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Treatment of 'woman' and 'man' in the Dutch _Word Thesaurus_

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3. Treatment of 'woman' and 'man' in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus*

Ingrid van Alphen and Alessandra Corda

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyze sense distinctions and synonyms of lemmas related to 'woman' and 'man' in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus*[1]. This analysis applies only to the Dutch language as it is currently used in The Netherlands, and not in Belgium, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. Particular attention will be paid to the following questions:

1. Do the data in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* reflect the social roles attributed to women/men in the Dutch society?

2. From a more lexicographic perspective: how is the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* constructed?

3. What changes could be suggested to improve the quality of the Dutch *Word Thesaurus*?

First of all a brief overview of gender treatment in Dutch will be presented [1](§ 2), integrated by a few remarks about the social and professional roles attributed to women and men in the Dutch society. Then the crucial pairs will be analyzed and discussed (§ 3). Finally, in the conclusions (§ 4) answers will be provided to the questions presented above.

2. Grammatical and lexical gender in Dutch

2.1 Grammatical gender[2]

In Dutch there are three grammatical gender classes, masculine, feminine and neuter. The determinative article for masculine and feminine substantives is *de*, the determinative article for neuter substantives is *het*[3]. Almost all nouns referring to 'man' and 'woman' in their social, family and occupational roles belong either to the masculine or the feminine gender class, and are therefore so-called *de*-nouns: *de moeder* 'the mother', *de vader* 'the father', *de zangeres* 'the singer', (f.), *de zanger* 'the singer', (m.). An important exception is *meisje* 'girl', 'little girl', which is a neuter substantive (*het meisje)*[4]. In pronominal references, however, the feminine

pronouns _zij_ 'she' and _haar_ 'her' are used to refer to _meisje_, and not the neutral pronouns _het_ 'it' and _zijn_ 'its'[5]. The same applies to _jongetje_ 'boy', 'little boy'.

With the neuter substantive _kind_ 'child' in both senses of 'young person, f./m.' and 'son/daughter' the pronominal reference depends on the context or communicative situation. If there is no doubt about the reference to a male or female person, masculine or feminine pronouns will be used; otherwise neutral pronominal forms will be used, as we see from the following examples:

(1) A: _Waar is **dat**$_{nt.}$ **kind**$_{nt.}$ **dat**$_{nt.}$ hier op straat speelde, ineens gebleven_?

  B: _Ik weet het niet, ik heb **het**$_{nt.}$ helemaal niet gezien_[6].

  A: Where has **that child that** was playing in the street suddenly disappeared to?'

  'B: I do not know, I did not see **it** at all'.

(2) A.: _Wat heeft Heleen gedaan vanmiddag?_

  B: _**Dat**$_{nt.}$ lieve **kind**$_{nt.}$ heeft met **haar**$_{f.}$ vriendin Victorine buiten gespeeld_.

  'A.: What has Heleen been doing this afternoon?'

  'B: **That** lovely **child** has been playing outside with **her** friend Victorine'.

Hoofd 'head' and _staatshoofd_ 'head of state' are also neuter. Since the present Dutch head of state is a female person, queen Beatrix, feminine anaphoric pronouns are used:

(3) _Bij rampen met een nationaal karakter, zoals in de Bijlmermeer en in_

     Enschede, toont **het**$_{nt.}$ **staatshoofd**$_{nt.}$ vaak belangstelling, om zo uiting te

     geven aan **haar**$_{nt.}$ betrokkenheid[7].

'In the case of national calamities, as in the Bijlmermeer and in Enschede, **the head of state** often shows interest, to express **her** involvement'.

With substantives that can refer both to male and female persons, the anaphoric reference is determined by the communicative situation:

(4) _**De getuige** mag binnenkomen: **zij** kan nu **haar** verklaring afleggen_.

  'The witness may come in: **she** can now give **her** statement[8]'.

But when one is speaking in general terms about a specific category of persons, the default reference is masculine:

(5) _De gemiddelde **docent**$_{m.}$ Frans kan dit van **zijn**$_{m.}$ leerlingen niet eisen_.

  'The average **teacher** of French cannot ask this of **his** pupils'.

  However, the use of both masculine and feminine pronouns is sometimes compulsory for social, not grammatical reasons. For instance, since the

Dutch anti-discrimination law[9] requires an employer to ask explicitly for both male and female candidates, in advertisements the forms *hij/zij* 'he/she', *zijn/haar* 'his/her' are attested[10]. The following example comes from a job advertisement for a software developer[11]:

6) *Tijdens $zijn_m$ opleiding heeft hij_m/zij_f aangetoond voorkeur te hebben voor het werken met PC's.*

'During **his** study **he/she** has shown to prefer working with PC's'.

The anaphoric pronouns are however often only in the masculine form. But even outside legal and official documents, the use of *hij/zij*, *zijn/haar* (or *zij/hij*, *haar/zijn*) is quite common in all kinds of texts directly concerning a particular category of persons (like pupils, children, users, professionals or even people born under a specific zodiacal sign). The plural form, in which there is no gender reference, can also be used to avoid the double reference. Compare:

7a) **$De\ student_m$ moet $zijn_m$/$haar_f$ collegekaart bij de computerbalie tonen.**

'**The student** must show **his/her** student card at the computer helpdesk'.

7b) **$Studenten_{pl.}$** moeten **$hun_{pl.}$** collegekaart bij de computerbalie tonen.

'**Students** must show **their** student cards at the computer helpdesk'.

Summing up, anaphoric reference in Dutch is similar to anaphoric reference in English (see Bettoni: this volume).

2.2 Lexical gender

In this section some peculiar characteristics of the expression of lexical gender in Dutch with respect to the examined field will be presented, as a support for the analysis of the crucial pairs in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus*.

Among the kinship terms, we have observed above that *kind* is used both in the sense of 'young person, f./m.' and in the sense of 'son' (*zoon*), 'daughter' (*dochter*), irrespective of age:

(8) *Olga is een alleenstaande vrouw van tachtig met één **kind** uit haar eerste huwelijk en drie **kinderen** uit haar tweede huwelijk.*

'Olga is an eighty year old single woman with one **child** from her first marriage and three **children** from her second marriage'.

In the Netherlands, where a very progressive form of registered partnership exists, the civil (hetero- or homosexual) marriage is legally equal to the partnership. Moreover, living together without being married or as registered partners is also a very common situation. The terms *vriend* '(male) friend' and *vriendin* '(female) friend' are used both for 'friend' in the generic sense, and to indicate a person

with whom one is involved in a sentimental relation, irrespective of age. A man can use *vriendin* to refer to his female partner, even if they are both older than ninety; teenagers can also use *vriend*/*vriendin* in the sense of 'boy-friend', 'girl-friend'. The terms v*riend/vriendin* do not imply necessarily that the partners are living together.

