

GENDERSYMMETRY in European Languages and Dictionaries

Metalinguistic Paradigms - GENDER_A_SYMMETRIES in German

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1 Introduction

Two case studies are to serve as an introduction to this criticism of dictionaries. Both of them show up the contemporary human image of women in the DUDEN PAPERBACKS (DUDEN-TASCHENBÜCHER), which by means of explicitly biased and inconsistent or prescriptive principles in their lexicological concept, confirm the pre-feminist human image of women as human creatures of female sex. It should be demonstrated that the desired principles would only make sense if all feminine forms were feminisations of masculine base forms or, respectively, if the denotations of the female and male base lexemes were identical. Since neither of these conditions applies to the creation of feminine forms, the current situation leads to the development of an androcentric feminine human image, which is reduced to the human creature of female sex, while the masculine human image is diverse and modelled in keeping with the ideal of the male human being.

2 Feminisations and Masculinisations - Inconsistent Principles of Economy

The two DUDEN PAPERBACKS - HOW DO YOU SAY IT IN SWITZERLAND? (WIE SAGT MAN IN DER SCHWEIZ? - DTB/22,1992) and WORDS AND THEIR ANTONYMS (WÖRTER UND GEGENWÖRTER - DTB/23,1992) – aim at the lexicographical omission of feminine terms for person reference on account of the feminisation of the masculine forms, considered to be the *nomen agentis*. As a matter of principle, the terms referring to female persons, such as professions for example, are only accepted in the DUDEN OF ANTONYMS under the condition that the opposing feminine form is not clearly and unmistakably deducible from the masculine one as e.g. *Friseur* ('female' hairdresser), *Landsmännin* ('female' compatriot/fellow countrywoman), *Stewardesse* (stewardess), *Stute* (mare).¹

Similarly, the author of the DUDEN PAPERBACKS HOW DO YOU SAY IT IN SWITZERLAND? (WIE SAGT MAN IN DER SCHWEIZ?)² - argues when he apologises to his female readers for not taking up the feminine German *-in* suffix for female person reference in words such as *Mittelschullehrerin* ('female' teacher), *Bundesrätin* ('female' federal councillor) or *Telefonabonnentin* ('female' subscriber of telephone), simply for reasons of conciseness³.

Within the above-mentioned framework the tracing-up of feminisations and their analysis is limited to professional designations, since these were the main concern to feminist linguistics and in theory have been lexicographically implemented in the lemmatisation. But this principle is by no means carried through consistently by the author, which makes him come up with specially deduced feminisations, such as the secondary lemma *Spetterin* (cleaning woman/ unskilled 'female' employee), including the synonyms *Spettfrau* (cleaning woman) and *Spettmädchen* (cleaning girl), the secondary lemma *Abwartin* for a 'female' caretaker, as well as some other German variations, such as *Buffettochter*⁴, *Lehrtochter* ('female' apprentice)⁵ and *Ladentochter*⁶ for a 'female' shop assistant/saleswoman and *Serviertochter*⁷ or *Saaltochter*⁸ for a waitress.

Amongst the female professional reference terms with foreign suffixes there can be found the (*die*) *Manicure* (manicure)⁹ the (*die*) *Pedicure*¹⁰ (pedicure) and the primary lemma *Patronne* ('female' boss), as well as the (*der*)

¹ (DTB/23,1992:9)

² (DTB/22,1992)

³ (DTB/22,1989:5)

⁴ *Buffettochter* (DTB/22,1989:108)

⁵ *Lehrtochter* (DTB/22,1989:198)

⁶ *Ladentochter* (DTB/22,1989:193)

⁷ *Serviertochter* (DTB/22,1989:248)

⁸ *Saaltochter* (DTB/22,1989:248)

⁹ *Manicure* (DTB/22,1989:202)

¹⁰ *Pedicure* (DTB/22,1989:222)

*Private*¹¹ in the sense of *private person* or *citizen* which features gender symmetrical characteristics in the (description of the) articles. These feminine reference terms to professions create a dated image of women, totally lacking any relevance to the present. All feminisations should have been omitted to comply with the procedure announced. The result is an inconsistent solution, which limits the image of the female human being to the feminisations of *Putzfrau* (*cleaning woman*) and *Hausmeisterin* (*'female' caretaker*).

