

Tobias-Alexander Herrmann

**Nonbinary Gender Identities:
Linguistic Practices
in Russian and Czech**

T Frank & Timme
Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Contents

List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Structure of the book and chapter outlines	1
1.2 Theoretical framework	2
1.2.1 Terminology	2
1.2.2 Background	5
1.2.2.1 Modern approaches	6
1.2.2.2 Postmodernist approaches	8
1.2.3 Poststructuralism	11
1.2.3.1 Performativity	13
1.2.3.2 Indexicality	15
1.2.3.3 Identities	16
1.2.4 Grammar as discourse	18
1.2.4.1 Gender and gender agreement in Russian and Czech	19
1.2.4.2 Nonbinary linguistic practices	21
1.2.5 Literature review	25
1.2.5.1 English	25
1.2.5.2 Various languages	26
1.2.5.3 Slavic languages	28
1.3 Materials and Methods	31
1.3.1 Data collection I: A corpus with nonbinary linguistic practices	31
1.3.1.1 Linking theory and practice	31
1.3.1.2 Scraping and storing data	33
1.3.2 Procedure and data analysis I	37
1.3.2.1 Singling out thematic clusters	37
1.3.2.2 Identifying patterns and themes	41
1.3.3 Data collection II: Polling nonbinary individuals	45
1.3.3.1 Survey design	45
1.3.3.2 Sociodemographic information	47
1.3.3.3 Nonbinary language use	48
1.3.4 Procedure and data analysis II	49
1.3.4.1 Survey procedure	49
1.3.4.2 Processing survey data	50
1.3.5 Interim conclusion	51
2 Linguistic agency in discourse	53
2.1 Materials and Methods	55
2.1.1 Survey & data collection	55
2.1.2 Methods for analysis	59

2.2	Results	61
2.2.1	Q ₁ & Q ₂	61
2.2.2	Q ₃	62
2.2.3	Q ₄	63
2.2.4	Q ₅	65
2.2.5	Comparison of Q ₄ and Q ₅	67
2.2.6	Q ₆ & Q ₇	70
2.2.7	Q ₈	71
2.2.8	Q ₉	74
2.2.9	Q ₁₀ & Q ₁₁	79
2.2.9.1	Russian	80
2.2.9.2	Czech	87
2.2.9.3	Comparison and interim discussion	92
2.3	Interim conclusion	94
3	Gender reinterpretation	97
3.1	Identity labels	98
3.1.1	Materials and Methods	101
3.1.2	Results	102
3.1.2.1	Nonbinary identity labels in Russian	102
3.1.2.2	Nonbinary identity labels in Czech	107
3.1.3	Interim conclusion	108
3.2	Pronoun practice	109
3.2.1	The case of Russian	111
3.2.1.1	The emergence of the pronoun practice	111
3.2.1.2	Form and function of the pronoun practice	114
3.2.1.3	Distributional patterns	118
3.2.2	The case of Czech	121
3.2.2.1	Form and function of the pronoun practice	121
3.2.2.2	Distributional patterns	124
3.2.3	Interim conclusion	126
3.3	Gender alternation	126
3.3.1	Overview	127
3.3.1.1	Number of genders	128
3.3.1.2	Types of alternation	129
3.3.1.3	Meanings of gender alternation	135
3.3.2	Distribution	139
3.3.3	Attitudes	141
3.3.4	Interim conclusion	144
3.4	The neuter gender	146
3.4.1	Overview	147
3.4.2	Distribution in Russian	148
3.4.3	Distribution in Czech	150
3.4.4	Attitudes	151
3.4.4.1	Russian	152
3.4.4.2	Czech	159
3.4.5	The neuter gender for nonbinary identity construction?	161
3.4.6	Interim conclusion	166
3.5	Summary	167

4	Gender neutralization	169
4.1	Alternative ungendered constructions	169
4.1.1	Overview: Types of alternative constructions	171
4.1.1.1	Russian	173
4.1.1.2	Czech	177
4.1.2	Distribution	180
4.1.2.1	Russian	182
4.1.2.2	Czech	186
4.1.3	Attitudes	188
4.1.4	A generalization of ungendered constructions	191
4.1.5	Interim conclusion	195
4.2	Plural agreement	196
4.2.1	The case of English singular <i>they</i>	198
4.2.2	The case of Russian	199
4.2.2.1	Full plural pattern: Using <i>my</i>	200
4.2.2.2	Full plural pattern: Using <i>vy</i>	203
4.2.2.3	Singular <i>oni</i> & singular-plural pattern	207
4.2.3	The case of Czech	226
4.2.3.1	Using first person plural: <i>Mykáni</i>	227
4.2.3.2	Using second person plural: <i>Vykáni</i>	229
4.2.3.3	Using third person plural: <i>Onikáni</i> & singular-plural pattern	232
4.2.4	A generalization of plural agreement with singular meaning	240
4.2.5	Interim conclusion	246
4.3	Summary	247
5	Gender specification	249
5.1	Graphemic Approaches	250
5.1.1	Materials and Methods	254
5.1.2	Gender graphemes in Russian	254
5.1.2.1	Types of gender graphemes and general distribution	254
5.1.2.2	Distribution of first person instances	259
5.1.2.3	Meaning of gender graphemes	261
5.1.3	Gender graphemes in Czech	262
5.1.3.1	Types of gender graphemes and general distribution	262
5.1.3.2	Distribution of first person instances	265
5.1.3.3	Meaning of gender graphemes	267
5.1.4	Explaining the data	267
5.1.5	Interim conclusion	273
5.2	Neopronouns, neoforms, neogrammar	274
5.2.1	Classification of neoforms	275
5.2.1.1	Formal aspects	275
5.2.1.2	Semantic aspects	278
5.2.1.3	Ideological aspects	279
5.2.1.4	Cross-linguistic evidence	280
5.2.1.5	Modeling the emergence of novel coinages	284
5.2.2	Gender-related neoforms in Russian	286
5.2.2.1	Morphology and semantics of neoforms	286
5.2.2.2	Usage and distribution	300
5.2.2.3	Attitudes	301

