

# Acceptability of English neopronouns

Kyra Roepke<sup>1,a</sup>, Ell Rose<sup>1,b</sup>, Max Winig<sup>1,b</sup>, Alcuin Nash<sup>2,b;c</sup>, and Kirby Conrod<sup>1,b</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Swarthmore College; <sup>2</sup>Bryn Mawr College  
<sup>a</sup>she/her; <sup>b</sup>they/them; <sup>c</sup>he/him

<https://osf.io/azdmc/>

kconrod1@swarthmore.edu

# Introduction

**Neopronouns:** neologistic pronouns (e.g. *ze*, *xe*, *ey*, or *fae*)

- Coined by users
- Less widely used than canonical pronouns (e.g. *he*, *she*, or *they*)

How do neopronoun ratings **compare with canonical pronouns** in comparable grammatical contexts?

How do **social variables** (such as age, gender, gender orientation, number of transgender/nonbinary acquaintances) affect the way people perceive neopronouns as natural-sounding and comprehensible?

Which neopronouns are rated as sounding **natural**? (Is **analogy** to canonical pronouns impactful?)

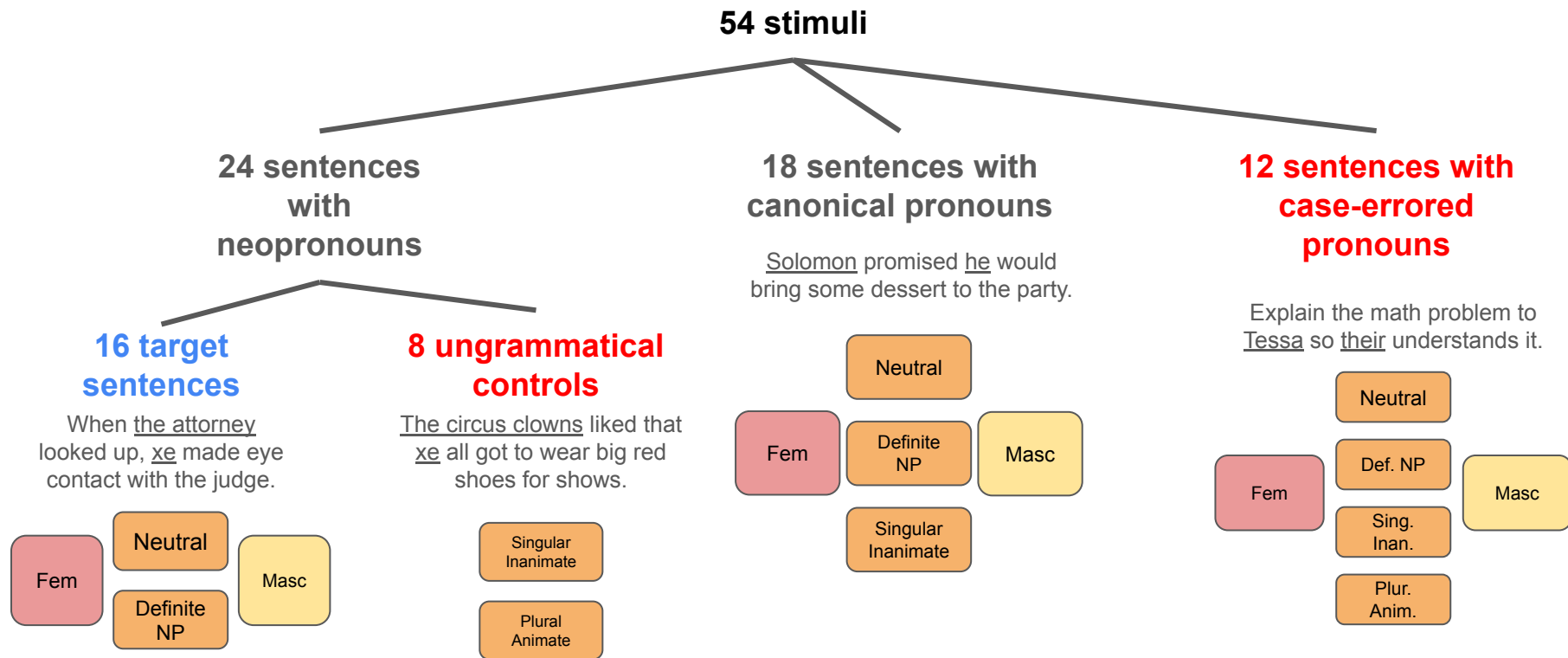
# Background

**Neopronouns are understudied** – most research is very recent

<p>Miltersen (2016)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Neopronoun users often coin their own pronouns to reflect a part of their identity, not always gender</li><li>- Neopronouns do not carry overt gendered meaning</li><li>- Neopronoun acceptance and use seems to be more prevalent online, suggesting a youth factor</li></ul>	<p>Baron (2020)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Search for new gender neutral pronouns began in the 1800s as an alternative to generic <i>he</i> (although <i>they</i> was ultimately chosen)</li><li>- Belief that similarity to existing pronouns would ease implementation</li><li>- Nonbinary people have used neopronouns since the 1800s</li></ul>	<p>Hekanaho (2020)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Social factors that affect acceptability of singular <i>they</i> similarly affect acceptability of neopronouns, although neopronouns are less acceptable overall</li><li>- Trans people and, to a lesser extent, cis women, are most accepting of neopronouns</li></ul>
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# Methods: Large-Scale Online Acceptability Survey

Likert-scale stimuli (1 = "completely unnatural" to 7 = "completely natural")



# Social variables and ideological questions

**Recruitment (n=1000):** social media, email lists, word of mouth;  
**Requirements:** over 18 years old, comfortably fluent users of English

## Demographic questions

- Gender, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, pronouns, fluent languages
- Each demographic question had a **free response** and "**select all that apply**" component

## Free response questions

- Metalinguistic commentary
  - Use of neopronouns
  - Stance on singular *they*
  - Thoughts on neopronouns
- Improvements for future studies

