Hatt or *si*? Neuter and feminine gender assignment in reference to female persons in Luxembourgish

Abstract: In Luxembourgish, feminine as well as neuter gender can be assigned to female persons. Here, female first names are morphologically treated as neuter and therefore trigger neuter gender on their targets (e.g. definite article, personal pronoun). Last names referring to women, however, are feminine and take feminine targets respectively. While the use of neuter and feminine in prototypical and invariable reference contexts are well-known, morphological conflicts often arise regarding more complex name types (e.g. female first name + last name) leading to different degrees of variation between both genders. Building especially upon previous findings by Döhmer (2016), the present contribution offers a first extensive empirical analysis on the use of neuter and feminine personal pronouns considering different female referents as well as familiarity, the referent's and the speaker's as decisive (socio-pragmatical) factors for gender assignment. The results are based on elicited data retrieved from an online survey and audio recordings collected by means of the the Luxembourgish language app *Schnëssen* and allow a quantification of the phenomenon going beyond previous contributions and descriptions in reference grammars. The apparent-time analysis, carried out in order to identify potential tendencies in language change, suggests a preference for neuter pronominalization for younger speakers of Luxembourgish in variable reference contexts.

keywords: gender assignment, variation, pronominalization, neuter, Luxembourgish

1 Introduction

While a correlation between gender and sex usually applies to appellatives and anthroponyms, one can use feminine as well as neuter when referring to female persons in Luxembourgish. Thus, the "natürliches Geschlechtsprinzip" [natural gender principle] (Köpcke and Zubin 1984: 28) is violated. Feminine and neuter gender are assigned to female persons following a complex, partially variable system. This morphological particularity is not limited to Luxembourgish but can also be found in a contiguous West Middle German and Alemannic dialect area in Germany and Switzerland.[1] While this phenomenon is partly disappearing in these dialects and neuter is being replaced by feminine (cf. Busley and Fritzinger 2018: 192), Luxembourgish constitutes a special case, since – unlike in Germany or Switzerland – there is no *Überdachung* 'roofing' by the German language and, in comparison to most of these other dialects, the use of neuter is mostly grammaticalized in reference to female first names in Luxembourgish. In addition, Luxembourgish is a small language, still very young and in the process of standardization and therefore characterized by variation at many different linguistic levels.

Until now, there have been a few contributions on neuter gender assignment in reference to female persons: Christen (1998) has made the first contribution to this topic with a focus on Swiss German dialects. Besides, more recently, important first investigations mostly focusing on German dialects have been carried out by Nübling et al. (2013), Nübling (2015, 2017) and Busley and Fritzinger (2018). In addition, Döhmer (2016) provides a small study on the socio-pragmatic asymmetries in reference to

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[1] The trinational research project "*Das Anna und ihr Hund* - Weibliche Rufnamen im Neutrum. Soziopragmatische vs. semantische Genuszuweisung in Dialekten des Deutschen und des Luxemburgischen" (D-A-CH procedure with Germany, Switzerland, Luxembourg) at the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, the University of Freiburg (CH) and the University of Luxembourg (with the support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Schweizerischer Nationalfonds and the Fonds National de la Recherche Luxembourg) is dedicated to the investigation of this supraregional phenomenon.

female persons in Luxembourgish. Strikingly, Luxembourgish grammars such as Bruch (1955) as well as Schanen and Zimmer (2012) only marginally refer to this phenomenon. However, a key aspect, which is always mentioned, is that female first names are morphologically treated as neuter in Luxembourgish (see Section 2).

This paper builds especially on the findings of Nübling (2015 and 2017), Nübling et al. (2013) and Döhmer (2016). While the fundamental assignment parameters for feminine and neuter are well-known, there are still a number of variable contexts whose assignment parameters are much more difficult to identify. Most importantly, however, there has been no major empirical study on this phenomenon in Luxembourgish until now. Therefore, the aim of this first extensive study is to use empirical data to present the prototypical contexts of feminine and neuter gender assignment on the one hand and to quantitatively analyze the various contexts of variation on the other.[2] Section 4 discusses the results of the study investigating the use patterns of feminine and neuter pronouns by means of different reference types. First, however, the following section introduces the phenomenon of neuter gender assignment as well as relevant theoretical concepts in more detail.

2 Neuter and feminine gender assignment: Theoretical aspects

Gender assignment to lexical units constitutes the core of the phenomenon dealt with in this article. Based on Hockett's (1958: 231) definition ("Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words."), gender is a classificatory grammatical category of nouns. As an inherent category (Nübling 2017: 174), gender manifests itself in the three genders masculine, feminine and neuter in Luxembourgish as well as in German. Syntactically, gender is then displayed via agreement, which is characterized as "some systematic covariance between a semantic or a formal property of one element and a formal property of another" (Steele 1978: 610). Gender thus triggers agreement with other parts of speech, such as adjectives, articles and pronouns. In this context, Corbett (2006: 5) terminologically differentiates between controllers and targets: The noun is the element that controls gender (i.e. the controller), whereas the parts of speech showing agreement with the noun are called targets, compare the Luxembourgish example *eist Laura* 'our [POSS.1PL.N] Laura' in (1).

(1)

target	controller
[eist]	[Laura]
N	N
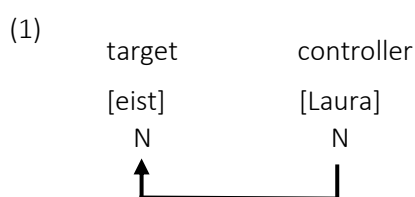
The example also illustrates a key feature of gender assignment in Luxembourgish: In contrast to standard German, for instance, female first names are always neuter and thus trigger neuter gender on their targets,[3] i.e. the personal pronoun, but also the definite article, whose use is obligatory in

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[2] This is the first large-scale study on neuter gender assignment in reference to female persons in Luxembourgish that was conducted as part of the research project *Das Anna und ihr Hund*.
[3] It is important to emphasize that first names, as can also be seen in (1), are by no means diminutive forms, of which one could assume that they are – similar to German – morphologically assigned to neuter gender by default due to the *-chen* diminutive suffix. This can even be explicitly excluded, since Luxembourgish diminutives keep the gender of the base noun (cf. Gilles 2015: 266).

anthroponyms in Luxembourgish[4] (cf. Nübling 2015: 251). However, the forms of the definite article have been strongly syncretized, so that *d'* (in the nominative and accusative) refers to both, feminine and neuter. On the surface, the gender of the Luxembourgish definite article is only clearly recognizable in the dative (*dem* [N] vs. *der* [F]).[5]

In case of an onymic neuter as in (1), the correlation between gender and sex, which normally applies to appellatives and anthroponyms, is violated because (in the case of anthroponyms) the gender usually depends on the sex of the referent. Nübling et al. (2013: 153) therefore describe first names as a sex-segregated system, since the sex and the gender are included as seme in the name itself. Because of this seme and the fact that gender is bound to the name type, it is a case of semantic gender assignment: While male first names are always masculine in Luxembourgish, female first names are always neuter. Last names referring to women, in contrast, are assigned feminine gender; those referring to men are masculine. Here, gender assignment is referential: The last name itself does not provide any information about the person's sex; one must know the referent in order to indicate the sex, for example, on the article, the pronoun or by means of the title *Här* 'Mr.' or *Madame* 'Mrs.' (cf. Nübling et al. 2013: 153–154). Female appellatives such as *Tatta* 'aunt', *Mamm* 'mother, mum' or *Sängerin* 'female singer' are feminine, thus triggering feminine gender on their targets (cf. Döhmer 2016: 25; for the few exceptions to this rule, see Section 4.2.2). In addition, there are two appellatives, *Meedchen* 'girl' and *Framënsch* 'woman (coll.)'[6], which are grammatically neuter nouns referring to female persons and (exclusively) triggering neuter gender on their targets (cf. Nübling 2015: 254).

