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THE TENDENCIES IN THE FORMATION OF GENDER-MARKED NOUNS

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Anotace

Bakalářská práce si klade za cíl poskytnout popis tendencí při tvorbě genderově příznakových podstatných jmen se zaměřením na pojmenování lidských profesí v angličtině. První část se věnuje možnostem, které anglická morfologie nabízí při tvorbě genderově zabarvených výrazů a shrnuje současné tendence při vyjadřování genderu na základě dostupné literatury. Tato pasáž se zabývá podrobnou analýzou slovtvorných procesů, zejména lexikalizovaných kompozit a sufixačních výrazů. Druhá část prezentuje výsledky analýzy založené na vyhledávacím programu Google N-Gram Viewer, jenž pracuje s databází Google Books. Blíže se zabývá frekvencí výskytu maskulinních a femininních tvarů u kompetitivních forem nelexikalizovaných kompozit. Práce je doplněna tabulkami, grafy a studii zajímavých případů.

Annotation

The aim of the present thesis is to provide description and analysis of the tendencies of gender-marked nouns denoting occupational titles in English. The first part focuses on the ways English language forms gender-specific terms and where gender marking is still relevant. This part deals with detailed analysis of word-formation processes, particularly with lexicalized compounds and suffixation phrases. The second part presents results based on search engine Google N-Gram Viewer which operates with the Google Books database. It gives frequency of masculine and feminine occurrences of competitive forms where not lexicalized compounds are concerned. The thesis is complemented with tables, figures and case studies.

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1. Introduction

From the shrouded mists of history almost everything has been divided into binaries – day and night, light and darkness, woman and man, female and male. Since time immemorial, humans have felt the necessity to distinguish the difference between men and women. The classification between two opposite forms, masculine and feminine, has become an inseparable feature of almost every language and culture.

After several waves of the feminist movement, the topic of gender equality presently emerges again and is perhaps more urgent in the age of the internet and virtual reality. Among those attempts is, for instance, the very successful HeforShe campaign launched by UN Women. Gender and the issue of equality for the two genders has been an omnipresent feature of every society. Gender equality organizations take actions against sexist bias, discrimination and violence in the fields of education, employment, government and others. Although we live in the 21st century, equal opportunities for both genders have not yet been reached.

The change of phenomena within language reflects the historical and social background which is projected into people's way of thinking and attitude towards external conditions. Thus the placement of certain gender markers reflects how society looks upon different occupations and the people that do them. Tendencies toward political correctness are reflected in language itself and nowadays many institutions suggest using gender-neutral expressions instead.

Even though there are many different fields where gender-marking is relevant, this work will focus on occupational titles, a field in which gender marking is very prominent and frequently used. The thesis presents how the English language deals with gender-specific terms in order to transform them into gender-neutral ones. Although the language attempts to fulfil these political correct suggestions, people still feel the need to distinguish gender in primarily gender-neutral words.

The thesis is generally concerned with the current use of gender in the English language. I will briefly explain differences between sex and gender and I will present the ways the English language creates, firstly, gender-specific, and secondly, gender-neutral occupational titles which will be followed by results from my corpus.

The analysis itself will be based on the data provided by Google N-gram Viewer.

2. Gender marking

We are surrounded by gender lore as far back as we can remember. The omnipresent feature in our conversations, humour, and conflicts is also deeply rooted in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs and desires. It is so common that most speakers take gender implications for granted and are surprised when it is perceived differently in foreign cultures (Eckert, McConnell-Ginet 10).

Gender, which has thus been an essential part of language, is characterized by the range of characteristics relating to, and distinguishing between, masculinity and femininity. These characteristics can involve biological sex, gender identity or gender roles according to circumstances and the context. Until John Money's terminology of sex and gender, *gender* was common to use only when referring to grammatical categories (Udry 561).

2.1. Sex, Gender and Grammatical Gender

Sex refers to the physical attributes - the biological reproductive organs and secondary sexual features. On the other hand, the term *gender* is used by linguists in the social sciences and scholars in gender studies to indicate either "a social role based on the sex of the person called 'gender roles' or a personal identification of one's own gender based on an internal awareness which is referred to as 'gender identity'." ¹ However, nowadays sex is very often used as a synonym for gender.