5.2.3	Gender-related neoforms in Czech	306
5.2.3.1	Morphology and semantics of neoforms	307
5.2.3.2	Usage and distribution	317
5.2.3.3	Attitudes	318
5.2.4	A generalization of neoforms	320
5.2.4.1	Classification of neoforms: Mapping identity	320
5.2.4.2	Popularity of neoforms: The many disadvantages	323
5.2.4.3	Function of neoforms: Making space for nonbinary identities	326
5.2.5	Interim conclusion	329
5.3	Nonbinary naming practices	330
5.3.1	Gender marking on names	333
5.3.2	Materials and Methods	337
5.3.3	Results	340
5.3.3.1	Types and usage of names	340
5.3.3.2	Classification of names	345
5.3.3.3	Levels of onymic genderization	350
5.3.4	Interim conclusion	356
5.4	Summary	357
6	Conclusion and outlook	359
6.1	General summary	359
6.2	Directions for future research	362
	Primary Sources	365
	References	379
A	Survey of nonbinary respondents	397

List of Tables

1.1	Emerged thematic clusters in RUNB	39
1.2	Emerged thematic clusters in CZNB	40
2.1	Results of survey item Q3	63
2.2	Overview: Results of Q10 & Q11 in Russian sample	86
2.3	Overview: Results of Q10 & Q11 in Czech sample	92
3.1	Most frequent Russian nonbinary identity labels	105
3.2	Most frequent Czech nonbinary identity labels	108
4.1	Most frequently used Russian verbs for ungendered constructions	182
4.2	Most frequently used Czech verbs for ungendered constructions	187
4.3	Frequency share of occurrences of singular-plural pattern (3P)	217
4.4	Frequency share of occurrences of singular-plural pattern (iP)	217
5.1	Gender graphemes in RUNB corpus	257
5.2	1SG gender graphemes instances across RUNB corpus	260
5.3	Gender graphemes in CZNB corpus	263
5.4	1SG gender graphemes instances across CZNB corpus	266
5.5	English traditional and neopronouns	276
5.6	Proposed declension paradigms of Russian nonbinary third person neopronouns	292
5.7	Proposed Russian nonbinary neo <i>l</i> -forms	293
5.8	Proposed declension paradigms of Russian nonbinary adjective desinences	295
5.9	Proposed declension paradigms of Russian personal nouns	299
5.10	Proposed declension paradigms of Czech nonbinary third person neopronouns	310
5.11	Proposed Czech nonbinary neo <i>l</i> -forms	310
5.12	Proposed declension paradigms of Czech nonbinary adjective desinences	312
5.13	Proposed declension paradigms of Czech neonouns	316
5.14	Sonority Scale for Russian allophones and phoneme inventory	339
5.15	Sonority Scale for Czech phoneme inventory	340
5.16	Distribution of name use among Russian nonbinary speakers	341
5.17	Distribution of name use among Czech nonbinary speakers	341
5.18	Accuracy of GLM indicating genderization on phonological level in Russian names	351
5.19	Accuracy of GLM indicating genderization on phonological level in Czech names	351
5.20	Onymic genderization across levels for Russian names	352
5.21	Onymic genderization across levels for Czech names	352
5.22	Overview of Russian nonbinary names	354
5.23	Overview of Czech nonbinary names	355

List of Figures

1.1	Data structure in nonbinary corpora	37
2.1	Results of survey items Q1 & Q2	62
2.2	Results of survey item Q4	64
2.3	Results of survey item Q5	66
2.4	Interlocutor network	68
2.5	Results of survey items Q6 & Q7	71
2.6	Results of survey item Q8	72
2.7	Results of survey item Q9	76
2.8	Comparison of Q4 and Q9 ratings	77
2.9	Illustration of linguistic agency in discourse	94
3.1	Russian nonbinary identity labels	103
3.2	Pronoun use among Russian nonbinary respondents	119
3.3	Pronoun use among Czech nonbinary respondents	125
3.4	Gender alternation across text	131
3.5	Gender alternation across time	132
3.6	Results of survey item Q12.5 for Russian sample	140
3.7	Results of survey item Q12.5 for Czech sample	140
3.8	Results of survey item Q12.1 for Russian sample	149
3.9	Results of survey item Q12.1 for Czech sample	151
4.1	Results of survey item Q12.6 for Russian sample	184
4.2	Results of survey item Q12.7 for Russian sample	184
4.3	Results of survey item Q12.6 for Czech sample	187
4.4	Distribution of instances using singular-plural pattern across RUNB corpus	218
4.5	Results of survey item Q12.2 for Russian sample	221
4.6	Results of survey item Q12.2 for Czech sample	236
5.1	Results of survey item Q12.4 for Russian sample	259
5.2	Results of survey item Q12.4 for Czech sample	265
5.3	Probability hierarchy of novel coinages	285
5.4	Overview of origin and classification of presented neoforms in Russian	300
5.5	Results of survey item Q12.3 for Russian sample	301
5.6	Overview of origin and classification of presented neoforms in Czech	316
5.7	Results of survey item Q12.3 for Czech sample	317
5.8	Boxplot of given names' genderization on three levels	353