Since these are the only professional reference terms quoted and lemmatised with the *-in* suffix, there is the implication that they must be exceptions, for why else should they be lexicalised? But the same suffix is most commonly used also in current Swiss standard German, as for example in the forms *Bundesrätin*¹² (*'female' federal councillor*) or *Richterin*¹³ (*'female judge'*), so the selection of feminine reference terms to professions with their French suffixes, as e.g. *-rice* creates a pre-feminist image of the working woman which comprises the following fields of profession: professional hygiene, gastronomy as well as hand, nail and foot care. Two terms for the 'female' employer, *Patronne*¹⁴ (*'female' boss/ manageress in a gastronomic business*) and *Directrice*¹⁵ (*manageress/ 'female' skilled dressmaker/ 'female' designer in the textile business*), are documented, which however are limited to the professional fields of gastronomy and textile industry.

All other feminine job titles refer to professions belonging to the low-income group of the service sector. This case study makes it easy to detect the lack of systematically networked gender-symmetrical considerations in the macrostructure of this dictionary. However, such biased and inconsistently implemented principles of economy to the detriment of the woman as a female human being are not only limited to the SMALLER DUDEN editions. They just become more apparent here, due to the consistent reduction of morphological keywords. In the LARGER DUDEN editions similar inconsistencies in the lemmatisation of job titles are only to be found in certain cases, as e.g. missing compound nouns.

3 Small and Large – Effects on the Pre-Feminist Gender Script?

An argument brought forward time and time again in favour of androcentric rather than feminist or gender-symmetrical lemmatisation is the size of the dictionary, which means that the argument of a lesser volume is made responsible for the gender-linguistic asymmetry of a dictionary. So the fewer lemmas a dictionary contains, the fewer feminisations of traditional male professions or masculinisations of corresponding female jobs will be found. Is this really the case – is the number of feminisations directly related to the size of the dictionary, or are there other factors, such as prescriptive androcentric ideas of what actually makes a woman a woman and a man a man?

To answer this question the last two editions of the RECHTSCHREIBDUDEN (SPELL CHECK DUDEN) are compared with each other and analysed from a gender-symmetrical perspective. As will become apparent in the course of this analysis, the lemmatisation of the gender symmetry does not necessarily depend on the size of the dictionary. In the field of feminisations in two different DUDEN editions this leads to a completely different human image of females and males.

Thus feminisations and masculinisations of jobs, qualities and behavioural patterns formerly assigned to the opposite sex are more consistently carried through in the LARGER DUDEN editions (GROSSER DUDEN) (D8,1993-95 + D10,1999) than in the smaller ones and the paperbacks. The SPELL CHECK DUDEN (RECHTSCHREIBDUDEN - D1/1996 + D1/2000) only at first sight is completely feminised. The following analysis of feminisations of reference terms to persons and their derivatives, using determinative compounds with *Kind* (*child*) as examples in comparison to the masculinisations, should show up that it still is of no lexicographic concern to masculinise traditionally female professional fields, as e.g. childcare, and by the same token to feminise prestigious, that is classically male professions.

¹¹ (DTB/22,1989:230)

¹² *Bundesrat 1. Bundesrat*, der: Exekutive der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. 2. *Bundesrat Bundesrätin: Mitglied der Exekutive der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (D/CH,2012:22).

¹³ *Richterin* is also not documented in (D/CH,2012).

¹⁴ *Patronne* (vor allem im Gastgewerbe): *Meisterin, Betriebsinhaberin, Arbeitgeberin bzw. Frau des Meisters* (usw.) (DTB/22,1989:222).

¹⁵ *Direktrice: leitende Angestellte in der Bekleidungsindustrie, die als ausgebildete Schneiderin Modelle entwirft* (D8,1993-95:732 + D10,1999:825).