Nevertheless, linguists understand gender to mean "a grammatical classification of nouns, pronouns, or other words in the noun phrase according to certain meaning-related distinctions, especially a distinction related to the sex of the referent" (Quirk et al. 314). There are many systems for the identification of gender. It includes feminine and masculine; or feminine, masculine and neuter; or inanimate and animate gender categories. Whereas most languages do not provide such a semantic reliability to assign a gender category, like for example "mužnost" where the gender of the word is grammatically feminine but semantic meaning suggests the opposite, in many languages the assignment of gender to nouns relies entirely upon the biological sex.

¹Sex and gender distinction, en.wikipedia.org, [online]

2.2. Grammatical Gender

Modern Czech and German grammar have fully developed gender-marking systems, whereas marking based on the semantic role of the word is suppressed. English does not have such a prominent grammatical gender-marking system. Consequently, the relationship between a word and its meaning is much more significant.

das Mädchen - girl

die Stadt - city

As seen on examples, grammatical gender does not always correspond with natural gender. German grammar unquestionably suggests that “Mädchen” is the neuter because of the use of the neutral article *das*. Another case is that an inanimate entity, “city”, is in German given a feminine gender.

However, English lost grammatical gender in the Middle Ages and does not carry such a grammatical indicator now. Old English had a system of grammatical gender but before 1000 AD the transformation of this system started to appear. The early Middle English already presented an inclination towards the loss of grammatical gender (Curzan 42-46). Modern English does not preserve any morphological concurrence of words with grammatical gender and has to depend on relevant features of natural gender of its referent. Thus the feminine essence of the word “girl” is completely based on the mental image of a girl and “a city” refers to an object whose non-living substance is taken for granted by every speaker of English.

An exception is personification of non-living entities which appears in common everyday language in order to express personal relationship towards an object. Like cars, ships or countries (in journalistic language) are referred to as feminine. Another type of personification occurs in belles-lettres literature where words are personified according to Latin origins. Good virtues and pleasant ideas influences feminine personification and negative qualities denote masculine personification. Sometimes the influence of Latin and this tendency clash like, for instance, in masculine *love* (from Latin *amor*) (Dušková 87).

There are still several ways of gender-marking nouns. For the time being it depends on natural gender - on perceiving the inherent characteristics of an object concerning sex, sexual behaviour, identity or character.

Generally accepted rules of English grammar are that people of male sex are masculine, people of female sex are feminine, and animals and inanimate entities are neuter (Dušková

83). The gender of substantives in an English sentence is expressed only through referential devices, such in the example provided below.

Jamie has found **himself** in trouble with the council. Jamie is a male.
That bird had been left to **its** fate. a reference to a gender-neutral animal

2.3. Analysis of Word-formation Processes

Word formation processes create new words by combining already known constituents. To make gender-marked words, users of the English language transform original words in a certain way in order to invent words with gendered features. This way is characterized by adding gender-marked suffixes, or by adding “gender-marking words - like female, woman etc.” to create a compound. Even though these two processes are used the most, there is another one which figures mainly as an exception and demonstrates how language meets the needs of speaking communities in the modern world.

To illustrate the process of creating the Table of Analysed Names of Professions in the Appendix, I used the original list as a starting point. I assigned the word-formation process for gender-marking to each expression from a vocabulary. By the word-formation process for gender-marking I mean the process where the gender-marker is applied to an already established word denoting noun and that noun expresses a particular job. For instance, *a dentist* is a person whose job is to take care of people’s teeth and a word formation process appropriate for marking gender is to add *female/male* or *woman/man* to create a compound. The table definitely does not mean that, for example, *a judge* was created from a verb *to judge* and thus it is a conversion. Then the information in the second column specifies a type of word formation process. Because the table is too long I have included a sample for better visual comprehension.

Jobs	Word-formation process	Specific process
airline clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
ambassador	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
ammunition and explosives operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
animal technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
animator	compound	female/woman, male/man
anthropologist	compound	female/woman, male/man

Table 1 - A Sample from the Table of Analysed Names of Professions

Hans Marchand claims that „Word-formation is that branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical units, i.e. words. Word-formation can only be concerned with composites which are analysable both formally and semantically” (2).