Nübling et al. (2013) and Nübling (2015, 2017) have already outlined the origin and the possible development of onymic neuter nouns as well as their various manifestations in German dialects. They will therefore only briefly be discussed here, because they also provide information about the possible emergence of neuter first names and their grammaticalization. Nübling et al. (2013) and Nübling (2015, 2017) define four to five stages with respect to the hypothetical development of neuter names, with Luxembourgish (together with the Ripuarian dialect) being the last stage as it is the language with the most grammaticalized system of neuter names. The first stage on the grammaticalization scale applies to standard German and most German dialects (especially in eastern Germany). Here, gender assignment to female referents is semantic; there is a correlation between gender and sex. In the intermediate stages, there are types that are hybrid on a paradigmatic level (e.g. Low Alemannic German): Either only feminine (*die Anna – sie* 'ART.SG.F Anna – PRON.3SG.F') or only neuter gender (*das Anna – es* 'ART.SG.N Anna – PRON.3SG.N') can be chosen for the targets, the choice of the gender being controlled by socio-pragmatic factors (e.g. the referent's age, familiarity). There are also types that are hybrid on a syntagmatic level: In these dialects, the gender assigned to the targets (definite article) within the NP can differ from the one assigned to personal pronouns (e.g. *die Anna – es/sie* 'ART.SG.F Anna – PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F' for Rhine Franconian and *das Anna – es/sie* 'ART.SG.N Anna – PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F' for High Alemannic German). The freedom of choice of the personal pronoun is controlled by socio-pragmatic factors as well. Finally, it can be assumed (with reservations) that these different (intermediate) types can be regarded as stages towards the emergence of the fifth type

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[4] Only in a small dialect area in the Oesling in northern Luxembourg is the definite article not used in combination with anthroponyms and therefore constitutes an exception.
[5] In addition, the Luxembourgish genitive case (as it is also the case for German dialects) is not productive anymore and mostly restricted to certain use patterns (see Döhmer 2018).
[6] Literally, *Framënsch* is a compound consisting of the nouns *Fra* 'woman' and *Mënsch* 'human'.

(Nübling 2017: 182–183). Today, Luxembourgish has – also in comparison to the intermediate types – a rather formalized, automated system of onymic gender assignment (Nübling et al. 2013: 167). For the Luxembourgish type, it should be noted that, after its degrammaticalization as pragmatic gender, gender was regrammaticalized and that the formalized system of today only allows for pragmatic functions of gender in certain reference contexts (Nübling et al 2013: 194), some of which will be empirically investigated in more detail in Section 4.

According to Nübling (2017: 183), the socio-pragmatic factors that play a role in these contexts of variation in German dialects include familiarity, kinship/marriage, the age of the woman, her social status, the situational context (who talks to whom about whom?), and sometimes the marital status of the woman, i.e. whether single, married or widowed. For example, familiarity, a woman's young age and/or a lower social status tend to trigger neuter gender, while distance, a woman's older age and/or a higher social status tend to trigger feminine gender. The extent to which these factors coincide with or differ from those in Luxembourgish will be discussed in the context of the different reference types (see Section 4). However, it should be emphasized that the different varieties have one thing in common: Neuter gender can represent the normal case in German dialects and is rather to be regarded as unmarked or even as positive rather than negative (Nübling 2017: 183). This particularly applies to Luxembourgish.

In order to understand the gender assignment principles in Luxembourgish and since the analysis in Section 4 focuses on the use of personal pronouns, it is necessary to describe their paradigm for the 3rd person singular first.[7] Basically, (almost) every pronoun has a full and a reduced form. The paradigm is characterized by syncretisms (in all three genders) between nominative and accusative; historically, the nominative was replaced by the form of the accusative (cf. Bruch 1955: 45-46). Table 1 reveals that neuter has three forms for nominative/accusative (*hatt*, *et*, *'t*). Regarding the reference fixation, the full form *hatt* takes in a special position because it almost exclusively refers to female persons.[8] As Nübling (2013: 167) emphasizes, *hatt* is therefore a pronoun with an inherent conflict between sex and gender. Since Luxembourgish has even developed its own pronoun for the reference to female persons, this points to a relatively old system according to Nübling (2015: 253). Interestingly, *hatt* can also exophorically refer to a female (familiar) person known from the context, but whose name was not mentioned (cf. Nübling et al 2013: 166–167; see Section 4.2.4). Another aspect to be analyzed in more detail in Section 4.2.1 concerns the fact that the neuter also applies to female dogs with female first names, allowing for a pronominalization with *hatt* (see also Döhmer 2016: 20). Nübling (2017: 191) even assumes neuter first names for pets and farm animals in general.

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[7] The paradigm is taken from Döhmer (2016: 17) and is based on the description of Schanen and Zimmer (2012: 156) and Krier (2002: 44).

[8] Nevertheless, not only *hatt*, but also the reduces forms *et* and *'t* can refer to female persons.

Table 1: 3rd person (sing.) personal pronouns in Luxembourgish

number	pers.	gender	NOM		ACC	DAT
Sing.	3rd	M	*hien / en* [hiən] / [ən]			*him / em* [him] / [əm]
		N	*hatt / et / 't* [hɑt] / [ət] / [t]			
		F	*si / se* [ziː] / [zə]			*hir / er* [hiə] / [ɐ]

The neuter personal pronoun contrasts with the feminine forms *si* and *se*. Unlike *hatt*, the full form of the feminine personal pronoun can refer to people as well as to concrete and abstract objects (cf. Döhmer 2016: 20). With regard to the phenomenon discussed here, it has already been emphasized that *si* is used for the pronominalization of female appellatives and last names referring to female persons. Schanen and Zimmer (2012: 90) summarize the contexts for the use of neuter and feminine in their Luxembourgish grammar as follows:

> En luxembougeois, les **noms de femmes**, en effet, sont du neutre (on dit *eist Alice / äert Justine*, *d'Catherine Deneuve*) et c'est aussi le pronom neutre **hatt** qui est employé pour désigner des femmes que l'on tutoie ou qui sont cités sans qualification, ni titre qui imposerait le féminin.

> [In Luxembourgish, the names of women in fact are neuter (it is said our [N] Alice/your [N] Justine, the [N] Catherine Deneuve) and it also is a neuter gender pronoun, which is used to refer to women who are addressed informally or designated neither with a term of qualification nor a title, which would require the feminine.][9]

The authors do not only relate neuter gender to female first names, but also to the informal address and to contexts, in which women are referred to without their qualification or title. If, however, the qualification or the title are mentioned, feminine is triggered on the targets. Furthermore, it is added that the feminine is generally used in the case of a formal address (Schanen and Zimmer 2012: 158). Although this is a first attempt to define the contexts for the use of neuter and feminine, the analysis will show that the exact assignment parameters are partly much more difficult to identify or to determine.

The inherent gender features of the different classes of Luxembourgish nouns referring to female persons are a central factor for the investigated phenomenon. In this context, Döhmer (2016: 25) distinguishes three different reference types, summarized in Table 2. The classification is based on a small informal survey with 21 participants[10] (cf. Döhmer 2016: 25).

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[9] The English translation of the citation is taken from Nübling (2015: 251).
[10] The survey investigated the use of neuter and feminine personal pronouns for 10 different female referents (Döhmer 2016: 25).

Table 2: Reference types for female persons according to Döhmer (2016: 25)

reference type	form / name type	sex	gender	agreement
1	pseudonyms	F	N	N
	fem. first name	F	N	N
2	last name	F	F	F
	fem. appellatives	F	F	F
	fem. titles (+ last name)	F	F	F
3	first name + last name	F	N/F	N/F
	fem. appellative + first name + last name	F	N/F	N/F
	title + pseudonym/first name	F	N/F	N/F
	special cases (e.g. *Schwëster* .sister')	F	F	N/F

Type 1 includes female first names and (female) pseudonyms, which both require neuter gender on the targets. In contrast, type 2 comprises last names referring to women, titles such as *Madame* 'Ms.' and female appellatives. They all are feminine controllers triggering feminine on the targets. Since the first two reference types (unlike type 3) are prototypical contexts for the use of either the neuter or the feminine, they should not show any variation in their gender assignment. Following Döhmer (2016), variation can only occur within reference type 3, see Table 2. The different variation contexts primarily arise from the combination of elements of type 1 and 2, e.g. of a first name triggering neuter with a last name triggering feminine, which creates a gender conflict, illustrated in Table 3 by means of the example of *Joëlle Breckler*.