Man 'man' and *vrouw* 'woman' have both the meaning of 'male adult person' and 'female adult person' and the meaning of 'husband' and 'wife':

9) *Mag ik je even mijn **man** voorstellen?*

'May I introduce my **husband** to you?'.

The term of address *mevrouw* (shortened *mw.*) applies both to married and unmarried women and corresponds in usage with both 'madam' and 'miss'; the terms for a male person are *de heer* 'mister', shortened *dhr.*) and *meneer* 'mister', only vocative)[12]. Pauwels (2001) observed that in Australian English 'Ms.', now used together with 'miss' and 'Mrs.', was mostly used by emancipated and working women, feminists, and lesbians. In Dutch *mevrouw* (*mw.*) was proposed in the early eighties as overall term of address, and this was successfully generalized in a few years.

Interestingly, *man* 'man', singular, and *jongens* 'guys', plural, are commonly used in informal language to address both genders. A girl can say to another girl:

10) *Da's niet leuk, **man**!*

That's not nice, **man**!

Most feminine *occupational terms* are derived from the masculine ones[13]. While the principle of neutralization has the highest priority in English, in contrast with German, where female visibility is the basic characteristic of gender-fair usage (Hellinger 2001), in Dutch the neutralization and feminization strategies are still concurrent. Moreover, in the Netherlands there is no official language policy aimed at increasing the linguistic visibility of women through the feminization of terms indicating professions[14].
Productive suffixes for the formation of feminine occupational nouns are *-e* and -*ster* (for the *nomina agentis* in *-er*): *agent* 'policeman' - *agente*, *psycholoog* 'psychologist' - *psychologe*, *kapper* 'hairdresser' - *kapster.*
However, many professions, especially the prestigious ones, and titles have no feminine equivalent: *arts* 'physician', *dokter* 'doctor', also as academic title, *hoogleraar*, *professor* 'professor', *rechter* 'judge', *meester* (title for a person with an MA in Law), *notaris* 'notary', *psychiater* 'psychiatrist'.
The majority of political functions have no feminine counterpart either: *minister* 'minister', *president* 'president', *burgemeester* 'mayor', *staatssecretaris* 'state secretary'. In some cases a neutral, non specific form is used: *kamerlid* 'member of the parliament', *gemeenteraadslid* 'member of the local council', *bewindspersoon* 'member of government/cabinet'. The masculine and feminine forms *bewindsman*, *bewindsvrouw* exist and are also widely used. This is also the case for male or female leaders of a parliamentary party: *fractieleider*

or *fractieleidster*. Notice that *wethouder* 'alderman' has a feminine equivalent which is scarcely used: *wethoudster.* Outside political functions, a neutral form is *leerkracht* 'member of the teaching staff'.

There are a few nomina agentis in *-aar* that indicate professions, like *ambtenaar* 'civil servant', *kunstenaar* 'artist' and *leraar* 'teacher'. The feminine form *lerares* is the most widely used, also in compound words: according to a quick *Google* search (but a more accurate study is needed) many female artists seem to prefer to be called *kunstenaar* instead of *kunstenares. Google* again shows that *ambtenares* is a marked, connotated term, only used ironically outside official documents. The only compound word with *leraar* for which a feminine form *lerares* is not attested is *hoogleraar* 'professor' and it is not likely that things will change if the percentage of female professors at Dutch academic institutions does not increase significantly. Nowadays a lot of women work as a family doctor (*huisarts*), but this has not yet led yet to the creation of a feminine form for *huisarts*.

As in German, *-man* '-man' and *-vrouw* '-woman' are also used in compounds indicating professions[15] and are very productive: e.g. *brandweerman* 'fireman' - *brandweervrouw*, *vuilnisman* 'garbage collector' - *vuilnisvrouw* , *raadsman* 'adviser' - *raadsvrouw*, *sportman* 'sportsman' - *sportvrouw.* Even for *vroedvrouw* 'midwife' the masculine variant *vroedman* is attested. *Huisman* 'houseman' is a widely used counterpart of *huisvrouw* 'housewife'. *-man* and *-vrouw* are quite productive and can be used in new compounds: for instance, if in the division of domestic tasks the man usually does the shopping, he can say about himself *thuis ben ik de boodschappenman* 'at home I am the shopping man'. In the case of *chirurg* 'surgeon', *piloot* 'pilot' and *dirigent* 'conductor', the feminine forms *chirurge, pilote* and *dirigente* can be derived, but *vrouwelijke chirurg* 'female surgeon', *vrouwelijke piloot* 'female pilot' and *vrouwelijke dirigent* 'female conductor' are also possible. A quick Google check shows that *chirurge, pilote* and *dirigente* are more frequent than *vrouwelijke chirurg, vrouwelijke piloot* and *vrouwelijke dirigent*.

For *rector* 'headmaster of a secondary school', 'university rector' there are two feminine equivalents, *rectrix* and *rectrice*. A female headmaster can choose among three different forms of address: *mevrouw de rector*, *mevrouw de rectrix* and *mevrouw de rectrice*. Up to now, as far as we are able to state, no female university rector has chosen the feminine equivalents; this only happens at secondary school level.

Some professions of French origin in *-eur*, with a feminine form in *-euse*, are only used in the masculine form: *adviseur* 'consultant', *programmeur* 'computer programmer', *rechercheur* 'detective'. *Regisseur* 'art director' is, however, also used in the feminine form, like other professions of French origin in *-teur* with a feminine form in *-trice: directeur* 'manager' - *directrice, inspecteur* 'inspector' - *inspectrice*, *redacteur* 'editor' - *redactrice*. Interestingly, it seems that in professions connected with intellectual creativity (*regisseuse*, *redactrice*) the feminine form is more widely used than in professions related to a hierachical organization (*directrice*, *inspectrice*). Most people will therefore associate *inspectrice* with a low-ranking female school inspector, not with the leading

figure of a police station. Similarly, a Google search shows that _directrice_ seems to be used more often to indicate a school headmaster, or the head of a care centre or of a cultural or non-profit institution, than to indicate a female manager of a firm[16]. As a matter of fact, in traditional male functions, even if a feminine form exists, a lot of women prefer to use the masculine one, because it is said to be more prestigious. This situation illustrates clearly the ideologically-based 'feminization' vs. 'neutralization' problem of choosing between terms which make women visible (e.g. 'pilote'), but which may carry derogatory connotations, and terms which do not distinguish women from men, but which may therefore render women invisible (e.g. 'pilot')[17].