There are several ways that linguists systematize processes of word-making.

Marchand opposes Saussure and introduces an approach described in *The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation: A Synchronic-Diachronic Approach* which deals with two groups. The first one covers “combinations of full linguistic signs” (Compounding, Prefixation, Suffixation, Derivation, and Backderivation) and the second group involves “composites not made up of full linguistic signs” (Marchand 2) (Blending, Clipping, Word-Manufacturing)

According to Bauer and Huddleston there are many linguistic processes which create new words and change their morphological structure in English (Bauer, Huddleston 1621). It includes:

- minor word formation processes
- compounding
- derivation
- conversion
- and others

Minor word-formation processes are comprised of initialism, clipping, blending, back formation or phonological modification and manufacture. These processes are considered to be minor because in contrast with, for instance, derivation and compounding, the number of newly designed words is considerably smaller and has a lower degree of productivity.

The most significant word-formation processes which I will be concerned with and which emerged from the table of Analysed Names of Professions are primarily *affixation* and *compounding*. I will describe particularly noun-centred compounds and verb-centred compounds for the purpose of the practical part of the thesis. I excluded loan words and borrowed words from other languages because such adopted words are not in fact new ones.

2.3.1. Possibilities of Gender Marking

In *Mluvnice současné angličtiny*, Dušková provides an explanation of how English nouns can be split into several groups from the point of view of distinguishing between feminine and masculine gender.

The first scope of words is motivated lexically and the second one is motivated morphologically. Words motivated morphologically can be divided into two groups relying on a particular word-formation process – affixation or compounding. The last one is dual gender where words involve both genders under one neutral term.

2.3.1.1. Masculine and Feminine Nouns Distinguished Lexically

Words which mark persons differing in sex are absolutely distinct from one another. A word for masculine is absolutely different from a word marking feminine gender and vice versa.

husband x wife

man x woman

boy x girl

uncle x aunt

2.3.1.2. Masculine and Feminine Nouns Distinguished Morphologically

Morphological devices are used for the formation of words in order to indicate its gender. Mainly suffixation or compounds are used for the creation of gender-marked nouns. Derivational suffixes carry lexical information about a word – the gender of a person in this case.

2.3.1.2.1. Affixation

“Affixation is the process of forming a new base by the addition of an affix. Affixation is widely used in both inflectional and lexical morphology” (Bauer, Huddleston 1990).

Derivation, as a slightly more specific term of creation of new words by affixation, differs from inflection in that inflection does not encode the formation of grammatical modification from the same word. On the contrary, derivation deals with lexical words and creates absolutely new derivatives with different meanings.

The inflections of “work, worked, working” suggest that grammatical rules are used to express certain grammatical aspect of language. However its meaning “to do, perform or practise (labour, occupation)”² is something that involves physical or mental effort, especially as part of a job which remains the same in all cases. “Unkind” and “kindness”, for instance, differ in their semantic meanings. “Unkind” stands for an adjective of being unpleasant or unfriendly and “kindness” represents the quality or habit of being kind.

DERIVATION kind – kindness – unkind - unkindness

Affixation is among the most common morphological operations of forming words in present-day English. We can create new lexemes from the root word by adding an affix. The addition of an affix usually affects a word class of the original word. There are many derivational patterns and each of them is named after the final form of the whole mechanism.

In my bachelor thesis I will be primarily concerned with the change that results in the creation of nouns – nominalisation. I will deal mostly with processes whose output serves to form nouns denoting persons or instruments in order to create an occupational title, I will not cover compounds and pure gender markers (even though they also function as nominalisers) in this section as they are covered elsewhere (see Compounding and Competitive Forms).

The English language provides several types of suffixes which can mark gender or gender neutrality. Even though the focus of this thesis is marking gender, I will provide some examples of neutral suffixes as well as gender specific suffixes.

