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Language Economy Versus Gender Markedness in Czech

Master's thesis

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Declaration

I confirm that I completed the Master's thesis "Language Economy versus Gender Markedness in Czech" on my own and that I included all the used literature and all the used sources.

In Olomouc on 2 May Signature

Abstrakt

Název práce: Language Economy Versus Gender Markedness in Czech

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Abstrakt (minimálně 900 znaků): Výzkum vyjádří vztahy sociokulturního a gramatického rodu ve struktuře českého jazyka a jejích typů (morfologická typologie) včetně srovnání s dalšími jazyky. Zaměří se na generické užití morfologických kategorií ve vztahu k vyjádření sociokulturního rodu, na příznakové členy morfologických opozic a jejich využívání pro označení genderově specifické skupiny. Pozornost bude dále věnována slootovorným a lexikálním vztahům opět vzhledem k vyjadřování rodovosti na příkladech z teorií příznakovosti i sémantiky. Tyto teorie budou kriticky vyhodnoceny, stejně jako výzkum v oblasti genderové lingvistiky a principu nejmenšího úsilí. Práce bude využívat dostupné mluvnice studovaného jazyka a zpracuje šetření na bázi Českého národního korpusu, kde dojde ke srovnání patnácti dvojic slov o stejném základu, která se liší mluvnickým rodem, přičemž jedno slovo z každé dvojice bude mnohoznačné (kontrolní skupinou bude patnáct dvojic slov o stejném základu, které se liší mluvnickým rodem, ale kde ani jedno slovo z každé dvojice není mnohoznačné nebo jsou mnohoznačná obě slova).

Klíčová slova: čeština, gramatický rod, příznakovost, polysémie, korpus

Abstract

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Abstract (900 characters): The thesis will describe the relations between the sociocultural and grammatical gender in the structure of Czech language and its types (morphological typology), including comparisons to other languages. It will focus on the generic use of morphological categories in relation to the expression of sociocultural gender, on marked members of morphological opposites and their use for marking sets of specific genders. Furthermore, attention will be paid to word-making and lexical

relationships with regards to expressing, again, gender characteristics, with the use of examples of markedness theories as well as semantics. These theories will be critically evaluated, just as the research within the fields of gender linguistics and the least effort principle. The thesis will use available grammar books of the studied language and will carry out research on the basis of the Czech National Corpus, where fifteen pairs of words of the same stem, varying in gender, while one word of each pair will be polysemantic (the control set will consist of fifteen pairs of words of the same stem, varying in gender, but where none of the words in each pairs is polysemantic or both words are).

Keywords: Czech language, grammatical gender, markedness, polysemy, corpus

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Introduction

My memories of childhood include me and my sister learning English. My sister would draw pictures of animals into her notebook and include its names in both English and Czech. When she did not know a word, she asked one of our parents for help with translation. Both I and she were outraged by learning that *žabák* is simply "male frog", *tygřice* is "she tiger", and *vlčice* "she wolf". Our thoughts were: How can a language function without having a single word for a given male or female?

It took me a while to accept that English had different rules than my native language and that I had to express things other ways to communicate them in another language. At times, I found this relieving, but I otherwise found it more demanding. Some people would say that Czechs are more infantile than the English or that the English lack emotions because *takové kulaťoučké jablíčko* would only be "a little round apple", as Jan Werich said. Or, to put it more rigorously, the Czech language had plentiful vocabulary of diminutives, whereas the English vocabulary was rather poor in this respect and therefore the ethnic mentalities differed.

This is obviously a radical idea and many linguists stay away from it nowadays although it attracted Sapir and Whorf back in the day. Nonetheless, I did not know anything about language complexity at the time I was learning animals' names in English. Another challenge appeared as I was growing up and was exposed to gender problems in my world, which included the language as well. In English, I would be a ""student", "flutist", "passenger", "customer" etc., but I would also be *studentka*, *flétnistka*, *pasážérka* or *zákaznice* in Czech. However, when I was going through school exercise books of mathematics, physics, or chemistry, the protagonists in problems would all be males – *dělník*, *učitel*, *inženýr*, *žák*, *poštovní doručovatel*, *řidič* and so forth. To make things more complicated in my mind, when candidacy lists arrived at home, some female candidates would be *studentka*, *učitelka*, *poradkyně*, *úřednice*, etc. or *student*, *učitel*, *poradce*, or *úředník*. The male candidates never displayed this diversity.

Some feminists believe that if a woman calls herself a masculine noun, it means she strips herself of her femininity. In my opinion, this is exaggerated and against the very principles of feminism whose aim is to empower women (and non-binary people). In order to empower women, women need to have an option to choose nouns they prefer. Any such directive rules, in fact, strip women of their choice, freedom, and liberation.

Having studied languages and linguistics, I have too often been dragged into these discussions as someone who ought have had to be an independent voice. Unfortunately, most of these people that dragged me there anticipated I would cosign their opinions, but I usually voiced something none of the

discutees would agree with. It made me wonder where the truth was and if there was evidence that would justify my beliefs that it was fine to assign myself a noun of any gender and still be a woman. Another reason why I decided to write my thesis on this topic was that I needed to regain positivity towards my native language. As a person of multi-ethnic background, there were times I tried to distance myself from the Czech identity, partly because of the collective hate that many fellow Czechs as well as Czech feminists share, including for the reasons mentioned above. Thankfully, I moved to the West when I was nineteen years old and met many inspirational feminists and womanists during my studies there. I learnt more about languages, intercultural communication, postcolonialism, and decolonisation. These things made me be proud of my Czech heritage again and accept my native language with all its complexities. I started writing poetry again, including in Czech, and went on a healing journey from all the previous assumptions that my language was "difficult", "strange", "inherently sexist" or "exotic". This work could not emerge without help of many people. I would like to thank Dan Faltýnek, my supervisor, for supervising this thesis; Klára Dvořáková and Zuzana Brzobohatá for their suggestions; John Jay Smith, Christopher Tracy, Giselle Knowles, Damita Jackson, Simone Gooden, and Marie Feryna for teaching me about gender and making me accept myself; Mazal Oaknin, Geraldine Horan, Ramona Gönczöl, Radu Voica, Shirin Golpayegani, Sareh Heidari, Stephen Hart, Adam Tobias Coleman, and the lecturers at Palacký University who have taught me about languages, translation, linguistics, and identity; Damon Brown for unconditional support; Miroslav Libicher, Hana Grygarová, Ondřej Homolka, Ellen Makumbirofa, and Dominik Miketa for having patience with me; fellow students from Palacký University; an unknown feminist or womanist, whichever they prefer, that made me realise there was a "white English", too; my family and friends; anyone else who made this possible and who had trust in me.

Grammatical Gender

"I am not a woman

I am not a man

I am something that you'll never understand"

- Prince, *I Would Die 4 U*, the *Purple Rain* album (1984), written by Prince Roger Nelson

Grammatical gender is understood differently than a sociocultural gender. It is

"a property of nouns in some languages. The gender of a noun mainly affects grammatical agreement, between a noun and accompanying adjectives and articles, for instance, and pronominal reference (that is, reference by means of a pronoun). /.../ A distinction is commonly drawn between 'grammatical gender' and 'natural gender'. The former is determined solely by grammatical behaviour, the latter by features of the referent" (Cruse, 2006: 70-71).

Indeed, there are differences across languages in terms of gender employment. While the Swahili language has 12 gender categories, there are also languages with no genders, such as the Persian language. However, grammatical genders are not necessarily based on sociological genders (Greenberg, 1990: 51).

For example, there 4 genders in total in the Czech language (feminine, neuter, masculine animate, masculine inanimate). Although the words *žena* ("woman") and *muž* ("man") have feminine and masculine animate genders, respectively, lots of words show disparities between sociological and grammatical genders. Objects with no sociological gender are expressed by words with a grammatical gender, such as *židle* ("chair") with feminine gender, inanimate objects are expressed by words with masculine animate gender, such as *sněhulák* ("snowman, snowperson"), and animate objects are expressed by words with masculine inanimate gender, such as *strom* ("tree"). There are also disparities across the words denoting people; *děvče* ("girl") has neuter gender, *děti* ("children") has feminine gender (but *dítě* ("child") has neuter gender), *člověk* ("human") has masculine animate gender, and *osoba* ("person") has feminine gender. Furthermore, some Czech dialects use masculine or neuter genders for unmarried women (Corbett, 1991: 100).

There are also languages that recognise only masculine and feminine genders, such as Spanish, Arabic, and Hebrew. These binary systems, however, are not natural or indisputable (Zimman, Davies, Raclaw, 2014: 1) and genderqueer Hebrew speakers "avoid person and tense forms that are marked for gender in favo[u]r of those that are not, for instance opting to use the first-person plural form, which is gender-neutral, in contexts where the gendered first-person singular might be expected" (Zimman, Davies, Raclaw, 2014: 5).

When it comes to assign genders to lexical units, if a language employs gender categories, there are 3 systemic categories in total: strict semantic systems employed by Tamil or English, morphological systems employed by the Swahili or German languages, and phonological systems employed by the Hausa or French languages (Corbett, 1991: 8-12, 43-49, 52-61). If a word is borrowed from another language, it adjusts to the system of the borrowing language (Corbett, 1991: 71-72).

Gender assignment in the Czech language has a predominantly morphological character, thanks to its suffixes *-(ov)ka*, *-(k)yně*, and *-(ov)á* that denote substantives or adjectives derived from other substantives. Otherwise, feminine nouns (excluding lexical borrowings) may end with [a], [ɛ] or a consonant if they are of nominative case and singular number. Verbs also employ gender distinctions in

the past tense and conditional mood. Any person of the past tense or conditional mood adopts zero suffix for both masculines, *-a* for feminine and *-o* for neuter. For plural, the suffixes are as follows: *-i* for masculine animate, *-y* for masculine inanimate or feminine, and *-a* for neuter. (Both past tense and conditional mood are synthetic and are also made of auxiliary verbs.)

On the spectrum between absolutely overt systems (where gender of a word can be recognised from the form of the word) and absolutely covert systems (where gender of a word can be recognised from context only), as described by Greenberg (Greenberg, 1990: 53), the Czech language leans towards the covert end. However, this system is imperfect in many ways; one of these is how much context is necessary to tell the gender of a word and whether the form of a word can reveal any possible gender shifts (as in *dítě* versus *děti*).

Another argument against the spectrum is that native speakers may assign a word a gender "incorrectly" (as prescriptivists would say). In the Czech language, examples of these so-called dublets include *sršeň* ("hornet", masculine animate and feminine) (Kloferová, 1996: 187-191), *vorvaň* ("sperm whale", masculine animate and feminine)^{1, 2}, *Dobříš* (a town in Central Bohemia, masculine inanimate and feminine)³ (Sedláček, 1985: 182-188), and *Dříň* (a district of Kladno, a town in Central Bohemia, masculine inanimate and feminine)⁴.

In some languages, such as English, several nouns describing people can adopt any gender, depending on the sociocultural gender of the referred person. Other languages, for example Spanish, use distinguished words according to the gender of a referred person's, but some words can be of either gender, such as *periodista* (journalist) or *deportista* (sports person), thus context is necessary again to determine a gender.

Some languages switch article or adjective paradigms when nouns change their numbers. One of such examples is Romanian that has three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. The neuter gender in singular attaches masculine adjectives as well as masculine suffixes that denote article. However, the gender in plural attaches feminine adjectives as well as feminine suffixes that denote article. E.g.:

ruj-ul negr-u

lipstick-MASC.DEF.SG.NOM black-MASC.SG

"the black lipstick"

ruj-uri-le negr-e

lipstick-NEU.PL-FEM.DEF.PL black-FEM.PL

"the black lipsticks"

¹ "ta vorvaň" – hledat Googlem.

https://www.google.cz/search?q=%22ta+vorva%C5%88%22&gws_rd=cr&ei=dncDWDniGsia6ASgnZmgDg. Retrieved on 28 April 2017.

² "ten vorvaň" – hledat Googlem. https://www.google.cz/search?q=%22ten+vorva%C5%88%22&gws_rd=cr&ei=CHgDWc-kB8H06ATxhoUw. Retrieved on 28 April 2017.

