

**Pronoun Use Among Caregivers of People Living with Dementia: Associations with  
Dementia Severity Using Text Analysis of a Natural Language Sample**

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**Abstract**

1 **Introduction:** Family caregivers of persons living with dementia (PLWDs) have extensive  
2 social, physical, emotional, and financial responsibilities. However, less is known about the  
3 relationship and interpersonal connection between caregivers and PLWDs. We examined  
4 caregiver pronoun use, as an index of the connection between the caregiver and PLWD, and its  
5 associations with caregiver and PLWD health and well-being. **Methods:** Caregivers of PLWDs  
6 ( $N=320$ ) were asked to describe a recent time they felt connected to the PLWD in their care.  
7 Responses were transcribed and coded to quantify pronoun use by category (we-pronouns, I-  
8 pronouns, they-pronouns). Caregivers also reported on their depression, burden, and the PLWD's  
9 dementia severity and marital satisfaction. Sixty-eight caregivers repeated the same survey 24  
10 months after the initial survey. **Results:** Caregivers used less we-pronouns when the PLWD's  
11 dementia was more severe, at both timepoints. Spousal caregivers used more we-pronouns and  
12 less I- and they-pronouns than non-spousal caregivers. There was an interaction between spousal  
13 relationship and dementia severity, such that spousal caregivers exhibited a stronger negative  
14 association between dementia severity and we-pronoun use. There were no associations between  
15 pronoun category and caregiver burden nor depression. **Discussion:** Caregivers may feel  
16 increasingly disconnected from the PLWD as their dementia becomes more severe, as reflected  
17 by less we-pronoun usage. This study highlights the opportunity to explore relationship  
18 connection through text analysis.

## Introduction

19 More than 15 million people provide informal care for persons living with dementia (PLWDs) in  
20 the United States, which involves immense emotional, physical, and practical support [1-4].  
21 Growing evidence suggests dementia can alter the nature of the PLWD-caregiver relationship,  
22 which is closely tied to physical health and psychological well-being [5]. Experiences of  
23 connection in the caregiving relationship are important for maintaining hope and demonstrating  
24 support [6, 7], yet the caregiver-PLWD connection has not been studied extensively.

25  
26 Text analysis is a powerful tool for studying relational dynamics, as language often reflects  
27 underlying social and psychological meaning [8]. Studies of personal pronoun usage (“we,”  
28 “you,” “I,” “he/she/they”) in naturalistic conversation have revealed associations of we-pronoun  
29 use with marital satisfaction, marital quality, health, and well-being [9-12]. To our knowledge,  
30 no prior studies have investigated pronoun use of individual caregivers in a narrative or interview  
31 format, which may offer insights into caregivers’ experience outside of the conversational  
32 context.

33  
34 In the present study, caregivers described a recent time they felt connected to the PLWD, and we  
35 measured their pronoun use to assess the quality of that connection. As in prior work [9, 13], we  
36 conceptualized we-pronoun use as reflecting greater connection between the caregiver and  
37 PLWD, and greater I- and they-pronoun use as reflecting greater perceived separateness. Given  
38 documented associations of relationship factors (e.g., satisfaction, closeness, etc.) with caregiver  
39 and PLWD health and well-being [14-16], we sought to examine whether a language-based  
40 measure of connection (i.e., pronoun use) would reveal similar associations with caregiver health  
41 and well-being.

42  
43 We tested two primary hypotheses. We hypothesized that greater use of we-pronouns would be  
44 associated with (1) better PLWD health outcomes (e.g., lower dementia severity); and (2) less  
45 caregiver depression and burden. We also explored whether caregiving relationship type (i.e.,  
46 spouse vs. non-spouse) moderated associations between pronoun use and PLWD outcomes, and  
47 whether associations with we-pronoun use were independent of caregiver-reported PLWD  
48 marital satisfaction. Hypotheses were preregistered: [https://aspredicted.org/TUD\\_ACM](https://aspredicted.org/TUD_ACM).

