reflect educational differences.

In fact, however, when the pronoun choices of the high-school graduates were mapped onto the age mix of the college graduates, no significant educational differences were found, overall, in adults' use of epicene *he* ($p > 0.1$; see Tables 6.59 to 6.60). Looking at specific age groups, a comparison of observed pronoun choices also revealed that college-educated adults in their 20s, 40s, and 50s used epicene *he* no more often than their high-school-educated peers ($p > 0.1$; see Table 6.18).

On the other hand, the same comparison showed that college graduates in their 30s used epicene *he* twice as often as high-school graduates of the same age ($p < 0.05$). Among senior citizens the contrast was much greater: compared to high-school graduates, college graduates chose epicene *he* nine times more often ($p < 0.001$). For these two age groups at least, higher education was consistent with more prescriptive usage.

Yet even when educational differences were accounted for, usage among middle-aged and older adults was nevertheless more prescriptive than that of their children's generation. For example, compared to adults in their 20s, those in their 40s and 50s used nine times more epicene *he,* regardless of educational level ($p < 0.001$; see Table 6.62). Likewise, college-educated senior citizens, compared to college graduates in their 30s, used *he* three times more often ($p < 0.001$). There was no significant contrast between high-school graduates in their 30s, compared to their parents' generation. It will be recalled that those who attended college before the G. I. Bill were socioeconomically a more elite group.

A final point regarding the interaction of age and education can be clarified here. Since the data were gathered over a twelve-year period, an interviewee aged 20 in 1977 is actually the peer of someone who was 32 when interviewed in 1989. To correct for the real-time gap in interview dates, correlations by age and education were recalculated according to the actual age of all speakers in a single baseline year. (Comparisons for writing were not recalculated because there was no significant time lag in the data.) Just as before, higher education was consistent with more prescriptive usage among senior citizens as well as speakers in their 30s. Once again, usage among middle-aged and older adults was more prescriptive than that of their children's generation. Among the college-educated, speakers in their 30s were only half as likely to use epicene *he* as were speakers of their parents' age. (See Table 6.63.)[10]

To the extent that these results can be generalized to other speech communities, it therefore seems likely that the middle-class shift away from epicene *he* has been underway, below the level of conscious awareness, throughout the post-World War II era, when this study's oldest generation reached adulthood. Perhaps the masculine generic

[10]Thanks to Gillian Sankoff and Kristine Hoover for their helpful suggestions here.

pronoun was already moribund in colloquial English by the time feminist critics, some twenty-five years ago, reopened the century-old political debate over "generic *he*." But women appear to be leading the trend regardless of their political persuasion.

At the prescriptive level, meanwhile, the debate goes on, fueled not only by disagreements over feminism but also by the continuing stigmatization of singular *they*. The results of this study suggest that, for the time being at least, self-conscious writers, again led by women, will continue to avoid both *he* and *they* in generic singular reference.

Conclusion

Are women not people?

—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1867, 1870[11]

To the feminists of the nineteenth century, in their quest for legal personhood, belongs the credit for identifying language as both instrument and mirror of women's social status. It was they who demonstrated that neither masculine nor gender-neutral wording guaranteed to women the rights of equal citizenship, at least so long as the terms of political discourse were defined by policymakers who assumed that the human norm was male.

Those same policymakers, however, did not hesitate to apply legal sanctions—regardless of wording—to women such as Susan B. Anthony and Virginia Minor, whose acts of civil disobedience (illegal voting) challenged the political status quo. Toward the end of the century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton incorporated a critical linguistic analysis into *The Woman's Bible,* building on several decades of feminist political and religious thought.

The gender assumptions underlying colloquial usage had also been noted by some feminists as early as the 1850s. A generation later, the vogue for "verbal criticism" led

[11]*HWS* II, 274, 242.

both woman's rights advocates and their opponents to speculate further on sex roles and language, including the "generic masculine" rule then gaining ground in public education.

By the early twentieth century, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's comical observations of linguistic custom lent spice to the novel *Herland*. Providing more evidence of feminist resistance to linguistic marginalization, Gilman's contemporary J. Beanland, an English suffragist, remarked in 1911 that "the evolution of women's independence and equality is reflected in our current speech as one of the signs of the times."[12]

The resurgence of interest in language and woman's place, which now pervades so many disciplines, began with criticism of the "generic masculine" rule by activists of the Women's Liberation movement about 1970. More recently, legal theorist Catharine MacKinnon has observed that "in language as well as in life," women are still relegated to "the marked, the gendered, the different, the forever-female position," while men continue to occupy "both the neutral and the male position."[13] A prescriptive model of the English third-person pronouns, in generic reference to human beings, illustrates the metaphor:

[12]Beanland 1911: 207.
[13]MacKinnon 1987: 55.

GENDER / NUMBER	Feminine	Epicene	Masculine
Singular	SHE	HE	
Plural	THEY		

FIGURE 7.1. English third-person pronouns, generic human referent, according to traditional grammatical prescription.

In recent decades, the literal subversion of this linguistic model has been envisioned through four main strategies.[14] "Contextual degenderization" proposes to weaken the masculine connotations of words such as species *Man* and the so-called "generic *he*" by applying them in contexts that clearly include females. To eliminate overt reference to gender, the use of sex-neutral terms *(person,* singular *they)* has also been suggested. In contrast, a third proposal would recognize both genders equally, alternating *he or she* (*she or he, men and women,* etc.). Foregrounding female agency is the purpose of generic *she,* a highly self-conscious fourth strategy that reverses the traditional prescriptive paradigm.

Observations of actual usage have been almost entirely confined to students taking tests in a school setting; conversely, studies of colloquial norms are practically unknown. Nevertheless, the available evidence has suggested that in generic reference to a human being, the pronoun *he* has quite definite masculine connotations, particularly among male language users. In recent years, women have been found to avoid the so-called "generic *he,*" and professional communicators have learned to do likewise when

[14]A fifth strategy, not discussed here, is the coining of new epicene pronouns. For historical review and critique of such proposals, see Miller and Swift 1977, Baron 1986, and Newman 1992.

addressing a mixed-sex or female audience. Such a trend does not bode well for the prospects of "contextual degenderization."