³ Tak jak to je? Ten Dobříš nebo ta Dobříš? | Zajímavosti | Dobříšsko aktuálně.

<http://www.dobrisiskoaktualne.cz/zajimavosti/revue/ten-dobris-nebo-ta-dobris>. Retrieved on 25 January 2017.

⁴ Dříň – Wikipedie. <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C5%99%C3%AD%C5%88>. Retrieved on 25 January 2017. The article mentions a song called *Na Dříně* ("in Dříň", its declension implies the noun is feminine), but the description to the attached photography says, "*Ulice ve Dříně*" ("A street in Dříň", this time its declension implies the noun is masculine inanimate).

Similar switch exists also in the Slovene language where feminine and neuter genders share the same paradigms in dual, but eventually borrow each other's singular paradigms for their plurals. The masculine gender has its own paradigms for singular, dual, and plural (Corbett, 1991: 157). Similarly, Somali definite articles *kii* and *tii* are used for singular masculine and feminine, respectively, but are used the other way for plural (Corbett, 1991: 196).

Another example of gender switching can be observed in the Arabic language where the so-called broken plural behaves like a singular feminine noun, regardless of the noun in singular. However, regular plurals do not switch genders. E.g.:

<i>al-bayt-u kabeer-u</i>	<i>al-buyuut-u kabeer-at-u</i>
DEF-house.SG-NOM big-NOM	DEF-house.PL-NOM big-FEM.SG-NOM
"the house is big"	"the houses are big"
<i>an-najjaar-at-u jayyid-at-u</i>	<i>an- najjaar-aat-u jayyid-aat-u</i>
DEF-carpenter-FEM.SG-NOM good-FEM.SG-NOM	DEF-carpenter-FEM.PL-NOM good-FEM.PL-SG
"the (female) carpenter is good"	"the (female) carpenters are good"

Similar hierarchy exists in the Czech language where past tense and conditional mood employ suffixes according to the gender grammatical hierarchy. Such hierarchy goes as follows:

- masculine animate (-i) or [i],
- masculine inanimate or feminine (-y) or [i],
- neuter (-a) or [a].

This means that if an utterance consists of multiple subjects, the verb adopts the suffix of a higher standing. In practice, this means that utterance like

muži a ženy šli

will be grammatical, whereas utterances like

**chlapci a děvčata šla*

will not. However, colloquial Czech is currently experiencing a "suffix push", which means that neuter nouns are adopting the -y suffix instead of -a. This means that utterances such as

?děvčata šly

are considered by some speakers grammatical.

Some authors, such as Alan Cruse, make distinctions between natural and grammatical genders (Cruse, 2000: 273). However, the term "natural" is misleading since sociocultural genders are not products of nature, but rather a social construct as the number of sociocultural genders differs across cultures and at least some languages reflect that gender or gender performance may be indiscrete. For example, the Czech language recognises words like *bábochlap* or *mužatka* while English operates with the word

shemale. These are, indeed, offensive terms, but they demonstrate two important facts: firstly, that speakers of a language are able to create a lexicon that reflects the existence of sociocultural genders not reflected by the grammar of their language; and secondly, that "binary thinking continues to be pervasive in language, gender and sexuality research" (Zimman, Davies, Raclaw, 2014: 3). Fortunately, though, "[t]he emergence of language and sexuality research served as a response to and critique of the heteronormative assumptions implicit in many early studies of language and gender, which conflated femininity, femaleness, and attraction to men on one hand, and masculinity, maleness, and attraction to women on the other." (Zimman, Davies, Raclaw, 2014: 2)

The challenges of research within gender linguistics as well as its interpretation will be discussed in one of the following chapters.

Markedness in Gender, Gender in Markedness

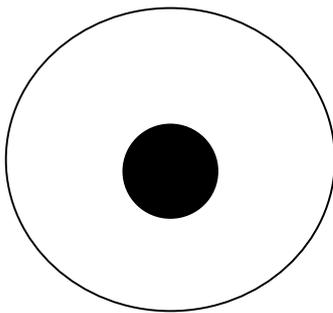
"Fuck that, Cee Lo, I got to save the world

First female king and they mad 'cause I'm a girl"

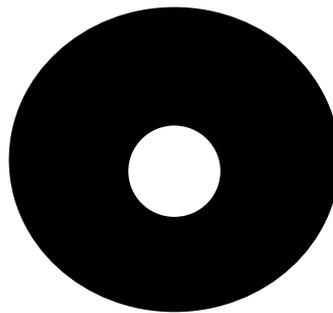
- Lil' Kim, *Lil' Drummer Boy*, the *Notorious K.I.M.* album (2000), written by Kim Denise Jones, Thomas Burton, Mario Winans, and Reginald Noble

The concept of gender is a heatedly discussed topic among linguists and has its defenders as well as critics. In this chapter, I will discuss what markedness is, if it is a valid concept or not and how it all relates to grammatical gender.

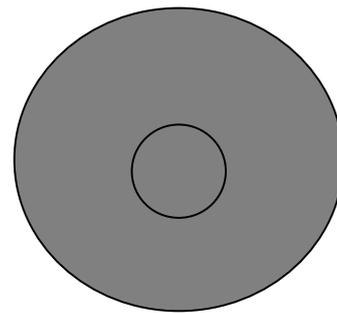
To start with, there is no unifying definition of markedness for every linguistic field (Haspelmath, 2016: 3). Haspelmath notes that markedness can mean complexity (within phonology or semantics), difficulty (within phonetics, morphology or cognitive science), abnormality (within a text, situation, typology, distribution or derivation) or multidimensional correlation. However, Jakobson views markedness as the subset of unmarkedness (Jakobson, as quoted by Andrews, 1990: 10). To put it more formally, when discussing a specific meaning, a marked sign is statement of A, whereas an unmarked sign is statement of non-A or a non-statement of A (Andrews, 1990: 10).



statement of A



statement of non-A



non-statement of A

(adapted from Edna Andrews's Markedness Theory)

These premises can be, however, misleading. In binary logic, negation of a set can never intersect or indeed equate such set. Even if we talk about specific and general meanings, we can wonder then what the purpose of markedness is if it behaves once as a subset of unmarkedness and another time as its complement.

Nevertheless, Andrews states that language is a relatively autonomous system (Andrews, 1990: 91). Within such system, a deviation might occur. This corresponds to Bybee that considers anything marked as less natural than anything unmarked (Bybee, as quoted by Andrews, 1990: 16).

There are also several axioms that operate within the markedness theory:

a difference in form signifies a difference in meaning;

every set can be well-ordered;

given a set which is ordered, a binary relation can be defined to explain the ordering;

for any two sets, there exists a set that they both belong to;

to every set A and to every condition $S(x)$ there corresponds a set B whose elements are exactly those elements x of A for which $S(x)$ holds;

for every collection of sets there exists a set that contains all the elements that belong to at least one set of the given collection;

for each set there exists a collection of sets that contains among its elements all the subsets of the given set;

the cartesian product of a non-empty family of non-empty sets is non-empty;

there exists a set which has no elements (Andrews, 1990: 97-107).

Andrews therefore views markedness theory as group theory applied on linguistics or semiotics. Nevertheless, she acknowledges that empirical evidence contradicts markedness theory (Andrews, 1990: 137). Like many other theories proposed by "armchair linguists" or, to put it correctly, by the scientists that did not have access to corpora, markedness theory is seen as relevant if it cannot be corroborated by corpus data.

Haspelmath also made a list of rules of markedness. In contrast to the axioms listed by Andrews, they are not related to group theory:

- Markedness is represented mentally in particular grammars.
- Markedness is available in the cognitive code.
- Markedness is a metagrammatical concept used by linguists for their convenience.
- Markedness is an explanatory concept.
- Markedness is a general property of human cultural manifestations.
- Markedness is a non-technical role. (Haspelmath, 2006: 15-16)

It is probably debatable to what extent humans' mental lexicons represent groups, but what Haspelmath and Andrews could agree on is that the notion of markedness serves as a basis on which grammars are built. While Andrews uses mathematical examples, Haspelmath is more general and does not pick any specific discipline that could function as the metagrammar. Nevertheless, Haspelmath is clear about the cultural aspect of the markedness although it therefore pushes the notion from linguistics towards semiotics or humanities that do not use formal systems.

For the reasons mentioned above, Haspelmath proposes to get rid of markedness and acquire the concept of vagueness, albeit in the sense of pragmatics (Haspelmath, 2006: 23). Vagueness indeed covers the idea that markedness holds, but it also acknowledges it cannot be formally embedded into a metagrammar.

Another argument against markedness is that it is defied by morphological hierarchical structures (Motsch, 1990: 80). This ties well with the argument that markedness cannot be corroborated by empirical evidence – and, as Dressler argues, it is a more or less effect that appears ad hoc. Moreover, the issues discussed can be resolved by redundancy rules (Motsch, 1990: 84). While the concept of redundancy is not discussed by Haspelmath, it is safe to assume that it is a subset of non-vagueness.

Markedness within gender is an intersection of semantics as well as morphology, but it also touches upon non-linguistic disciplines, such as sociology, history or cultural studies. The concept of generic

gender, for example, is a relatively recent innovation and a social consensus and not an eternal language phenomenon. Regardless, those grammatical genders that are made by extra morphemes count as the marked ones.

In order to understand the markedness of gender and its structures, we need to possess an amount of extralinguistic as well as pragmatic knowledge (Warren, 1990: 111). This indeed applies to generic genders across languages.

In Czech, such concept applies to beings of masculine animate and feminine nouns. There, the collective is usually marked by the masculine animate noun and thus the masculine animate gender behaves as a hyperonym and the feminine gender as a hyponym.

Semantically, these generic constructions do not have clear intensions. Let us take the word *doktor*, plural *doktoři* ("doctor") as an example. The intension of the word is, obviously, a senior member of staff that is responsible for human healthcare, but it can also specifically denote the male member of staff since the word itself is of male animate gender. Therefore, unless we know the context of the word, we cannot determine its intension as well as extension.

For these reasons, constructions like *doktoři a doktorky* ("(male) doctors and female doctors") may seem like pleonasm, because the word *doktoři* entails the intension of the word *doktorky*. Nevertheless, such constructions do appear in the language, partly because of the reason to make the utterances more gender inclusive. I will discuss these ideas furthermore in the following chapters.

However, it is not necessarily the masculine animate gender that occupies the status of the unmarked gender. After all, many languages do not have such gender within their grammars. But even those languages that do have the masculine (animate) gender may put unmarkedness on other genders. One of these examples is Icelandic where markedness may fall on non-masculine or non-neuter genders (Corbett, 1990: 292), thus making both masculine as well as neuter genders unmarked.

Economical Principles in Languages

"Beautiful man, I'm the lyin'

Beautiful mane, I'm the lion"

- Beyoncé, *Don't Hurt Yourself*, the *Lemonade* album (2016), written by Jacob White, Giselle Knowles, Diana Gordon, Robert Plant, James Page, John Paul Jones, and John Bonham

One of the most recurring principles across sciences is probably the principle of least effort, which also exists in linguistics. The principle says that speakers aim to minimise their efforts while maximising the contents of what they wish to communicate.

In the previous chapter, I discussed genders and markedness in language. One of the reasons why speakers usually opt for unmarked words or phrases is that they are undoubtedly shorter and thus require less effort by speakers. This is supported by Haspelmath: "An expression shows economical coding compared to another expression if it is shorter /.../ or otherwise requires less articulatory effort" (Haspelmath, 2016: 3).

However, it is not just length that contributes to the economy of language. As Haspelmath further notes, the economy also applies to zero and nonzero contrasts (*book* and *books*, *canta* and *cantas*, *I sing* and *I will sing*), straightforward and roundabout contrasts (*Gabriel's friend* and *a friend of Gabriel's*, *I gave her it* and *I gave it to Aisha*), and existent and nonexistent contrasts (*who do you think I met* and **who do you wonder why I met*) (Haspelmath, 2016: 3-5).