49

## 50 **Materials and Methods**

### 51 **Site**

52 The Care Ecosystem is a program in which Care Team Navigators manage caseloads of PLWDs  
53 and caregivers by providing emotional support and other resources. The program was  
54 administered from two hubs, the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) and the  
55 University of Nebraska Medical Center (UNMC), Omaha; and was studied in a randomized  
56 controlled trial. Those in the usual care (control) group completed surveys but did not receive  
57 care navigation. The Care Ecosystem intervention improved the quality of life of PLWDs,  
58 reduced emergency department visits, and decreased caregiver depression and burden [17].

59

### 60 **Participants**

61 Caregivers enrolled in the Care Ecosystem completed a telephone survey 6 months after  
62 enrollment that included the question, “Tell me about a time you felt most connected to [*PLWD*  
63 *name*] in the last few months.” Of the 439 responses to this question, 119 were not recorded  
64 verbatim and were excluded, resulting in a sample of 320 caregiver-PLWD dyads. The same  
65 survey was given 30 months after enrollment, and the sample was smaller ( $n=68$ ) due to study  
66 completion, death, and non-verbatim transcription. Demographic characteristics of caregivers  
67 and PLWDs are presented in **Table 1**.

68

### 69 **Procedures**

70 Informed consent was obtained from both caregivers and PLWDs upon enrollment. In telephone  
71 surveys given 6 and 30 months after enrollment, caregivers responded to questions about PLWD  
72 and caregiver demographics, health, and well-being, including an open-ended question about  
73 their connection to the PLWD [17]. The UCSF and UNMC Institutional Review Boards  
74 approved this study.

75

### 76 **Measures**

#### 77 ***Pronoun Use***

78 Caregivers’ responses to the “connection” question were transcribed and processed using  
79 software written by one of the authors [18]. Oedipus Text utilizes a dictionary of personal

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80 pronouns [9, 13] with four categories: (a) we-pronouns (we, we'd, we'll, we're, we've, our, ours,  
81 ourselves, us), (b) I-pronouns (I, I'd, I'll, I'm, I've, me, mine, my, myself), (c) they-pronouns  
82 (he, his, him, himself, she, her, hers, herself, they, theirs, them, themselves), and (d) you-pronouns  
83 (you, you'd, you'll, you're, you've, your, yours, yourself). Oedipus Text reviewed the  
84 transcribed responses and assigned each pronoun used to its dictionary-based category.

85

86 Next, a team of five trained coders reviewed each instance of pronoun use to confirm the  
87 dictionary-based categorization. Given the interview format, you-pronouns were rare and usually  
88 referred to the interviewer; therefore, they were excluded. Pronouns from quotations were  
89 retained when the caregiver referred to themselves (e.g., "*I said, 'I'm very happy...'*"), but  
90 excluded when the caregiver quoted someone else (e.g., "*A man came over...and said, 'You  
91 must love **your** wife very much.'*"). We- and they-pronouns were excluded when they did not  
92 refer to the caregiver-PLWD dyad (e.g., "we" referring to the caregiver and a friend). To  
93 establish the reliability, approximately 22% of responses were reviewed by all coders. Interrater  
94 reliability was high (ICC=.99). See **Table 2** for example responses.

95

### 96 ***Caregiver and PLWD Well-Being Survey***

97 *PLWD dementia severity* was assessed using the Quick Dementia Rating Scale (QDRS), a 10-  
98 item questionnaire asking caregivers to rate PLWDs' cognition, function, behavior, and mood.  
99 Items are summed, ranging from 0-30. Higher scores reflect greater impairment [19].

100

101 *PLWD marital satisfaction* was assessed using a single item from the Quality of Life in  
102 Alzheimer's Disease Scale (QoL-AD). Caregivers rated PLWDs' marital satisfaction on a four-  
103 point scale ranging from "poor" to "excellent" [20].

104

105 *Caregiver burden* was assessed using the 12-item version of the Zarit Burden Interview (ZBI-  
106 12), which measures the perceived impact of providing care on caregivers' health, personal life,  
107 and emotional well-being. Ratings are on a five-point scale ranging from "never" to "almost  
108 always." Higher scores reflect greater burden [21].