Professions of English origin are used in the English form and have therefore no feminine equivalent: _accountant_, _consultant_, _manager._ In job advertisements for civil servant posts the indication _m/v_ or _v/m_ 'm./f.', 'f./m.' is compulsory.

Interestingly, in the case of two traditional female jobs, _secretaresse_ 'secretary' and _leidster_ 'day care teacher', the corresponding feminine occupational terms are also used if the employee is a man, both in official advertisements and job contracts and in the normal language[18].

Finally, as in other languages, also in Dutch 'double gender' examples can be found: _vrouwelijke actrice_ 'female actress' (234 occurrences in Google), _vrouwelijke schrijfster_ 'female writer' (29 results), _mannelijke acteur_ 'male actor' (283 results), _mannelijke schrijver_ 'male writer' (34 results)[19]. It seems that in some cases we can speak of a contrastive usage (in the context there is a clear opposition man-woman), but this phenomenon needs further study.

2.3 Emancipation in the Dutch society

Although Holland is generally considered a progressive country, both in the field of sexual emancipation and cultural tolerance, the social roles for women and men were quite traditional up to a few years ago. The reasons need to be sought in a complex of historical, economical and political factors, which can better be analyzed and discussed in other publications. We will only mention the most recent developments. Up to 1980 the governmental policy, mostly inspired by religious and christian democratic parties, did not encourage women to keep their jobs after they had got married[20]. For decades, working mothers had to face social criticism and practical problems: differently from Scandinavian countries, day care centers, pre-school and after-school care centres were almost not existent up to 1980. As a consequence, girls were not encouraged to continue their studies or to achieve a higher educational level. The situation changed very gradually in the last two decades of the 20th century, when it became clear that the growing costs of the welfare state could not be financed without significant female participation in the labour market. Consequently, the government began to encourage part-time jobs, flexible contracts and reintegration possibilities for women. The dominant family model evolved from man with full time job and woman

as housewife to the present one, in which both parents work. In the lower classes, however, the dominant model is still the older one.

Some figures[21] can illustrate this development: in 1994 both parents worked in 33% of the families with children, in 2004 in 57% of the families. Compared to other European countries, female work participation in the Netherlands in 2004 was quite high: 65,8%, behind Sweden and Denmark (71,6%), but at the same level as Finland and the UK[22]. But most women have small part time jobs and are not economically independent[23]. Indeed, in 2005 the Netherlands was the European country with the highest number of persons working in part-time jobs: 46,2% (European mean: 18,5%). 75,3% of the women and 22,6% of the men had a part-time job. It is also interesting to note that, compared to other European countries, in the Netherlands the number of female ministers, state secretaries and parliament members is relatively high[24], but the figure for top managers in public functions is not high[25] and the figure for university professors is very low[26].

The places available in pre- and after-school care facilities are now twenty times higher than in 1990. But there is still a negative attitude towards childcare services, especially among people with a low or medium education level, who prefer informal care via family or friends. Half of both women and men still reject formal childcare services for babies. The majority of men and women believe that the mother-child relationship does not suffer if the mother goes out to work: 10% of the women who gave birth to a child in 2003 gave up their jobs, compared to 25% in 1997. However, mothers choose to work less after the birth of their first child, while fathers seldom do so.

A problem for further emancipation is represented by the employers: many of them consider part-time working as a negative factor for the organization, and think that part-time cannot be combined with management functions.

Since 1997 have women made up half the students at university level. Female students in higher professional and university education graduate faster and more frequently than their male peers.

3. Analysis of the crucial pairs

As a general preface to this discussion, we should remark that sense distinctions in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* are not based on clear linguistic criteria (this is also often the case in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, see Corda 1998). A closer examination of sense distinctions will in many cases show that a lemma is used in a particular sense only in a limited number of contexts or in fixed expressions, and that some senses are more autonomous and productive than others. The Dutch *Word Thesaurus* does not differ in this respect from other lexicographic resources, both on paper and digital.

A second point to be made is that in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* sense distinctions are only clarified through synonyms, not through definitions;

but since it is impossible to find a synonym for every sense, this choice is often not informative or is even misleading.

Finally, no usage or register information is given for the synonyms (and this is also a weak point in many monolingual dictionaries and in the *Thesaurus* for other languages). The user is supposed to know that some words are pejoratives or that they are only used in literary or written contexts. Moreover, in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* synonyms are always listed in alphabetical order: this means that the best synonym can also be the last one in the list.

It is important that these three elements are taken into account in the analysis of the crucial pairs. The Dutch *Word Thesaurus* is an attempt to create a web of synonyms for the Word user, and this attempt is still far from perfect. The 'traditional' representation of female family and social roles is also partially a consequence of the lexicographic choices at the basis of the Thesaurus. To illustrate this point, the structure of the lemmas *vrouw* 'woman' and *man* 'man' will first be examined in detail, and then the proposed sense distinctions and synonyms will be discussed.

3.1 *Vrouw* and *man*

In the following example 11) sense distinctions and synonyms of *vrouw* and *man* in the Word Thesaurus are listed[27]:

11a) *vrouw* 'woman': **1) eega** (*eega* 'spouse', *echtgenoot* 'husband', *echtgenote* 'wife', *man* 'man'/'husband', *wederhelft* 'other half'), **2) maagd** (*maagd* 'virgin', *jonkvrouw* 'lady', *madonna* 'madonna', *meisje* 'girl'), **3) meid** (*meid* 'girl', *jongedame* 'young lady', *meisje* 'girl'), **4) mevrouw** (*mevrouw* 'madam', *dame* 'lady'), **5) Moeder** 'mother', **6) Prinses** (*Prinses* 'princess', *dame* 'lady'), **7) zij** (*zij* 'she', *meisje* 'girl').

11b) *man* 'man': **1) mens** 'person, human being', **2) echtgenoot** 'husband', **3) kerel** (*kerel* 'fellow, guy', *vent* 'fellow, guy'), **4) koppen** 'heads, hands (members of the crew on a ship)', **5) Persoon** 'person', **6) boer** 'man'.