Figure 1: Ratings of pronoun types for each antecedent type

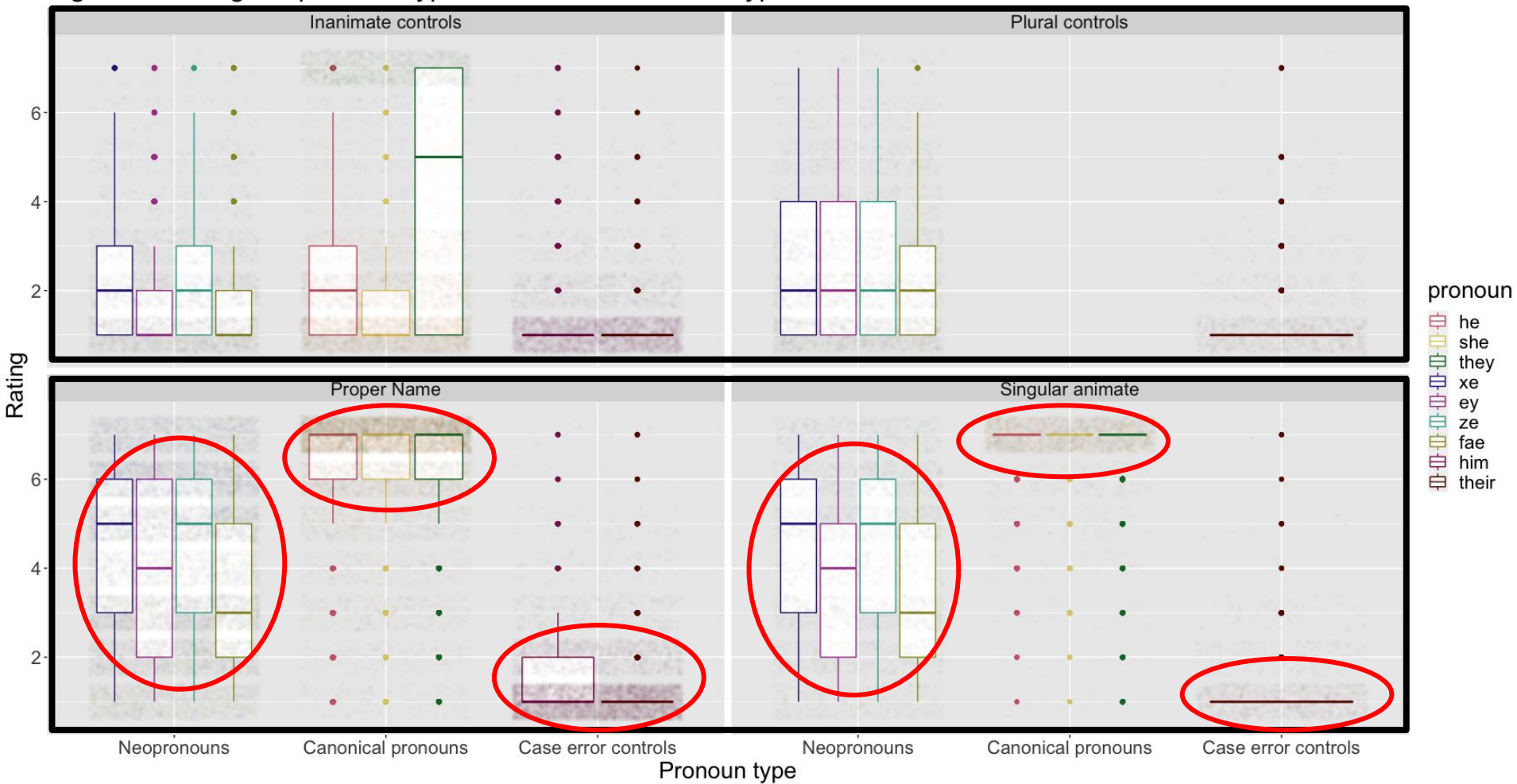