Previous studies have also shown that the interpretation of singular *they* depends heavily on pragmatic context and background information. In generic reference, *they* is demonstrably more inclusive than *he* but retains (or rather fails to challenge) masculine connotations unless the context prominently includes females. Not surprisingly, males are more likely to interpret singular *they* as masculine, while females lead in feminine and inclusive understandings of the word. There is some evidence that girls' ability to visualize female referents of *they* is eroded as their education progresses, possibly because the pragmatic context increasingly reflects the assumption of the male-as-norm. These findings parallel the historic experience of woman suffragists, who likewise concluded that without a radical change in the existing social context, gender-neutral wording could not be relied upon to include women in guarantees of political equality.

With regard to usage, the deliberate choice of singular *they* to obscure a referent's gender has also been reported: the success of this strategy depends on the manipulation of contextual cues and conventional social assumptions which are crucial in interpreting this pronominal form. Newman (1992) has coined the phrase *referential nonsolidity* to explain the chameleon-like semantic properties of singular *they* and its typical usage with antecedent indefinite noun phrases and with quantifiers of wide scope.

Newman also found that singular *they*, although a nonstandard form, was the most frequent epicene pronoun (used twice as often as the standard "generic *he*") in a large sample of unscripted talk shows on television. This suggests that *they* may be expanding its range and acceptability: good news for those who advocate this non-gendered alternative to the masculine pronoun.

Existing studies of generic pronouns have paid little attention to *he or she* and almost no attention to *she*, the two forms that explicitly signal the possibility of a feminine referent. Available evidence suggests that the interpretation of *he or she* is indeed more gender-inclusive than any of the alternatives, particularly if the context includes females. Women and girls are more likely than boys and men to understand *he or she* to mean both sexes. However, the use of this pronominal form remains quite self-conscious; in men's usage, one researcher discovered, *he or she* may actually mask a fairly traditional sex-role orientation.[15]

The pronoun *she*, when studied at all, has been feminine to the point of stereotype and has indeed so been used attributively in certain in-group contexts among gay men. To make a point, feminist women have very occasionally and deliberately used what McConnell-Ginet (1979) has called "a shocking *she*" in generic reference for the human being; however, Newman found to his dismay that in unscripted television dialogue, even feminine-generic uses of *she* were relatively uncommon. To paraphrase MacKinnon, *she* certainly seems to be "the marked, the gendered, the different, the forever-female" pronoun.[16]

Taking its cue from two nineteenth-century suffragists, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Lucy Stone, the present study documented contemporary generic pronoun usage in "the world" of colloquial American speech. This sociolinguistic approach was intended to minimize the effect of prescriptive norms presumed to be operating in the formal contexts of the classroom and psychology laboratory, and also to field-test a long list of hypotheses culled from traditional experimental studies.

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[15]Khosroshahi 1989: 522. See above, Chapter Two, note 56.

[16]McConnell-Ginet (letter to author, 13 April 1997) reports that "the 'shocking *she*' is less shocking now and found quite frequently in [the] academic writing of philosophers and linguists," and possibly in other fields as well.

Four non-academic, urban, white neighborhoods were selected: Elmwood (also called Southwest) and West Mount Airy in Philadelphia, and Beltrami and Fuller in Minneapolis. In each city the first-named community was predominantly lower-income, the second was predominantly higher-income. Sociolinguistic data were gathered through oral interviews and supplemented with written questionnaires, all on the general themes of neighborhood history, settlement patterns, and social customs. In all, more than 1200 tokens were collected.

Variations in usage of the third-person singular generic (or "epicene") pronouns—*he, they, he or she, she, one,* and *it*—were correlated with social characteristics of the language user (sex, age, occupation, education, and place of residence), linguistic characteristics of the referent (gender, syntactic type of antecedent, quantificational scope, and referential solidity), and style (oral or written). The previously unexamined phenomena of generic pronoun style-shifting and avoidance were also studied as possible responses to prescriptive pressure and ongoing linguistic change.

To answer the question, "What social and linguistic factors condition the use of various epicene pronouns in colloquial American English?"—or, restated in strategic terms, "What communicative resources does the array of epicene pronouns offer to language-users, especially women?"—the results of this study strongly suggest that it is time to shift the focus of generic-pronoun studies away from the masculine singular.

He was almost never used for gender-neutral referents such as "a person," and even masculine-generic referents (for example, "a burglar") were anaphorized as *they* about half the time. Indeed, the predominance of singular *they,* and the near-absence of *she,* even for feminine-generic referents such as "a babysitter," appear to be *faits accomplis* in colloquial usage. *He or she* and other alternative pronouns occurred so

rarely that no definite conclusions could be drawn about their use. Based on these observations, the following model is proposed as an alternative to Figure 7.1.

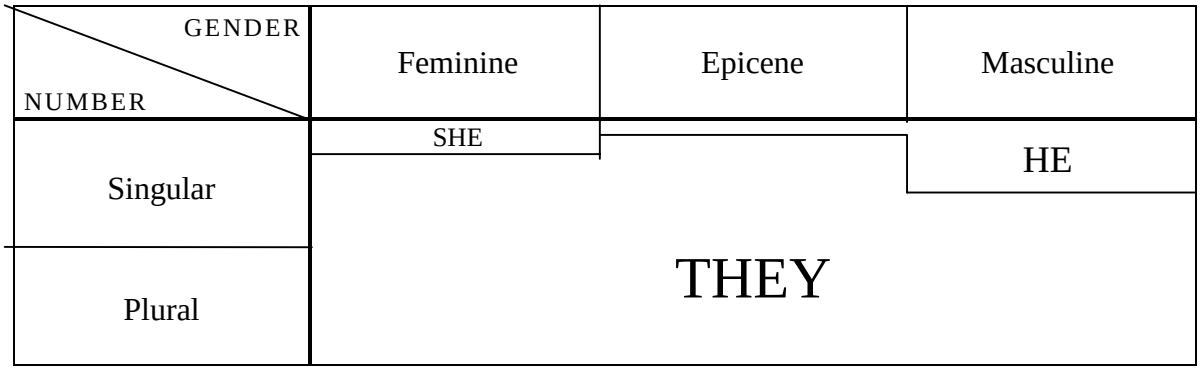

FIGURE 7.2. English third-person pronouns, generic human referent, according to colloquial usage.

Apart from the overwhelming incidence of singular *they* in the neighborhood setting, the present study substantially reaffirmed the results of previous work in more formal contexts. Thus, the generic antecedents of *he* tended to be masculine rather than gender-neutral, Det + NPs rather than quantifiers, and solid rather than nonsolid. Conversely, typical antecedents of *they* were gender-neutral, quantificational, and nonsolid.