Table 3: Gender assignment conflict when referring to a fem. first name + last name (Nübling 2015: 255)

reference to females:	neuter	feminine
fem. first name	obligatory: *d'Joëlle* [N] – *hatt* [N]	
fem. first name + last name	conflict: pragmatics decides (familiarity, respect, sympathy, popularity …) *d'* [N] / *eist* ,our' [N] *Joëlle Breckler* – *hatt* [N] / *si* [F]	
(title +) last name		obligatory: *d'* [F] / *eis* ,our' [F] *Madame Breckler* – *si* [F]

This is where socio-pragmatic factors (e.g. familiarity, respect, sympathy and popularity) have an effect on gender assignment in Luxembourgish (neuter vs. feminine). Other examples with a gender conflict emerging from the combination of different name types include the combination of a female appellative with a first and a last name (e.g. *Schauspillerin Julia Roberts* 'actress Julia Roberts') and the combination of a title with a first name (e.g. *Prinzessin Alexandra* 'Princess Alexandra').

Finally, there is at least one special case within reference type 3: the female appellative *Schwëster* 'sister'.[11] Here, feminine gender assignment should be compulsory just as it is the case for other female appellatives. However, the controller *Schwëster* can trigger feminine (*si*) as well as neuter gender (*hatt*)

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[11]Although Döhmer (2016) only mentions *Schwëster* as example for the special cases within reference type 3, the results presented in Section 4.2.2 will show that there is at least one other female appellative that could be considered as such (*Frëndin* 'female friend').

on the personal pronoun (see also Table 2).[12] In this case too, socio-pragmatic factors have an influence on gender assignment. In this context, Döhmer (2016: 30-31) points out that these factors (e.g. familiarity) not only exist and play a role between the speaker and the referent, but also between the interlocutor and the referent. It is possible that the speaker and the interlocutor put a different emphasis on the various socio-pragmatic factors, making gender assignment (even) more complex by adding a discourse-pragmatic component to reference type 3. As a specific example, Döhmer (2016: 31) mentions a situation in which a speaker is referring to his own sister: In this case, it can be important whether the interlocutor knows the sister (referent) or not. If the interlocutor does not know her, feminine gender is more likely to be triggered; if the interlocutor and the sister (referent) are familiar to each other, the interlocutor is more likely to refer to her with neuter gender. Additional factors potentially influencing the gender assignment are emotion and style. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the fact whether the speaker and the interlocutor know each other or not can also affect the choice of gender. If they do not know each other, feminine gender is more likely to be assigned than neuter. Finally, another aspect in favor of feminine gender assignment in contexts of variation is a more formal situational context (cf. Döhmer 2016: 31).

Until now, it is not clear to what extent there is a hierarchy between the different socio-pragmatic and discourse-pragmatic factors for gender assignment in all these contexts of variation. Although Döhmer (2016: 32) has already shown that the first name and the age of the referent seem to play a major role, the analysis did not consider the speaker's age. Therefore, the speaker's age will be added as important new assignment parameter for feminine and neuter for the present study in Section 4. In what follows, the reference types sketched in Table 2 will serve as a starting point in order to investigate the phenomenon of onymic neuter, especially with regard to reference type three. The analysis will serve to verify the classification by means of elicited quantitative data. At the same time, by considering the speaker's age, it will allow new insights as to the degree of variation in variable reference contexts as well as to possible trends concerning the use of onymic neuter in Luxembourgish. Altogether, the results of the study will make it possible to provide a new and more detailed overview of this phenomenon (see Table 11 in Section 5).

3 Empirical data

The empirical data of the present study consists of two data sources, an online survey[13] and audio recordings from the Luxembourgish language app *Schnëssen*, see Table 4, which gives an overview of the respective number of participants per age group. Although native as well as non-native Luxembourgish speakers from all age groups could take part in both studies, only native speakers were considered for the analysis. In total, 2,364 native speakers (69% female, 31% male) fully completed the

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[12] This freedom of choice does not apply to targets in attributive position (e.g. *mat menger Schwëster* 'with POSS.1SG.F sister' instead of **mat mengem Schwëster* 'with POSS.1SG.N sister'), where the feminine is obligatory (cf. Döhmer 2016: 30).

[13] The online survey was conducted in 2016 as part of a large-scale trinational project (see Footnote 1). While this contribution only deals with the use of personal pronouns in a selected set of reference contexts, a large number of reference contexts as well as different targets (e.g. definite articles, possessive articles, relative pronouns) were investigated via various tasks in order to get a first quantitative and broad overview of gender assignment in reference to female persons.

questionnaire.[14] In the online survey[15], participants were asked to answer multiple-choice questions and fill in gap-fill exercises.[16] For both tasks, short, hypothetical (informal) reference contexts with different female referents were used in order to investigate the gender assigned to the personal pronouns, which were all subject pronouns. In the case of the multiple-choice questions, the participants were asked to tick one or more of the predefined answers containing neuter or feminine targets. The gap-fill exercises for their part included two to three gaps that had to be filled (mostly with personal pronouns) by the participants. The name types investigated with the questionnaire were amongst others female first names, female kinship terms (+ first name) and pseudonyms as well as the combinations of first name + last name of public figures. In total, ca. 25 reference contexts (of all three reference types) were integrated in the questionnaire.

Table 4: Number of participants (online survey and app *Schnëssen*) by age group

online	age group	>20	20-29	29-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
survey	n = 2,364	78	589	610	417	388	230	52
app	age group	≥ 24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
Schnëssen	n = 875	199	265	152	147	80	32	

The data collected by means of the Luxembourgish language app *Schnëssen*[17] made it possible to investigate reference contexts that were not included in the online questionnaire (e.g. *Frëndin* 'female friend' and different combinations of first name + last name). In addition, new contexts such as exophoric references could be added. Again, only native speakers were considered for the analysis (n = 875, 71% female, 29% male).[18] The task in the app consisted in doing audio recordings of sentences (containing personal pronouns) which the participants had to translate partly from German and partly from French into Luxembourgish. Thus, about 25 additional reference contexts were integrated in the app. The results of a selected set of reference contexts from both data sources will be presented in Section 4 and are meant to give a general impression of the gender assignment patterns and their complexity by considering a few of the main name types (e.g. first name, appellative (+ first name), first name last name).

Generally, both surveys have the advantage that they can easily be used to investigate gender assignment in predefined contexts. At the same time, they allow large amounts of data to be generated in a short period of time. Since the elicited data from the online questionnaire and the audio recordings via the language app *Schnëssen* are based on a relatively high number of participants from of all age

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[14] Although only questionnaires considered as fully completed by the web survey app were included the analysis, the figures for the individual questions may vary slightly as participants could still skip questions and some answers could not be evaluated.

[15] Participants were aware of the fact that the survey focused on the use of the neuter and feminine pronouns *hatt* and *si* (welcome message on the survey web page as well as call for participation in the (social) media).

[16] Futhermore, a translation task (e.g. the translation of possessive constructions from German to Luxembourgish) as well as open questions about the use of neuter and feminine pronouns and a comment field at the end were included in the questionnaire.

[17] *Schnëssen – Är Sprooch fir d'Fuerschung* is the first Luxembourgish language app designed to document spoken Luxembourgish via audio recordings through crowd-sourcing. The project was initiated in 2018 by the Institute for Luxembourgish Language and Literatures at the University of Luxembourg.

[18] Not every participant recorded every sentence. Here, too, the figures vary and may therefore differ from one analysis to another.

groups[19], it is possible to carry out an apparent-time analysis. Thus, not only the general distribution of neuter and feminine personal pronouns in the various contexts can be quantitatively investigated,[20] but it also allows for the analysis of tendencies towards a possible language change with regard to neuter gender assignment in reference to female persons. However, although the advantages of these methods predominate, it has to be taken into consideration that the investigation of hypothetical reference contexts by means of elicited data do not provide information on the use of neuter and feminine personal pronouns in free speech.