Figure 2: Effect of age on ratings by type of pronoun and antecedent

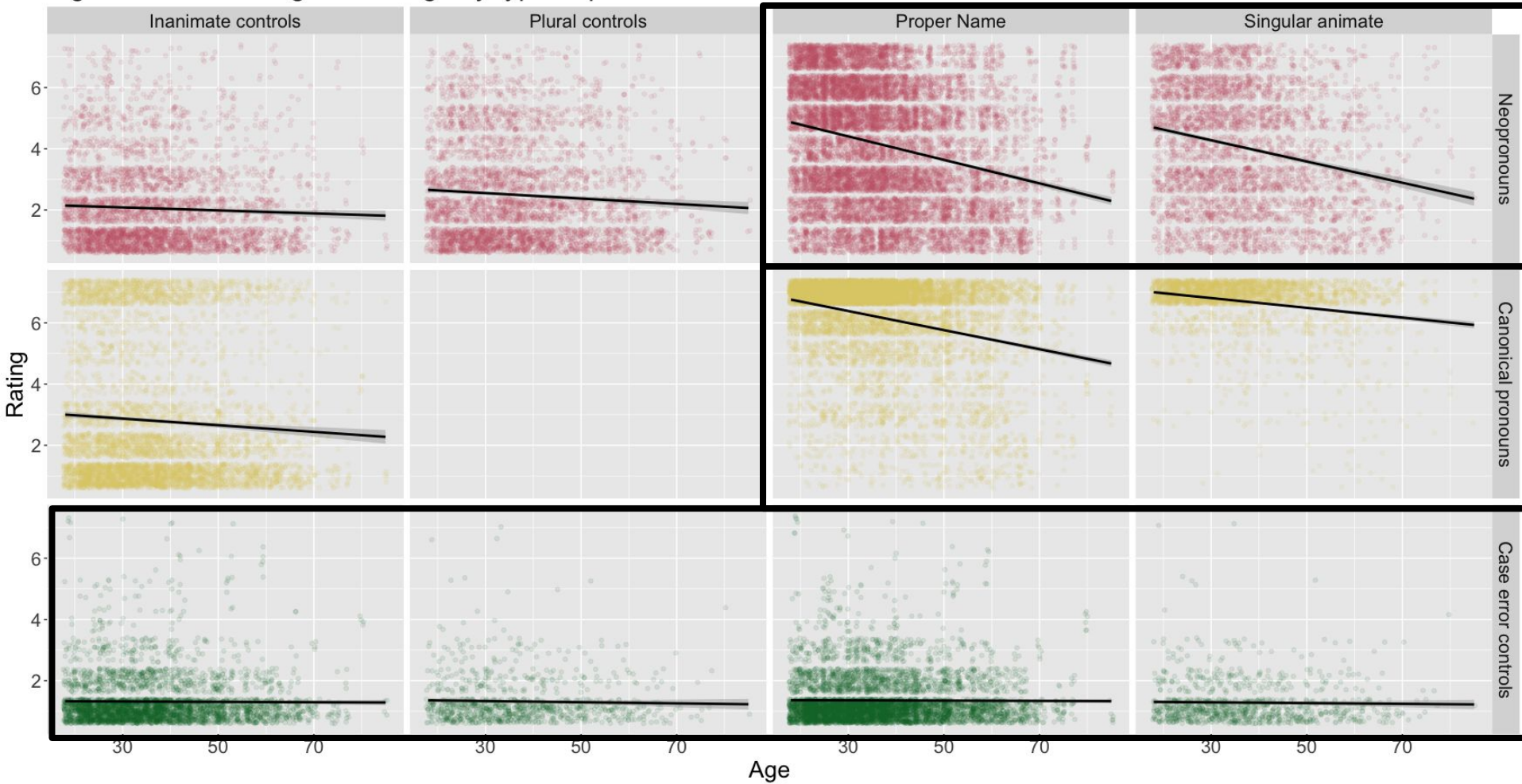
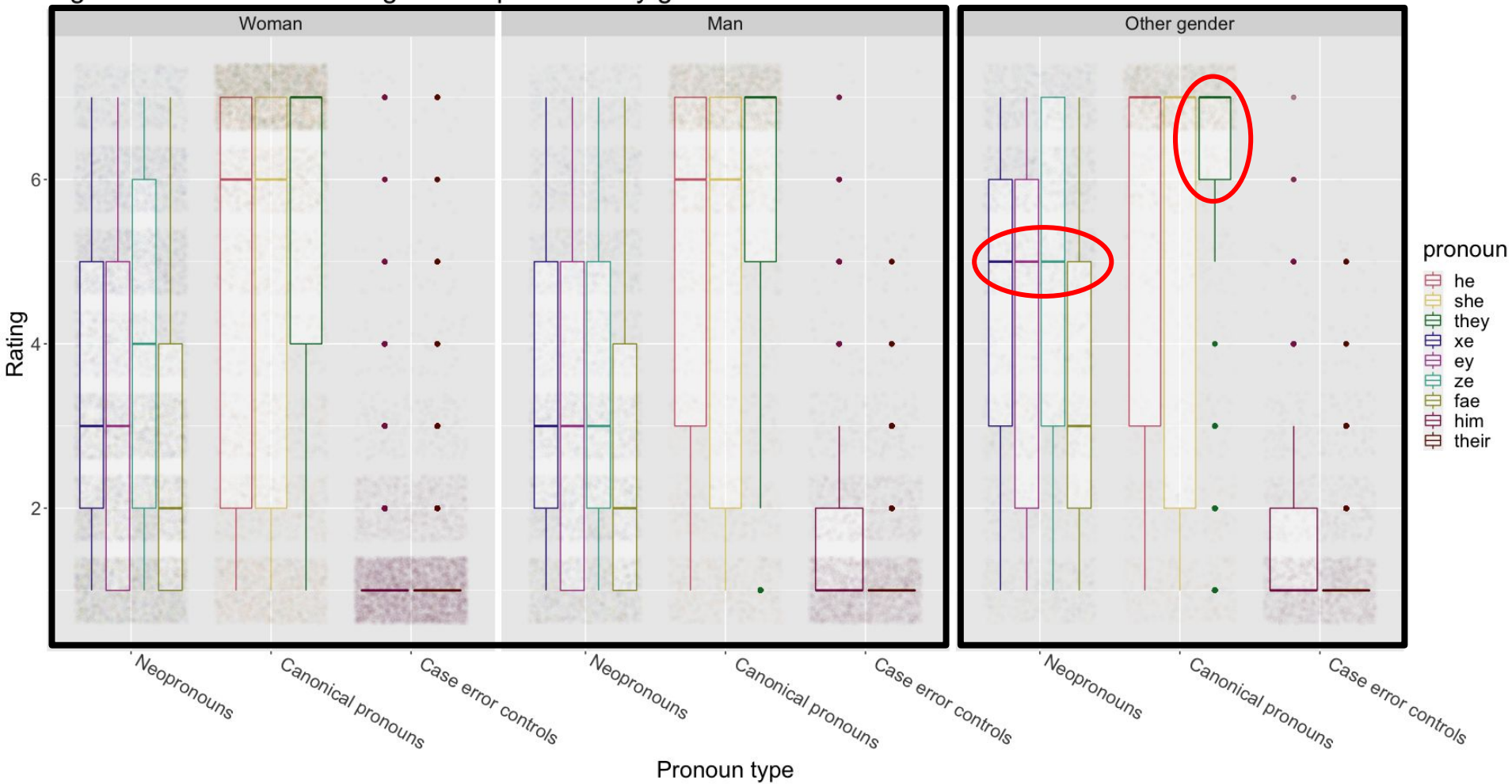