At the same time, though, language economy takes into account semantics and implicit assumptions. They may sometimes take precedence over morphological or phonological economy. These include: person and mood, number and gregariousness, reference and vertedness, role and animacy, possessedness and alienability, pragmatic function and semantic class, reference and complement-taking verb class, possessedness and definiteness, tense and participial voice, sex and typical occupations, transitivity and type of causation, agent-patient direct, recipient-theme direct, theme and instrument relativisation, and think versus wonder extraction (Haspelmath, 2016: 5-17) which I mentioned above.

To generalise, we could say that "[speakers] mostly opt for the most useful variants for their particular purposes" (Haspelmath, 2016: 18) and that they "know that hearers can predict the meaning that they want to express, so they are likely to economi[s]e and not use the novel, more explicit pattern" (Haspelmath, 2016: 20).

This could explain why certain phrases are more frequent although they are less economical compared to other variants. In English, the phrase *male nurse* may seem less economical than just plain *nurse*; however, the speaker that uses the former phrase supposes the receiver of the utterance has mental image of a nurse that, unless specified, is of female gender. Therefore, if the speaker was less specific and used the word *nurse* only, it could lead to a confusion, at least in their eyes.

Research on Gender, Markedness, and Language Economy

"I break into a lyrical freestyle

Grab the mic, look into the crowd and see smiles

'Cause they see a woman standing up on her own two

Sloppy slouching is something I won't do

Some think that we can't flow (can't flow)

Stereotypes, they got to go (got to go)

I'mma mess around and flip the scene into reverse

(With what?) With a little touch of 'Ladies First'"

- Queen Latifah and Monie Love, *Ladies First*, the *All Hail the Queen* album (1988), written by Dana Elaine Owens

Grammatical gender, markedness as well as language economy have been altogether research interests for some time. However, given the specifics of every language, the discussions vary according to that specific language.

Gender linguistics in the Western world was established in the second half of the 20th century (Valdrová, 1997, 87-91). The scope of this discipline intersects with other disciplines, namely, language planning and policy, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, queer studies as well as many others. Gender linguistics does not focus on grammatical gender only, but it also takes into account the sociocultural one.

We can observe two tendencies in languages: firstly, convergence towards unifying terms for each sociocultural gender and, secondly, divergence towards specific terms for each sociocultural gender. In English, this can be demonstrated on the emergence of words such as "manageress", "songstress", etc., in contrast to "manager", "songster" and other words. The unifying tendencies are demonstrated on the decline of words like "poetess" or "actress" which are substituted by words as "poet" or "actor". From these examples, it is evident that the "masculine" variant is treated as a hyperonym of all gender variants, as I discussed in previous chapters.

In the Czech language, the issue of feminine derived forms of occupations arose in the early 20th century. At that time, first female students were admitted to universities and after they graduated, they pursued jobs like their male counterparts. Initially, there were four competing forms: job title plus gender specification (*doktor žena*, *paní doktor*), derivation with *-ka* (*doktorka*), derivation with *-kyně* (*doktorkyně*), and derivation with *-ová* (*(paní) doktorová*). The confusion that arrived at that time, though, was a distinction between marking a professional's wife and a female professional (Naše řeč, 1922: 265-266). Naše řeč journal concluded that derivations with *-ová* should pertain to professionals' wives and derivations with *-ka* and *-kyně* should refer to female professionals. Therefore, a female doctor should have been referred to as *doktorka* and a male doctor's wife should be referred to as *paní doktorová*. Previously, there had also been opinions that female doctors should be referred to as *paní doktor*, because of the Hippocratic Oath where the word for doctor is in masculine gender (Naše řeč, 1918: 218).

Out of these forms, only derived noun forms prevailed although underived masculine forms are also used among some women. The derivation with *-ová* is not used anymore, and thus can be ruled out as an archaism.

In Spanish, innovations from the bottom have been observed. For example, anarchist written discourse makes gender-neutral expressions by substituting gender markers, *-o-* and *-a-*, with *-@-* or *-x-*. Thus, *amigos y amigas* becomes *amig@s* or *amigxs* (Acosta Matos, 2015). (Similarly derived words like *Latinxs* make their way into English as a synonym for "Latin Americans" although the Spanish word is not capitalised.) Such innovations are exclusive for anarchist discourse though; similar spelling can be seen among some Spanish-speaking socialists⁵ and in scholarly discourse as well (Acosta Matos, 2015).

It should be mentioned that there is also a discipline named feminist linguistics whose scope is slightly different from gender linguistics. While the goal of gender linguistics is to examine the role of gender in linguistics, the goal of feminist linguistics is female empowerment through language. However, as feminism itself is made up of many waves and ideological branches, it is probably confusing to talk about one feminist linguistics, let alone the fact that not all feminists subscribe to the notion of this discipline.

It is needless to say that feminist linguistics creates tensions and raises questions. Hoffmannová does not consider it a proper scientific discipline (Hoffmannová, 1995: 80-91) and views it as a form of engineering. At the same time, though, Hoffmannová praises Tannen for empirical research on gender, calling it "more objective". However, not all scholars would agree with this. According to Wodak, it is impossible to carry out neutral research in humanities or social sciences (Wodak, Meyer, 2009: 39). In addition, even if empirical methods are used, they do not have to be employed correctly or the interpretation of results may be biased. Such example is Valdová's paper on language and gender.

Valdová conducted research in the area of generic masculine gender in the Czech language, creating an experiment where 572 subjects participated (Valdová, 2008: 26-38). These subjects were pupils or students aged 10-18 and from schools in Bohemia and Moravia who had to respond to open-answer type questions in order to determine if the generic masculine gender recreates the mental image of a genderless person. This study had many flaws though.

First of all, the numbers of subjects of target group and control group were unequal (425 and 147, respectively) and their age proportions did not match either. Secondly, there is a question how the participants' answers were interpreted since some of the examples Valdová listed appeared to be genderly neutral (funny surnames for certain jobs: "Neberemstravenky", "Nejesvevúce", "Emgé") – in fact, some of the surnames did not conform to the general method of deriving female surnames in Czech (adding *-ová* suffix to the stem surname where possible; examples include "Hroznáúča"), so there is a question to what extent the nouns of feminine gender (such as "Iněkce", "Hlava", "Čipera", "Pipeta", "Zkumavka") were thought to be for male, female or other characters. (Valdová implicitly admitted the binarily normative basis of the research, saying that gender linguistics examines the social statuses of men and women (Valdová, 2008: 26-38).)

Regardless, the results show that it is possible to prompt the mental idea of a woman through a use of both masculine and feminine genders although negative bias still persists. Another important point of the study is that the results were different for male and female participants and there were also disparities among age groups. This suggests that people of various social groups react differently to these stimuli and thus that there is no common mental representation among speakers for the same words.

As Cruise put it, "[t]he meaning of all linguistic expressions vary with the context in which they occur" (Cruise, 1990: 13). The fact that context was not provided in the questions – and answers, indeed – prohibited both the subjects as well as the researcher from fully understanding each other's intentions.

⁵ Eva Matarín – Galería. <http://evamatarin.es/galeria/#prettyPhoto>. Retrieved on 14 February 2017. "*L@s Rojill@s. Compañer@, amig@s y un motivo para la ilusión.*" ("The leftists, a comrade, friends and a logo for the illusion.")

Chromý's criticism shares some points that I have raised, but also mentions a few others (Chromý, 2008: 197-200):

- Valdová uses the meaning of "markedness" in a different way than it is usually used. As an example, he cites Jakobson that coined the term. What Valdová measured was, in fact, usage frequency.
- Valdová only tested nouns in singular, but not in plural and therefore the hypothesis was not confirmed. Chromý suggests reconceptualising the questions, asking participants to write, for example, the names of their doctors, favourite teachers, favourite sportspeople and so forth to determine whether the generic masculine gender functions in Czech or not.
- The input from some subjects – asking whether the names should refer to males or females – shows that at least some participants consciously chose specific genders for their characters, which, according to Chromý, undermines the results.
- The fact that the participants responded by providing masculine or feminine names is more related to sociocultural rather than grammatical issues. Even if the subjects were explicitly prompted to provide female names for scientists or politicians, it is possible they would struggle more with this task, simply because the proportion of women among scientists and politicians is low.

Another recent research on gender was carried out by Landor whose study focused on grammatical genders in German, English, Hebrew, Hungarian, and Spanish and the conceptualisation of objects in these languages (youtube, 2016). The study "found no evidence of a positive correlation between grammatical gender and the conceptualisation of objects. In fact, the results suggest that grammatical gender may have a 'clouding' effect on gender-related conceptualisation, which appears to suppress the confidence with which participants ascribe gendered characteristics to objects" (youtube, 2016). In the talk Landor delivered at the School of Oriental and Asian Studies, there was also an outline of previous studies on the subject. However, in my opinion, the studies that focused on descriptive adjectives at gendered nouns were biased in the sense that the results were interpreted according to the researchers' own ideas of what constitutes a "male" quality and what constitutes a "female" quality. In short, the studies focused on the conceptualisation of nouns, but not on adjectives.

The Landor's study employed the gender loading scale which indicates the extent to which a language requires its speakers to mind the genders of referents. It covered the spectrum from the zero degree (Hungarian) to the full one (Spanish and German). The participants of the study were again required to provide descriptive adjectives for given stimuli, but their responses were collated and then the participants were asked if characters described by these adjectives should have a male or a female voice. The "undecided" option was discouraged. The control group was associating words male and female, positive and negative characteristics. The results show that there were differences across the languages, but they could not be clustered according to the grammatical genders of the objects.

It would have been indeed more efficient to cover more languages in the study, but the Landor's study is comprehensive nevertheless. The only flaw of the study is, as in many previous cases, its gender binarity that the respondents were required to adhere to.

The fact that research on gender in language is difficult because so many factors come in is something that I have personally experienced when carrying out research on neologisms derived from Czech politicians' names. Although the results of my study showed that the longer the name was, the fewer the derivations of name appeared in the corpus, the entry data mostly consisted of names that were mostly

of 5-letter length (Recmanová, 2017). Therefore, although it is possible that Czech female politicians' surnames generally make fewer derivations because of the *-ová* suffix, the reality is that many Czech top politicians have short surnames anyway.

My research also focused on the economical principle in language. While the length of a word may be a reason why it never enters the common vocabulary, there are other reasons why it may never happen, such as its out-of-context meaning predictability (Zíková, 2001: 158). This leads me to the questions that form my hypotheses: Do markedness and polysemy "discriminate" words? Are polysemous unmarked words more economical than those that are monosemous and marked? Do speakers choose monosemous unmarked words more than polysemous marked ones, perhaps to avoid confusion? Is the markedness, a broader term or a hyperonym, of lesser concern for speakers than polysemy?

Research Hypothesis and Methodology

My main hypothesis whose validity I want to examine is that the economical principle, be it in terms of the word's length or its meaning, influences the choice of words. This means that I will look at examples where both marked and unmarked word can appear and examine the choice.