The SMALL and LARGE DUDEN¹⁶ in the Gender-Symmetrical Comparison

DER RECHTSCHREIBDUDEN (SPELL CHECK DUDEN) (D1,1999:407) + (D1,2000:541-42)		DER GROSSE DUDEN (LARGE DUDEN) (D8,1993-95:1851-55) + (D10,1999:2110-15)	
Feminina	Maskulina	Feminina	Maskulina
•°Kindbetterin		•Kindbetterin (<i>mother in childbed</i>)	
		•Kindfrau (<i>nymphet, lolita</i>)	Kindmann (toyboy)
	•Kinderarzt	•Kinderärztin (<i>'female' pediatrician</i>)	• Kinderarzt (<i>'male' pediatrician</i>)
		•Kinderfrau (<i>nanny</i>)	Kindermann
•Kinderfräulein		•Kinderfräulein (<i>obs.</i>) (<i>governess</i>)	
		•Kinderfreundin (<i>'female' friend of children</i>)	•Kinderfreund (<i>'male' friend of children</i>)
•Kindergärtnerin		•Kindergärtnerin (<i>'female' kindergarten teacher</i>)	Kindergärtner ('male' kindergarten teacher)
		•Kinderkrankenschwester (<i>children's nurse</i>)	
•Kindermädchen		•Kindermädchen (<i>nursemaid, nanny</i>)	
		•Kindermörderin (<i>'female' child murderess</i>)	•Kindermörder (<i>'male' child murderer</i>)
		•Kindernärrin ¹⁷	•Kindernarr
•Kinderpflegerin		•Kinderpflegerin (<i>'female' childcare worker</i>)	Kinderpfleger ('male' childcare worker)
		•Kinderpsychologin (<i>'female' child psychologist</i>)	•Kinderpsychologe (<i>'male' child psychologist</i>)
	•Kinderschänder	•Kinderschänderin (<i>'female' child molester</i>)	•Kinderschänder (<i>'male' child molester</i>)
	•Kinderschreck		•Kinderschreck (<i>bugbear</i>)
		•Kinderschwester (<i>children's nurse</i>)	
•Kindesmörderin		•Kindesmörderin (<i>child murderess</i>)	Kindesmörder (child murderer)
		•Kindsmörderin (<i>child murderess</i>)	Kindsmörder (child murderer)
		•Kindesmutter (<i>child's mother</i>) ¹⁸	•Kindesvater (<i>child's father</i>)
		•Kindsmutter (<i>child's mother</i>)	•Kindsvater (<i>child's father</i>)
		•°Kindsmagd (<i>obs.</i>) (<i>nanny, nursemaid</i>)	

¹⁶ •° = documented only: (D1,1999) + (D8,1993-95)
 °• = documented only: (D1,1999 + D10,1999)
 • = documented: (D1,1999 + 2000) + (D8,1993-95 + D10,1999)
bold = undocumented, a gender linguistic gap in the mentioned dictionaries
italic = documented in the mentioned dictionaries

¹⁷ Kindernärrin/Kindernarr (*'female'/'male' person who dotes on children*)

¹⁸ Kind(e)mutter/ Kind(e)svater (*mother/father [of an illegitimate child] and natural mother*)

The masculinisation of traditionally female job titles shows less evidence than the feminisation of male job references. Childcare is traditionally and to this day considered to be a female professional domain, as long as non-academic professions, such as *Kinderschwester* (*children's nurse*) or *Kinderfräulein* (*nanny*) are concerned, but as soon as academic professions, such as *Kinderärztin* (*'female' paediatrician*) are the issue, only the masculine term is to be found in the SMALL DUDEN (KLEINER DUDEN). This means that with fewer entries the prestigious female academic job titles are forfeited, while outdated terms, such as *Kindbetterin* (*woman in childbed*) or *Kindsmagd* (*nanny or nursemaid*) are kept. Morphological symmetry exists exclusively for terms describing relationships within the family, as in the *Kind(e)smutter* (*child's mother*) and *Kind(e)svater* (*child's father*).

This form of procedure supports the pre-feminist image of women, which is most obviously the case in the SMALL DUDEN (KLEINER DUDEN), although supporting and making way for a feminist image of women should be one of its aims. Neither the LARGE DUDEN (GROSSER DUDEN) nor the SPELL CHECK DUDEN (RECHTSCHREIB-DUDEN) in their latest editions differ from previous editions in their lemmatisation of neologisms in the determinative compound word field of *Kind* (*child*). The only difference is the omission of two obsolete lemmas and a prestigious one in the SMALL DUDEN (KLEINER DUDEN).