4 Results

The focus of this section will be on the empirical investigation of the neuter gender assignment to personal pronouns when referring to female persons in Luxembourgish, taking into account various contexts of use. In Section 4.1, the prototypical reference contexts with no variation will be presented (reference types 1 and 2), whereas Section 4.2 discusses the variable contexts mainly classified as reference type 3 by Döhmer (2016).

4.1 Contexts of gender assignment without variation

Although several contributions to this topic have already pointed out that female first names always take neuter targets due to a (re-)grammaticalization of gender assignment in Luxembourgish (see Section 2), it has not been investigated in a major empirical study yet. Therefore, the online survey included a multiple-choice question with the controller *Leonie*. As expected, the percentage of neuter pronominalization (*hatt*) is very high at 98.7%, that of feminine pronominalization (*si*) only 0.9% (see Table 5).[21] Unlike female first names, the combination of a title such as *Madame* 'Ms.' with a last name referring to a woman requires feminine targets (reference type 2). In order to verify this, a multiple-choice question with the controller *Madame Thill* 'Ms. Thill' was included in the online survey. Similar to *Leonie*, the results are very clear: The percentage of feminine pronominalizations is 95.2%, whereas that of neuter pronominalizations is only 2.2% (see Table 5). Another controller belonging to reference type 2 requiring feminine targets is *Mamm* 'mother, mum'. The data collected by means of a gap-fill exercise in the online survey showed 98.8% feminine and only 1.2% neuter gender assignment on the personal pronoun. The results for these three referents summarized in Table 5 confirm that the reference types 1 and 2 leave little to no room for variation in Luxembourgish. The results therefore correspond to previous findings and the descriptions in the grammar by Schanen and Zimmer (2012) respectively. The example of *Leonie* also stresses the high degree of grammaticalization of the neuter for female first names in Luxembourgish.

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[19] The age groups for both data sets are slightly different. This is due to the fact that the data was collected as part of two different projects. Nevertheless, the age groups can and should be compared with each other in the following analysis.

[20] Although the different full and reduced forms of the personal pronouns were generally taken into account in the investigation, their distinction is not considered for the analysis in Section 4. Therefore, the neuter pronoun *hatt* and the feminine pronoun *si* are meant to be representing both the full and the reduced forms in the analysis.

[21] As mentioned in Section 3, the participants were able to tick more than one answer and therefore to assign both genders.

Table 5: Gender assignment in reference to the controllers *Leonie, Madame Thill* and *Mamm* (online survey)

controller	target		
	neuter	feminine	feminine + neuter
Leonie	**98.7%** (2316)	0.9% (22)	0.4% (8)
Madame Thill	2.2% (51)	**95.2%** (2,247)	2.6% (61)
Mamm	1.2% (27)	**98.8%** (2,240)	0.0% (0)

4.2 Contexts of gender assignment with variation

The analysis of name types that Döhmer (2016) assigns to reference type 3 is particularly revealing, as there is little information on the actual degree of variation in reference to these names until now. In the presentation of the different reference types in Section 2, it was shown that mainly names combining elements from the reference types 1 and 2 (and thus elements with different gender) belong to this category. In addition, the focus of the following sections is on name types for which socio-pragmatic factors play a role for gender assignment. This includes female appellatives (+ female first name) (Section 4.2.2) and combinations of a female first name and last name (Section 4.2.3). Besides, Section 4.2.4 will investigate to what extent the neuter pronoun *hatt* can be considered a default pronoun in contexts of exophoric references to a female person. First, however, gender assignment to she-dogs with a female (first) name will be analyzed in Section 4.2.1. For each of these referents it will not only be necessary to only analyze the degree of variation but also to identify the relevant socio-pragmatic factors for gender assignment.

4.2.1 She-dog (with female name)

Regarding the reference fixation of the neuter personal pronoun, Nübling (2015, 2017) and Döhmer (2016) have already briefly pointed out that the full form *hatt* can be used not only for female persons, but also in reference to animals with (female) first names. Since the findings in previous contributions are based on only a few isolated examples, the use of neuter pronouns when referring to a dog with a female first name (*Kira*) was investigated with a gap-fill exercise in the online survey. The overall results reveal that the percentage of neuter pronominalization is 74.7%; the percentage of masculine pronominalization – which can be justified by the masculine appellative *Hond* 'dog' – is only 22.5%, see Table 6.[22]

Table 6: Gender assignment in reference to the controller Kira (she-dog) (online survey)

controller	target			
	neuter	masculine	masculine + neuter	others[23]
Kira (she-dog)	**74.7%** (1,675)	22.5% (505)	2.3% (52)	0.5% (10)

Figure 1 shows the distribution of neuter and masculine personal pronouns considering the age of the speakers. It illustrates how there is a clear preference for the neuter personal pronoun in the younger age groups, compare, for example, the percentage of neuter personal pronouns in the youngest age group (91.5%) with that in the oldest age group (49%). First of all, the result indicates that dogs with female names can but do not have to be pronominalized with neuter. There could be two explanations

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[22] There is no feminine form for *Hond* (such as *Hündin* ´she-dog' in German) in Luxembourgish.
[23] The category 'others' includes feminine and feminine + neuter.

for the increasing percentage of neuter pronominalizations among younger speakers, which both go along with each other: The increasing tendency to regard pets, or in this case dogs, as more or less full-fledged family members with whom the owner has an emotional bond certainly is a major factor. This changing perception in connection with the female first names of the she-dogs (such as *Kira*) seem to favor neuter gender assignment even more.[24] Furthermore, Figure 1 shows a potential language change towards more neuter gender assignment for female referents.[25]
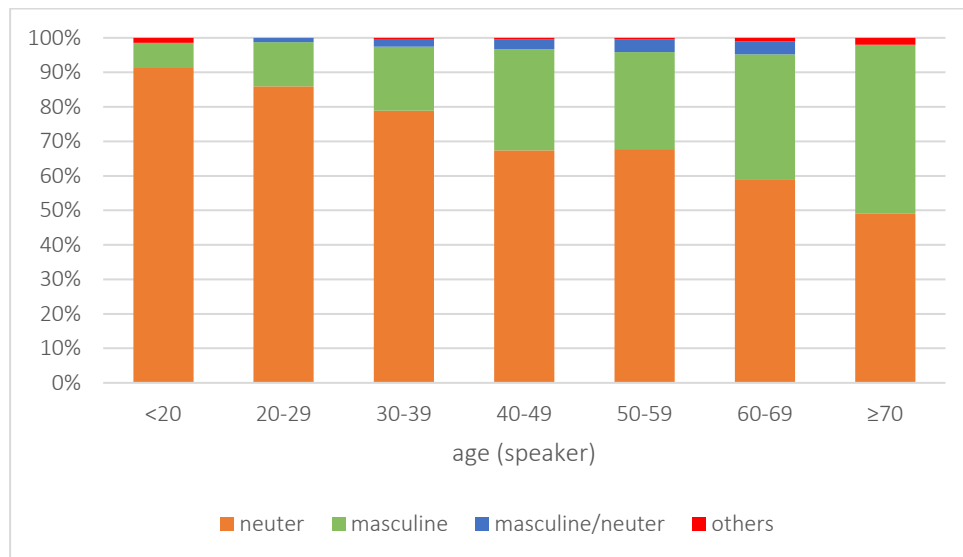

Figure 1: Gender assignment in reference to the controller *Kira* (female dog) by age group (online survey)

4.2.2 Female appellative (+ first name)

The first analysis in this section focuses on the combination of a feminine appellative (kinship term) with a female first name, namely the controller *Tatta Lianne* 'aunt Lianne' which was included in a multiple-choice question in the online survey. A conflict arises, since the appellative is feminine but the first name requires neuter on its targets. As a result, both genders are allowed for pronominalization as illustrated in (2).[26]

(2)   controller   target

D'[Tatta Lianne] huet Gebuertsdag.   [Si/Hatt] …

N   F   F/N
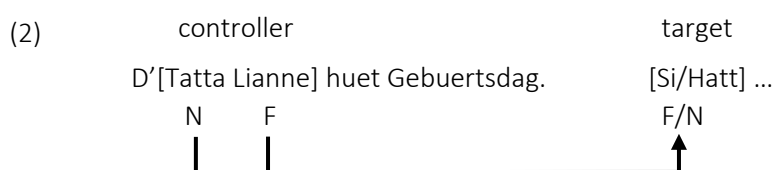
In total, the percentage for feminine gender is 91.0% and 5.5% for neuter gender (see Table 7). If one also takes into account the age of the participants (see Figure 2), it can be seen that younger participants in particular have opted for neuter pronominalization; the percentage of neuter gender assignment is

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[24] See Schaab (2012) for a (diachronic) study on the changing structure of dog names considering their **anthropomorphization** and the changing relationship between the dog and their owner.

