The background of the slide is a photograph of a brick wall in the foreground, with a blurred street scene in the background. The street scene includes a purple utility pole, a white car, and a person walking. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

Euralex 2022  
Carolin Müller-Spitzer/Jan-Oliver Rüdiger  
Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache  
14 July 2022

# The influence of the corpus on the representation of gender stereotypes in the dictionary

## A case study of corpus-based dictionaries of German



## Motivation of the study

# Have you ever googled woman?

- 2019, the British PR manager Maria Beatrice Giovanardi wrote a blog post titled "Have you ever googled 'womar primarily complained about the description of women in various dictionaries, including lexicographic works by Oxford University Press
- *filly*, *biddy* or *bitch* are listed as synonyms for woman
- petition at change.org, signed by 30,000 people
- Oxford University Press responded by sending Katherine Connor Martin the following statement via The Guardian newspaper: The dictionary editors "are taking the points raised in the petition very seriously ... As ever, our dictionaries strive to reflect, rather than dictate, language so any changes will be made on that basis."



Maria Beatrice Giovanardi

Jun 27, 2019 · 5 min read · Listen



## Have You Ever Googled 'Woman'?

I did, and discovered Oxford University is spreading misogyny and sexism online.



# Phrases in Cambridge Dictionary Online

Example phrases taken from the entries on *man*, *woman*, *girl* and *boy* in the Cambridge Dictionary, reproducing stereotypical gender concepts:

- “He plays baseball, drinks a lot of beer and generally acts like one of the boys.”
- “Steve can solve anything - the man’s a genius.”
- “She’s a really nice woman.”
- “Who was that beautiful girl I saw you with last night?”
- “Both girls compete for their father’s attention.”

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/>

# Elexiko

- Within the collocation sets for “what is discussed in connection with man or woman?”, man collocates with: *car, erectile dysfunction, fire department, soccer, equality, and handball*. For woman, it is *age, occupation, breast cancer, emancipation, employment, birth, children, sex, and menopause*.
- The elexiko team expresses critical awareness of these stereotypical representations (Klosa/Storjohann 2011, p. 64).
- Newspaper-heavy corpus or language use in general?

<https://www.owid.de/docs/elex/start.jsp>

Klosa, A./Storjohann, P. (2011): ): Neue Überlegungen und Erfahrungen zu den lexikalischen Mitspielern. In: Klosa, A. (ed.): elexiko. Erfahrungsberichte aus der lexikografischen Praxis eines Internetwörterbuchs. (= IDS Mannheim - Studien zur Deutschen Sprache - Band 55). Tübingen, pp. 49–80. <https://ids-pub.bsz-bw.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/5154>.

# Duden Online

## Computer-generated collocation profiles

- Typical adjectives for man are *young, old, rich, strong, adult, powerful, armed* and *right*, whereas the typical ones for woman are *young, old, beautiful, tall, naked, pregnant, gracious* and *employed*.

In contrast, examples edited by lexicographers differ strongly:

- E.g., a *young, smart, strong, fascinating, educated, emancipated woman*; *the woman of today* (the modern woman); *a Russian woman was the first woman in space*
- Much has been done in the Duden editorial office to avoid gender stereotypes and to revise example phrases from older editions; problem here: computer-generated collocations

vgl. Kathrin Kunkel Razum, Die Frauen und der Duden – der Duden und die Frauen. In: Adam, Eva und die Sprache: Beiträge zur Geschlechterforschung. Mannheim: Dudenverlag 2004, 308-315.

# Gender stereotypes in dictionaries

- Dictionaries are often a reflection of their time, i.e. how they describe the meaning of certain lexical units must always be seen in their respective historical context.
- They are one of the sources to reflect gender roles (Nübling 2010, p. 594, cf. also Hu, Xu & Hao 2019)
- The question arises whether very stereotypical representations of gender in dictionaries are or can be intentional
  
- Nübling, D. (2010): Zur lexikografischen Inszenierung von Geschlecht. Ein Streifzug durch die Einträge von Frau und Mann in neueren Wörterbüchern. In: , 37 (3), pp. 593–633. <http://doi.org/10.1515/ZGL.2009.037>.
- Hu, H./Xu, H./Hao, J. (2019): An SFL approach to gender ideology in the sentence examples in the Contemporary Chinese Dictionary. In: *Lingua*, 220, pp. 17–30. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2018.12.004>.