Going further, this study found that in colloquial English, the contrasting semantic properties of *he* and *they* lent themselves to pronoun switching, a rhetorical device that foregrounds or backgrounds the personal characteristics of a given referent. The ability of *they* to soften the focus on a generic or hypothetical individual also contrasted with the already-noted tendency of *she* to highlight the fact of gender. Probably for this reason, *they* was preferred for generic use even when the referent was female.

To build on Newman's binary classification, perhaps three categories—referentially nonsolid, referentially solid, referentially marked—best describe the generic pronouns *they, he,* and *she.* Although, in colloquial usage, the masculine pronoun does not appear to monopolize "both the neutral and the male position," the greater salience of

gender in the feminine pronoun is consistent with a persistent social emphasis on female difference from the human norm.

With regard to social characteristics of the language-user, this study, like Martyna 1978a, found that males were more likely than females to use *he* generically when the referent was gender-inclusive. In male usage, however, generic referents of *he* were usually masculine. Despite the greater tendency of females to use standard forms (noted across a wide range of sociolinguistic literature; see Labov 1991: 210–14), they tended to avoid the prescriptive, gender-neutral *he,* yet this pronoun, in female usage, was typically gender-inclusive. Furthermore, although singular *they* was preferred by both sexes, this pronoun was more likely to be masculine in male usage but inclusive or feminine among females. The persistence of androcentric thinking, on one hand, and the search for gender-inclusive alternatives, on the other, are suggested by these results.

Evidence of continuing prescriptive pressure was found by comparing written and spoken data. Not surprisingly, school-aged children were more likely to use gender-neutral *he* on the written questionnaire than in the oral interview. Resistance to prescriptive standards, and uncertainty about a "correct" alternative, might also explain the cross-age phenomenon of pronoun avoidance in writing when the referent was inclusive or feminine.

No geographic dialect differences with regard to the usage of generic pronouns could be discerned between Philadelphia and Minneapolis. Correlations by age, education, and occupation suggested, however, that a steady middle-class shift away from prescriptive "generic *he*" has been underway since at least the end of World War II, a generation before the Women's Liberation movement re-politicized public awareness of the form. Given their greater sensitivity to incoming prestige forms (Labov 1991: 213–

14), it seems likely that women, whether feminist or not, have been leading this historic trend.

As long as women's personhood remains at issue—that is, as long as men rather than women continue to embody the human norm—reference to a generic or hypothetical human being is likely to remain problematic as well. Colloquial strategies now in use include singular *they* in speech and pronoun avoidance in writing, or (for more concrete reference) the gendered pronouns *she* and *he*. The disjunctive pronominal *he or she*, at least at this time, is not a colloquial form; meanwhile, singular *they* appears to be extending its range and acceptability.

The study of generic pronoun reference could likewise be expanded in several directions. Historically, the public and private records of the woman's-rights movement (oratory, journalism, correspondence, and diaries) might be examined for further commentary on language and the sexes, as well as for examples of actual usage. Another question not addressed in this study is whether linguists, anthropologists, or educators in the early twentieth century drew anything from the long tradition of feminist insights about language and society. Certainly some theorists of the Women's Liberation movement made that connection, while themselves providing a springboard to academic study of language and the sexes. Thus the transition period from the late 1960s to the early 1970s could be very fruitfully explored.

Newman has recently pointed out that "study of the pronominal-antecedent relation has been central to the development of contemporary linguistic theory, and the issue of coreference to syntactically singular but notionally plural quantifiers has come up in a number of major theoretical studies" (1992: 452). This study echoes Newman's call for much-needed research on the semantics of singular *they*, along with further testing of the concepts of notional gender, notional number, and a three-way classification of

referential solidity. Because so little is yet known about non-emphatic uses of generic *she,* observations of feminine generic reference in woman-oriented pragmatic contexts would be particularly welcome.

Additional documentation of middle-class generational differences in epicene pronoun usage would also be of interest. A larger-scale study, using data gathered over a fairly short period of time, might compare the linguistic behavior of senior citizens to that of their children's generation, replicating the methods used here. Further comparison could be drawn between the usage of adults who graduated from college in the 1970s and in the 1980s. Did the redistribution of wealth and the cutbacks in federal aid during the latter decade produce a more elite cohort of college graduates with more prescriptive usage, as in the years before the G. I. Bill?[17] At the same time, might the greater economic insecurity felt by most American families during that era have motivated even non-elite students to adopt more prescriptive usage?[18] (See Ehrenreich 1990: 196–207, 217.) Was the decline of epicene *he* interrupted, and that of generic *she* accelerated, during the anti-feminist backlash of those years? (See Faludi 1991.)

Finally, a shift in focus away from classroom and laboratory-based studies of generic-pronoun usage is long overdue. This is not to deny the validity of a controlled, experimental approach—indeed, most of the hypotheses tested here were derived from that extensive literature. However, in view of the fact that over the last two decades, about 98% of the approximately eight thousand individuals to take part in such studies have been students in school settings, the need for corresponding field research should be

[17]Thanks to Richard E. Davis for this suggestion.
[18]Thanks to Kristine L. Hoover for this suggestion.

obvious. In the natural setting of the speech community, the nuances of variation in generic pronoun usage will, it is hoped, be better understood.

Appendix A

Participants

SOUTHWEST PHILADELPHIA (ELMWOOD), 1977

The child participants were three girls (one aged 12 and two aged 11) and four boys (two aged 11 and two aged 9), all still in school. All the adults had graduated from high school, but none had attended college. Interviewers: Elizabeth Campion, E. Colby Madden (Francese), and Lou Ann Matossian.

Women

Clerical worker, 42
Homemaker, 40, married to custodial supervisor
Beautician, 39
Waitress, 34
Homemaker, 29, married to attorney
Homemaker, 29, married to contractor
Homemaker, 29, husband's occupation unclear
Homemaker, 25, husband's occupation unclear
Homemaker, 25, living with father, a contractor

Men

Firefighter, 55
Custodial supervisor, 52
Clerical worker, 49
Factory worker, 40

WEST MOUNT AIRY, PHILADELPHIA, 1980–81

There were no child participants from this neighborhood. All adults were college graduates, and three held advanced degrees. Interviewers: Toni Deser, Bonnie Neubauer, Nadine O'Connor, Cynthia Watson, and Vic Webb.