[25] Interestingly, the sex of the speaker also seems to be relevant in this context: The percentage of neuter gender assignment is 76.6% for female participants and 70.4% for male participants. Although the speaker's sex has not yet been investigated as a potential factor in gender assignment in Luxembourgish, this (first) finding underlines the complexity of the phenomenon and the possible interaction of several factors.

[26] As seen in Section 2, the definite article *d'* is syncretic for neuter and feminine (in the nominative/accusative) and therefore does not influence the choice of the pronoun.

highest in the youngest age group (14.3%) and decreases with increasing age. In the ≥70 age group, only feminine gender was assigned.
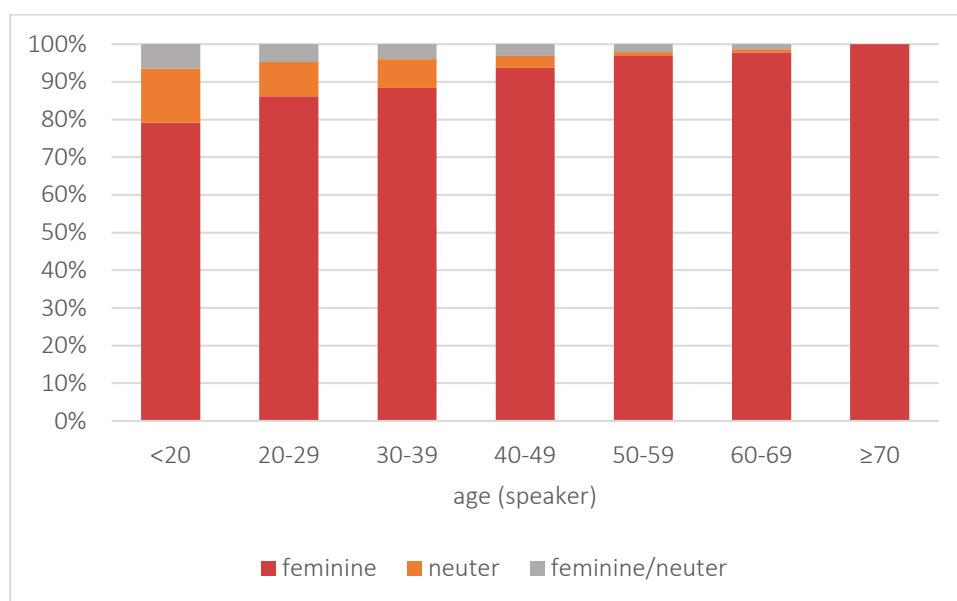

Figure 2: Gender assignment in reference to the controller *Tatta Lianne* (online survey)

Although both genders are available to the speakers in this example, the variation is only small. Despite the naming of the first name *Lianne*, the female appellative *Tatta* seems to favor feminine gender.[27] The fact that *Tatta* is an older relative is important as well. Thus, the age gap between the speaker and the referent also seems to play a role in the sense that feminine gender is preferred when the referent is older than the speaker.

In addition to this name type, for which the gender conflict or variation is mainly due to the combination of elements of two reference types, the female appellative *Schwëster* 'sister' that should only allow for feminine gender assignment, belongs to reference type 3 as well. Döhmer mentions it as a "special case" (2016: 30). The example in (3) illustrates that the controller *Schwëster* (*deng Schwëster* 'your sister') can also trigger neuter gender on the personal pronoun (target).

(3)
               controller   target

    Deng [Schwëster] huet Gebuertsdag.   [Si/Hatt] …

                  F   F/N
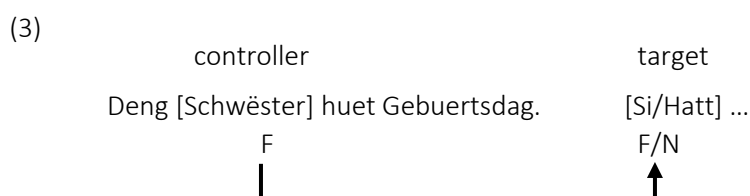
In order to investigate the pronominalization of the controller *Schwëster*, a sentence from the *Schnëssen* data was analysed. The participants were asked to translate the following sentence in (4) from French into Luxembourgish.

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[27] Even though gender assignment for *Tatta* 'aunt' (without a first name) was not investigated, it can be assumed that the rate for feminine personal pronouns would have been even higher. In fact, the female appellative *Tatta* belongs to reference type 2.

(4) French sentence:

Ta soeur est géniale; <u>elle</u> raconte souvent les meilleures blagues.

Luxembourgish translation:

Deng	*Schwëster*	*ass*	*genial;*	<u>*si/hatt*</u>	*erzielt*	*dacks*	*déi*	*bescht*	*Witzer.*
POSS.SG.F	sister(F)	is	great	PRON.3SG.F/PRON.3SG	tells	often	the	best	jokes

'Your sister is great; she often tells the best jokes.'

The French feminine personal pronoun *elle* was translated with a neuter personal pronoun by 94.0% of the participants and with a feminine pronoun by only 5.8% (see Table 7). If one analyses the result taking into account the different age groups (see Table 8), it can be seen that the percentage of neuter varies between 97.5% and 86.2% in all – with the exception of the last – age groups. In the age group ≥65, the percentage of neuter pronominalizations is still 65.6%. Unlike the controller *Tatta Lianne*, *Schwëster* refers to a relative of the same age (e.g. if one is referring to one's own sister). Thus, the age gap between speaker and referent is rather small and the controller therefore allows neuter pronominalization.

Table 7: Gender assignment in reference to the controllers *Tatta Lianne* (online survey), *Schwëster* and *Frëndin* (*Schnëssen* app)

controller	target		
	neuter	feminine	feminine + neuter
Tatta Lianne	5.5% (81)	**91.0%** (2147)	3.5% (130)
Schwëster	**94.0%** (822)	5.8% (51)	0.2% (2)
Frëndin	**95.9%** (773)	4.0% (32)	0.1% (1)

At this point, it is worth comparing the results to the (Luxembourgish) data from the Wenker questionnaire of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* from 1888 and 1924/1925: The sentence 17 includes *Schwëster* as controller and a personal pronoun as target. An analysis reveals that there are only six instances (roughly 2%) in each of the two historical data sets (out of 327 in 1888 and 247 in 1924/1925 respectively) where *Schwëster* was pronominalized with neuter instead of feminine. Hence, this result supports the findings of the apparent-time analysis. In the case of gender assignment in reference to the controller *Schwëster*, a substantial language change from feminine to neuter pronominalization has thus taken place in the last hundred to 130 years.