## Descriptive tradition, but...

- The representation of gender in dictionaries thus seems to be caught between language use and lexicographic-moral responsibility.
- How much must or should the lexicographer intervene in the description of language use?
- **What is regarded as a basis for the 'reflection of language'?** In the tradition of modern corpus-based lexicography, it is the underlying corpus. But does everything from this corpus always have to be included in the dictionary? Or should it rather be a curated selection?
- Should language use find its way into the dictionary, even if it could perpetuate gender stereotypes that, at least in part, no longer fit with contemporary ideas of society? Is it acceptable to reproduce racist and sexist attitudes exactly as they are (still) used?



Case study: Influence of the corpus on  
collocations sets for *Mann* und *Frau*

# Newspaper-heavy corpora

"The written standard is to be regarded as the language usage of the national press. [...] It follows that the written standard can in principle be determined statistically by an evaluation of extensive newspaper corpora."

Peter Eisenberg: Sprachliches Wissen im Wörterbuch der Zweifelsfälle. Über die Rekonstruktion einer Gebrauchsnorm. In: *Aptum* 3(2007), 209-228, 217.

Similar: Petra Storjohann: Das elexiko-Korpus. Aufbau und Zusammensetzung. In: *Grundfragen der elektronischen Lexikografie. elexiko – das Online-Informationssystem zum deutschen Wortschatz*, hg. v. Ulrike Haß, Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2005, 62-63.

"Since a dictionary has to give an account of all the main meanings and uses of every headword it includes, it follows that a lexicographic corpus needs to include evidence for all these uses. This in turn argues for a corpus whose constituent texts cover the full repertoire of mainstream text-types."

Atkins, Sue Beryl T. & Michael Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford guide to practical lexicography*. Oxford u.a.: Oxford University Press, 1339

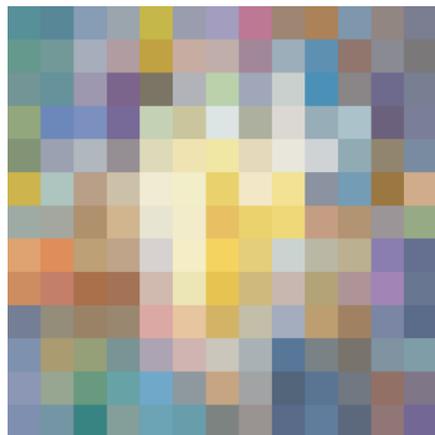
# Case study

- Would the collocation sets for *Mann* and *Frau* change significantly if the corpus was not predominantly composed of newspaper texts?
- Three corpora: fiction books, magazines, newspapers
- 'Fiction Books': various works of fiction (20th and 21st century)
- Newspapers (elexiko corpus): daily and weekly newspapers
- Magazines: various periodical magazines (art, BEEF!, brand eins, BRIGITTE, Capital, Chefkoch, Couch, Eltern, Essen und Trinken, Gala, GEO, Living at Home, Nido, NEON, Psychologie Heute and Schöner Wohnen)



# Case study

	fiction books	magazines	newspapers
Time Range	1893-2011	2005-2020	1947-2020
Texts	1.320	60.066	15.831.499
Sentences	1.221.373	2.511.280	263.625.222
Tokens	22.132.897	37.771.792	4.398.207.319



newspapers

magazines

fiction books



## Frau: Adjectives

### Fiction Books

- described regarding their external characteristics: *blond*, *pretty* or *attractive* (*blond*, *hübsch*, *attraktiv*), but also in terms of their marital status (*married* or *divorced* – *verheiratet*, *geschieden*), or even *pregnant* (*schwanger*).

### Newspapers

- women are also described as *pregnant* (*schwanger*) or *working* (*berufstätig*), but also as being *raped* (*vergewaltigt*).

### Magazines

- women are *self-confident*, *employed*, *attractive*, *pregnant*, *independent*, or *emancipated* (*selbstbewusst*, *berufstätig*, *attraktiv*, *schwanger*, *unabhängig*, *emanzipiert*)
- The magazines corpus is therefore the only dataset in which women are characterized by significant collocators that have nothing to do with their appearance, social role, or being victims of crime.