Women

Teacher and librarian, 71
Homemaker, 64, living with daughter, a trainer/educator
Professor, 35
Homemaker, 35, married to lobbyist
Journalist, 35
Trainer/educator, 33
Trainer/educator, 33
Trainer/educator, 27

Men

Trainer/educator, 53
Journalist, 37

FULLER, MINNEAPOLIS, 1987–88

The child participants were two girls, ages 17 and 9, and two boys, ages 17 and 7, all still in school. Of all the adults, only one woman had not attended college. Two women and three men held advanced degrees. Interviewer: Lou Ann Matossian.

Women

Physician, 53
Homemaker, 49, married to architect
Real-estate agent, 47
Homemaker, 46, married to physician
Trainer/educator, 33
Student, 22

Men

Police captain, 71
Engineer, 69
Physician, 47
Trainer/educator, 37

BELTRAMI, MINNEAPOLIS, 1987–89

The child participants were four girls, ages 12, 10, 9, and 8, and two boys, ages 7 and 4. All but the four-year-old were enrolled in school. Of the adults, 4 women and 2

men were high-school graduates, 3 women and 2 men had received additional vocational or technical training, and 1 woman and 1 man were college graduates.

Women

Restaurateur, 81
Homemaker, 71, widow of railroad laborer
Bar owner, 68
Homemaker, 50, married to union business manager
Clerical worker, 40
Homemaker, 36, married to contractor
Clerical worker, 33
Nurse, 32
Homemaker, 28, married to automobile mechanic

Men

Engineer, 60
Union business manager, 53
Nurse, 44
Automobile mechanic, 26

Appendix B

Tables

TABLE 6.1

Frequencies of third-person generic pronouns occurring with all referents

T	80.74 (1023)
H	16.42 (208)
O	2.80 (36)
N	(1267)

Note: first figure is percentage, second is raw score. Excluded from this tabulation are the 147 “avoidance responses” (that is, any response that was not a third-person pronoun) on the writing task. T = singular *they;* H = *he;* O = other third-person pronoun.

TABLE 6.2

Frequencies, comparison with Newman 1992, adult usage, epicene referents only

	Television interviews	**Neighborhood interviews HS and college-educated adults**	
	Oral	Oral	Written
T	58.7 (27)	93.6 (291)	89.2 (124)
H	28.3 (13)	6.4 (20)	10.1 (14)
O	13.0 (6)	0 (0)	0.7 (1)
N	(46) antecedents	(311) pronouns	(139) pronouns

TABLE 6.3

Frequencies, comparison with Newman 1992, by gender of referent, adult usage only

	Television interviews	**Neighborhood interviews High school and college-educated adults**			
	All referents	Masculine referents		All referents	
	Oral	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
T	29.4 (69)	52.2 (47)	51.2 (21)	84.0 (367)	79.5 (163)
H	47.2 (111)	47.8 (43)	43.9 (18)	14.6 (64)	15.6 (32)
O	23.1 (54)	0 (0)	4.9 (2)	1.4 (6)	4.9 (10)
N	(234) antecedents	(90) pronouns	(41) pronouns	(437) pronouns	(205) pronouns

TABLE 6.4

Pronoun x Speaker Sex

	Female	**Male**
T	87.40	66.83
	(749)	(274)
H	9.22	31.46
	(79)	(129)
O*	3.38	1.71
	(29)	(7)
N	(857)	(410)

*Female includes 17 *she* and 4 *he or she.* Male includes 4 *she* and 1 *he or she.*

TABLE 6.5

Referent Gender x Pronoun

	Epicene	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	***N***
T	80.35	7.43	12.22	
	(822)	(76)	(125)	(1023)
H	47.12	0.96	51.92	
	(98)	(2)	(108)	(208)
O*	25.00	63.89	11.11	
	(9)	(23)	(4)	(36)

*Of 21 *she,* 2 were epicene and 19 were feminine. Of 5 *he or she,* 1 was epicene, 3 were feminine, and 1 was masculine.

TABLE 6.6

Referent Gender x Speaker Sex x Pronoun

	Epicene		**Feminine**		**Masculine**		***N***	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
T	86.11	64.60	8.54	4.38	5.34	31.02		
	(645)	(177)	(64)	(12)	(40)	(85)	(749)	(274)
H	59.49	39.53	2.53	0.00	37.97	60.47		
	(47)	(51)	(2)	(0)	(30)	(78)	(79)	(129)
O	31.03	0.00	62.07	71.43	6.90	28.57		
	(9)	(0)	(18)	(5)	(2)	(2)	(29)	(7)
All	81.80	55.61	9.80	4.15	8.40	40.24		
	(701)	(228)	(84)	(17)	(72)	(165)	(857)	(410)

TABLE 6.7

Referent Gender x Speaker Sex x Pronoun, oral data only

	Epicene		**Feminine**		**Masculine**		***N***	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
T	88.34	69.27	7.88	1.68	3.78	29.05		
	(538)	(124)	(48)	(3)	(23)	(52)	(609)	(179)
H	67.80	34.34	3.39	0.00	28.81	65.66		
	(40)	(34)	(2)	(0)	(17)	(65)	(59)	(99)
O	38.89	0.00	61.11	50.00	0.00	50.00		
	(7)	(0)	(11)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(18)	(2)

TABLE 6.8

Pronoun x Referent Gender

	Epicene	**Feminine**	**Masculine**
T	88.48	75.25	52.74
	(822)	(76)	(125)
H	10.55	1.98	45.57
	(98)	(2)	(108)
O*	0.97	22.77	1.69
	(9)	(23)	(4)
N	(929)	(101)	(237)

*Epicene includes 2 *she* (0.22%) and 1 *he or she* (0.11%). Feminine includes 19 *she* (18.81%) and 3 *he or she* (2.97%). Masculine includes 1 *he or she* (0.42%).

TABLE 6.9

Pronoun x Speaker Sex, masculine referents only

	Female	**Male**
T	55.56	51.52
	(40)	(85)
H	41.67	47.27
	(30)	(78)
O	2.78	1.21
	(2)	(2)
N	(72)	(165)

TABLE 6.10

Pronoun x Education, epicene referents only

	Secondary Primary	**College Vo-Tech***	**Postgraduate**
T	83.73	93.35	83.23
	(247)	(435)	(139)
H	15.93	5.15	16.17
	(47)	(24)	(27)
O	0.34	1.50	0.60
	(1)	(7)	(1)
N	(295)	(466)	(167)

Note: “Vo-Tech” refers to post–high school vocational or technical training.