Examining the senses of *vrouw* the following remarks can be made:

- the general sense 'female adult' is missing, perhaps because no adequate synonym for the definition could be found;
- *echtgenoot* 'husband' and *man* 'husband' are not correct synonyms of sense 1) 'wife': they are synonyms of *eega* 'spouse' and are also listed under this lemma;
- *vrouw* can never be used in sense 2) *maagd* 'virgin': this sense is also not listed in dictionaries. Why then is this sense listed here? We could hypothesize that this is the result of the automatic procedure used to establish relations between lemmas and synonyms in the *Thesaurus*. The same synonyms are also present in the lemma *maagd*, under the first sense *jonkvrouw*, 'maid, unmarried young lady', in the lemma *jonkvrouw* under the second sense *maagd* and in the lemma *madonna*. This could indicate that synonymical relations in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* are considered to be perfectly symmetrical and automatically applied: however, this hypothesis does not explain why these synonyms

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are not found in the lemma *meisje* 'girl'. It is also possible that the *Thesaurus* is a result of a semi-automatic procedure (*meisje* could have added later by hand to the list of synonyms) or that the algorithms used in the automatic procedure take into account other elements;

- sense 3) is unclear and also not listed in dictionaries. *Meid* is still used in the meaning of 'girl', but only in specific contexts, often in spoken language. The lemma *meid* has under the sense *jongedame* 'young lady' *meisje* and *vrouw* as synonyms, and *meisje* and *vrouw* are also given as synonyms of the lemma *jongedame* under the sense *meid*. In the lemma *meisje* under sense 3) *dienstmeisje* 'maid (servant)' *meid* is given as a synonym. Again, the hypothesis is that this sense has been automatically added because *vrouw* was a synonym both for *meid* and for *jongedame*;
- sense 4) probably refers to the use of *vrouwe* as address form, that nowadays only survives in fixed expressions like *Vrouwe Justitia*, 'Lady Justice'. It would probably be more helpful for the users to create a separate lemma *Vrouwe*;
- sense 5) and sense 6) do not exist: *vrouw* can never be used in the sense of *mother* or *princess*. But again, since *vrouw* is given as a sense (not a synonym) for *moeder* and as a synonym for *prinses* en *dame*, these pseudo-senses were automatically created;
- sense 7) is probably also an automatically added pseudo-sense, since the lemma *zij* has *vrouw* as a synonym under the sense *meisje* ;
- the sense 'queen' (playing cards) is missing.

Looking at the senses of *man* we notice the following: the difference between sense 1) and sense 5) is unclear: both *mens* and *persoon* mean 'person'. Moreover, *mens* is the general term for 'individual of the human sort (f./m.)'[28], and in Dutch *man* was and is never productively used in this sense. However, *man* can have a generic sense in fixed expressions and collocations like *iets aan de man brengen* 'to sell something' or *op de man af*, 'straightforward, straight from the shoulder'. Also, in the singular form and always preceded by a quantifier *man* means, depending on the context, 'men' (12) or 'people, persons'(13). For example:

12) *Het laatste half uur heeft Ajax met slechts tien **man** gespeeld*.
'Ajax played the last half an hour with only ten **men**'.

13) *Het is een grote manifestatie, waar meer dan duizend **man** op afkomt*.
'It is a big happening, which attracts more than thousand **people**'.

On the other hand, it is not always possible to substitute quantifier + *mensen* 'persons, people' by quantifier + *man*. The semantic constraints under which this substitution is possible need further investigation.

Interestingly, also _vrouw_ can also be used in this way, but it is less frequent and never has the sense 'people'.

> 14) _Een groep van twintig **vrouw**._
> 'A group of twenty **women**'.

In our opinion, there is therefore no reason to include a sense 'person';
- in sense 2 no synonyms are given, which is strange, because the synonyms _eega_ and _wederhelft_ listed under the sense 'wife' in the lemma _vrouw_ can also be used as synonyms for this sense 'husband'. In the lemma _echtgenoot_ 'husband' the same synonyms are given as the ones in _vrouw_ under the sense 'wife';
- sense 3) is also unclear: _kerel_ also means 'strong man', this induces us to suppose that this sense refers to the use of _man_ in fixed expressions like 'behave like a man'. Again, this is not a productive sense of man;
- sense 4) is indicated with _koppen_, the plural form of _kop_ 'head'; _koppen_ can also be used in the sense of 'crew members' on a ship;
- sense 5), 'person', see above;
- sense 6) refers to use in compound words which indicate a profession, like _sportman_ 'sportsman', _klusjesman_ 'handyman', and is therefore not a 'sense' of the lemma _man_. _Boer_ actually means 'farmer, peasant', and it is unlikely that all Thesaurus users will see that in this case _boer_ has been chosen as a 'definition' because it is also used in compound words like _melkboer_ 'milkman', _groentenboer_ 'greengrocer' and recently _pizzaboer_ 'pizza deliverer';
- the general sense of 'male adult' is missing.

In example (15) a suggestion for a new structure of the two lemmas is proposed.

(15a) _vrouw_ 'woman': **1) vrouwelijk volwassen persoon** 'female adult'; **2) echtgenote** (_echtgenote_ 'wife', _eega_ 'spouse', _wederhelft_ 'other half'), **3) vrouw op spelkaart** 'queen (cards)'.

16b) _man_ 'man': **1) mannelijk volwassen persoon** 'male adult', **2) echtgenoot** (_echtgenoot_ 'husband', _eega_ 'spouse', _wederhelft_ 'other half').

Summarizing, the most relevant conclusions are:
- the basic senses of female adult and male adult were missing, other senses were either missing or badly explained.
- no attempt has been made at symmetry between the two lemmas. As shown in 3.2, this lack of consistency is also to be found in other pairs. Overall, evidences seem to support the hypothesis that the only symmetrical relations in the Dutch _Word Thesaurus_ are the results of _automatically_ created connections between lemmas through senses and synonyms.

- since extending synonymical relations in the way described above is quite arbitrary, non-existing senses ('pseudo-senses') have been listed in both lemmas.
- the 'pseudo-senses' 'person' and 'individual' added to _man_ suggest that this lemma is synonym with the neutral _mens_ 'human being', while this has never been the case in Dutch (apart from the contexts described above), in contrast to English and other languages suffering under 'the myth of neutral "man" (see Moulton (1978), Spender (1980), Hellinger & Bußmann (2001)). The 'pseudo-senses' added to _vrouw_ 'woman' do not suggest a generic use of this lemma, but on the contrary specifically focus on typical female stereotypes: the virgin, the mother, the young girl. This is an androcentric bias in the lexical representation of _vrouw_ vs. _man_.