### Fiction books



### newspapers



### magazines







## Mann: Verbs

- Fiction books: *muster, marry, observe, sit opposite, turn to* (*mustern, heiraten, beobachten, gegenüber sitzen*)
- Newspaper texts, the context of violence is again predominant: *arrest, assault, threaten, shoot, and rape* (*festnehmen, überfallen, bedrohen, erschießen, vergewaltigen*)
- Magazines: words referring to love life, money or power status are frequent collocators: *marry, fall in love, question, earn, cheat, question, or dominate* (*heiraten, verlieben, befragen, verdienen, betrügen, befragen, dominieren*)

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VV	fiction books	magazines	newspapers
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Mann





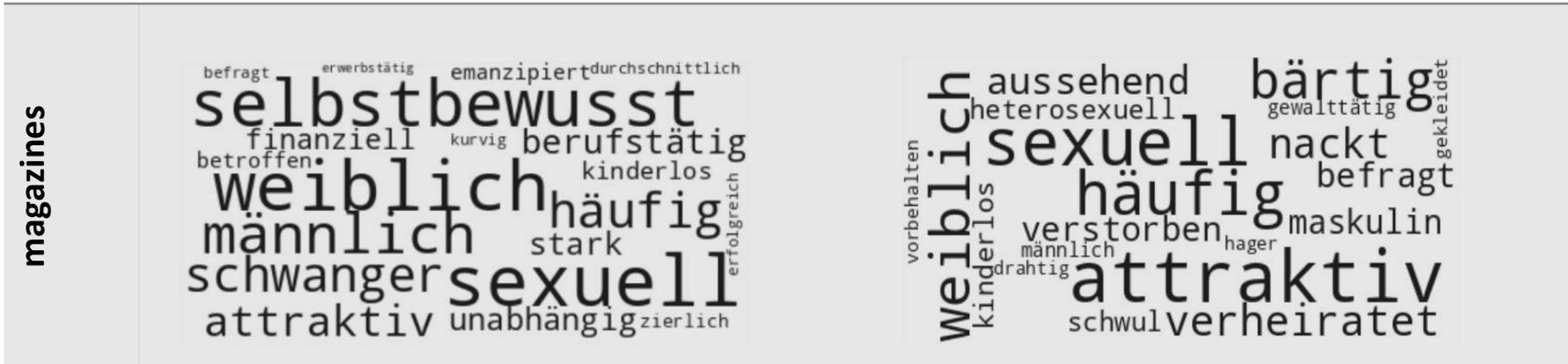
## Mann & Frau: Adjectives

- Both: *sexual, female, attractive*
- Mann: *married, naked, bearded*
- Frau: *self-confident, pregnant, independent*

ADJ

Frau

Mann





## Mann & Frau: Adjectives

- Both: *sexual*
- Mann: *armed, masked, alcoholized, previously convicted*
- Frau: *pregnant, raped, working*

ADJ

Frau

Mann

newspapers



Mann

Newspapers

man



Supported by



elexis european lexicographic infrastructure

(Joint work with Carole Tiberius)



# Discussion

# Awareness of gender constructions

- Our results show that in the newspaper texts, the common features of women and men as people who share many characteristics and actions step back in favour of the differences.
- context of violence, for example, is dominant only in the newspaper corpus
- corpus *can* bring an unnecessarily strong bias towards *doing gender* into the dictionary (cf. also Nübling 2010: 620)
  
- *Hidalgo Tenorio, E. (2000): Gender, Sex and Stereotyping in the Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary. In: Australian Journal of Linguistics, 20 (2), pp. 211–230. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07268600020006076>.*
- *Nübling, D. (2010): Zur lexikografischen Inszenierung von Geschlecht. Ein Streifzug durch die Einträge von Frau und Mann in neueren Wörterbüchern. In: 37 (3), pp. 593–633. <http://doi.org/10.1515/ZGL.2009.037>.*

# Dictionaries as social agents

“Bias-free and inclusive paraphrases of meaning reflect real usage and the real consequences of bias and exclusion. Such paraphrases of meaning and illustrations are necessary in order for dictionaries and lexicographical resources as a whole to provide users with information that is trustworthy, culturally aware, and socially responsible. In doing so, such resources also promote a *dictionary culture* by addressing the unfulfilled needs of several target user groups, which encourages their consultation on a regular basis.”

*Steven M. Kaplan: Boys will be boys: an example of biased and exclusive usage. In: Lexicographica, vol. 36, no. 2020, 2020, pp. 205-223. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lex-2020-0011>*

“Dictionaries influence human behavior and can function as agents of inclusion or exclusion. [...] It is the task of the lexicographer to devise and implement a policy that can avoid a biased approach in the treatment of sensitive lexical items. Where this is done, the dictionary can contribute to processes of harmonization and as a practical instrument it can enhance impartial communication.”