TABLE 6.11

Pronoun x Education, epicene referents, written data only

	Secondary Primary	**College Vo-Tech**	**Postgraduate**
T	76.09	92.31	85.25
	(35)	(72)	(52)
H	21.74	6.41	14.75
	(10)	(5)	(9)
O	2.17	1.28	0.00
	(1)	(1)	(0)
N	(46)	(78)	(61)

TABLE 6.12

Pronoun x Neighborhood (proxy for income), epicene referents only

	Fuller WMtAiry	**Beltrami SWPhila**
T	89.12 (557)	87.17 (265)
H	9.76 (61)	12.17 (37)
O	1.12 (7)	0.65 (2)
N	(625)	(304)

TABLE 6.13

Pronoun x Occupation (proxy for class status), adults, epicene referents only

	Working	**Lower middle**	**Middle middle**	**Upper middle**
T	97.56 (80)	93.13 (244)	65.85 (54)	94.28 (99)
H	2.44 (2)	6.87 (18)	26.83 (22)	4.76 (5)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	7.32 (6)	0.95 (1)
N	(82)	(262)	(82)	(105)

TABLE 6.14

Pronoun x City, epicene referents only

	Phila	**Mpls**
T	83.21 (223)	86.45 (651)
H	14.18 (38)	11.42 (86)
O	2.61 (7)	2.12 (16)
N	(268)	(753)

TABLE 6.15

Pronoun x City, epicene referents, oral data only (no written data available for Philadelphia)

	Phila	**Mpls**
T	83.21 (223)	92.42 (439)
H	14.18 (38)	7.58 (36)
O	2.61 (7)	0.00 (0)
N	(268)	(475)

TABLE 6.16

Pronoun x Age, epicene referents only

	4–19	**20–39**	**40–59**	**60–89**
T	86.27	92.73	92.68	77.32
	(327)	(268)	(152)	(75)
H	13.45	5.19	6.71	21.65
	(51)	(15)	(11)	(21)
O	0.26	2.08	0.61	1.03
	(1)	(6)	(1)	(1)
N	(379)	(289)	(164)	(97)

TABLE 6.17

Pronoun x Age, epicene referents, oral data only

	4–19	**20–39**	**40–59**	**60–89**
T	87.15	92.08	95.16	75.00
	(278)	(221)	(118)	(45)
H	12.85	5.42	4.84	23.33
	(41)	(13)	(6)	(14)
O	0.00	2.50	0.00	1.67
	(0)	(6)	(0)	(1)
N	(319)	(240)	(124)	(60)

TABLE 6.18

Pronoun x Education x Age, epicene referents, adults only

				Secondary	
	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60+
T	94.01	92.79	93.24	84.85	95.00
	(110)	(103)	(69)	(28)	(57)
H	0.85	7.21	5.41	15.15	5.00
	(1)	(8)	(4)	(15)	(3)
O	5.13	0.00	1.35	0.00	0.00
	(6)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
N	(117)	(111)	(74)	(33)	(60)

				College	
	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60+
T	100.00	86.05	93.02	100.00	51.43
	(3)	(37)	(40)	(16)	(18)
H	0.00	13.95	6.98	0.00	45.71
	(0)	(6)	(3)	(0)	(16)
O	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
N	(3)	(43)	(43)	(16)	(35)

TABLE 6.19

Pronoun x Referent Gender x Speaker Sex

	Epicene		**Feminine**		**Masculine**	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
T	92.01	77.63	76.19	70.59	55.56	51.52
	(645)	(177)	(64)	(12)	(40)	(85)
H	6.70	22.37	2.38	0.00	41.67	47.27
	(47)	(51)	(2)	(0)	(30)	(78)
O	1.28	0.00	21.43	29.41	2.78	1.21
	(9)	(0)	(18)	(5)	(2)	(2)
N	(701)	(228)	(84)	(17)	(72)	(165)

TABLE 6.20

Pronoun x Referent Gender x Style

	Epicene		**Feminine**		**Masculine**	
	Oral	*Written*	*Oral*	*Written*	*Oral*	*Written*
T	89.10	86.02	78.46	69.44	54.14	48.21
	(662)	(160)	(51)	(25)	(98)	(27)
H	9.96	12.90	3.08	0.00	45.30	46.43
	(74)	(24)	(2)	(0)	(82)	(26)
O	0.94	1.08	18.46	30.56	0.55	5.36
	(7)	(2)	(12)	(11)	(1)	(3)
N	(743)	(186)	(65)	(36)	(181)	(56)

TABLE 6.21

Pronoun x Gender of Referent and Context, Det + NP only

	Epicene (*Person* etc.)		**Masculine (*Burglar* etc.)**
	Neutral context	Masculine context	Any context
T	70.51 (251)	57.33 (43)	31.34 (21)
H	27.81 (99)	41.33 (31)	64.18 (43)
O	1.69 (6)	1.33 (1)	4.48 (3)
N	(356)	(75)	(67)

TABLE 6.22

Pronoun x Gender of Referent and Context, oral data, Det + NP only

	Epicene (*Person* etc.)		**Masculine (*Burglar* etc.)**
	Neutral context	Masculine context	Any context
T	83.01 (215)	47.92 (23)	36.84 (14)
H	15.44 (40)	50.00 (24)	63.16 (24)
O	1.54 (4)	2.08 (1)	0.00 (0)
N	(259)	(48)	(38)

TABLE 6.23

Antecedent x Pronoun
(Note: "Other" = 6 *you*, 1 *Man*)

	Wh-NP Q+NP	**Det+NP**	**Other**	**N**
T	53.66	38.29	8.05	
	(520)	(371)	(78)	(969)
H	24.12	69.35	6.53	
	(48)	(138)	(13)	(199)
O	3.12	93.75	3.13	
	(1)	(30)	(1)	(32)

TABLE 6.24

Pronoun x Antecedent
(Note: "Other" = 6 *you*, 1 *Man*)

	Wh-NP Q+NP	**Det+NP**	**Other**
T	91.38	68.83	84.78
	(520)	(371)	(78)
H	8.44	25.60	14.13
	(48)	(138)	(13)
O	0.18	5.57	1.09
	(1)	(30)*	(1)
N	(569)	(539)	(92)

*Includes 5 *he or she* (0.93%).