3.2 Social and family roles

The analysis of the lemmas indicating social and family roles has been conducted on 13 pairs of lemmas[29] and 6 lemmas with non specific reference[30] (see Table 3 in the Appendix). The most relevant results for the purpose of this article are:

1. looking at the structure of the 13 pairs of lemmas, for lemmas with female reference 31 senses and 83 synonyms are listed, for lemmas with male reference 34 senses and 80 synonyms are listed. From a purely quantitative point of view there is thus no substantial difference in the amount of information.
2. synonyms of lemmas with a specific female or male reference are expected to have either the same specific female or male reference, or a generic reference. In the 13 lemmas referring to female roles, 4 (in a total of 5 senses) have as synonyms lemmas referring to male roles; in the 13 lemmas referring to male roles, 2 have (in a total of 2 senses) have as synonyms lemmas referring to female roles.
   Vrouw in the sense of 'wife' and _echtgenote_ 'wife' have as synonyms _echtgenoot_ and _man_ (both in the sense of 'husband'). _Vriendin_ in both senses of 'friend' and 'partner' has as a synonym _vriend_ 'friend', 'partner', and _minnares_ '(female) lover' has as synonyms _minnaar_ , _amant_ and _vrijer_ , all '(male) lover'.
   Echtgenoot 'husband' has as synonym _vrouw. Minnaar_ '(male) lover' has as synonyms _minnares_ and _maîtresse._
   In the two pairs _echtgenoot_ - _echtgenote_, _minnaar_ - _minnares_ the same synonyms occur, but the symmetry is not perfect: the male term has one more sense without synonyms. The symmetry in the synonyms is probably due to the automatic construction of the lemmas.
   There are thus twice as many cases in which lemmas referring to female roles have as synonyms lemmas referring to male roles, indicating a lack of symmetry in the construction of the lemmas.
3. the number of synonyms and senses with generic reference is almost

the same for both categories. In the 13 lemmas referring to female roles, 6 lemmas for a total of 7 senses have as a synonym a lemma with generic reference (12 neutral lemmas as synonyms); in the 13 lemmas referring to male roles, 5 for a total of 9 senses have as a synonym a neutral lemma (13 neutral lemmas as synonyms). The lemmas with female reference have 5 senses defined by a generic word, the lemmas with male reference 6. On the whole, there is a slight preference to use words with generic reference in senses and synonyms of lemmas with male reference.

4. Among synonyms of lemmas with generic reference (_kind_ 'child', _partner_), both lemmas belonging to a pair with reference to specific female and male roles are expected to be listed (next, of course, to lemmas with generic reference). Here we find omissions: neither _jongen_ 'boy' nor _meisje_ 'girl' are given as synonyms of _kind_ 'child'. On the other hand, both _vriend_ 'friend' and _vriendin_ '(female) friend' are listed among the synonyms of _partner_. There is in this case no bias in the treatment of the lemmas with female reference.

5. Obsolete words, words only used in specific contexts or in the written language and lemmas with a low frequency are well represented (both as lemmas and synonyms), while common lemmas are missing. _Ouders_ 'parents', _bruid_ 'bride', _bruidegom_ 'bridegrom', _weduwe_ 'widow', _weduwnaar_ 'widower' are not represented. The only obsolete term which is missing is _vrijster_ 'spinster'.

For instance, the unmarked _adolescent_ 'adolescent' is a technical psychological term and is given as a synonym of _jongen_ 'boy', while the common words for 'teenager', _tiener_ and _puber,_ are missing. The obsolete _juffrouw_ and _juffer_ 'miss' are given as synonyms of _dame_ 'lady'.

The adjective _ongehuwd_ 'unmarried' has as synonym _celibatair_ which means 'living without sexual contacts', with reference to religious life: _ongetrouwd_ 'unmarried', which is also listed, is the only possible synonym.

6. Lemmas with female reference like 'woman', 'girl', which do not exclusively express a family or affective relation, are first of all defined on the basis of these stereotypical relations, while this is not the case for the male counterparts. For example, in the case of _meisje_ 'girl' - _jongen_ 'boy' only for _meisje_ the sense 'girlfriend' (_verloofde_, _vriendin_) has been defined, but _jongen_ can also be used in the sense of 'boyfriend'. For _jongen_ the senses of _kind_ 'child' and _adolescent_ have been distinguished, and, though these senses also apply to _meisje,_ they have not been mentioned there. _Meisje_ is thus not defined on the basis of a semantic feature like age, but of relational aspects like 'daughter', 'girlfriend' and 'maid (servant)'. Interestingly, under _verloofde_ 'fiancé(e)' only _meisje_ is given as a synonym and not _jongen:_ the _Thesaurus_ has in this case again chosen a male and not a neutral perspective.

Vrouwelijk 'female, feminine' is only defined through the antonym _mannelijk_ 'male, masculine', while the lemma _mannelijk_ is quite fully developed, with synonyms connected with the stereotypes of strength and virility. Since _vrouwelijk_ has no synonyms but only an antonym,

the implication is that *vrouwelijk* is defined by the absence of the 'male' characteristics.

Notice that in the pair *vrouw* 'woman'- *man* 'man' *vrouw* has been defined as *eega* 'wife' and *moeder* 'mother', while *man* is only defined as *echtgenoot* 'husband', not as *vader* 'father'. Moreover, *eega* is the first of the senses of *vrouw.*

7. Derived and metaphorical senses are more often listed under words with male reference. Cf. *vader* 'father' (the senses *stamvader*, *grondlegger* 'founder') - *moeder* 'mother' –; *zoon* 'son' (the sense *leerling* 'pupil') - *dochter* 'daughter'; *minnaar* 'male lover' (the sense *aanbidder* 'admirer') - *minnares* 'female lover'; *mannelijk* 'male, masculine' (the senses *flink* and *stoer* 'strong') - *vrouwelijk* 'female, feminine'.

The most relevant general conclusions are:

1)   lemmas with female reference like 'woman', 'girl', which do not exclusively express a family or affective relation, are first of all defined on the basis of these relations – often from an androcentric perspective – and not on the basis of autonomous, intrinsic semantic features (like age or sex);

2)   lemmas with female reference have fewer derived, metaphorical senses;

3)   in the synonyms of the pairs there is no symmetry. Words with male reference are more often listed among synonyms of words with female reference than the other way round;

4)   there is a slight preference to use words with generic reference in senses and synonyms of lemmas with male reference;

5)   the automatic generation of relations between senses and synonyms can contribute to multiply and emphasize the biases in the representation of lemmas with female reference above listed under 1), 2), 3) and 4).