The SMALL DUDEN (KLEINER DUDEN) lists female violence with a fatal outcome as *Kindsmörderin* (*child murderess*), while for male violence only the sexual, to be precise the homosexual criminal, that is the *Kinderschänder* or *Knabenschänder* (*child molester or abuser of boys*)¹⁹, is lexicalised in the LARGE DUDEN (GROSSER DUDEN). Here, however, the compound *Kinderschänder* (*child molester*), generically a hypernym for *Mädchen* (*girl*) and *Bub/Junge* (*boy*) due to its reference to *Kind* (*child*), turned out to be a synonym exclusively for *Knabenschänder* (*'male' abuser of boys*), which might come as a surprise, since in a traditionally patriarchal, heterosexual world, girls and women are the objects of desire, as the majority of men are heterosexual rather than homosexual. Sexual violence is generally exercised by heterosexual males, which nevertheless remains unmentioned since the **Mädchenschänder** (**'male' abuser of girls**), is to this day missing in the LARGE DUDEN (GROSSER DUDEN), similar to the **Mädchenvergewaltiger** (**'male' rapist of girls**), – and yet the rapist is quite generally lexicalised with the female ending²⁰.

On the other hand, the *child murderess* und *'female' child molester/ Kindermörderin* and *Kinderschänderin* stand in opposition to their male equivalents, but the forms *Kindsmörderin* and *Kindesmörderin* (*also child murderess, committing infanticide*) have no opposing male forms, although infanticide could just as well be committed by the father or another man during or after the birth of a child, especially since men nowadays have access to childbeds just the same as women do.

The feminisation of *Kinderschänderin* (*'female' child abuser/ molester*) was no issue, although female sexual violence to boys is extremely rare, while the masculinisation of *Kind(e)smörder* (*child murderer*) indeed was an issue, although the murder of newly born children can be committed by both sexes. In regard to symmetry of person references the author of this text diverges from the feminist line of argumentation and demands the representations of all person references, no matter how frequent and probable they are and no matter what the feminist-moral implications might be. This concerns lemmas that are significant to this day, even though they might have a historic significance, such as *Kindsmörderin* (*woman committing infanticide*) because it was always the woman, in a patriarchal androcentric society, who was accused of killing her own child. Lexicographically this coincidence can be solved by means of polysemy. The distinction between *Kindsmord* or *Kindesmord* and *Kindermord* (*i.e. infanticide vs. child murder*) should be maintained, but extended to comprise the person reference *Kind(e)smörder* (*i.e. man committing infanticide*).

Similarly the sexualisation of the woman in the lemma *Kindfrau* (*nymphet, lolita*) should be balanced by the opposing form *Kindmann* (meaning as much as *toyboy*), in order to lexicalise female desire as part of a female sexual identity in the description of the man as a sexual object in the reference term *Kindmann*. The female

¹⁹ The gender-linguistic gap of the lemma **Männergewalt**, (*male violence*) against female and male children, shows up the effects of masculine authority of definition, since neither **Männergewalt** (male violence against children), nor the obsolete **Mädchenschänder** (**'male' abuser of girls**), nor the **Mädchenvergewaltiger** (**'male' rapist of girls**), nor the **Kindsmörder** (**man committing infanticide**) are documented, but only the *Knabenschänder* (*male abuser of boys*) or the *Kinderschänder* (*male child abuser/ male child molester*); cf., Pöber (2007): Gendersymmetrie. p. 276

²⁰ **Mädchenschänder** and **Mädchenvergewaltiger** are not documented (D/2012dig).

reference terms *Kinderfräulein*, *Kindermädchen* or their more modern version, *Kinderfrau*, as jobs with no skilled training, have no masculine equivalents. The *Kindergärtnerin* ('female' kindergarten teacher), as the only trained profession in general childcare, is documented without its masculine counterpart *Kindergärtner* (male kindergarten teacher). The back-formation of *Kindergärtner* from the feminine form *Kindergärtnerin* did not take place in Germany or was not generated. So the masculine form did not establish itself, and instead the new term *Erzieher* (male educator) was introduced. This is different in Austria, but here also the terms in question were only inadequately lexicalised, since both lemmas are listed in the OFFICIAL AUSTRIAN DICTIONARY (ÖSTERREICHISCHES WÖRTERBUCH) for preschool childcare as *Kindergärtnerin* and *Erzieherin* (ÖWB,2001:188) incorporating both, the feminine as well as masculine form. On the other hand, however, there is no mentioning of the *Kindergärtner* in the LARGE DUDEN (GROSSER DUDEN).