109

110 *Caregiver depression* was assessed using the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9), a 9-item  
111 questionnaire asking about mood (e.g., feeling down, depressed, or hopeless) on a four-point  
112 scale ranging from “not at all” to “nearly every day” [22].

113

## 114 **Results**

### 115 **Data Reduction**

116 We calculated a proportion score for each of the three pronoun categories by dividing the  
117 number of pronouns in each category by the total number of pronouns in the entire response. To  
118 avoid problems with multicollinearity, we analyzed associations with each pronoun category  
119 separately.

120

### 121 **Data Analysis**

122 All analyses were conducted in R Studio Version 1.2.1335. First, we evaluated bivariate  
123 correlations between pronoun category (we, I, they) and caregiver and PLWD health and well-  
124 being (PLWD dementia severity, PLWD marital satisfaction, caregiver burden, caregiver  
125 depression). Second, we probed the robustness of significant associations by controlling for a set  
126 of covariates chosen *a priori* based on their expected associations with these constructs:  
127 caregiver age, gender, education (in years), relationship type (spouse vs non-spouse), and  
128 intervention group assignment. To be conservative, we ran analyses with all covariates in the  
129 same model. We re-evaluated significant associations at the month-30 timepoint.

130

131 Next, we explored whether being a spousal caregiver moderates significant associations between  
132 we-pronoun use and well-being outcomes; and whether significant associations between we-  
133 pronoun use and well-being outcomes are independent of caregiver-reported PLWD marital  
134 satisfaction (analyses limited to spousal caregivers only). **Table 3** presents descriptive statistics  
135 of caregivers’ responses.

136

### 137 **Pronoun Use and Dementia Severity**

#### 138 ***Six-Month Timepoint***

139 PLWD dementia severity was significantly negatively correlated with we-pronouns and  
140 positively correlated with I- and they-pronouns. In other words, less use of we-pronouns and

141 more use of I- and they-pronouns by caregivers was associated with greater dementia severity in  
142 PLWDs, supporting our first hypothesis (see **Table 4**).

143

144 Next, we conducted multiple regression analyses with pronoun use predicting PLWD dementia  
145 severity, controlling for caregiver age, gender, education, relationship to PLWD, and  
146 intervention group. All three pronoun categories remained significantly associated with dementia  
147 severity when accounting for covariates (see **Table 5**).

148

### 149 ***Thirty-Month Timepoint***

150 Bivariate correlations revealed that dementia severity at the 30-month timepoint remained  
151 significantly negatively associated with we-pronouns and positively associated with they-  
152 pronouns; but was no longer associated with I-pronouns (see **Table 4**). Given the limited sample  
153 size, we did not explore the robustness of these associations using covariates.

154

### 155 **We-Pronouns, Dementia Severity, and Caregiver-PLWD Relationship**

156 We explored group differences in we-pronoun use, comparing spousal caregivers to non-spousal  
157 caregivers. Levene's test revealed heteroskedasticity ( $p < .001$ ), therefore we used a Welch two-  
158 sample t-test. Spouses used more we-pronouns ( $M = .37$ ,  $SD = .35$ ) than did non-spouses ( $M = .19$ ,  
159  $SD = .31$ ;  $t(274.3) = -4.51$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

160

161 Next, we conducted a regression with spousal relationship (0=non-spouse, 1=spouse), PLWD  
162 dementia severity, and an interaction term between spousal relationship and dementia severity as  
163 independent variables, and we-pronouns as the dependent variable. In addition to significant  
164 main effects for spousal relationship and dementia severity, we found a significant interaction  
165 effect, such that being a spouse amplified the negative association between dementia severity and  
166 we-pronoun use (see **Table 6** and **Fig. 1**).