3.3 Activities, functions, economic and professional roles

The analysis has been conducted on about 150 lemmas indicating professions, activities or public functions[31]. As a general remark, professions and functions as a whole are not well represented in the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* and many common terms are missing.

For instance, the pairs *huisvrouw* 'housewife'- *huisman* 'houseman', *bewindsman - bewindsvrouw* 'minister, secretary of state', *inspecteur - inspectrice* 'inspector', *rector - rectrix* 'headmaster of a secondary school, university rector', *danser - danseres* 'dancer' are missing. This is also the case of words related to public or economic functions like *werkgever* 'employer', *wetgever* 'legislator', *minister* 'minister', *rechter* 'judge' and for specific professions like *schoenmaker* 'shoemaker', *brandweerman* 'fireman', *timmerman* 'carpenter', *kok* 'cook'.

Also many activities traditionally carried out by women, and for which a male equivalent does not exist, are not represented: among others *vroedvrouw*

'midwife', _ballerina_ 'ballerina', _schoonheidsspecialiste_ 'beautician', _kraamverzorgster_, _kraamhulp_ 'maternity nurse', _secretaresse_ 'secretary', _typiste_ 'typist'.

The feminine equivalent of a profession, activity or function is normally not listed in the Thesaurus, with a very few exceptions. This is not only the case for traditional male professions like _zakenman_ 'businessman', _pilot_ 'pilot', _politieman_ 'policeman'. Even for professions which are traditionally seen as female often only the lemma with male reference is given: _boer_ 'peasant, farmer' but not _boerin_, _kapper_ 'hairdresser' but not _kapster_. Even in artistic and sport activities, in which a female presence was earlier accepted as normal than in economically oriented activities, the word with female reference is not mentioned: _sportman_ 'sporter' but not _sportvrouw_, _kunstenaar_ 'artist' but not _kunstenares_, _zanger_ 'singer' but not _zangeres._

Terms with generic or male reference related to 'leading', 'directing' and 'managing' are quite well represented, also in their synonymical relations: _baas_ 'boss', _manager_ 'manager', _bestuurder_ 'governor, director', _directeur_ 'director', _leider_ 'leader', _chef_ 'boss, leader', _meerdere_, _superieur_ 'superior', _hoofd_ 'head', _aanvoerder_ 'leader'. Of the few terms in this field with female reference (like _inspectrice_, _directrice_, _rectrix_) only _bazin_ 'mistress' (of an animal) and 'lady of the house' is present.

In only one case is a female profession mentioned while the male equivalent is not listed: _naaister_ 'seamstress, needlewoman' (with as synonyms _coupeuse_ 'tailor's cutter' and _modinette_ 'seamstress', both obsolete), a traditional female activity (but one which nowadays has almost disappeared).

3.3.1 Analysis of relevant pairs

Only in a few semantic areas words with female reference are represented next to the male ones, so that relevant pairs can be found: the field of 'monarchy' and the activities related to 'acting', 'teaching', 'nursing', and 'serving (in restaurants and at home)'. With one isolated exception, in these cases, too, the representation of female words is biased in different ways.

- Monarchy: the field of 'monarchy' is represented by the pairs _koning_ - _koningin_ 'king' - 'queen', _keizer_ - _keizerin_ 'emperor' - 'empress' and _prins_ - _prinses_ 'prince' - 'princess'. Since in the Netherlands only queens have been head of state since 1898, and only princesses have been heiresses to the throne from 1880 up to 1967, it could be supposed that this situation of female dominance would somehow be reflected in the treatment of these lemmas in the _Thesaurus_. The presence of _prins-gemaal_ 'prince consort' among the senses of _prins_ is the only indication that supports this hypothesis; for the rest, there are several cases of bias in the representation of the female terms. The male terms have more senses and synonyms; moreover, the female terms _koningin_ and _keizerin_ have the male ones as synonyms but only _keizer_ (and not _koning_) has _koningin_ and _keizerin_ as synonyms. _Vorst_ 'monarch' is given as a synonym of the male terms, and also of _koningin_ and _keizerin_, but the female equivalent _vorstin_ is missing[32].

- Acting: among the terms for 'acting' two pairs are given: _acteur_ - _actrice_, 'actor' – 'actress' and _toneelspeler_ - _toneelspeelster_ , '(theatre) actor '-'(theatre) actress'. For three other terms, _speler_ 'player', _filmacteur_ '(film) actor' and _figurant_ 'extra, walk-on', only the term with male reference is mentioned. Lemmas with female reference are not listed as synonyms in terms with generic or male reference. On the contrary, lemmas with male reference are given as synonyms of lemmas with female reference. Moreover, if both lemmas belonging to a pair are represented, words with male reference have more synonyms.
- Serving: the terms in the pair _ober_ - _serveerster_, 'waiter' - 'waitress' have exactly the same synonyms. In this case the words with female reference (_serveerster_ and the obsolete _dienster_ and _kelnerin_) are treated in the same way as the words with male or generic reference.
  The synonyms (among which both words with generic and non-generic reference are found) are, as always in the _Thesaurus_, also listed as lemmas: all the lemmas have the same sense _bediende_ 'employee, servant' and the same synonyms. These relations must have been automatically generated, since the synonymy relation applies for every lemma with the superordinate _bediende_, but not with all other lemmas (for instance, _serveerster_ is not a synonym of _klerk_ 'clerk'').
  As noticed also for other languages, the terms related to 'servant (girl)', 'maid', which refer to live-in staff, a situation which was normal decades ago among rich people, are overrepresented: _dienstbode_, _dienstmeid_, _meid_, _meisje_, _kindermeisje_[33], _dienstmeisje_, _gedienstige_ (obsolete)[34]. This is also true for the male equivalents: _knecht_, _loopjongen_, _dienaar_, _butler_, _oppasser._
  Since, as we already noticed, many common professions and activities are missing, it is not clear why this semantic field deserves so much attention[35], given that it is no longer relevant.
- Nursing:the area of 'nursing' represents the only exception to the normal treatment of pairs with generic equivalent in the _Thesaurus_. As a rule, the generic word is always given as a synonym of the word with male reference, and this also applies the other way round. In this case, the only synonyms of the generic lemma _verpleegkundige_ 'nurse, male nurse' are _zuster_ and _verpleegster_, both with female reference. _Verpleegster_ 'nurse' has as synonyms _zuster_ 'nurse, sister' and _verpleegkundige_, while the male equivalent _verpleger_ has only one synonym, _broeder_ 'male nurse'.
- Teaching: in the teaching profession women are now overrepresented at primary school level[36], while this is not the case at secondary school level[37]. Moreover, in all educational sectors women are underrepresented at the higher hierarchical levels[38]. Thus, despite the emancipation policy started in 1993 by the Ministry of Education, female teachers are even nowadays first of all associated with primary education, and this is also reflected in the _Thesaurus_: in the pair _leraar_ - _lerares_ 'teacher', the only synonyms of _lerares_ are _onderwijzeres_ and _schooljuf_. Both terms refer to female teachers in primary schools. Among the synonyms of _leraar_, on the contrary, we find both terms that indicate teaching in primary education (_meester_, _onderwijzer_) and