TABLE 6.25

Pronoun x Antecedent
(Note: "Other" = 6 *you*, 1 *Man*)

	Every Any No	**Some One Each**	**Who Which**	**Det+NP**	**Other**
T	97.44 (266)	84.95 (254)	88.24 (75)	68.83 (371)	42.86 (3)
H	2.20 (6)	15.05 (42)	10.59 (9)	25.60 (138)	57.14 (4)
O	0.33 (1)	0.00 (0)	1.05 (1)	4.72 (30)	0.00 (0)
N	(273)	(299)	(85)	(539)	(7)

TABLE 6.26

Pronoun x Education, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	Secondary Primary	**College Vo-Tech**	**Postgrad.**
T	79.82 (87)	91.53 (108)	65.38 (17)
H	20.18 (22)	8.47 (10)	34.62 (9)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
N	(109)	(118)	(26)

TABLE 6.27

Pronoun x Neighborhood (proxy for income), oral data, antecedent *some* only

	WMtAiry Fuller	**SWPhila Beltrami**
T	91.89 (68)	80.45 (144)
H	8.11 (6)	19.55 (35)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
N	(74)	(179)

TABLE 6.28

Pronoun x Occupation (proxy for class status), adults, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	Working	**Lower middle**	**Middle middle**	**Upper middle**
T	100.00 (29)	89.47 (51)	79.17 (19)	76.19 (16)
H	0.00 (0)	10.53 (6)	20.83 (5)	23.81 (5)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
N	(29)	(57)	(24)	(21)

TABLE 6.29

Pronoun x City, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	Phila	**Mpls**
T	73.53	90.91
	(75)	(140)
H	26.47	9.09
	(27)	(14)
O	0.00	0.00
	(0)	(0)
N	(102)	(154)

TABLE 6.30

Pronoun x Age, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	4–19	**20–59**	**60–89**
T	81.62	92.22	66.67
	(111)	(83)	(18)
H	18.38	7.78	33.33
	(25)	(7)	(9)
O	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0)	(0)	(0)
N	(136)	(90)	(27)

TABLE 6.31

Pronoun x Age x Education, adults, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	20–59		**60–89**	
	Secondary Vo-Tech	College Postgrad	Secondary Vo-Tech	College Postgrad
T	92.21 (71)	92.31 (12)	92.86 (13)	38.46 (5)
H	7.79 (6)	7.69 (1)	7.14 (1)	61.54 (8)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
N	(77)	(13)	(14)	(13)

TABLE 6.32

Pronoun x Speaker Sex, oral data, antecedent *some* only

	Female	**Male**
T	89.02 (146)	74.15 (66)
H	10.98 (18)	25.84 (23)
O	0.00 (0)	0.00 (0)
N	(164)	(89)

TABLE 6.33

Pronoun x Antecedent x Style, Q-NP antecedents, Minneapolis only

	Every, any, no		**Some**	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
T	99.06	95.18	90.91	100.00
	(105)	(79)	(140)	(23)
H	0.94	4.82	9.09	0.00
	(1)	(4)	(14)	(0)
O	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
N	(106)	(83)	(154)	(23)

TABLE 6.34

Occupation x City, adults, oral data only

	Phila	**Mpls**	**Combined**
Upper middle	9.66	30.15	21.64
	(23)	(101)	(124)
Middle middle	26.47	6.27	14.66
	(63)	(21)	(84)
Lower middle	46.64	46.57	46.60
	(111)	(156)	(267)
Working	17.23	17.01	17.10
	(41)	(57)	(98)
N	(238)	(335)	(573)

TABLE 6.35

Pronoun x Antecedent, Q and Det NPs only, comparison with Newman (1992)

			Neighborhood		**Television**	
		Oral		Written		Oral
	Q-NP	Det+NP	Q-NP	Det+NP	Q-NP	Det+NP
T	90.54	72.56	96.22	59.06	86.96	34.78
	(421)	(283)	(102)	(88)	(20)	(8)
H	9.46	23.85	3.77	30.20	13.04	39.13
	(44)	(93)	(4)	(45)	(3)	(9)
O	0.00	3.59	0.00	10.74	0.00	26.09
	(0)	(14)	(0)	(16)	(0)	(6)
N	(465)	(390)	(106)	(149)	(23)	(23)

TABLE 6.36

Antecedent x Pronoun, Q and Det NPs only, comparison with Newman (1992)

				Neighborhood			**Television**		
			Oral			Written			Oral
	Q-NP	Det+NP	N	Q-NP	Det+NP	N	Q-NP	Det+NP	N
T	59.80	40.19		53.68	46.31		71.43	28.57	
	(421)	(283)	(704)	(102)	(88)	(190)	(20)	(8)	(28)
H	32.12	67.88		8.16	91.84		25.00	75.00	
	(44)	(93)	(137)	(4)	(45)	(49)	(3)	(9)	(12)
O	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
	(0)	(14)	(14)	(0)	(16)	(16)	(0)	(6)	(6)

TABLE 6.37

Pronoun x Referential Solidity, oral data, comparison with Newman 1992

	Antecedent *some* only, neighborhood		**All antecedents, television**	
	Solid	Nonsolid	Solid	Nonsolid
T	35.90 (14)	83.79 (212)	21.86 (40)	88.93 (249)
H	53.85 (21)	16.21 (41)	54.10 (99)	7.14 (20)
O	10.26 (4)	0.00 (0)	24.04 (44)	3.93 (11)
N	(39) pronouns	(253) antecedents	(183)	(280)

TABLE 6.38

Pronoun x Education

	Second. Primary	**College Vo-Tech**	**Postgrad.**
T	76.56 (294)	86.54 (521)	74.10 (206)
H	20.05 (77)	10.96 (66)	23.02 (64)
O	3.39 (13)	2.49 (15)	2.88 (8)
N	(384)	(602)	(278)

TABLE 6.39

Pronoun x Neighborhood (proxy for income)

	WMtAiry Fuller	**SWPhil Beltrami**
T	75.08 (232)	77.83 (481)
H	19.42 (60)	18.45 (114)
O	5.50 (17)	3.72 (23)
N	(309)	(618)

TABLE 6.40

Pronoun x Occupation (= proxy for class)