167

### 168 **Observational Versus Caregiver-Reported Relationship Measures and Dementia Severity**

169 We-pronoun use was not correlated with caregiver-reported PLWD marital satisfaction ( $r = .13$ ,  
170  $p = .126$ ) in our sample of spousal caregivers ( $n = 172$ ). In a regression with we-pronoun use and  
171 caregiver-reported PLWD marital satisfaction predicting PLWD dementia severity, we found

172 that greater proportion of we-pronouns and greater marital satisfaction were each independently  
173 associated with lower dementia severity (see **Table 7**).

174

### 175 **Pronoun Use and Caregiver Well-Being**

176 We examined bivariate correlations between pronoun category and caregiver depression and  
177 burden, respectively. Contrary to our second hypothesis, neither proportion of we-pronouns, I-  
178 pronouns, nor they-pronouns were significantly associated with caregiver depression nor burden  
179 ( $ps > .55$ ).

180

### 181 **Discussion**

182 We examined associations between pronoun used by caregivers in response to a question about  
183 their connection with the PLWD with caregivers' and PLWDs' health and well-being. Lower use  
184 of we-pronouns and greater use of I- and they-pronouns was associated with greater dementia  
185 severity. These associations were robust when controlling for covariates and stable across time.  
186 Spousal caregivers used more we-pronouns than non-spousal caregivers. There was also an  
187 interaction between relationship type and dementia severity such that the negative association  
188 between dementia severity and we-pronoun use was stronger for spousal caregivers than for non-  
189 spousal caregivers. Finally, we found that lesser use of we-pronouns by spousal caregivers was  
190 predictive of dementia severity, independent of caregiver-reported PLWD marital satisfaction.  
191 We did not find any associations between caregiver pronoun use and caregiver burden and  
192 depression.

193

194 The association between caregiver we-language and PLWD dementia severity could reflect a  
195 loss of connection as the disease progresses. As the PLWD's dementia becomes more severe,  
196 shared activities and conversations may become less frequent and less fulfilling for the caregiver.  
197 Additionally, as dementia severity increases, interpersonal problems between the caregiver and  
198 PLWD, such as abuse, may also increase [23], impacting their connection.

199

200 In contrast, I- and they-pronoun use were positively associated with dementia severity, albeit less  
201 robustly (e.g., I-pronouns were not correlated with dementia severity at 30-months). Given prior  
202 evidence linking I- and they-pronouns to experiences of separateness [13], these pronouns may



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203 reflect caregivers' psychological disconnection from the PLWD. As the disease progresses,  
204 caregivers and PLWDs may become disconnected because they no longer have as many shared  
205 activities, the PLWD may be more self-focused, or the caregiver takes on a more service-  
206 oriented role [24].

207

208 Prior text analysis studies have linked greater use of we-pronouns with better caregiver health  
209 and well-being [9-11]; however, we did not find similar associations in the present study. One  
210 reason for this may be that prior studies focused on dyadic conversations that can be influenced  
211 by many issues in the caregiver-PLWD relationship. These conversations elicit language (and  
212 pronoun use) by both members of the dyad as well as moments of felt emotion that may have  
213 stronger ties to caregiver health and well-being. Our study only examined caregivers' direct  
214 comments about a lived experience of connection, which is less likely to occur during dyadic  
215 interactions. We expect that studying pronoun use in both contexts, dyadic interactions and open-  
216 ended interview questions, will provide a richer understanding of the ways pronoun usage is  
217 related to the different aspects of the caregiving experience, the caregiver-PLWD relationship,  
218 and the longer-term impact on health and well-being.

219

220 We also note that our study did not address the longitudinal changes that occur in caregivers'  
221 experience of connection nor the ways these changes are associated with changes in caregiver  
222 health and well-being. For example, ample research suggests that distance and disconnection  
223 may be helpful for caregivers. In a recent study from our research group, lower levels of  
224 emotional empathy in caregivers (i.e., not feeling the emotions of people in distress) were  
225 associated with having fewer mental health problems [25]. Disconnecting from the PLWD as  
226 dementia progresses may be a natural part of caregivers' grieving and loss [26]. Indeed,  
227 longitudinal research has found that decreased caregiver-rated closeness can be a protective  
228 factor when dealing with cognitive and functional decline in the PLWD [27].