For this purpose, I have decided to test pairs of words with masculine and feminine genders in each of them. In addition, one word of each pair is polysemic. The list of the word is as follows:

fyzik – fyzička (plurals *fyzikové / fyzici – fyzičky*)

chemik – chemička (plurals *chemikové / chemici – chemičky*)

pravák – pravačka (plurals *praváci – pravačky*)

levák – levačka (plurals *leváci – levačky*)

kuchař – kuchařka (plurals *kuchaři – kuchařky*)

kovboj – kovbojka (plurals *kovbojové – kovbojky*)

občan – občanka (plurals *občané – občanky*)

pokladník – pokladnice (plurals *pokladníci – pokladnice*)

detektiv – detektivka (plurals *detektivové – detektivky*)

sekretář – sekretářka (plurals *sekretáře* (masculine inanimate) / *sekretáři* (masculine animate) – *sekretářky*)

viník – vinice (plurals *viníci – vinice*)

celník – celnice (plurals *celníci – celnice*)

stavebník – stavebnice (plurals *stavebníci – stavebnice*)

koala – koalice (plurals *koaly – koalice*)

druh – družka (plurals *druhy* (masculine inanimate) / *druhové* (masculine animate) – *družky*)

strážník – strážnice (plurals *strážníci – strážnice*)

generál – generálka (plurals *generálové – generálky*)

model – modelka (plurals *modely* (masculine inanimate) / *modelové* (masculine animate) – *modelky*)

člen – členka (plurals *členy* (masculine inanimate) / *členové* (masculine animate) – *členky*)

ekonom – ekonomka (plurals *ekonomové – ekonomky*)

For clarity, I am including a list of meanings for each word:

fyzik – (male) physicist

fyzička – female physicist; physical condition (colloquially)

chemik – (male) chemist

chemička – female chemist; chemical station
pravák – right-handed person, right-handed man
pravačka – right-handed woman; right hand (colloquially)
levák – left-handed person, left-handed man
levačka – left-handed woman; left hand (colloquially)
kuchař – (male) cook
kuchařka – female cook; cookbook
kovboj – cowboy
kovbojka – cowgirl; western film (colloquially)
občan – (male) citizen
občanka – female citizen; identity card (colloquially); civics (colloquially)
pokladník – (male) cashier
pokladnice – female cashier; treasure
detektiv – (male) detective
detektivka – female detective; detective story (colloquially)
sekretář – (male) secretary /masculine animate gender/; drawer /masculine inanimate gender/
sekretářka – female secretary
viník – (male) villain
vinice – female villain; vineyard
celník – (male) customs officer
celnice – female customs officer; customs office
stavebník – (male) construction technician
stavebnice – female construction technician; bricks
koala – (male) koala bear
koalice – female koala bear; coalition
druh – kind /masculine inanimate gender/; (male) partner /masculine animate gender/
družka – female partner
strážník – (male) police officer
strážnice – female police officer; guarding point
generál – (male) general officer

generálka – female general officer; final rehearsal

model – (male) model (occupation) /masculine animate gender/; model (item) /masculine inanimate gender/

modelka – female model

člen – (male) member /masculine animate gender/; article (grammar) /masculine inanimate gender/

členka – female member

ekonom – (male) economist

ekonomka – female economist; business school (colloquially)

In addition to these pairs, I have also created a list of pairs where none of the two words is polysemic. Such list will function as a control group. The list is as follows:

doktor – *doktorka* (plurals *doktoři* – *doktorky*)

lékař – *lékařka* (plurals *lékaři* – *lékařky*)

herec – *herečka* (plurals *herci* – *herečky*)

zpěvák – *zpěvačka* (plurals *zpěváci* – *zpěvačky*)

spisovatel – *spisovatelka* (plurals *spisovatelé* – *spisovatelky*)

sportovec – *sportovkyně* (plurals *sportovci* – *sportovkyně*)

atlet – *atletka* (plurals *atleti* – *atletky*)

lyžař – *lyžařka* (plurals *lyžaři* – *lyžařky*)

majitel – *majitelka* (plurals *majitelé* – *majitelky*)

učitel – *učitelka* (plurals *učitelé* – *učitelky*)

soudruh – *soudružka* (plurals *soudruzi* – *soudružky*)

profesor – *profesorka* (plurals *profesoři* – *profesorky*)

žák – *žákyně* (plurals *žáci* – *žákyně*)

student – *studentka* (plurals *studenti* – *studentky*)

švagr – *švagrová* (plurals *švagři* – *švagrové*)

tchán – *tchyně* (plurals *tchánové* – *tchyně*)

král – *královna* (plurals *králové* – *královny*)

manžel – *manželka* (plurals *manželé* – *manželky*)

ministr – *ministřyně* (plurals *ministři* – *ministřyně*)

soudce – *soudkyně* (plurals *soudci* – *soudkyně*)

psycholog – psycholožka (plurals psychologové – psycholožky)

medvěd – medvědice (plurals medvědi – medvědice)

zajíc – zaječice (plurals zajíci – zaječice)

lev – lvíce (plurals lvi – lvíce)

chovatel – chovatelka (plurals chovatelé – chovatelky)

překladatel – překladatelka (plurals překladatelé – překladatelky)

The translations of these pairs follow underneath:

doktor – (male) doctor

doktorka – female doctor

lékař – (male) medical doctor

lékařka – female medical doctor

herec – actor

herečka – actress

zpěvák – (male) singer

zpěvačka – (female) singer

spisovatel – (male) writer

spisovatelka – female writer

sportovec – sportsman, sportsperson

sportovkyně – sportswoman

atlet – (male) athlete

atletka – female athlete

lyžař – (male) skier

lyžařka – female skier

majitel – (male) owner

majitelka – female owner

učitel – (male) teacher

učitelka – female teacher

soudruh – (male) comrade

soudružka – female comrade

profesor – (male) professor

profesorka – female professor
žák – (male) pupil
žákyně – female pupil
student – (male) student
studentka – female student
švagr – brother-in-law
švagrová – sister-in-law
tchán – father-in-law
tchyně – mother-in-law
král – king
královna – queen
manžel – husband, spouse
manželka – wife
ministr – (male) minister
ministryně – female minister
soudce – (male) judge
soudkyně – female judge
psycholog – (male) psychologist
psycholožka – female psychologist
medvěd – (male) bear
medvědice – female bear
zajíc – (male) hare
zaječice – female hare
lev – lion
lvíce – lionness
chovatel – (male) breeder
chovatelka – female breeder
překladatel – (male) translator
překladatelka – female translator

As we can see, most of these pairs contain polysemic words that are of feminine gender; however, a few examples of masculine nouns have also been found. It is also worth noting that a lot of these polysemic

words are colloquial terms, and thus may only appear in specific, less formal contexts (unless they, of course, denote a character of feminine gender). All the polysemic words of masculine genders exhibit different paradigms of declination according to their meaning. This is unsurprising as they are either masculine animate or masculine inanimate. Let us take the word *druh* as an example:

case (all singular)	masculine animate	masculine inanimate
nominative	<i>druh</i>	<i>druh</i>
genitive	<i>druha</i>	<i>druhu</i>
dative	<i>druhu</i> / <i>druhovi</i>	<i>druhu</i>
accusative	<i>druha</i>	<i>druh</i>
vocative	<i>druhu</i>	<i>druhu</i>
local	<i>druhu</i> / <i>druhovi</i>	<i>druhu</i>
instrumental	<i>druhem</i>	<i>druhem</i>

case (all plural)	masculine animate	masculine inanimate
nominative	<i>druhové</i> / <i>druzi</i>	<i>druhy</i>
genitive	<i>druhů</i>	<i>druhů</i>
dative	<i>druhům</i>	<i>druhům</i>
accusative	<i>druhy</i>	<i>druhy</i>
vocative	<i>druhové</i>	<i>druhy</i>
local	<i>druzích</i>	<i>druzích</i>
instrumental	<i>druhy</i>	<i>druhy</i>

A similar pattern may be observed in the declination of the word *sekretář*:

case (all singular)	masculine animate	masculine inanimate
nominative	<i>sekretář</i>	<i>sekretář</i>
genitive	<i>sekretáře</i>	<i>sekretáře</i>
dative	<i>sekretáři</i> / <i>sekretářovi</i>	<i>sekretáři</i>
accusative	<i>sekretáře</i>	<i>sekretář</i>
vocative	<i>sekretáři</i>	<i>sekretáři</i>
local	<i>sekretáři</i>	<i>sekretáři</i>
instrumental	<i>sekretářem</i>	<i>sekretářem</i>

case (all plural)	masculine animate	masculine inanimate
nominative	<i>sekretáři</i>	<i>sekretáře</i>
genitive	<i>sekretářů</i>	<i>sekretářů</i>
dative	<i>sekretářům</i>	<i>sekretářům</i>
accusative	<i>sekretáře</i>	<i>sekretáře</i>
vocative	<i>sekretáři</i>	<i>sekretáři</i>
local	<i>sekretářích</i>	<i>sekretářích</i>
instrumental	<i>sekretáři</i>	<i>sekretáři</i>

(The congruence of cases is bolded.)

As we can see, the congruence occurs in singular nominative, genitive plural, dative plural, accusative plural, vocative singular, local plural, and both instrumentals. The partial congruence is observable among singular dative and local where the animate form differs according to its syntactic position. For example:

Dědictví přenechala druhu a synovi. ("The inheritance was left to the spouse and the son.")

Dědictví přenechala synu a druhovi. ("The inheritance was left to the son and the spouse.")

Dědictví přenechala druhovi. ("The inheritance was left to the spouse.")

Dědictví přenechala synovi. ("The inheritance was left to the son.")

Dědictví přenechala svému druhovi a jeho synovi. ("The inheritance was left to her spouse and his son.")

?*Dědictví přenechala druhovi a synovi.*

**Dědictví přenechala druhu a synu.*

It is obvious that speakers will usually be able to distinguish between these meanings as the word declinations will differ. At the same time, though, this only applies to masculine genders because there is only one feminine gender in Czech.

It is important to take note of these issues as they will inevitably come up in the results. However, this is not the only constraint of the study – the use of corpora means that certain sources (or language styles, to be precise) will be given more or less representation than in the "real world". In spite of these shortcomings, I still believe that the use of corpora will provide me with the most comprehensive results.

The corpora I used were all the "syn" and ORAL corpuses within the Czech National Corpus, administrated by the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. These corpuses are very efficient, because they employ searching with the aid of several criteria, such as the textual genre, date of publishing, author (if known), source (in case of journalistic texts), words, parts of speech, or anything else with the use of regular expressions.

Unfortunately, the ORAL corpus is not lemmatised, so I had to type in each declination in case the root of the word with dot and asterisk would look up unrelated words (for example, the query *fyzik.** would also look up declinations of the word *fyzika*, *fyzikův* or *fyzikální*). Otherwise, the query with the root of the word altogether with dot and asterisk sufficed. The exact regular expressions are listed here:

fyzik, *fyzika* (the lemma *fyzika* manually filtered), *fyzikovi* (the lemma *fyzikův* manually filtered), *fyziku* (the lemma *fyzika* manually filtered), *fyzikem*, *fyzikové*, *fyzici*, *fyziků.** (the lemma *fyzikův* manually filtered), *fyziky* (the lemma *fyzika* manually filtered), *fyzicích*,

*fyzič.** (the lemma *fyziččin* manually filtered),

chemik, *chemika* (the lemma *chemika* manually filtered), *chemikovi* (the lemma *chemikův* manually filtered), *chemiku* (the lemma *chemika* manually filtered), *chemikem*, *chemici*, *chemiků.** (the lemma *chemikův* manually filtered), *chemiky* (the lemma *chemika* manually filtered), *chemicích*,

*chemič.** (the lemma *chemiččin* manually filtered),

*pravák.** (the lemma *pravákův* manually filtered), *pravác.** (the lemma *pravácký* manually filtered),

*pravač.** (the lemma *pravaččin* manually filtered),

*levák.** (the lemma *levákův* manually filtered), *levác.** (the lemma *levácký* manually filtered),

*levač.** (the lemma *levaččin* manually filtered),

kuchař, kuchaře, kuchaři, kuchařovi (the lemma *kuchařův* manually filtered), *kuchařem, kuchařů.** (the lemma *kuchařův* manually filtered), *kuchařích,*

*kuchařk.** (the lemma *kuchařkovitý* manually filtered), *kuchařc.**, *kuchařek,*

*kovboj.** (the lemmas *kovbojský, kovbojův* and *kovbojčin* manually filtered),

občan, občana, občanovi (the lemma *občanův* manually filtered), *občane.**, *občané, občani, občanu.** (the lemma *občanův* manually filtered), *občany,*

*občank.**, *občanc.**, *občanek,*

*pokladník.** (the lemma *pokladníkův* manually filtered),

*pokladnic.**,

*detektiv.** (the lemmas *detektivní, detektivův* and *detektivčin* manually filtered),

*sekretář.** (the lemmas *sekretářský, sekretářův* and *sekretářčin* manually filtered),

*viník.** (the lemma *viníkův* manually filtered), *viníc.**,

*vinic.**,

*celník.** (the lemma *celníkův* manually filtered), *celníc.**,

*celnic.**,

*stavebník.** (the lemma *stavebníkův* manually filtered), *stavebníc.**,

*stavebnic.**,

*koal.** (the lemmas *koalův* and *koaliční* manually filtered),

*druh, druha, druhu, druhovi, druhem, druhové, druzi, druhů.** (the lemma *druhův* manually filtered), *druhy, družích,*

*družk.**, *družc.** (the lemma *Družec* manually filtered), *družek.**,

*strážník.** (the lemma *strážníkův* manually filtered), *strážníc.**,

*strážnic.**,

*generál.** (the lemmas *generálmajor, generálplukovník, generálpodplukovník, generální, generálův* and *generálčin* manually filtered),

model, modela, modelu, modeli (the lemma *modelův* manually filtered), *modele.**, *modely, modelové, modelů.** (the lemma *modelův* manually filtered),

modelk. , modelc.* , modelek,*

člen, člena, členu, členovi (the lemma *členův* manually filtered), *člene.* , členové, členy, členů.** (the lemma *členův* manually filtered),

členk. , členc.* , členek,*

ekonom, ekonomka, ekonomovi (the lemma *ekonomův* manually filtered), *ekonome.* , ekonomy, ekonomů.** (the lemma *ekonomův* manually filtered),

ekonomk. , ekonomc.* , and ekonomek.*

Initially, I searched for the lemmas of the aforementioned words and counted their frequencies. Then I looked at their concordances to determine the meaning of the words.