The *Kinderschreck* (bugbear) remains masculine, the *Kinderarzt* (male paediatrician) and *Kinderschänder* (male child molester), who are also feminised in both editions, round off the traditional image of the man. For he is the one who children fear, who abuses them sexually or who can heal them. The woman as *Kindermädchen* (nanny), *Kinderfräulein* (governess) and *Kindergärtnerin* ('female' kindergarten teacher) professionally skilled or unskilled, cares for the children, and she is also the one who kills them as the *Kind(e)smörderin* (woman committing infanticide). In the GROSSER DUDEN (LARGE DUDEN), this traditional image is not documented as explicitly, but it still exists implicitly. It is striking here that with the determinative compounds using *Kind-* (child-) the asymmetries among professional reference terms are limited to *Kinderfrau*, *Kinderfräulein* and *Kindermädchen* (nanny, governess and nursemaid) on the one hand, and to *Kinderkrankenschwester* or *Kinderschwester* (children's nurse) and *Kinderpflegerin* ('female' childcare worker) on the other. The *Kinderpflegerin* ('female' childcare worker) has no male counterpart termed **Kinderpfleger**, and the *Kindergärtnerin* ('female' kindergarten teacher) is lacking her male equivalent **Kindergärtner**. Nowadays the official term is **Kindergartenpädagoge** ('male' kindergarten pedagogue), **Kindergartenpädagogin** ('female' kindergarten pedagogue), known colloquially as the *Kindergärtner_in*.

The fact that the job title **Kinderpfleger** ('male' childcare worker) is not lexicalised, although *Krankenpfleger* (male nurse) is even listed as a main lemma, can only be considered outdated and inappropriate for the outgoing 20th century. In this case female incompetence in professional life is perpetuated due to the female job references with the pejorative base words *Fräulein* (miss)²¹, *Mädchen* (girl/maid) and *Schwester* (sister) because female adults are described with diminutives like *Fräulein* and *Mädchen*²², which supports the idea of female unprofessionalism. That is by feeding back job references to the female sex and thus to female base lexemes and to family reference terms, which do not belong to professional life, female professionalism is indirectly questioned. Limiting the scope of words with female job references leads to the omission of the most prestigious, i.e. **Kinderärztin** ('female' paediatrician), while obsolete forms, such as *Kindbetterin* (mother in childbed), *Kinderfräulein* (governess) and *Kindermädchen* (nanny/nursemaid) are kept.

4 Masculinist Principles in Lexis

As these two approaches Inconsistent Principles of Economy (2) and Large and Small (3) showed, purely economic principles, even if structurally justified on a synchronic level, are counter-productive for the selection of lemmas. A gender-symmetrical feminisation and masculinisation of formerly gender-specific reference terms to professions, at the end of the 1990s and onset of the 21st century can by no means be described as implemented – neither from a quantitative nor from a qualitative perspective. More than seven years have passed since my publication *Gendersymmetrie* (Gender Symmetry). My gender-critical analysis was mainly based on the last printed editions of the LARGE DUDEN (GROSSER DUDEN), consisting of eight (1993-95) or ten (1999) volumes, respectively. In the meantime the digital successor of the LARGE DUDEN has been published

²¹ The lemma *Kinderfräulein* (nanny) is only documented with the sublemma *Kinderfrau* as obsolete in the last edition of the LARGE DUDEN (D10,1999:2111); *Kindermädchen* in both editions untagged (D8,1993-95:1852 + D10,1999:2112).

²² The diminutive suffixes in German are *-lein* like in *Fräu-lein* as a base lexeme for a female adult, quite obsolete, and *-chen* like in *Mäd-chen* (base lexeme) there are no equivalents for the male adult like **Herr-lein* and the base lexeme *Bub/Junge* (boy) only for a male child and not for a male adult, while *Büb-chen/Jung-chen* are only used for a very little boy and never for an adult. The term *Mäd-chen* (girl-y) needs an adjective like little for a very young girl - *kleines Mäd-chen* (little girl-y), which in effect is a double diminutive form.

(2012), which basically still continues to support the same heterosexual, androcentric gender script, as was demonstrated with the lemma *Kinderschänder (child molester)* and its synonyms.