	Working	**Lower middle**	**Middle middle**	**Upper middle**
T	86.67 (104)	86.49 (301)	69.30 (79)	75.00 (126)
H	12.50 (15)	11.49 (40)	25.44 (29)	20.83 (35)
O	0.83 (1)	2.01 (7)	5.26 (6)	4.17 (7)
N	(120)	(348)	(114)	(168)

TABLE 6.41

Pronoun x Age

	4–19	**20–59**	**60–89**
T	78.86	86.42	65.24
	(388)	(528)	(107)
H	17.89	10.80	32.93
	(88)	(66)	(54)
O	3.25	2.78	1.83
	(16)	(17)	(3)
N	(492)	(611)	(164)

TABLE 6.42

Pronoun x Education x Style, Minneapolis only

	Primary School		**Secondary Vo-Tech**		**College Postgrad.**		**All Levels**	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
T	85.64	67.14	89.83	82.46	71.83	75.82	84.47	76.26
	(155)	(47)	(265)	(94)	(102)	(69)	(522)	(212)
H	11.05	24.29	8.81	13.16	26.76	18.68	13.59	17.99
	(20)	(17)	(26)	(15)	(38)	(17)	(84)	(50)
O	3.31	8.57	1.36	4.39	1.41	5.49	1.94	5.76
	(6)	(6)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(5)	(12)	(16)
N	(181)	(70)	(295)	(114)	(142)	(91)	(618)	(278)

TABLE 6.43

Pronoun x Style

	Oral	**Written**
T	82.00	76.26
	(811)	(212)
H	15.98	17.99
	(158)	(50)
O	2.02	5.76
	(20)*	(16)**
N	(989)	(278)

*Oral includes 12 *she* (1.21%) and 1 *he or she* (0.10%).
**Written includes 9 *she* (3.24%) and 4 *he or she* (1.44%).

TABLE 6.44

Pronoun x Gender of Referent x Context, Det + NP only

	Epicene NP (*Person*, etc.)		**Gendered NP (*Burglar, Babysitter*, etc.)**
	Neutral Context	Gendered Context	Any Context
T	79.43	65.57	40.21
	(251)	(80)	(39)
H	31.33	25.41	44.33
	(99)	(31)	(43)
O	1.90	9.02	15.46
	(6)	(11)	(15)
N	(356)	(122)	(97)

TABLE 6.45

Style x Antecedent x Pronoun

				Oral				**Written**
	Q-NP	Det+NP	Other	N	Q-NP	Det+NP	Other	N
T	55.61	37.38	7.00		48.11	41.51	10.38	
	(421)	(283)	(53)	(757)	(102)	(88)	(22)	(212)
H	30.14	63.70	6.16		8.00	90.00	20.00	
	(44)	(93)	(9)	(146)	(4)	(45)	(1)	(50)
O	0.00	93.33	6.67		0.00	100.00	0.00	
	(0)	(14)	(1)	(15)	(0)	(16)	(0)	(16)

TABLE 6.46

Pronoun x Notional Number x Style

	Plural *(Every, Any, No)*		**Neutral** *(Some, Each, Wh-, One)*		**Singular** (Det+NP)	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
T	98.42	95.18	84.91	97.83	72.56	59.06
	(187)	(79)	(287)	(45)	(283)	(88)
H	1.05	4.82	14.79	2.17	23.85	30.20
	(2)	(4)	(50)	(1)	(93)	(45)
O	0.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.59	0.00
	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(14)	(16)
N	(190)	(83)	(338)	(46)	(390)	(149)

TABLE 6.47

Third-person Singular Pronoun Avoidance x Notional Number, Minneapolis, written data only

	Plural	**Neutral**	**Singular**
3rd sg. pronoun used	75.45 (83)	65.71 (46)	60.82 (149)
3rd sg. pronoun avoided	24.55 (27)	34.29 (24)	39.18 (96)
N	(110)	(70)	(245)

TABLE 6.48

Third-person Singular Pronoun Avoidance x Referent Gender, Det + NP, Minneapolis, written data only

	Feminine	**Epicene**	**Masculine**
3rd sg. pronoun used	51.43 (36)	54.81 (57)	78.87 (56)
3rd sg. pronoun avoided	48.57 (34)	45.19 (47)	21.13 (15)
N	(70)	(104)	(71)

TABLE 6.49

Third-person Singular Pronoun Avoidance x Age, gendered Det + NP antecedents, written data only

	4–19	**20–89**
3rd sg. pronoun used	79.55 (35)	54.02 (47)
3rd sg. pronoun avoided	20.45 (9)	45.98 (40)
N	(44)	(87)

TABLE 6.50

Third-person Singular Pronoun Avoidance x Writer Sex, masculine Det + NP antecedents, written data only

	Females	**Males**
3rd sg. pronoun used	73.17 (30)	86.67 (26)
3rd sg. pronoun avoided	26.83 (11)	13.33 (4)
N	(41)	(30)

TABLE 6.51

Occupation x City, adults, oral, epicene referents only

	Upper middle class	**Middle middle class**	**Lower middle class**	**Working class**	**N**
Phila observed	9.63 (18)	28.88 (54)	49.20 (92)	12.30 (23)	(187)
Mpls observed	24.78 (56)	4.42 (10)	50.88 (115)	19.91 (45)	(226)
Phila expected	24.78 (46)	4.42 (8)	50.88 (95)	19.91 (37)	(186)

Note: Expected values for Philadelphia were derived from the Minneapolis occupational mix. The reverse calculation, taking Philadelphia as the standard, would have determined a set of expected values for Minneapolis.

TABLE 6.52

Pronoun x City x Occupation, adults, oral, epicene referents only

			Philadelphia				**Minneapolis**	
	UMC	MMC	LMC	WC	UMC	MMC	LMC	WC
T+O	94.44 (17)	83.33 (45)	94.57 (87)	91.30 (21)	92.86 (52)	40.00 (4)	94.78 (109)	100.00 (45)
H	5.56 (1)	16.67 (9)	5.43 (5)	8.70 (2)	7.14 (4)	60.00 (6)	5.22 (6)	0.0 (0)
N	(18)	(54)	(92)	(23)	(56)	(10)	(115)	(45)

Total *he*/total epicenes: Philadelphia, 9.09% (17/187); Minneapolis, 7.08% (16/226).