One of the ways to look for a disparity between the grammatical sociocultural genders is to specify context in the corpus, that is, what follows or precedes the searched term. This includes leftward expressions such as:

*.*pracoval (jsem / jste / jsi) jako* + term of feminine gender (verb *pracovat* ("to work")) conjugated in the past tense of indicative mood and masculine gender and word *jako* ("as"))

*.*byl (jsem / jste / jsi)* + term of feminine gender (verb *být* ("to be")) conjugated in the past tense of indicative mood and masculine gender)

*.*pracoval bych / byste / bys / by jako* + term of feminine gender (verb *pracovat* ("to work")) conjugated in the present tense of conditional mood and masculine gender and word *jako* ("as"))

*.*byl bych / byste / bys / by* + term of feminine gender (verb *být* ("to be")) conjugated in the present tense of conditional mood and masculine gender)

*.*pracovala (jsem / jste / jsi) jako* + term of a masculine gender (verb *pracovat* ("to work")) conjugated in the past tense of indicative mood and feminine gender and word *jako* ("as"))

*.*byla (jsem / jste / jsi)* + term of a masculine gender (verb *být* ("to be")) conjugated in the past tense of indicative mood and feminine gender)

*.*pracovala bych / byste / bys / by jako* + term of a masculine gender (verb *pracovat* ("to work")) conjugated in the present tense of conditional mood and feminine gender and word *jako* ("as"))

*.*byla bych / byste / bys / by* + term of a masculine gender (verb *být* ("to be")) conjugated in the present tense of conditional mood and feminine gender)

(These forms are all in singular except for the constructions with *jste* and *byste*, which, albeit grammatically plural, refer to single persons and have a polite addressing function in the language. The optional string of characters covers any possible prefixes, for example, a negative form, which is formed with the *ne-* prefix in Czech.)

In addition, past tense of conditional mood can be constructed simply by adding the past tense of the verb *bývat* or *být* to the present tense, but changing the word order of the main and auxiliary verbs. Thus, constructions such as

byla byste pracovala or

bývala byste byla, etc.

were also included.

Syntactically, these constructions function as predicates in their respective sentences (which are constructed of the word *být* plus the word in nominative or instrumental case or *pracovat jako* plus the word in nominative case).

By all means, not even these constructions in the queries can cover all the cases where a gender disparity appears, because the present and future tenses of indicative mood and exclamative mood are not gendered in the Czech language. However, they definitely help process such disparities without manual search of the raw results.

In case there were too many results to be determined manually, I examined a random sample of the results and applied it for the whole population.

Results

I initially collected frequencies of the observed lexemes:

	syn 4	oral	total sum
<i>fyzik</i>	18,141	7	18,148
<i>fyzička</i>	20,764	10	20,774
<i>chemik</i>	20,193	0	20,193
<i>chemička</i>	25,994	1	25,995
<i>pravák</i>	5,501	1	5,502
<i>pravačka</i>	4,872	1	4,873
<i>levák</i>	7,800	4	7,804
<i>levačka</i>	11,015	5	11,020
<i>kuchař</i>	69,905	40	69,945
<i>kuchařka</i>	39,198	35	39,233
<i>kovboj</i>	13,634	3	13,637
<i>kovbojka</i>	1,674	2	1,676
<i>občan</i>	913,243	17	913,260
<i>občanka</i>	23,904	40	23,944
<i>pokladník</i>	8,454	2	8,456
<i>pokladnice</i>	4,891	0	4,891
<i>detektiv</i>	55,444	3	55,447
<i>detektivka</i>	26,569	19	26,588
<i>sekretář</i>	67,938	3	67,941
<i>sekretářka</i>	26,375	26	26,401
<i>viník</i>	78,025	2	78,027
<i>vinice</i>	42,992	12	43,004
<i>celník</i>	80,328	5	80,333
<i>celnice</i>	12,700	1	12,701
<i>stavebník</i>	29,713	3	29,716
<i>stavebnice</i>	18,067	2	18,069
<i>koala</i>	2,787	0	2,787
<i>koalice</i>	304,524	9	304,533
<i>druh</i>	624,649	95	624,744
<i>družka</i>	31,397	2	31,399
<i>strážník</i>	474,357	0	474,357
<i>strážnice</i>	11,179	12	11,191
<i>generál</i>	115,566	11	115,577
<i>generálka</i>	49,040	11	49,051
<i>model</i>	511,542	34	511,576
<i>modelka</i>	92,872	21	92,893
<i>člen</i>	1,354,658	62	1,354,720
<i>členka</i>	90,498	1	90,499
<i>ekonom</i>	130,555	16	130,671
<i>ekonomka</i>	9,899	41	9,940

(The more frequent variant of each pair is bolded.)

Apparently, some variants are distributed unevenly between the written and spoken corpora. This is not surprising though; as I indicated in the previous chapter, this may be influenced by the fact that some

words have more meanings in colloquial layers of language, which obviously cannot be reflected in the written corpus. Nevertheless, this still does not tell us if the polysemic or marked variant is used less frequently or not. In the second part, I therefore focused on the distribution of meanings among those variants that have more meanings. Because the word *občanka*, unlike others, has actually three meanings instead of just two, I decided to create only two groups of meanings; the first one refers to those meanings that connote womanhood or femininity (or manhood or masculinity if the word is of a masculine gender), the second one refers to those meanings that do not connote these aspects. The results were again put into table:

	syn4, W or F, M	syn4, non-W- or-F, non-M	ORAL, W or F, M	ORAL, non-W- or-F, non-M	ratios (W or F, M : non-W-or- F, non-M, syn4, ORAL)
<i>fyzická</i>	727	20,037	0	10	7 : 193, 0 : 10
<i>chemička</i>	260	25,734	0	1	1 : 99, 0 : 1
<i>pravačka</i>	73	4,799	0	1	3 : 197, 0 : 1
<i>levačka</i>	551	10,464	4	1	5 : 95, 4 : 1
<i>kuchařka</i>	19,991	19,207	14	21	51 : 49, 2 : 3
<i>kovbojka</i>	293	1,381	0	2	7 : 33, 0 : 2
<i>občanka</i>	8,247	15,657	2	38	69 : 131, 1 : 19
<i>pokladnice</i>	196	4,695	0	0	1 : 24, 0 : 0
<i>detektivka</i>	399	26,170	0	19	3 : 197, 0 : 19
<i>sekretář</i>	66,240	1,698	0	3	39 : 1, 0 : 3
<i>vinice</i>	0	42,992	1	11	0 : 42,992, 1 : 11
<i>celnice</i>	191	12,509	0	1	3 : 17, 0 : 1
<i>stavebnice</i>	0	18,067	0	2	0 : 18,067, 0 : 2
<i>koalice</i>	0	304,524	0	9	0 : 304,524, 0 : 9
<i>druh</i>	12,493	612,156	2	93	1 : 49, 2 : 93
<i>strážnice</i>	783	10,396	0	12	7 : 93, 0 : 12
<i>generálka</i>	245	48,795	0	11	1 : 19, 0 : 11
<i>model</i>	7,673	503,869	4	30	3 : 17, 2 : 15
<i>člen</i>	1,347,885	6,773	55	7	199 : 1, 55 : 7
<i>ekonomka</i>	8,414	1,485	5	36	17 : 3, 5 : 36

It is obvious from the table that most of the polysemic words display higher frequency for the non-human or non-animal meanings. However, exceptions exist; these include the words *kuchařka* (the written corpus), *levačka* (the spoken corpus), *sekretář* (the written corpus), *člen* (both corpora), and *ekonomka* (both corpora).

Based on these tables, we can compare the frequencies (F) of the „animate“ meanings and their words:

F (*fyzik*) > F (*fyzická*)

F (*chemik*) > F (*chemička*)

F (*pravák*) > F (*pravačka*)

F (*levák*) > F (*levačka*) (the written corpus), F (*levák*) = F (*levačka*) (the spoken corpus)

F (*kuchař*) > F (*kuchařka*)

F (*kovboj*) > F (*kovbojka*)

F (*občan*) > F (*občanka*)
 F (*pokladník*) > F (*pokladnice*)
 F (*detektiv*) > F (*detektivka*)
 F (*sekretář*) > F (*sekretářka*) (the written corpus), F (*sekretář*) < F (*sekretářka*) (the spoken corpus)
 F (*viník*) > F (*vinice*)
 F (*celník*) > F (*celnice*)
 F (*stavebník*) > F (*stavebnice*)
 F (*koala*) < F (*koalice*)
 F (*druh*) < F (*družka*) (the written corpus), F (*druh*) = F (*družka*) (the spoken corpus)
 F (*strážník*) > F (*strážnice*) (the written corpus), F (*strážník*) = F (*strážnice*) (the spoken corpus)
 F (*generál*) > F (*generálka*)
 F (*model*) < F (*modelka*)
 F (*člen*) > F (*členka*)
 F (*ekonom*) > F (*ekonomka*)

As we can see, there are some differences between both corpora, but their similarities prevail. From the results above, we can conclude that polysemic words are more preferred to denote non-animate entities than the animate ones. The only differences are the words *koala* and *druh*. Regarding the former term, this can be because the word denotes a non-human animal. Regarding the latter one, the pair *druh* – *družka* may be generally less favoured than its synonyms, such as *partner* – *partnerka*, which mean „(male) partner“ and „female partner“, respectively.

Secondly, generic masculine gender is preferred more than feminine gender in general, especially within the written corpus. However, if the polysemic word is of a masculine gender, it is usually used just as often as or less frequently than its feminine mate, the latter especially relevant for spoken word. Again, the exception in this case are the words *sekretář* and *člen*. The explanations for these exceptions could be that the word *sekretář* is usually an official title (hence why it is more frequent in the written corpus) and the inanimate meaning of the word *člen* refers to something alien to the Czech grammar (which lacks articles) and is more a rigorous term rather than a term from everyday speech.