also more general terms (*docent* and *onderwijskracht* , which apply at all educational levels). The female equivalent *docente*, however, is not mentioned in the *Thesaurus*. *Leerkracht* and *onderwijskracht*, both with generic reference, have only male or generic words among their synonyms. *Schoolmeester* (a male teacher in primary education) has as synonyms *docent* and *leraar*, but *schooljuffrouw* has as synonyms *juffrouw* and *juf* (these terms only indicate a female teacher in primary education), and *juf* has as synonyms *juffrouw* and *schooljuffrouw*. Only *schooljuf* has *lerares* as a synonym (probably automatically generated, since *schooljuf* is a synonym of *lerares*).

From the examination of the above data the following conclusions can be drawn:
- female equivalents of professions are usually not given in the *Thesaurus*, with a few exceptions, and these exceptions are all connected with activities in which female presence has been common for a very long time.
- as already seen in the case of lemmas connected with social and family roles, male terms have more senses and synonyms and they are more frequently given as synonyms, both of words with generic and with female reference.
- even in care and domestic activities, in which women have traditionally been employed and in fields, like education, characterized by strong feminization, the treatment of female words is biased in various ways, reinforcing asymmetric positions between women and men.
- the fact that professions and activities reflecting the social relations of a century ago are overrepresented contributes to emphasizing the traditional, subordinate female role in economy and society.
- in the educational sector, despite of the growing number of women in secondary and higher education, women's presence in the *Thesaurus* is limited to primary education.

5. Conclusions: man & machine made language

From both a qualitative and a quantitative[39] point of view, the Dutch *Word Thesaurus* would benefit from some improvements. Generally speaking, the use of synonyms to explain senses (which characterizes all versions of the *Word Thesaurus*) has many shortcomings, and these shortcomings are reinforced by the use of automatic procedures to generate synonym relations among lemmas. Short definitions, like those in bilingual dictionaries, would be much more helpful. More flexible and informative would be the implementation of a clickable word map, which would not only list synonyms and antonyms, but would also report collocations and examples as well as word frequencies, facilitating associations which are not only based on the synonym-antonym relation[40].

In the second place, not all the lemmas in the *Thesaurus* have synonyms, while, on the other hand, the *Thesaurus* is not a complete list of all words with synonyms. Why have lemmas without synonyms been listed? The answer is probably to be found in the *automatic generation* of senses, antonyms and synonyms, which means that if a word is used to define one of the senses of a lemma, or to indicate an antonym or a synonym of a lemma, then that word will automatically be added to the list of the lemmas.

Also problematic is the lack of information about usage and register, together with the lexicographic choice to put the synonyms in alphabetical order within every sense, with the result that even for competent language users it is sometimes difficult to find the right synonym. Finally, in the semantic fields examined in this article, a large number of obsolete or rare words are present, while current and frequent words are missing. This makes the *Thesaurus* much less useful for *Word* users than it might be.

The treatment of sense distinctions and synonyms in lemmas related to 'woman' and 'man' does not reflect the family, social and economic position of women in the current Dutch society. The representation of words with female reference is biased in different ways, confirming the results of analyses conducted for other languages. For lemmas with female reference usually fewer senses and synonyms are given; in particular, derived and metaphorical senses are less frequently listed. In the family and social field, female terms are first of all defined on the basis of their relation with other terms (or male persons), not on the basis of autonomous semantic features, like age or gender.

In synonymy relations there is a clear imbalance between terms with male and generic reference on the one hand and terms with female reference on the other. There are more internal synonym correspondences among lemmas with male and generic reference, while lemmas with female reference do not often occur as synonyms. Almost always (with an isolated exception), if for a profession terms with generic, male and female reference are available, the generic word is given as a synonym of the word with male reference, and this also applies the other way round, while this is not the case for the terms with female reference. Moreover, terms with male reference are more often given as synonyms of female terms than the opposite, and female terms are much less frequently given as synonyms of terms with generic reference. Finally, as we have seen, obsolete words or words connected with obsolete social and professional functions are listed, while common, current words are missing. This is true for words with both male and female reference, but has of course a much stronger negative impact on the words with female reference, because words connected with the traditional female roles are overrepresented.

Our investigation of the Dutch *Thesaurus* reveals that this twenty-first century application contains old fashioned and very stereotypical assumptions about social roles for women and men in Dutch society. The Dutch *Thesaurus* is an example of the dangers of a 'man-made machine', in which the automatic generation of senses and synonyms enhances the already

existing biases in the lexical representation of 'woman' and 'man'. We cannot but conclude that the Dutch *Thesaurus* is wholly permeated by the ideology of MAN (male as norm)[41], affected and infected by the idea that male/masculine is the higher, more prestigious category and that female/feminine is secondary and subordinate. This makes of the Dutch *Thesaurus* a modern version of the Trojan horse, inside our city walls. Unfortunately, the *Thesaurus* cannot (yet) be modified or manipulated by the user, while this feature would certainly improve its flexibility. Meanwhile, the spell-check is the only electronic instrument provided by *Word* that can learn from its mistakes and that we are allowed to educate.

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[1] The data are based on the *Word 2002 Thesaurus* by Polderland Language Speech and Technology © 1996-2000. We also quickly checked a previous version: our impression is that the most recent one has not been substantially improved, only minor changes having been made.
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[2] See for a more detailed discussion Gerritsen (2002b).

[3] The deictic pronouns are *hij* 'he', *ze/zij* 'she', *het* 'it', *ze/zij* 'they' (f./m./nt.), *deze* 'this one' (f./m. sg.; f./m./n. pl.), *dit* 'this one' (nt. sg.); *die* 'that one' (f./m. sg.; f./m./nt. pl.) and *dat* 'that one' (nt. sg.).