TABLE 6.53

Pronoun x City x Occupation, adults, oral, epicene referents only; derivation of expected values for Philadelphia

	Phila-observed				**Phila-expected**			
	UMC	MMC	LMC	WC	UMC	MMC	LMC	WC
T+O	94.44	83.33	94.57	91.30	94.44	83.33	94.57	91.30
	(17)	(45)	(87)	(21)	(43)	(7)	(90)	(34)
H	5.56	16.67	5.43	8.70	5.56	16.67	5.43	8.70
	(1)	(9)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(5)	(3)
N	(18)	(54)	(92)	(23)	(46)	(8)	(95)	(37)

Note: Expected values for Philadelphia were calculated according to the pronoun choices observed in that city, but based on the Minneapolis occupational mix. Total *he*/total epicenes: Philadelphia-observed, 9.09% (17/187); Philadelphia-expected, 6.45% (12/186).

TABLE 6.54

Pronoun x City, adults, oral, epicene referents only; Philadelphia occupational mix corrected to that of Minneapolis

	Philadelphia expected	**Minneapolis observed**
T+O	93.58	92.92
	(164)	(210)
H	6.42	7.08
	(12)	(16)
N	(186)	(226)

TABLE 6.55

Pronoun x Occupation x Style, adults, epicene referents only

	Upper middle		**Middle middle**		**Lower middle**		**Working**	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
T+O	93.24	100.00	76.56	61.11	94.69	87.27	97.06	100.00
	(69)	(31)	(49)	(11)	(196)	(48)	(66)	(14)
H	6.76	0.00	23.44	38.89	5.31	12.73	2.94	0.00
	(5)	(0)	(15)	(7)	(11)	(7)	(2)	(0)
N	(74)	(31)	(64)	(18)	(207)	(55)	(68)	(14)

Note: Figure 6.1 is based on this table.

TABLE 6.56

Pronoun x Occupation, mean of oral and written scores, adults, epicene referents only

	Upper middle	**Middle middle**	**Lower middle**	**Working**
T+O	96.62	68.84	90.98	98.53
	(100)	(60)	(244)	(80)
H	3.38	31.16	9.02	1.47
	(5)	(22)	(18)	(2)
N	(105)	(82)	(262)	(82)

Note: Figure 6.2 is based on this table.

TABLE 6.57

Pronoun Avoidance x Occupation, adults, writing, epicene referents only

	Upper middle	**Middle middle**	**Lower middle**	**Working**
Pronoun used	53.85 (42)	71.43 (30)	67.52 (79)	57.89 (22)
Pronoun avoided	46.15 (36)	28.57 (12)	32.48 (38)	42.11 (16)
N	(78)	(42)	(117)	(38)

Note: Figure 6.3 is based on this table.

TABLE 6.58

Pronoun x Age, mean of oral and written scores, adults, epicene referents only

	60+	***59–50***	***49–40***	***39–30***	***29–20***
T+O	80.27 (76)	86.91 (43)	92.16 (110)	91.84 (137)	99.55 (119)
H	19.73 (19)	13.09 (6)	7.84 (7)	8.16 (14)	0.45 (1)
N	(95)	(49)	(117)	(151)	(120)

Note: Figure 6.4 is based on this table.

TABLE 6.59

Pronoun x Age x Style, adults, epicene referents only

	60+		**59–50**		**49–40**		**39–30**		**29–20**	
	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ
TO	78.95	81.58	88.10	85.71	96.43	87.88	89.92	93.75	99.10	100.00
	(45)	(31)	(37)	(6)	(81)	(29)	(107)	(30)	(110)	(9)
H	21.05	18.42	11.90	14.29	3.57	12.12	10.08	6.25	0.90	0.0
	(12)	(7)	(5)	(1)	(3)	(4)	(12)	(2)	(1)	(0)
N	(57)	(38)	(42)	(7)	(84)	(33)	(119)	(32)	(111)	(9)

Note: Figures 6.5 and 6.6 are based on this table.

TABLE 6.60

Pronoun x Education x Age, adults, epicene referents only; derivation of expected values for secondary-school graduates

	Secondary-observed					**Secondary-expected**				
	20s	30s	40s	50s	60+	20s	30s	40s	50s	60+
T	94.01	92.79	93.24	84.85	95.00	94.01	92.79	93.24	84.85	95.00
	(110)	(103)	(69)	(28)	(57)	(8)	(112)	(113)	(38)	(94)
H	0.85	7.21	5.41	15.15	5.00	0.85	7.21	5.41	15.15	5.00
	(1)	(8)	(4)	(15)	(3)	(0)	(9)	(6)	(7)	(5)
O	5.13	0.00	1.35	0.00	0.00	5.13	0.00	1.35	0.00	0.00
	(6)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
N	(117)	(111)	(74)	(33)	(60)	(8)	(121)	(121)	(45)	(99)

Note: Expected values for secondary-school graduates were calculated according to the pronoun choices observed for that group, but based on the age mix of college graduates. Total *he*/total epicenes: secondary-observed, 5.32% (21/395); secondary-expected, 5.84% (23/394).

TABLE 6.61

Pronoun x Education, adults, epicene referents only; expected age mix of secondary-school graduates corrected to that of college graduates

	Secondary observed	**Secondary expected**
T	92.91	92.64
	(367)	(365)
H	5.32	5.84
	(21)	(23)
O	1.77	0.51
	(7)	(2)
N	(395)	(394)

TABLE 6.62

Pronoun x Age x Education, adults, epicene referents; significant contrasts only, by generation

	(no educ diffs)		***30–39***		***60+***	
	20–29	*40–59*	HS	college	HS	college
T+O	99.17	92.77	92.79	86.05	95.00	54.29
	(119)	(154)	(103)	(37)	(57)	(19)
H	0.83	7.23	7.21	13.95	5.00	45.71
	(1)	(12)	(8)	(6)	(3)	(16)
N	(120)	(166)	(111)	(43)	(60)	(35)

TABLE 6.63

Pronoun x Age x Education, adults, oral, epicene referents; significant contrasts only, by generation; all ages corrected to the baseline year of 1989

	(no educ diffs)		***30–39***		***60+***	
	20–29	*40–59*	HS	college	HS	college
T+O	100.00	95.87	100.00	79.07	94.00	55.17
	(53)	(186)	(47)	(34)	(47)	(16)
H	0.00	4.12	0.00	20.93	6.00	44.83
	(0)	(8)	(0)	(9)	(3)	(13)
N	(53)	(194)	(47)	(43)	(50)	(29)

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Chapter Three

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