Finally, I looked up if or how often the other word of each pair was used in order to describe a person or an animal of a different gender. The results were again put into table:

	used for different gender, syn4	percentage (out of total sum), syn4	used for different gender, ORAL	percentage (out of total sum), ORAL
<i>fyzik</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>chemik</i>	3	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>pravák</i>	2	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>levák</i>	4	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>kuchař</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>kovboj</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>občan</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>pokladník</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>detektiv</i>	4	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>sekretářka</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>viník</i>	4	< 1‰	1	50%
<i>celník</i>	2	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>stavebník</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>koala</i>	2	1‰	0	0%
<i>družka</i>	0	0%	0	0%

<i>strážník</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>generál</i>	15	< 1‰	3	25%
<i>modelka</i>	2	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>členka</i>	2	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>ekonom</i>	3	< 1‰	0	0%

The corpus examples are listed here:

1. *Neuznal její nenahraditelný podíl na svém ohromném objevu, tím spíše, že i ona byla fyzik, a to v době, kdy se fyzice věnovaly sotva tři ženy na celém světě.* ("He did not accept her unique contribution to his big discovery, moreso because even she was a physicist, and especially at time when physics was researched by barely three women in the whole world.") (*Právo*, 4 March 2004)
2. *Povoláním byla chemik, duší bojovník za lidská práva a v obojím byla natolik výjimečná, že jsme jí s trochou nadsázky říkali Královna Viktorie.* ("By profession, she was a chemist, by heart, she was a human-rights advocate and she was so exceptional in both of these things that we called her, a bit hyperbolically, Queen Victoria.") (*Respekt*, 9, 2010)
3. *rodiče jsou ekonomové, dědeček František Vlasák byl v roce 1989 místopředsedou české vlády, babička byla chemik (je autorkou několika patentů v oboru koroze ocele)* ("her parents are economists, her grandfather František Vlasák was the vice-president of the Czech government, her grandmother was a chemist (she is the author of several patents in the subject of corrosion of steel)") (*Instinkt*, 12, 2010)
4. *Matka byla chemik, otec obchodník.* ("Mother was a chemist, father was a salesman.") (*Víkend HN*, 47, 2013)
5. *Byla jsem chemikem, mikrobiologem, hygieničkou.* ("I was a chemist, microbiologist, hygienist.") (*Regionální týdeník*, 29 March 2013)
6. *Jestli má opravdu prostřelenou levou hemisféru a jestli ta paní byla pravák, tak ideální výsledek bude ochrnutí na půl těla a neschopnost mluvit, neschopnost rozumět.* ("If she was really shot through her left hemisphere and if the lady was right-handed, then the ideal outcome will be a half-body paralysis and the inability to speak and the inability to comprehend.") (*Pátek lidových novin*, 4, 2011)
7. *Premiantka Sindra byla pravák a najednou se musela naučit zvládat věci levou rukou.* ("The valedictorian Sindra had been right-handed and she suddenly had to learn to manage things with her left hand.") (*Blesk*, 1 November 2014)
8. *Syn (4 roky) je pravák, a tak si tajně přeju, aby dcera (4 měsíce) byla levák!* ("My son (4 years) is right-handed, so I secretly wish my daughter (4 months) was left-handed!") (*Maminka*, 10, 2013)
9. *Fára byla levák, podříznout Hátu mohla jen ona.* ("Fára was left-handed, only she could have cut Háta.") (*Reflex*, 5, 1994)
10. *Byla levák, ale zavile to zkoušela pravou rukou.* ("She was left-handed, but she was diligently trying it with her right hand.") (*Želary*, 2003)
11. *S bratrem jsme se vymykali barvou vlasů, já navíc byla levák a v 70. letech byla každá odlišnost na obtíž.* ("I and my brother were different from others with our hair colour, I was also left-handed and every difference made it difficult in the 70s.") (*Moje rodina*, 49, 2013)
12. *vy ste vlastně byla viníkem že ste mu tu nahrávku vlastně dala do toho když* ("actually, you were the villain because you gave him the recording into it when") (the spoken corpus, 34 years old speaker from central Moravia, tertiary education, 2009)
13. *Vzhledem k tomu, že jsem byla kuchař začátečník, nadělala jsem kolem sebe děsný binec.* ("Because I was a beginning cook, I made a lot of mess around.") (*Dobrý den s kurýrem*, 37, 2012)

14. *Ale protože jsem byla kovboj, oblékla jsem bundičku, sedla si za strom a čekala, co se bude dít.* ("But because I was a cowboy, I put on a jacket, sat behind a tree and waited what would happen.") (*InStyle*, 3, 2014)
15. *Začátkem osmdesátých let byla pokladníkem organizace Hnutí za jaderné odzbrojování (CND), které podporovala a zčásti i platila sovětská TAJNÁ SLUŽBA KGB.* ("At the beginning of the 80s, she served as a treasurer for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which was supported and also partially sponsored by the Soviet SECRET SERVICE KGB.") (*Reflex*, 49, 2009)
16. *Sice šlo o detektivní seriál, ale Eva nebyla detektiv.* ("Although it was a detective series, Eva was not a detective.") (*Týdeník televize*, 35, 2014)
17. *Kdyby Sykesová byla detektiv a někdo jí tohle řekl, rozhodně by zbystřila pozornost, zaměřila by se na to, dala by si dvě a dvě dohromady a došla by k závěru, že se Kim a paní Finlayová nenáviděly, a když ji Kim navštívila ten den v jejím domě –* ("If Sykes was a detective and someone told her this, she would definitely stay alert, focus on it, make a head and toe of it and conclude that Kim and Ms Finlay had hated each other and when Kim visited her at home that day -") (*V ohrožení*, 2008)
18. *Já bych mu dala dvacet let a pak ho pustila, kdybych byla detektiv.* ("I would sentence him to twenty years and then release him, if I was a detective.") (*Reflex*, 20, 2001)
19. *Víte, že jste příliš mladá a hezká na to, abyste byla detektiv?* ("Do you know that you are too young and pretty to be a detective?") (*Zločiny pro dva*, 2002)
20. *Protože můj agent byl sekretářkou tohoto Chalupy, měl jsem dosti přesné informace a protože začal přípravy s odchodem do zahraničí, vymyslel jsem si, že bych jej měl tajně zatknout, rychle se od něho dozvědět všechny podrobnosti o jeho ilegalitě a tak do ní proniknouti.* ("As my agent was this Chalupa's secretary, I had more or less exact information and because he commenced preparations for going abroad, I made up a story that I had to convict him in secret, quickly learn from him all the details about his illegality and get into it that way.") (*Securitas imperii 2*, 1995)
21. *Podle policejního mluvčího Davida Schöna byla viníkem dopravní nehody mladá žena, která nedala na křižovatce přednost devětapadesátiletému muži.* ("According to David Schön, the police spokesperson, a young woman was culpable for the traffic accident as she had not given way to a fifty-nine years old man at the crossroads.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 14 April 2011)
22. *Podle svědků byla viníkem nehody žena za volantem felicie, která nezvládla předjíždění Renaultu Mascott s přívěsem a nákladem osobních aut.* ("According to the witnesses, a woman driving a Felicia car was guilty of the accident as she had not managed to pass by a Renault Mascott car with a trailer and cars loaded onto it.") (*Deníky Moravia*, 30 March 2010)
23. *V tomto případě však byla viníkem zřejmě chodkyně.* ("However, a passer-by was apparently guilty in this case.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 23 April 2011)
24. *Podle svědků byla viníkem nehody žena za volantem felicie, která nezvládla předjíždění Renaultu Mascott s přívěsem a nákladem osobních aut.* ("According to the witnesses, a woman driving a Felicia car was guilty of the accident as she had not managed to pass by a Renault Mascott car with a trailer and cars loaded onto it.") (*Valašský deník*, 14, 2010)
25. *Například 56letá žena se středním ekonomickým vzděláním, která dříve pracovala jako celník, poté operátor a pak v administrativě, se odhodlala absolvovat dlouhodobý rekvalifikační kurz Pracovník pro obchodní styk se zahraničím v angličtině, a to i přesto, že měla zdravotní problémy.* ("For instance, a 56-year-old woman with high-school economic education that had worked as a customs officer before, then as an operator and subsequently in administration, decided to undergo a long-term career-changing training named Officer for international business relations in English, even though she had health problems.") (*Právo*, 19 May 2008)
26. *Takovým případem je šestapadesátiletá žena se středním ekonomickým vzděláním, která předtím, než přišla o práci, pracovala jako celník a pak v administrativě.* ("Such example is a fifty-

- six years old woman with high-school economic education that had worked as a customs officer and then in administration before she lost her job.") (*Deníky Moravia*, 19 May 2008)
27. *Nevěděl, že to byla koala, neškodný býložravec.* ("He did not know it was a koala, a harmless herbivore.") (*Peklo v ráji*, 1941)
28. *Už sice vyšlo najevo, že i tentokrát jedna ze stran, sociální demokracie, vsadí na volebního maskota, ten je ale mnohem neurčitější, než byla koala.* ("Even though it became apparent that this time one of the parties, social democracy, would bet its chances on an election mascot, but it is less legible than the koala used to be.") (*Lidové noviny*, 15 January 2002)
29. *Byla generál - klasický Beran a ti to mají v popisu práce.* ("She was a head of the house – a typical Aries and this is their job.") (*Magazín práva*, 20, 2002)
30. *Slabý mužský, jehož matka byla generál, si může vybrat jí podobnou partnerku – nebo normální ženskou, u které však on svou submisivitou vyvolá stejné chování, jako bylo to matčino, a dostane se do stejné pasti.* ("A weak guy whose Mum was a head of the house may choose a spouse similar to her – or a normal woman that will be triggered by his submission to do the same though, as his mother's behaviour was, and he will be trapped again.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 13 July 2002)
31. *„Ano, byla generál. Nenechala si nic líbit,“ dodal starosta.* ("Yes, she was a head of the house. She stood up for herself," the mayor added.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 23 November 2007)
32. *Babička byla generál a jako malému dítěti mi dávala zabrat.* („My grandmother was a head of the house and I found it difficult with her as a small child.“) (*Překvapení*, 21, 2010)
33. *Moje babička byla generál, silná žena a velmi elegantní až do posledních dnů.* ("My grandmother was a head of the house, a strong woman and very smart until her very last days.") (*Překvapení*, 45, 2011)
34. *Jak Sava tvrdí, i když měla hlava státu maršálskou hůl, doma byla generálem Titova manželka.* ("As Sava says, although the head of state had a masha stick, it was the Tito's wife who was head of the house.") (*100+1 zahraniční zajímavost*, 23, 2000)
35. *„Babička byla generál,“ přidává se její starší, sedmatřicetiletá dcera Lucie Vágnerová.* ("Our grandmother was a head of the house," her older, thirty-seven years old daughter Lucie Vágnerová adds.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 15 November 2008)
36. *Máma byla generál. Tátu při každé příležitosti ponižovala, mne a brácha uzurpovala.* ("My Mum was a head of the house. She insulted my father at every opportunity and isolated me and my brother.") (*Blesk magazín*, 1, 1996)
37. *Kdybych já byla generál, všichni moji vojáci by zemřeli dřív, než by do téhle země vstoupil jedinej nacista!* ("If I was a general officer, all my soldiers would have died before a Nazi would enter this country!") (*Město zlodějů*, 2009)
38. *Ale i na lůžku byla generál.* ("But even in the bunk bed, she was a commander.") (*Magazín Víkend DNES*, 26, 2014)
39. *Alice byla generál?* ("Was Alice a general commander?") (*Deníky Moravia*, 15 September 2007)
40. *To spíš kvůli mamince, která byla generálem, a mně vadilo, že mi pořád něco přikazuje.* ("It was actually because of my mother that was head of the house and I detested that she was always making me do something.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 19 May 2007)
41. *Maminka byla generál.* ("Mommy was head of the house.") (*Tina*, 51, 2013)
42. *Maminka byla generál.* ("Mommy was head of the house.") (*Vlasta*, 36, 2011)
43. *Já jsem v té naší dvojici byla generál a dusila jsem ho, chudáka.* ("I was head of our pair and I was suffocating him, poor man.") (*Ona DNES*, 49, 2010)

44. *zas ta NJ je generál . ta by komandýrovala všechny* ("that NJ is a commander though . she'd command everyone") (the spoken corpus, 82 years old speaker from Eastern Moravia, elementary education, 2010)
45. *ten by potřeboval někou hodnou . nebo takovou trošku . slečnu která bude trošku generál* ("he'd need someone nice . or a bit like . a girl that will be a bit of a commander") (the spoken corpus, 42 years old speaker from South West Bohemia, tertiary education, 2008)
46. *major Carterová je pak už je vlastně . tam podplukovník plukovník generál* ("mayor Carter is then actually . a lieutenant colonel lieutenant general officer") (20 years old speaker from Central Bohemia, tertiary education, 2009)
47. *Ondřej Havelka – chvíli byl modelka* ("Ondřej Havelka – he was a model for a while") (*Vlasta*, 25, 1995)
48. *Ondřej Havelka – chvíli byl modelka* ("Ondřej Havelka – he was a model for a while") (*Vlasta*, 25, 1995)
49. *Kdybych byl členkou vlády já, tak bych si na cestu vzal i svoji postel.* ("If I was a member of the government, I would take my bed with me on a journey.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 26 May 2007)
50. *Kdybych byl členkou vlády já, tak bych si na cestu vzal i svoji postel.* ("If I was a member of the government, I would take my bed with me on a journey.") (*Deníky Moravia*, 26 May 2007)
51. *Otec nadělal peníze, ale ona byla ekonom.* ("Father made money, but she was the economist.") (*Lidové noviny*, 17 February 2010)
52. *Otec nadělal peníze, ale ona byla ekonom.* ("Father made money, but she was the economist.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 9 May 2002)
53. *Kdybych byla ekonom, tak asi Karel Marx, jehož učení je dodnes v mnohém aktuální, ke kterému se hlásí dokonce i v dnešním Německu a mají po něm pojmenované ulice.* ("If I were an economist, I would maybe be Karl Marx whose teachings are still relevant today, whom they recognise even in today's Germany and whose name German streets bear.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 17 September 2010)

The masculine gender was used for female denotation rather sporadically and vice versa. Apparently, these forms are used much more in the written rather than the spoken language. The language therefore prefers denoting females with nouns of feminine gender and denoting males with nouns of a masculine gender.