Frëndin 'female friend' is a very similar example and another female appellative that allows for neuter gender assignment. Just as for the controller *Schwëster*, the *Schnëssen* app included a French sentence that participants had to translate into Luxembourgish. Although the controller *Frëndin* has not yet been discussed in other contributions, gender assignment is very similar to the special case *Schwëster* in general (see Table 7) as well as with regard to the age of the speakers (see Table 8). The results for both controllers are almost identical: In all age groups – here, too, with the exception of the oldest one – the percentages for neuter vary between 99.6% and 90.5%. In the age group ≥65 the percentage is still 65.5%. While there is no historical comparison data, one can assume that in the case of *Frëndin*, too, a substantial language change from feminine to neuter pronominalization has taken place. What is particularly striking in the case of *Frëndin* is the fact that this controller is a female appellative with a feminine derivation suffix. It should therefore usually trigger feminine on the targets. For both controllers, *Schwëster* and *Frëndin*, the percentage of neuter personal pronouns is nearly 100% in the

youngest age group and thus neuter seems to have become the unmarked gender for pronominalization. In addition, *Frëndin* is a referent, similar to *Schwëster*, whose relation to the speaker is characterized by familiarity and (mostly) a small age gap (when talking about one's own friends).

Table 8: Neuter gender assignment in reference to *Schwëster* and *Frëndin* by age group (*Schnëssen* app)

controller	age group					
	≤24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	≥65
Schwëster	97.5%	97.0%	94.7%	91.2%	86.2%	65.6%
Frëndin	98.3%	99.6%	97.8%	93.7%	90.5%	65.5%

4.2.3 First name + last name

In this section, the focus will be on the analysis of gender assignment when referring to a female person with their first name and last name. The gender conflict that arises from this combination is illustrated in (5).

(5)

	controller	target
	D'[Julie Mancini] huet Gebuertsdag.	[Si/Hatt] …
	N F	F/N
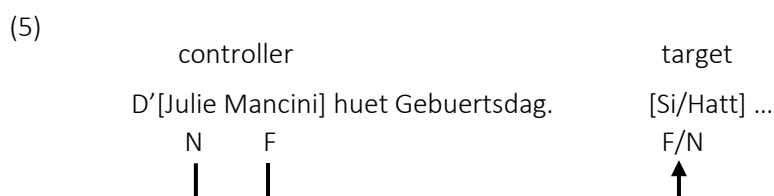
As this name type allows for the use of both neuter and feminine personal pronouns, the degree of variation was investigated by means of three different controllers included in the *Schnëssen* app. In order to be able to consider the referent's age as one of the main socio-pragmatic factors influencing gender assignment, indications respective to the approximate age of the referent were included in the German sentences with the controllers *Julie Mancini* (ca. 20), *Isabelle Weiler* (ca. 40) and *Germaine Donven* (ca. 75).[28] The sentence for the referent *Julie Mancini* is shown in (6).

(6) German sentence:
Ich habe vorhin mit Julie Mancini gesprochen; <u>sie</u> fängt jetzt an zu studieren.

Luxembourgish translation:
Ech hu   virdru mam   Julie   Mancini geschwat;
I   have earlier with.ART(N) Julie(N) Mancini PTCP-talk

<u>hatt/si</u>   fänkt elo   un ze studéieren.
PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F   starts now   to study
'I spoke to Julie Mancini earlier; she's starting university now.'

While the overall results (see Table 9) show that neuter gender assignment on the personal pronoun predominates for all three controllers, this particularly applies for the youngest referent (*Julie Mancini*, 95.1%). In contrast, the percentages for neuter gender are 62.2% (*Isabelle Weiler*) and 58.1% (*Germaine Donven*) and thus considerably lower for the two older referents. At the same time, it is striking that these two results are very similar despite the age difference of the two referents (ca. 40 vs. ca. 75 years).

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[28] A possible influence of the German feminine pronoun *sie* has to be considered for the translation into Luxembourgish, since it is (phonetically) identical with the Luxembourgish feminine personal pronoun *si*.

Consequently, although the results do point to an influence of the referent's age for gender assignment to this name type in general, there seems to be no clear gradation for the rates of neuter personal pronouns following different age groups of the referents. Rather, (at least) the present results suggest a more basic differentiation between referents distinguished by [+ young] and those distinguished by [- young].

Table 9: Gender assignment in reference to the controllers *Julie Mancini*, *Isabelle Weiler* and *Germaine Donven* (*Schnëssen* app)

controller (+ age)	target		
	neuter	feminine	feminine + neuter
Julie Mancini (ca. 20)	**95.1%** (677)	4.8% (34)	0.1% (1)
Isabelle Weiler (ca. 40)	**62.2%** (260)	37.6% (157)	0.2% (1)
Germaine Donven (ca. 75)	**58.1%** (363)	41.4% (259)	0.5% (3)

This division into two groups according to the referent's age ([+ young] vs. [- young]) is emphasized in Figure 3, which visualizes neuter gender assignment for the three controllers taking into account the speaker's age. The rates for neuter vary between 87.5% and 98.9% (*Julie Mancini*) on the one hand and between 54.7% and 70.0% (*Isabelle Weiler*) and 48.9% and 65.4% (*Germaine Donven)* respectively on the other. Overall, however, only slight tendencies towards an increase of neuter gender assignment among younger speakers can be observed for *Germaine Donven* and *Julie Mancini*. Hence, considering the investigated controllers, the speaker's age (or the age gap between speaker and referent) as potential socio-pragmatic factor for gender assignment seems to have no major influence for this name type.
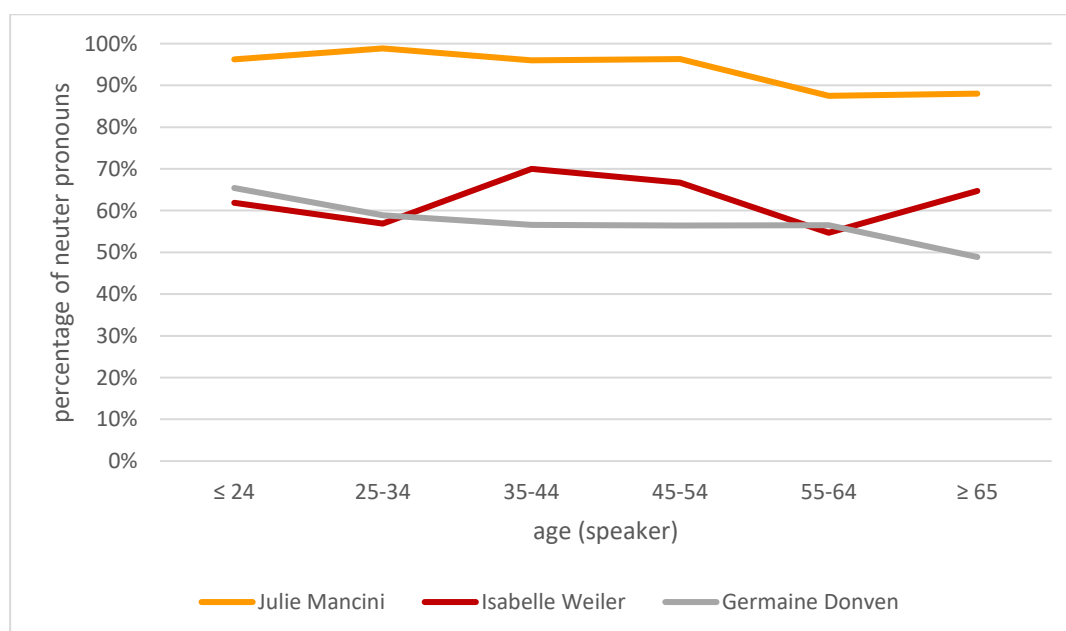

Figure 3: Neuter gender assignment in reference to the controllers *Julie Mancini*, *Isabelle Weiler* and *Germaine Donven* (*Schnëssen* app)

4.2.4 Exophoric reference: *hatt* – a default pronoun?

This last section investigates the choice of personal pronouns by the speakers when translating a sentence with an exophoric female reference from German or French into Luxembourgish. The data is

taken from the language survey app *Schnёssen.* (7) to (9) show the different sentences the participants had to translate.

(7) German sentence:

<u>Sie</u> hat sich am Wochenende zwei DVDs gekauft. [sentence *sie* I[29]]

Luxembourgish translation:

<u>Hatt/Si</u>   huet sech   de   Weekend   zwou   DVDe kaf.
PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F   has herself   the   weekend   two   DVDs   buy.PTCP
'She bought herself two DVDs this weekend.'