229

230 Finally, we found that we-pronoun use was significantly associated with dementia severity when  
231 accounting for caregiver-reported PLWD marital satisfaction. This finding points to the  
232 advantage of assessing caregiver pronoun use in addition to more commonly used self-report  
233 measures. When assessing current relationship quality, caregivers may face difficulty

234 disentangling feelings from the present and past. Measuring connection in spontaneous speech  
235 may capture different aspects of current perceptions and reduce bias. For this reason, clinicians  
236 may find it useful to pay closer attention to the words caregivers use to gain a deeper  
237 understanding of the impact of the PLWD's disease on the caregiver and the caregiver-PLWD  
238 relationship.

239

### 240 **Limitations and Future Directions**

241 Several limitations should be considered. First, despite the large sample size at the 6-month  
242 timepoint, the sample at the 30-month timepoint was limited. Additionally, all analyses were  
243 based on brief natural language samples (the average length was 28 words) that may not  
244 adequately capture the full extent of caregiver's experiences of connection as compared to longer  
245 language samples and language that occurs in conversation between caregivers and PLWD.

246

247 Future research should: (a) examine relationships between language, dementia progression, and  
248 caregiver health and well-being longitudinally; (b) integrate language samples from multiple  
249 sources (interview questions, conversations, etc.); and (c) study the possibility that reduced use  
250 of we-pronouns may be protective for the caregiver.

251 **Statement of Ethics**

252 The study was conducted ethically in accordance with the World Medical Association  
253 Declaration of Helsinki.

254

255 **Study Approval Statement**

256 The study protocol was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Boards of the  
257 University of California, San Francisco (IRB #: 14-14537) and the University of Nebraska  
258 Medical Center (IRB #: 483-14-FB).

259

260 **Consent to Participate Statement**

261 Patients with capacity to provide informed consent were given the opportunity to consent for  
262 themselves; otherwise, consent was obtained from a legally authorized representative. Caregivers  
263 also provided informed consent. Consent was provided with written or electronic (digital)  
264 signature.

265

266 **Conflict of Interest Statement**

267 Dr. Possin reported receiving grants from the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS),  
268 National Institute on Aging (NIA), National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke  
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272

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281

282 **Author Contributions**

283 *Concept and design:* Bernstein Sideman, Wells, Merrilees, Shdo, Yee, Possin, Levenson

284 *Acquisition, analysis, or interpretation of data:* Bernstein Sideman, Wells, Merrilees, Shdo, Yee,  
285 Possin, Levenson

286 *Drafting of the manuscript:* Bernstein Sideman

287 *Critical revision of the manuscript for important intellectual content:* Bernstein Sideman, Wells,  
288 Merrilees, Shdo, Yee, Possin, Levenson

289 *Statistical analysis:* Wells

290 *Obtained funding:* Possin

291 *Administrative, technical, or material support:* Bernstein Sideman, Wells, Merrilees, Shdo, Yee,  
292 Possin, Levenson

293 *Supervision:* Possin, Levenson

294

295 **Data Availability Statement**

296 Public archiving of the anonymized data is not permitted under the study's IRB approval.

297 Specific requests can be submitted through the UCSF MAC Resource Request

298 form: <http://memory.ucsf.edu/resources/data>. Following a UCSF-regulated procedure, access

299 will be granted to designated individuals in line with ethical guidelines on the reuse of sensitive  
300 data. This would require submission of a Material Transfer Agreement, available

301 at: <https://icd.ucsf.edu/material-transfer-and-data-agreements>. Commercial use will not be  
302 approved.

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- 376

377 **Legend of Figures**

378

379 **Figure 1**

380 *Spousal Relationship Moderates the Association Between Dementia Severity and We-Pronoun*  
381 *Use*

382 Spousal caregivers (depicted in black) have a stronger, negative association between we-pronoun  
383 use and PLWD dementia severity, as compared to non-spousal caregivers (depicted in gray).