It is also interesting to observe the consistencies and inconsistencies in the use of genders. From the examples mentioned above, even hierarchically equal syntactic units did not always share unique gender; the predicates of a single subject were *chemik* as well as *autorkou* (3); *chemikem*, *mikrobiologem* as well as *hygieničkou* (5); and *generál* as well as *silná žena* (33). It is not clear why speakers opted for these constructions in such cases, but they overall preferred to stick to the consistency of grammatical genders. Ironically, the question *Víte, že jste příliš mladá a hezká na to, abyste byla detektiv?* (19) grammatically answers itself – words *mladá* and *hezká*, both being of feminine gender, are antitheses to the word *detektiv* which is of masculine animate gender.

The word *generál* functioned more as a metaphor rather than an expression of actual job – there was only one case when a woman was denoted with this word in the sense of a military title (46). This word can be ascribed metaphorically to a person of any gender though.

The word *koala* was treated as a feminine noun (27, 28), perhaps thanks to its *-a* ending. However, if the word appears within the *medvídek koala* ("koala bear"), it is conjugated as a noun of masculine animate gender.

There were only a few examples of female nouns used to denote males. One of such uses was probably employed for rhyming reasons (*Havelka – modelka*) (47, 48), the other one truly denoted someone's job (20), but could also be a language play. However, it seems there are larger differences in meaning between *sekretář* and *sekretářka* – the former usually denotes a person in leadership whereas the latter

denotes an assistant. The fact these two words are of different genders possibly reflects the gender gap in the workforce.

In general, it is safe to assume that polysemic words with animate and inanimate connotations are more often used to denote inanimate objects. However, this does not mean that animate objects are more likely to be denoted with a monosemic word – in fact, their denotations are underrepresented in corpora.

The list of frequencies of the control group was also collected:

	syn4	ORAL	total sum
doktor	204,509	425	204,934
<i>doktorka</i>	32,820	223	3,505
lékař	1,006,722	32	1,006,754
<i>lékařka</i>	77,445	2	77,447
herec	493,430	89	493,519
<i>herečka</i>	225,861	15	225,876
zpěvák	262,338	35	262,373
<i>zpěvačka</i>	211,829	21	211,850
spisovatel	209,674	22	209,696
<i>spisovatelka</i>	44,118	3	44,121
sportovec	271,173	17	271,190
<i>sportovkyně</i>	11,532	8	11,540
atlet	88,091	3	88,094
<i>atletka</i>	23,834	1	23,835
lyžař	142,181	10	142,191
<i>lyžařka</i>	19,332	1	19,333
majitel	1,061,666	105	1,061,771
<i>majitelka</i>	96,051	10	96,061
učitel	411,574	138	411,712
<i>učitelka</i>	176,907	150	177,057
soudruh	30,545	19	30,564
<i>soudružka</i>	4,537	4	4,541
profesor	209,882	61	209,943
<i>profesorka</i>	20,898	14	20,912
žák	857,042	15	857,057
<i>žákyně</i>	69,005	1	69,006
student	875,367	156	875,523
<i>studentka</i>	115,433	29	115,462
švagr	14,949	27	14,976
<i>švagrová</i>	6,496	14	6,510
<i>tchán</i>	10,194	21	10,215
<i>tchyně</i>	15,585	2	15,587
král	309,702	28	309,730
<i>královna</i>	123,840	13	12,397
manžel	505,113	188	505,301
<i>manželka</i>	433,845	199	434,044
ministr	1,180,344	32	1,180,376
<i>ministryně</i>	97,275	3	97,278
soudce	261,777	10	261,787

<i>soudkyně</i>	49,783	4	49,787
psycholog	98,184	33	98,217
<i>psycholožka</i>	33,125	6	33,131
medvěd	103,755	43	103,798
<i>medvědice</i>	5,054	9	5,063
zajíc	29,262	25	29,287
<i>zaječice</i>	3,442	2	3,444
lev	102,252	16	102,268
<i>lvice</i>	7,488	0	7,488
chovatel	111,933	14	111,947
<i>chovatelka</i>	7,894	0	7,894
překladař	31,689	12	31,701
<i>překladařka</i>	8,617	4	8,621

(The bolded numbers represent the higher frequency of each pair.)

Again, it is usually the masculine noun that is more frequent than its feminine counterpart. I also looked at the use of more frequent words in predicate structures where there were gender disparities.

	used for different gender, syn4	percentage (out of total sum), syn4	used for different gender, ORAL	percentage (out of total sum), ORAL
<i>doktor</i>	1	< 1‰	6	1%
<i>lékař</i>	1	< 1‰	1	3%
<i>herec</i>	1	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>zpěvák</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>spisovatel</i>	2	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>sportovec</i>	7	< 1‰	1	5%
<i>atlet</i>	1	< 1‰	3	100%
<i>lyžař</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>majitel</i>	8	< 1‰	1	1%
<i>učitel</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>soudruh</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>profesor</i>	0	0%	1	2%
<i>žák</i>	0	0%	1	10%
<i>student</i>	8	< 1‰	4	3%
<i>švagr</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>tchyně</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>král</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>manžel</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>ministr</i>	11	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>soudce</i>	6	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>psycholog</i>	8	< 1‰	1	3%
<i>medvěd</i>	3	< 1‰	0	0%
<i>zajíc</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>lev</i>	1	< 1‰	2	13%
<i>chovatel</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>překladař</i>	0	0%	0	0%

Specific examples include:

1. *a oni ke mně chodili, jako bych byla doktor* ("and they were visiting me as if I were a doctor") (*Spinoza z Trhové ulice*, 2001)
2. *Jezdila jsem jako se záchrankou jako sestra při studiích a chvíli i v době, kdy jsem po škole pracovala jako lékař na anesteziologicko-resuscitačním oddělení v Královských Vinohradech.* ("I was in an ambulance crew as a nurse during my studies and shortly during the time I was working as a doctor at the clinic of anesthesiology and resuscitation of the Královské Vinohrady [hospital].") (*Instinkt*, 37, 2011)
3. *jako správněj doktor teď už taky ji mám asi dvacet let prošlou* ("as a right doctor, I've also got it now expired after twenty years") (54 years old female speaker from border area, tertiary education, 2009)
4. *nejsem doktor* ("I am not a doctor") (82 years old female speaker from central Bohemia, elementary education, 2008)
5. *Lenka je eee . doktor pedagogiky* ("Lenka is, uhm . a doctor of education") (49 years old female speaker from East Moravia, tertiary education, 2011)
6. *za pět dnů jedu do Řecka . jako doktor* ("in five days, I am travelling to Greece . as a doctor") (38 years old female speaker from North East Bohemia, tertiary education, 2009)
7. *a čeho je doktor?* ("and what does she have a doctorate in?") (51 years old male speaker from central Moravia, tertiary education, 2011)
8. *doktor přírodních obchodních práv to byla vynikající tehdy ženská* ("doctor of natural, business law, she was a great woman at that time") (63 years old male speaker from East Moravia, secondary education, 2009)
9. *já jsem lékař . doktor je každěj tělocvikář* ("I'm a medical doctor . every physical education teacher is a doctor in general") (49 years old female speaker from East Moravia, tertiary education, 2011)
10. *nehne se na ní ani sval, jako by byla herec, který čeká, až půjde na scénu* ("not a single muscle of hers would move, as if she was an actor waiting to go on scene") (*Tajný deník*, 2009)
11. *Je to stejné, jako kdybych byla hercem na divadle.* ("It is the same as if I were an actor at the theatre.") (*Reflex*, 24, 1997)
12. *kdybys byla spisovatel, co píše o nepotopitelné lodi, a chtěla bys jí dát nějaké jméno, tak by ses zřejmě nacházela ve stejném stavu myslí jako při pojmenovávání opravdové lodi* ("if you were a writer writing about an unsinkable boat and you wanted to give her a name, you'd probably be found in the same state of mind as if you were naming a real boat") (*Náš tragický vesmír*, 2011)
13. *Kdybych byla spisovatel, zajímaly by mne hlavně čtenářské názory – to, jestli kniha někoho chytne, nebo ne, přece neovlivňují kritici.* ("If I were a writer, I would primarily be interested in readers' opinions – it is not actually the critics that influence if a book captures someone's interest or not.") (*Reflex*, 23, 1997)
14. *Nikdy nepolehávala u televize, vždycky byla sportovec a najednou tohle.* ("She never lied at the TV, she was always a sportsperson and now this.") (*Maminka*, 6, 2014)
15. *Kometa vždy byla sportovec, zatímco Nanuk byl línější povahy.* ("Shooting Star has always been a sporting animal whereas Ice-Cream have been lazier.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 25 November 2014)
16. *já byla sportovec vždycky, rodiče mě a sestru ke sportu vedli odmala* ("I've always been a sportsperson, my parents have taught me and my sister since we were children.") (*Týdeník televize*, 32, 2012)
17. *já byla sportovec a neměla jsem problémy s tělocvikem jako Helenka Součková* ("I was a sportsperson and didn't have problems with physical education like Helenka Součková") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 23 January 2008)

18. *Špotáková byla Sportovcem roku jednou.* ("Špotáková has been the Sports person of the Year once.") (*Blesk*, 12 December 2012)
19. *Kdybyste byla sportovec, měla byste ke sportovcům blíž a sháněla byste víc peněz pro ně.* ("If you were a sportsperson, you would be closer to sportspersons and you would be collecting more money for them.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 11 April 2011)
20. *Vždycky jsem byla sportovec a špatný student, takže jsem na radu mámy šla na zahradnickou školu.* ("I was always a sportsperson and a bad student, so I went to the gardening school, based on my Mum's advice.") (*Dieta*, 5, 2012)
21. *bylo jediný štěstí že byla sportovec* ("she was so lucky she was a sportsperson") (47 years old female speaker from Silesia, tertiary education, 2009)
22. *Lucinka byla atlet od pohledu* ("Little Lucie was an athlete from the outset") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 22 October 2008)
23. *tak ty jseš atlet?* ("so you're an athlete?") (23 years old female speaker from South West Bohemia, tertiary education, 2009)
24. *tam píšou no že pokud seš atlet tak jako že to je* ("well, they are writing there that if you're an athlete, it is") (23 years old female speaker from border area, tertiary education, 2009)
25. *atlet nejsem no* ("well, I'm not an athlete") (23 years old speaker from border area, tertiary education, 2009)
26. *Kdybyste byla majitel domu a někdo vám neplatil, tak taky nebudete řešit, jestli má kde bydlet.* ("If you were the house owner and someone did not play the rent, you would not care if they have a place to stay.") (*Lidové noviny*, 26 February 2007)
27. *Kdybych byla majitel, určitě by se mi jakákoliv regulace nelíbila.* ("If I were the owner, I surely would not like any regulation.") (*Deníky Moravia*, 14 February 2006)
28. *stejně jako když byla majitelem jen moje přítelkyně* ("just as when the owner was solely my girlfriend") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 29 January 2013)
29. *Kdybych byla majitelem podobné provozovny, asi bych o víkendu udělala všechna opatření k tomu, aby kontrola odešla spokojená.* ("If I were an owner of a similar business, I would perhaps do all the check-ups to make the inspection satisfied.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 18 December 2006)
30. *Kdybych byla majitelem, určitě bych peníze investovala do nových peřin.* ("If I were the owner, I would surely invest the money into new blankets.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 10 August 2013)
31. *Za svůj neúspěch bych to považovala, kdybych byla majitelem památky a bylo by mou povinností peníze zajistit.* ("I would consider it as my failure if I were the owner of the monument and it was my duty to provide the money.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 28 March 2008)
32. *Pokud jste byla majitelem rušeného účtu více než rok, nebude vám původní banka za zrušení a převod účtovat žádné poplatky.* ("If you were the owner of the account that was to be cancelled for more than a year, the original bank will not charge you any fees for the cancellation and transfer.") (*Překvapení*, 48, 2011)
33. *Já kdybych byla majitelem kulturního domu, tak bych asi začala přemýšlet, co mi to zpoždění způsobilo za komplikace, jaké škody jsem měla, a určitě bych chtěla náhradu těchto škod uplatnit[.]* ("If I were the owner of the cultural centre, I would probably start thinking what complications the delay caused, how I was harmed and I would surely want to be compensated[.]") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 10 July 2007)
34. *jako nový majitel je tam uvedená NJ* ("there is /name omitted/ registered as a new owner") (45 years old male speaker from border area, tertiary education, 2008)
35. *paní profesor* ("Mrs professor") (32 years old female speaker from central Bohemia, tertiary education, 2009)