The androcentric, heterosexual gender script²³, which defines the lexis, the structure of word fields and the meta-linguistic principles of the gender hierarchy, continues to exist because a quantitative rather than a qualitative feminisation and masculinisation, respectively, has been carried through merely on the level of the lexis. The asymmetric visibility of women as female human creatures and men as male human beings still dominates current standard dictionaries. This is the reason for a complementary symmetrical visualisation of the sexes as female human beings and male human creatures, in order to symmetrically verbalise a complete female and male human being. The morpho-semantic domination of the masculine as the superior sex in a metaphorical sense manifests itself firstly in the lexicology, the lexis, the opposing word field *Frau : Mann (woman : man)*, the morpho-semantic structures of language as well as in the meta-linguistic concept of the gender hierarchy.

This supremacy of the masculine gender, however, is sustained from a morpho-semantic point of view in the field of word-formation. Especially when examining the formation of compounds within the *Wortfeld Frau : Mann (The word field of woman : man)*²⁴, 3 morpho-semantic principles become distinguishable which can be explained by taking into account the function of the generic masculine gender. The 3 principles correspond with the asymmetry of the genderscript, which allows androcentric and feminist principles to compete with each other.

PRINCIPLE NO. 1 Man – The Embodiment of General Human Qualities

When interpreting these principles the supremacy of the masculine gender as a morphological and semantic constituent in the word formation process becomes apparent.

PRINCIPLE NO. 2 Woman – The Subordinated/Second Gender

can be related to the morphological-masculinist level. Thus the lemma *Männerwahlrecht (= manhood suffrage)*, for instance, represents a gender-linguistic gap since the *Wahlrecht (universal suffrage)* is defined as *male-human* in opposition to the *Frauenwahlrecht ('female' suffrage)*, and in accordance with female subordination is treated as a deviation from the generally acknowledged *universal suffrage*.

PRINCIPLE NO. 3

Gender Imagery on the other hand, can be attributed to the semantic-masculinist level, which to this day reduces the codification of women to certain semantic categories such as privateness and associates them with selected biological roles, powerlessness and sexualised asexuality. This is particularly apparent with the asymmetries of definitions of entries such as **Hauptfrau : Hauptmann** (----- : *main captain or chieftain*) and **Hauptfrau : Hauptmann (first wife :-----)** and moreover when these established asymmetric compounds serve as reference to high positions such as *Landeshauptfrau ('female' governor)* and *Landeshauptmann ('male' governor)*.

²³ The androcentric genderscript is developed by the author, following the principles of script theory. The script theory comes from artificial intelligence, a research field, which aims at getting machines to do things, which would demand intelligence from human beings. « Many of these tasks which are to be solved by machines include the use of natural language. What we might take for granted are no trivialities to a computer, but essential basic knowledge, without which stories in natural language, which rely on this knowledge, cannot be processed. Resorting to this prior knowledge is something human beings always do when understanding language. The script theory aims at showing up how we store this knowledge in our memory and at transferring it into a form so that it can be programmed into a computer (BUCK, 1995:44)

²⁴ ad Das Wortfeld Frau : Mann (The Word Field woman : man), (Poerber,2007:219)

5 Conclusio

Verbalised gender symmetry therefore is neither simply a lexicological or lexicographical or morpho-semantic problem, but much rather one that manifests itself in the paradigms of the pre-feminist gender hierarchy. These meta-linguistic asymmetries, which define time, space and sex gender-specifically in accordance with the androcentric gender script, structure what a female or male human being is to be. Gender symmetrical measures in the form of purely quantitative feminisations and masculinisation, which neglect the important qualitative symmetry between the sexes, create a pseudo-gender-symmetry, which supports androcentrism and sexism.

Summarising it can be said that only a consistent feminisation or masculinisation of all current person references can appropriately represent both sexes as complete female and male human beings in our language and guarantee a true and descriptive gender-symmetrical illustration of the sexes. These include primarily neologisms, such as the lemmas *Coming-Woman* or *die Profi* ('female' *pro*), but also historisms with partly figurative meanings, such as *alte Jungfer* (*old spinster*) or *Gouvernante* (*governess*), as well as feminist archaisms, such as *Gästin* ('female' *guest*). Therefore all lexicalised synonyms of the female and male base lexemes must undergo a gender symmetrical analysis, in order to guarantee a quantitative and qualitative gender symmetry in the lexis. The fragmentary feminisation or masculinisation of person references, as found in the dictionary, is counterproductive, for neither is the woman the great unnamed and unknown in the lexicon, nor is the man the great over-quoted.

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