[4] Historically, *meisje* is a diminutive of *meid,* 'maid' in English; *meid* is still used in the meaning of 'girl', but only in specific contexts. All diminutive nouns are characterized by the suffix *-je* and are all neuter.

[5] In the plural form there is no formal difference between masculine, feminine and neuter pronouns: *ze, zij* 'they' and the anaphoric pronoun *hun* 'their' are used for all three gender classes.

[6] Geerts et al. (1984: 40).

[7] http://www.parlement.com/9291000/modulesf/fzvdu6pg, last checked on January 11th 2006.

[8] Geerts et al. (1984: 50).

[9] *Wet gelijke behandeling van mannen en vrouwen*, March 1st 1980, art. 3, http://www.cgb.nl/asp/wgb.asp

[10] *Zij/hij*, *haar/zijn* are also attested. In 1999 Gerritsen (2002b) analyzed 573 advertisements with a masculine or neutral heading and found that in only 14% of the cases was *hij/zij* used, and that in 58% of the cases it was not explicitly indicated that the advertisement was also meant for women.

[11] http://www.expansion.nl/html/werken/werken_functies.html , last checked on Oct. 4th 2004.

[12] *Juffrouw* 'miss' was formerly the term of address for unmarried women; it became gradually obsolete after World War II and disappeared around 1980-1985. In written correspondence, *mejuffrouw,* shortened *mej.* 'miss' was used; this is nowadays almost disappeared, apart from some exceptions (it is attested on envelopes sent by the ABN AMRO bank). See also Gerritsen (2002b).

[13] Occupational terms in Dutch have been analyzed among others by Van Alphen (1983), De Caluwé (1994), Van Langendonck & Beeken (1995), van Santen (1996), Gerritsen (2002a).

[14] The choice for either neutralization or feminization has been debated since the beginning of the Eighties: see the two contributions on Dutch in Hellinger (1985) – i.e. Van Alphen (1985) and Brouwer (1985); further Van Alphen (1996) and Gerritsen (2002a).

[15] _-heer_ 'sir', 'mister', 'master' is also used (like _-herr_ in German) in compounds indicating activities, but is not productive any more. The feminine counterpart is _-vrouw_: cf. _gastheer_ - _gastvrouw_ 'host' - 'hostess', _beschermheer_ - _beschermvrouw_ 'patron' - 'patroness'.

[16] Among other evidences, a Google search done on January 11th, 2006 shows 819 occurrences of _directeur van een bedrijf_ ('director of a firm/company') vs. 18 occurrences of _directrice van een bedrijf_.

[17] Hellinger (2001).

[18] However, along with _peuterleidster_ and _kleuterleidster, peuterleider_ and _kleuterleider_ are also used (_peuter_ indicates a child between ages 2 and 4, _kleuter_ between ages 4 and 6). On the contrary, _secretaris_ indicates a high hierarchical function and is never used as the masculine counterpart of _secretaresse_.

[19] Google search on April 1st, 2005.

[20] Up to 1957 female civil servants would lose their position if they got married.

[21] The source of these data is the Emancipatiemonitor 2004, a publication of the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) and the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

[22] The source of the European comparison data is Eurostat, http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/**.**

[23] In 2001 41%.

[24] Respectively 31% and 37%; compare UK (33%, 18%), Germany (27%, 32%), France (21%, 12%), Spain (21%, 28%) and Italy (10.5%, 12%).

[25] 26%: compare UK (30%), Germany (27%), Spain (32%), Italy (19%).

[26] 6%: compare UK (12%), Germany (6%), France (15%), Spain (15%), Italy (12%). See for slightly different comparative data http://europa.eu.int/comm/research/science-society/women/wssi/downindi_en.html.

[27] In this and in the following examples, the 'senses' (numbered) are in bold, whereas the 'synonyms' given for each meaning stand in brackets, in italics.

[28] Interestingly, _mens_ is a _de_-noun (see 2.1), but can also be used as _het_-noun (nt.), and in this case it always refers to women.

[29] 16 pairs were examined: 2 were not found, in one case only the lemma with male reference was present (_vrijgezel,_ 'bachelor'), but the counterpart _vrijster_ 'spinster' is obsolete. _Vrijgezel_ is still used.

[30] 9 lemmas were examined, 3 were not found.

[31] To save space, Table 4 in the Appendix lists only a few crucial pairs and relevant lemmas.

[32] Queen Beatrix's husband, Claus, had the title _prins-gemaal_, not _koning,_ 'king'. If Willem Alexander, Beatrix' son, becomes king, his wife, princess Máxima, will obtain the title _koningin_, queen. A female head of state like Beatrix is called _koningin_, but acts juridically as the _koning_, the head of state according to the constitution. This explains why Claus could not obtain the title _koning_ while Máxima will be called _koningin_.

[33] For _kindermeisje_ 'nanny' the common terms with generic reference _oppas_, _babysit_ 'baby sitter' are given as synonyms – but a _kindermeisje_ lives permanently with the family, while an _oppas_ or _babysit_ do not.

[34] _Werkster_ 'cleaning lady' has three senses: 'bee', 'cleaning lady' and 'servant (girl)', 'maid'. It is confusing that the least common sense, 'bee', is given as first.

[35] Also the presence of *stierenvechter*, *matador* and *toreador* can hardly be justified as typical Dutch professions.

[36] 68% in 2000, this figure will probably grow to 77% in 2011, according to Vermeulen et al. (2000).

[37] According to the Kerncijfers 1998-2002 (71), in 2002 women represented 35.7 % of the teachers at secondary level, the average age being 47.1 for men and 41.3 for women. More than 60% of the female teachers work part-time (Nota Werken in het Onderwijs 2003, § 1.3.).

[38] See *Thermometer vrouw and management*, http://www.minocw.nl/documenten/emancipatie-doc-2004-thermo_vrouw_en_man.pdf

[39] It is impossible to state how many lemmas have actually been listed; however, we made some comparisons with the alphabetical list of the Van Dale Dutch-Spanish bilingual dictionary (Slagter 1992, about 70,000 lemmas), and found that the *Thesaurus* contained from 50% up to 70% fewer words.

[40] See for instance the *Visual Thesaurus of English*, http://www.visualthesaurus.com/index.jsp, *Wortschatz* at the University of Leipzig, http://wortschatz.uni-leipzig.de/ (also for Dutch), the *Edinburgh Word Association Thesaurus*, http://www.eat.rl.ac.uk/ , *Wordnet*, http://www.cogsci.princeton.edu/~wn/ and *Lexical FreeNet*, http://www.lexfn.com/.

[41] Hellinger (2001:108).

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