36. *já cho* bejt žákem a tendle eee přijít do třídy tak se seberu a nechám se přepsat na jinou školu* ("if I were a pupil and this one, uhm, came to the classroom, I would pack my things and have myself enrolled at another school") (75 years old female speaker from North East Bohemia, secondary education, 2008)
37. *Uplatnit můžete slevy na dani – 24 840 korun na poplatníka a 335 korun za každý měsíc, kdy jste byla studentem vysoké školy a nebylo vám více než 26 let.* ("You can apply tax allowances – 24,840 korunas per payer and 335 korunas per every month you were a university student and you were not older than 26 years.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 24 February 2009)
38. *Rok jsem pracovala, jinak jsem zatím byla student, a to mi pomáhali rodiče.* ("I worked for a year, otherwise I was just a student at that time, even when my parents helped me.") (*Nedělní Blesk*, 2, 2010)
39. *kdybych byla student mířící na prestižní univerzitu do Berlína* ("if I were a student aiming for a prestigious university in Berlin") (*Lidové noviny*, 23 April 2005)
40. *jak by mi asi bylo, kdybych byla student a měla bych prázdniny* ("how I would feel if I were a student and had holidays") (*Deníky Moravia*, 13 August 2013)
41. *když se na to podívám z vlastní zkušenosti, taky jsem nebyla student „par excellence“* ("looking at it from my own perspective, I wasn't an excellent student either") (*Deníky Moravia*, 5 February 2008)
42. *Můžu pracovat jako brigádník, aniž bych byla student?* ("May I do temporary work without being a student?") (*Právo*, 11 July 2007)
43. *Jaký jste byla student?* ("What student were you like?") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 8 September 2008)
44. *ty jseš student jak prase* ("you're hardly a student [with your attitude]") (48 years old male speaker from central Moravia talking to a female, secondary education, 2009)
45. *ty si eště můžeš pařit . ty student* ("you still may party . you a student") (25 years old female student from central Bohemia talking to a female, tertiary education, 2008)
46. *budu jakoby normální student* ("I will be like a normal student") (19 years old female speaker from border area, secondary education, 2008)
47. *máš to tam levnější . přže seš jako student* ("you've got it cheaper there – cause you're like a student") (20 years old female speaker from central Moravia talking to a female, tertiary education, 2011)
48. *A kdybys byla ministrem školství, který předmět bys vymyslela pro děti navíc?* ("And if you were a minister of education, which extra subject would you create for children?") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 22 December 1994)
49. *Jsem člověk, který nezažil nikdy exekutivní odpovědnost, nikdy jsem nebyla ministrem.* ("I am a human that has never experienced an executive responsibility, I have never been a minister.") (*Lidové noviny – magazín*, 3, 2002)
50. *Ať se každý podívá, co jsem si pořídila, když jsem byla ministrem.* ("Let everyone take a look what I purchased when I was a minister.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 25 April 2006)
51. *Kdybych byla ministrem* ("If I were a minister") (*Právo*, 12 September 1998)
52. *kdybych byla ministrem, chtěla bych mít kolem sebe lidi odborně zdatné* ("if I were a minister, I would want to have professionally equipped people around me") (*Právo*, 12 September 1998)
53. *je to pro mě úplně nová zkušenost, zkrátka nikdy jsem nebyla ministrem* ("it is a completely new experience to me, I have simply never been a minister") (*Lidové noviny*, 4 January 2007)
54. *Kdybych byla ministr, vyhlásila bych jednodenní výroční amnézii.* ("If I were a minister, I would announce an annual day-long amnesia.") (*Ta, kterou jsem se nestala*, 2006)
55. *Kdybych byla ministrem zahraničních věcí, tak bych diplomatický sbor postavila z Romů.* ("If I was a foreign affairs minister, I'd make compose the diplomats of Romas.") (*Reflex*, 42, 2011)

56. *přesvědčuje mě Šura tvrdohlavě dál, jako bych byla ministrem zahraničí* ("Šura hard-headedly keeps convincing me as if I were a minister of foreign affairs") (*Lidové noviny – Nedělní příloha*, 2, 1994)
57. *Žena raději nebude ministrem vůbec, než aby byla ministrem špatným, nebude přebírat odpovědnost, pokud nebude mít jistotu, že to zvládne.* ("A woman will rather not become a minister at all, rather than being a bad minister, she will not assume responsibility unless she is sure she will manage it.") (*Respekt*, 6, 2001)
58. *Vlastně ani nevím, jestli kdy v nějaké zemi (pokud pomineme Johanku z Arku) byla ministrem obrany žena.* ("I actually do not know if a minister of defense of any country (leaving aside Jane of Arc) has ever been a woman.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 13 July 2012)
59. *Jsem člověk, který nezažil nikdy exekutivní odpovědnost, nikdy jsem nebyla ministrem.* ("I am a human that has never experienced an executive responsibility, I have never been a minister.") (*Pátek Lidových novin*, 3, 2002)
60. *Kdybych byla soudcem, žádný zbytkový trest bych mu nevyměřila, dezerce byla v tomto případě legitimní.* ("If I were a judge, I would not give him any extra punishment, it was legitimate to desert in this case.") (*Lidové noviny*, 14 August 2010)
61. *Eliška Wagnerová byla soudcem zpravodajem* ("Eliška Wágnerová was a reporting judge") (*Respekt*, 27, 2003)
62. *Pokud bych byla soudcem a existoval by u nás trest smrti, ani chvíli bych se nerozhodovala ho udělit.* ("If I were a judge and there would exist a death penalty in our country, I would not wait a while to deliver it.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 13 March 2002)
63. *Kdybych byla soudcem, patrně bych postupovala obdobně jako ve sporu o dítě.* ("If I were a judge, I would probably follow the same guidelines similarly as in the custody feud.") (*Právo*, 4 January 2003)
64. *Pracovala jako soudce ad litem u Mezinárodního trestního tribunálu pro bývalou Jugoslávii.* ("She worked as an ad litem judge at the International Criminal Court for former Yugoslavia.") (*Hospodářské noviny*, 16 December 2005)
65. *pracovala jako soudce obvodního soudu v Praze, podnikový právník a soukromě podnikala* ("she worked as a judge at a district court in Prague, a corporate lawyer and ran her private business") (*Právo*, 25 October 2002)
66. *[m]áma byla psycholog, s duševně nemocnými pracovala dnes a denně* ("Mum was a psychologist, she worked with mentally disabled people each and every day") (*Vlasta*, 38, 2014)
67. *táta uměl dvanáct jazyků, máma byla psycholog* ("Dad could speak twelve languages, Mum was a psychologist") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 3 January 2005)
68. *Kdybych byla psycholog, oháněla bych se tím, že si tak kompenzujete absenci táty v dětství.* ("If I were a psychologist, I would argue that you are compensating for the Dad's absence in childhood.") (*Ona Dnes*, 13, 2012)
69. *táta uměl dvanáct jazyků, máma byla psycholog* ("Dad could speak twelve languages, Mum was a psychologist") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 12 January 2005)
70. *Nechala jsem se hospitalizovat na psychiatrické klinice Ke Karlovu, kde jsem pracovala jako psycholog.* ("I had myself sent to a psychiatric ward at Ke Karlovu where I was working as a psychologist.") (*Magazín víkend DNES*, 3, 2013)
71. *Pracovala jako psycholog v Pedagogickopsychologické poradně v Praze.* ("She worked as a psychologist at the Advisory Centre for Educational Psychology in Prague.") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 19 August 2008)
72. *v letech 1992-1994 pracovala jako psycholog u Městské policie v Brně* ("she worked as a psychologist at the Metropolitan Police of Brno between 1992 and 1994") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 5 May 2011)

73. *Do roku 2000 jsem pracovala jako psycholog.* ("I was working as a psychologist until 2000.") (*Deníky Bohemia*, 13 April 2010)
74. *kdybych byla psycholog třeba dejme tomu . tak bych musela jednat s lidma* ("if I was a psychologist, let's say . I'd have to deal with people") (19 years old female speaker from border area, secondary education, 2008)
75. *Nejspíš jsem v minulém životě byla medvěd, protože každou zimu bych nejraději zaspala.* ("I was most probably a bear in the past life, because I would like to oversleep every winter.") (*Juicy*, 3, 2006)
76. *[k]dybych byla medvěd, tak určitě* ("[i]f I were a bear, then surely I would") (*Mladá fronta DNES*, 26 August 2011)
77. *A dneska bych nejraději byla medvědem nebo jakýmkoliv jiným zvířetem, které má nárok na zimní spánek.* ("And I would prefer the most to be a bear today or another animal that has a right to hibernation.") (*Sedmička*, 12, 2011)
78. *Nadřa na to nevypadala, ale byla lev salónů.* ("Nadřa did not look it, but she was a party beast.") (*Rytmus života*, 30, 2014)
79. *Marťa je taky lev a vůbec* ("Marťa's also a Leo and like") (24 years old female speaker from East Moravia, secondary education, 2011)
80. *já su lev* ("I'm a Leo") (24 years old female speaker from East Moravia, secondary education, 2011)

These examples show that speakers were more likely to assign females nouns of feminine gender and that the words of masculine animate gender were more often used for males. The only exception is the word *atlet* in the spoken corpus (23-25), but this was because all the frequencies of the word may be found in one conversation only and that is where females keep referring to themselves with such word. It is also interesting to observe that, in the spoken corpus, the word *lev* was used in reference to females only when it meant "Leo", the astrological sign (79-80), and also in a metaphorical sense, as a party animal (78).

The results from the control group show that, in general, grammatical genders correspond to the genders of persons that are denoted. With regards to the previous data, this does not corroborate the fact that a polysemic word would be less preferable for denotation.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I focused on the gender markedness, language economy, and polysemy in the Czech language. This thesis includes a general introduction into the concept of grammatical gender across languages, the concept of grammatical markedness, including its limitations, the concept of language economy, a short review of existing studies on these concepts across languages, and my own data analysis. The aim of the study was to find whether polysemy influences the choice of gendered nouns to describe living objects. For the study, I made use of two corpora, syn4 and ORAL, administered by the Czech National Corpus. In both of these corpora, I looked at the frequencies and usages of approximately twenty pairs of words that shared the same stems, but each of them had a different grammatical gender and just one of them was polysemic. The results were then compared to those of control group, which, again, consisted of approximately twenty pairs of words sharing the same stems and differing in grammatical genders, but none of them being polysemic. The results show that although there was a preference to opt for monosemic words, there was also a tendency in both groups to ascribe nouns of corresponding grammatical gender to living objects. Therefore, the choice of words affected by polysemy was not corroborated.

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