*Rufus H. Gouws (2022): Dictionaries as instruments of exclusion and inclusion: some South African dictionaries as case in point, Lexicographica. Series maior (forthcoming).*

# Dictionaries as social agents

“Should data about how language is used control how women are defined? Or should we take a step back and, as humans, promote gender equality through the definitions of women that we choose to accept? [...] We talked about how the dictionary is the most basic foundation of language and how it influences conversations. Isn’t it dangerous for women to maintain these definitions — of women as irritants, sex objects and subordinates to men?”

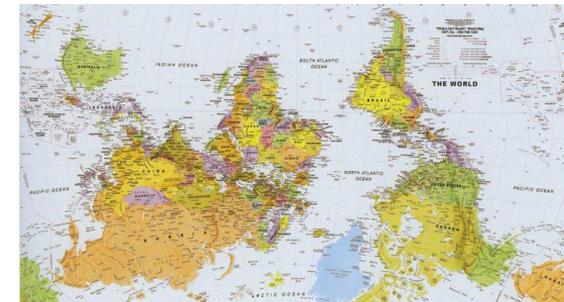
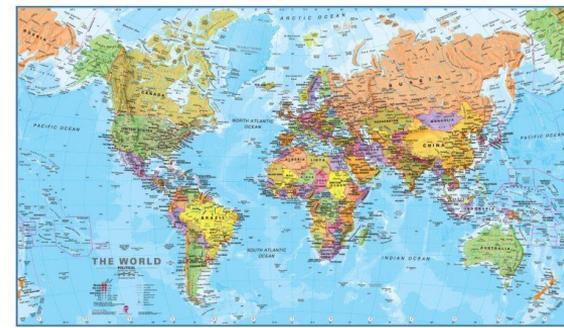
*Giovanardi, M.B. (2020): Open Letter calling on @OxUniPress to change their entry for the word “woman” #SexistDictionary.*

*Change.org. <https://www.change.org/p/change-oxford-dictionary-s-sexist-definition-of-woman/u/25841171>*

*Frankenberg-Garcia, A. (2021) “Taking a broad view of post-editing lexicography”. Paper at eLex 2021: Post-editing Lexicography, Online, 5-7 July 2021. ([abstract](#)) ([video](#))*

## (Subjective) Conclusion

- We have a lot of uncurated data
- Dictionaries should differ from it
- There's nothing such as a neutral perspective
- So much different perspectives on the world, all of them are subjective in a way
- A good compromise is certainly first to research language use with as much reflection (and self-reflection) as possible and then also - as one does with offensive or vulgar expressions - to find a compromise between language use orientation and the handing-down of outdated role models.



A close-up photograph of a brick wall corner, showing the texture of the bricks and the mortar. To the right, a white window frame is visible. The background is blurred, showing a street scene with a purple utility pole, a white van, and a person walking. A semi-transparent red banner is overlaid at the bottom of the image, containing the text "Thank you for your attention!" in white, bold, sans-serif font.

**Thank you for your attention!**



## „Boys will be boys“

- “said to emphasize that people should not be surprised when boys or men act in a rough or noisy way because this is part of the male character” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary)
- “youthful indiscretion or exuberance must be expected and tolerated” (Collins English Dictionary)
- “used to indicate that it is not surprising or unusual when men or boys behave in energetic, rough, or improper ways” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary)

“Both *Oxford* paraphrases of meaning warn users that this behaviour “*should not cause surprise,*” the *Cambridge* paraphrase of meaning had “*should not be surprised,*” *Merriam-Webster* has “*it is not surprising,*” and *Longman* has “*should not be surprised.*” [...] Males are “wired” to be this way, so any “childish,” “rough,” “noisy,” “energetic,” “improper,” “foolish,” “aggressive,” “bad,” “indiscreet,” or “exuberant” manifestations are perfectly “normal” and must be expected and therefore tolerated. From these paraphrases of meaning it seems to be clear that it has been that way, continues to be that way, and will always be that way.” (215)

Steven M. Kaplan: *Boys will be boys: an example of biased and exclusive usage.* In: *Lexicographica*, vol. 36, no. 2020, 2020, pp. 205-223. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lex-2020-0011>