## *Jeder raucht gern Pfeife – auch Petra?* Gender associations elicited by indefinite pronouns in German

Hannah-Charlotte Bröder<sup>1</sup>

## <sup>1</sup> Johannes-Gutenberg University Mainz

In German, grammatically masculine person-denoting nouns like *Bürger* 'citizen' can have a gender-inclusive function a) when the gender of the referred person(s) is irrelevant, b) when mixed-gender groups are referred to, or c) in generalizations (Klann-Delius, 2005: 26). So far, genderlinguistic research mainly focused on these masculine person-denoting nouns, revealing their limited ability to refer gender-inclusively (cf. Bröder, in press for a research review).

Recent research also takes indefinite pronouns like *jeder* 'everyone' or *jemand* 'someone' into account (see e. g. the program of this year's Conference of the German Linguistic Society (DGfS), AG 10). They carry masculine grammatical gender. An unanswered question is if indefinite pronouns elicit female and male gender associations alike, i. e. whether they are truly gender-inclusive. In case they are not: Do certain social or grammatical factors impede or enhance the mental representation of women?

To close this research gap, several cloze tests are planned. The focus of this presentation will be on an experiment testing the gender-inclusive function of indefinite pronouns. The task was to fill in gaps with (first) names of people who are implicitly referred to with the aforementioned indefinite pronoun:

(1) Auf Feiern trinkt **jeder** gerne mal ein Bier, so auch .

(= *Everyone* likes to drink a beer at parties, and so does \_\_\_\_\_.)

The genderization of the context (in (1): *Bier trinken* 'drink beer'), which was pre-tested, was integrated as a social factor; the grammatical factor tested was the number of additional markers of grammatical gender (by adding masculine pronouns anaphorically referring to the indefinite pronoun like *der* as in: *Jeder, der hier ist, trinkt Bier*. Considering pre-tests and former research (cf. Bröder & Meuleneers & Zacharski, 2022: 554–555), it can be hypothesized that the contexts perceived as male and the additional gender markers lead to a surplus of male gender associations, whereas neutral/female contexts and the absence of additional gender markers result in balanced gender associations. The results, which will be at hand at the time of the conference, will be discussed and interpreted.

## References

Bröder, H. (in press). Das sogenannte generische Maskulinum – wie geschlechtsübergreifend ist es wirklich? Bestandsaufnahme bisheriger Forschungen. *Geschlechtergerechte Sprache (Thema-Deutsch-Band)*. Olms.

Bröder, H., Meuleneers, P., & Zacharski, L. (2022). Neue Forschungen zur Genderlinguistik – Genderbewusste Sprache in Diskurs, Grammatik und Kognition. Tagungsbericht zur Auftakttagung des DFG-Projekts "Genderbezogene Praktiken bei Personenreferenzen" am 18. und 19.02.2022. ZGL 50(3): 548–556. De Gruyter.

Klann-Delius, G. (2005). Sprache und Geschlecht. J.B. Metzler.