(8) German sentence:

<u>Sie</u> hat sich vor drei Wochen das linke Bein gebrochen. [sentence *sie* II]

Luxembourgish translation:

<u>Hatt/Si</u>   huet   sech   virun   dräi   Wochen dat   lénkst Bee   gebrach.
PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F   has   herself   before   three   weeks   the   left   leg   PTCP-break
'She broke her left leg three weeks ago.'

(9) French sentence:

<u>Elle</u> aime manger des raviolis.

<u>Hatt/Si</u>   ёsst   gäre   Raviolien.
PRON.3SG.N/PRON.3SG.F   eats   with_pleasure   ravioli
'She likes to eat ravioli.'

The personal pronouns in German and French that need to be translated are feminine. Again, it has to be assumed that the German pronoun may influence the translation and therefore favor the use of the feminine personal pronoun. The sentences all provide hardly any information about the referent and give no indication of the referent's age. Table 10 gives a first overview of the variation between feminine and neuter personal pronouns.

Table 10: Gender assignment when translating German and French feminine personal pronouns into Luxembourgish (*Schnёssen* app)

controller	target		
	neuter	feminine	feminine + neuter
sie I (German)	**79.4%** (637)	19.5% (156)	1.1% (9)
sie II (German)	**85.3%** (641)	13.5% (101)	1.2% (9)
elle (French)	**97.7%** (683)	1.9% (13)	0.4% (3)

In all cases, the pronouns were mainly translated with a neuter personal pronoun in Luxembourgish, despite the possible influence of the German pronouns (79.4% and 85.3%). However, the result for the French sentence is clearest: 97.7% translated the French *elle* into Luxembourgish using the neuter pronouns *hatt*, *et* or *'t*. Figure 4 shows the percentage of neuter personal pronouns per age group. The

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[29] The distinction between *sie* I and *sie* II is only used in order to be able to distinguish between the two sentences.

results of the two German sentences in particular show a similar pattern, although the percentage of neuter gender is slightly higher in one sentence (*sie* II) throughout the different age groups. As has already seen for other results, the different percentages show that younger speakers generally have a stronger tendency towards the use of neuter gender than older speakers. Moreover, the example of the French sentence in particular reveals that the neuter personal pronoun takes on a kind of default function. This holds true whenever the pronoun does not directly refer to a specific name type and the context contains little or no information about the referent.[30]
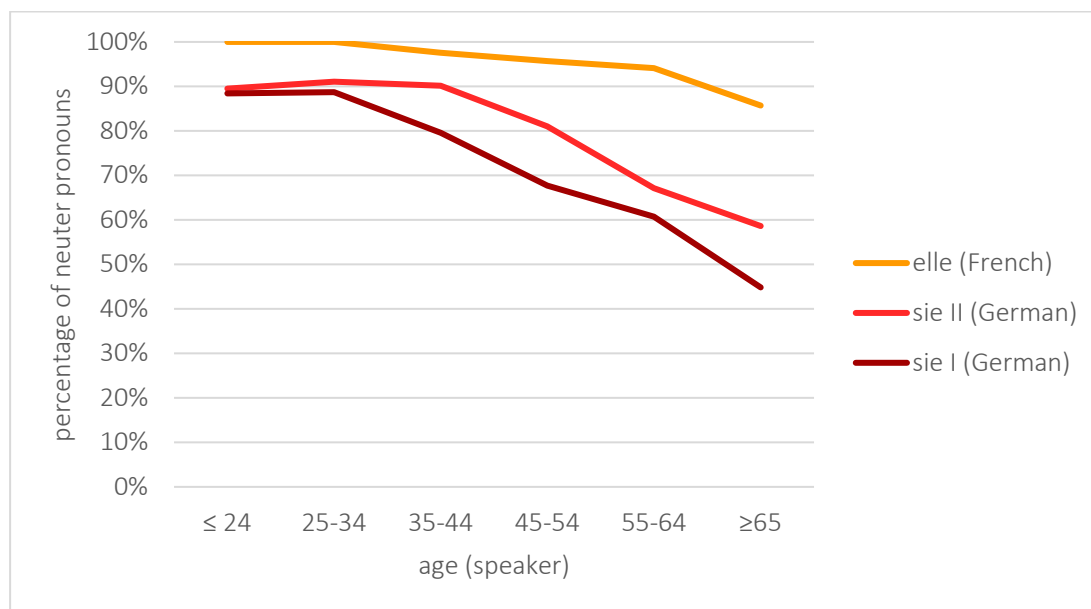

Figure 4: Neuter gender assignment when translating German and French feminine personal pronouns into Luxembourgish by age group (*Schnëssen* app)

4   Discussion

The aim of the study was to present and discuss both the prototypical contexts without variation as well as complex contexts with variation regarding gender assignment in reference to female persons in Luxembourgish. Despite the comparatively advanced grammaticalization of the phenomenon discussed in this article, it should be emphasized that the variation of an inherent grammatical category of nouns such as gender is very unusual and therefore striking. Overall, the results presented in Section 4 have shown that the grammaticalization of this very uncommon system is still ongoing. In this context, it was noted that socio-pragmatic gender almost exclusively develops in contexts in which a gender conflict arises because of the combination of different name types or reference types. The analysis focused on the gender of the personal pronouns considering the name type and the referent's age as decisive factors for gender assignment. Most importantly, however, the speaker' age was included as major parameter for the investigation, since the division into age groups allowed for an apparent-time analysis. Thus, it was also possible to identify potential tendencies in language change.

Figure 5 summarizes all the results of the contexts of gender assignment discussed in Section 4 (except for the exophoric references) and indicates the percentage of neuter pronominalization for each of the

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[30] Furthermore, the German examples show that the percentages of neuter gender is higher for female speakers than for male speakers. For the sentence *sie* I the difference between female and male speakers is 13% and even 20% for sentence *sie* II. To what extent the sex of the speaker has a specific impact on the gender assignment to female referents in general needs to be investigated in further studies.

various controllers.[31] The figure shows the whole spectrum from obligatory feminine to obligatory neuter pronominalization: The higher the percentage, the more frequently neuter gender was assigned; the lower the percentage, the more frequently feminine gender was assigned. The prototypical contexts of gender assignment are located at the extremities of the spectrum: They allow little or no variation and therefore confirm earlier findings. This means that female first names (*Leonie*) take neuter personal pronouns, while the female appellative *Mamma* and the combination of *Madame* with a last name (*Madame Thill*) trigger feminine gender on the personal pronoun. All other name types and contexts, which allow for variation on the personal pronouns and for which the socio-pragmatic factors are relevant, are located between these extremities.