Figure 3: Difference in ratings of neopronouns by gender





# Responses to open questions: metalinguistic awareness

“I found it **easier to accept pronouns that sounded a little like the ones I would naturally use**, like xe for he” (Cisgender woman, 70)

“I voted sentences higher **if the pronoun had a phonetic resemblance to a name** ('fay') or a traditional pronoun (**ze is like 'they' in a French accent**)”  
(Cisgender man, 30)

“**xe/ze naturally subbed** for he/she, while fae/ey naturally subbed in for they”  
(Transgender non-binary person, 29)

“I think my grammaticality judgements were heavily influenced by **how similar the neopronoun was phonologically** to the ‘conventional’ he/she/they trinity.”  
(Cisgender non-binary man, 20)

# Discussion

What does this mean for neologisms in functional categories?

Transparency is important

What does it mean for a neopronoun to be analogous to a canonical pronoun?

Is analogy the only route into a closed category?

Do the social differences indicate a change in progress?

Maybe - we are going to wait and see

Unlike singular *they*, multiple different neopronouns might be in competition

Neopronouns in general might be on the rise, rather than a specific neopronoun

Explicit reports may or may not match implicit behaviors

"I do not use neopronouns, but I would if someone wanted me to."

(Cisgender woman, 73)

"If I were to interact with folks who preferred these pronouns, I wouldn't hesitate to do so."

(Cisgender man, 36)

Is it part of the language if it's a very small minority using it?

# Next steps

## Soon:

- Follow-up to the pilot
  - Tweaking some demographics questions
  - Tweaking experimental design
- Interview study
  - Does production in naturalistic conversation track acceptability judgments?

## Later:

- Production studies
- Self-reports
- Metalinguistic comments

# Works cited

Baron, D. E. (2020a). "What's your pronoun? Beyond he & she." (First edition). Liveright.

Hekanaho, L. (2020). Generic and Nonbinary Pronouns: Usage, Acceptability and Attitudes [Lectiones praecursoriae]. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 121(2), 498-509. <https://doi.org/10.51814/nm.107784>

Miltersen, Ehm Hjorth. "Nounself Pronouns: 3rd Person Personal Pronouns as Identity Expression." *Journal of Language Works - Sprogvidenskabeligt Studentertidsskrift* 1, no. 1 (May 31, 2016): 37–62.

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## Questions?

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# Name Protocol

- All name-gender associations came from Social Security Administration data
- Feminine/Masculine names
  - Probability of the given name belonging to a female/male person:  $<1$ ,  $> .9995$
  - Chosen based on personal recognizability judgements with the intention of using a variety of different names
  - Data arranged by [Derek Howard](#)
- Gender-neutral names
  - "Gender neutral" → at least a third of people with the name are male, at least a third are female
  - Used most common names from this subset, regardless of the gap between male and female recipients of the name
  - Data arranged by [Andrew Flowers](#)



# Demographics

	FREE RESPONSE	SELECT ALL THAT APPLY ("For the purposes of this study, which of these groups would you like to be included in?")
GENDER	What is your gender?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• woman • man • non-binary</li> <li>• genderqueer • genderfluid</li> <li>• agender • demigender • do not wish to answer • questioning/unsure • none of these apply</li> <li>○ transgender</li> <li>○ gender-nonconforming ○ cisgender ○ other (enter) ○ none of these apply</li> </ul>
SEXUAL ORIENTATION	What is your sexual orientation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• gay • lesbian • bisexual • asexual • heterosexual • straight • pansexual • questioning/unsure • none of these apply</li> </ul>
PRONOUNS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• he/him • she/her • they/them • xe/xyr • fae/faer • ey/em • ze/hir • other (enter)</li> </ul>

# Metalinguistic free response

- What elements of these sentences **stood out to you**, and was there anything you'd consider changing?
- Have you **heard of neopronouns**? In what context/where did you learn about them?
- Do you think it's **bad grammar to use the pronoun *they*** to refer to only one person?
- How **frequently do you use neopronouns** (such as xe/xem, fae/faer, ze/hir, ey/em) in your daily life? For yourself or for others?
- Do you think **English language would benefit** from ways to refer to people outside of male and female genders?

Figure 2: Effect of age on ratings by type of pronoun and antecedent