One of these contexts with variation is the controller *Tatta Lianne*, which is located relatively at the bottom of the spectrum, even though elements of the two reference types 1 an 2 are combined. It can therefore generally be assumed that in the case of combinations of a female appellative or female kinship term with a neuter first name, the former is more significant for gender assignment. Additionally, the age gap between the speaker and the referent or the fact that *Tatta* (mostly) refers to an older referent favors feminine gender assignment.
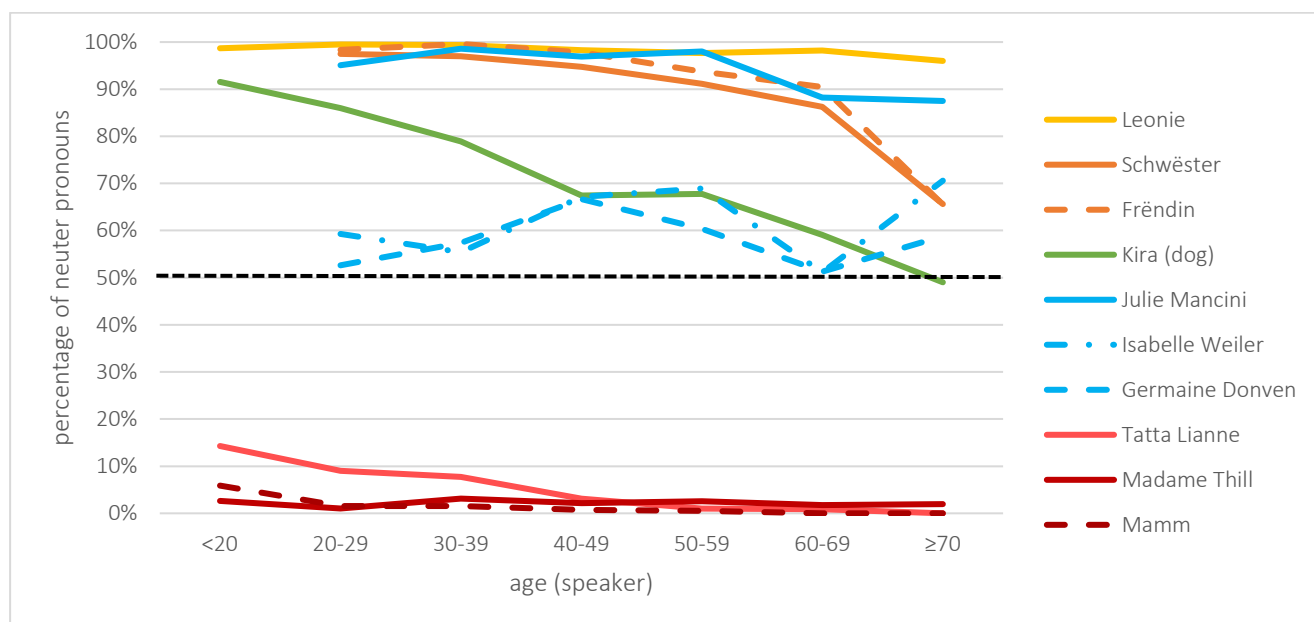

Figure 5: Spectrum of feminine and neuter gender assignment in reference to female persons in Luxembourgish

The analysis of gender assignment to the combination of female first name and last name by means of three different controllers revealed a division into two groups according to the referent's age (see Section 4.2.3): The results showed that the referent distinguished by the factor [+ young] was assigned neuter personal pronouns more than the ones distinguished by [- young].

With regard to the question of possible language change, the controllers *Schwëster* and *Frëndin* as well as *Kira* (dog) prove to be very revealing. *Schwëster* and *Frëndin* are very high up on the spectrum; Figure 5 illustrates that neutral pronominalization has (almost) been established for these two female appellatives. Variation is only to be found for older speakers. The analysis of sentence 17 from the Wenker questionnaire (with the controller *Schwëster*) in Section 4.2.2 has also shown that a massive

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[31] Due to the slightly different age groups for both data sources, the figure does not display rates for the age group <20 for the *Schnëssen* app data.

language change has taken place. For the pronominalization of she-dogs with female names (*Kira*) too neuter gender seems to have replaced masculine gender to a large extent. The percentages in Figure 1 illustrate this change. The results in Section 4.2.4 have proved to be even more revealing for the investigation of both a possible language change and the status of the neuter gender in reference to female persons in Luxembourgish (see Figure 4). The analysis of the translations of German and French personal pronouns into Luxembourgish revealed very high percentages for neuter personal pronouns for the three exophoric reference contexts and thus show that neuter has rather become the default gender. This applies to cases in which the speaker has little or no (personal) information of the referent and as long as the context does not explicitly or clearly trigger feminine gender. This default use of neuter personal pronouns represents a difference compared to other German dialects with onymic neuter, since neuter tends to be less used and replaced by feminine due to the increasing influence of Standard German and the fact that these dialects are slowly disappearing.

In Section 2, the classification of the various female contexts of reference into three reference types according to Döhmer (2016) was introduced and taken into account for the present analysis. As a result of the present study, Table 11[32] offers a new and more detailed overview of gender assignment to personal pronouns for various name types primarily differentiating between variable and invariable reference contexts. In addition, it focuses on the most important socio-pragmatic parameters for gender assignment, i.e. the age of the speaker, the familiarity and the age gap between the speaker and the referent.[33] The table also specifies whether there is a conflict or not for the respective name type. This is not the case for prototypical contexts (e.g. first name, last name).

The picture is different for the variable reference contexts, in which morphological conflicts are the reason for the variation and the accompanying unfolding of the socio-pragmatic factors for gender assignment. In general, it should be noted that it is hardly possible to define precise rules for 'correct' gender assignment in these contexts; rather, the analyses in Section 4 allowed to identify tendencies as to when neuter or feminine gender assignment is more likely. Despite the consideration of the most important socio-pragmatic factors, i.e. the speaker's age, the familiarity between speaker and referent and the age gap between them, both feminine and neuter pronominalization are often possible.[34] This applies above all to the name types first + last name, female appellative + first name as well as the special cases *Schwëster* and *Frëndin*; this can also be seen in Table 11.[35] Moreover, it becomes apparent that the various factors are sometimes difficult to consider separately from one another.

Finally, the table also includes gender assignment in reference to she-dogs with female names. For this controller, the familiarity between the speaker and the dog or rather the perception of the dog as a fully-fledged family member with whom one has an emotional bond is decisive for the choice of gender. If this familiarity is given, the dog is assigned a neuter instead of a masculine (due to the generic name *Hond*) personal pronoun.

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[32] The abbreviations "n.r." stands for "not relevant" and "n.a." stands for "not applicable".

[33] The age gap between speaker and referent is shown in the table by means of the age of the speaker (young or old) and the referent (young or old).

[34] In this context, it needs to be emphasized that the distinction between the categories 'young' and 'old' in Table 11 should primarily serve as an orientation rather than strict categories.

[35] The respective tendencies are indicated in the table using lower and upper case letters, where e.g. the upper case letter N stands for more/mainly neuter gender assignment and a lower case letter n for less neuter.

Despite the overview in Table 11, it was not possible to consider all relevant parameters in the present analysis of gender assignment due to the complexity of the phenomenon. Thus, the influence of the situational context mentioned in Section 2 (formal vs. informal) was not considered in the present investigation and it only marginally became apparent that there also seem to be differences in the choice of gender depending on the speaker's sex. Furthermore, the analysis of gender assignment to other targets such as the definitive article, the possessive article and, for example, the relative article, still needs to be carried out. Nevertheless, the present study has shown tendencies that already point to an increasing use of neuter gender in reference to female persons. Female persons are thus more and more associated with neuter gender, in such an extent that the neuter gender assignment has even been extended to some female appellatives (*Schwëster*, *Frëndin*).

Table 11: Gender assignment in reference to female persons by name type allowing for the main socio-pragmatic factors

form / name type	bio-logical	morphological		socio-pragmatic factors				examples
	sex	gender	conflict	speaker's age	familiarity (S-R)	referent's age	agreement (pers.pron.)	
fem. first name	F	N	-	n.r.			N	*Leonie*
last name	F	F	-	n.r.			F	*Thill*
fem. appellative	F	F	-	n.r.			F	*Mamm, Tatta, Bom(a)*
		N	-	n.r.			N	*Meedchen, Framënsch*
fem. title (+ last name)	F	F (+ F)	-	n.r.			F	*Madame (Thill)*
fem. first name + last name	F	N + F	+	young	+	young	N	*Julie Mancini, Isabelle Weiler, Germaine Donven*
				young	+	old	N/f	
				young	-	young	N/f	
				young	-	old	n/F	
				old	+	young	N	
				old	+	old	N	
				old	-	young	N/f	
				old	-	old	F/n	
fem. title/appellative + first name	F	F + N	+	n.r.	+	young	f/n	*Tatta Lianne*
					+	old	F/n	
					-	young	f/n	
					-	old	F	
fem. appellative (special cases)	F	F	-	young	n.r.	young	N	*Schwëster, Frëndin*
				young	+	old	N/f	
				young	-	old	f/n	
				old	+	n.r.	N	
				old	-	young	N/f	
				old	-	old	n/f	
she-dog/dog with fem. first name	F	N (first name) [M (*Hond*)]	-	young	+	n.a.	N	*Kira* (dog)
				young	-		N/m	
				old	+		N/m	
				old	-		n/m	

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