Person or instrument nominalisations use particular types of suffixation attached to verb bases or noun bases. This list of gender neutral suffixes is not complete because certain types are irrelevant to this thesis’ focal point. Among those gender neutral suffixes belong as stated in *The Cambridge Grammar* (Bauer, Huddleston 1697-99):

- **-ant** and **-ent** are not productive and their pivotal meaning is “ a person who ~s”
 - *assistant, correspondent*
- **-eer** gives meaning “person concerned with ~”
 - *engineer, auctioneer*
- **-er,-or** and **-ar**; **-er** is highly productive, but the **-ar** variant occurs in very few words; **-or** can be found in words of Latin origin, as well as technical and legal words; the suffix **-er** attaches to a considerable range of bases besides verbs and figures very

² OED [CD-ROM]

productively in compounds; *-er* has wide range of meanings and one of them denote a person filling the agent role with the respect to the verb, so these words are used for professions

- *doctor, instructor, author, tailor, hairdresser*
- **-ist** is an extremely productive suffix usually denoting persons professionally or otherwise pursuing either a particular field of scholarship or a musical instrument
 - *psychiatrist, anglicist, scientist*
- **conversion** is not widely used to denote persons or instrument, only exceptions in the usual pattern
 - *spy*

Among gender-specific suffixes belong according to Bauer and Huddleston (1680-81):

- **-ess** has implied feminine gender. One of the fields of usage is denoting feminine occupational titles, however these marked terms indicate “some difference in status, and may imply lower standards or achievement” (1681)
- **-ette** suffix is rather new for gender-marking of feminine substantives; inferred from suffragette at the beginning of the 20th century
- **-trix** occurs only in legal words
- **-ine** are relatively short-lived coinages

actor x actress

hero x heroine

waiter x waitress

usher x usherette

All of these gender-specific suffixes refer to feminine terms, but English does have gender-specific, only masculine, suffixes which encourages an assumption that men are prototypical and women have had to be distinguished by adding gender-specific suffix to mark the difference.

According to information from the Table of Analysed Names of Professions a compounding word-formation process predominates over affixation. There are 38 occurrences of affixation processes from a total number of 571 word phrases.

Because words like *manager* and *weaver* appear many times in the comprehensive list, the list contains only 19 diverse word phrases with suffixation. All of these words have a tricky implication which should be explained.

Among these words are: actress, ambassadress, authoress, aviatress, breweress, conductress, embroideress, hostess, manageress, mistress, priestess, sculptoress, seamstress, shepherdess, stewardess, tutoress, usherette, waitress, and weaveress.

- **ACTRESS**

An actor is a person who impersonates a character, or acts a part on the stage, on television or in films.³ It is correct to use the term for both men and women. The word *actor* behaves the same way, as the dictionary explanation suggests, regardless of gender. However, actress is still widely used and refers particularly to female actor. Even though the general form *actor* can be collectively used to refer to both sexes, female/male can be found to emphasize the difference. *Actress* is so excessively common that it prevails other variants.

There have been debates whether the word *actress* denotes that women can only play female characters and actors can play anything and whether to use actor or actress. The UK performers' Equity union has no policy on the use of *actor* or *actress*. An Equity spokesperson said that the union does not believe that there is a general agreement (Pritchard "The readers' editor").

- **AMBASSADRESS**

Ambassadress, a term for a woman who is an ambassador, is used very rarely. The term, considered obsolete, has been replaced by the gender-neutral term ambassador. It supports the assumption that gender-neutral words are used mainly in politics and business. Consequently, if speakers want to explicitly express gender, they will probably use *female/male* or *man/woman* compounds rather than suffixation word formation processes.

- **AUTHORESS**

Authoress is an old-fashioned term for a woman author. It is now considered obsolete too because it reflects the times when it was largely preserved for one sex, to men in this case and women needed to be pointed out. Nowadays English users work with

³ OED [online]

compounds *female/male* or *woman/man* and author incorporates in its essential meaning both women and men.

- **AVIATRIX, AVIATRESS**

Aviator was a term used for both men and women who flew an aircraft. Aviator is an old-fashioned term and the modern equivalent would be a pilot. Because of the obsolescence you will probably imagine a person wearing a leather jacket with woollen collar, an aviator hat and goggles rather than a modern uniform.

As a reader, you can naturally find the words *aviatrix* or less frequent *aviatress* which denote the agent being a woman according to Latin suffixes *-trix* or *-ess*. According Google N-gram Viewer the *-trix* suffix leads with overwhelming majority if female agent nouns are concerned.

- **BREWERESS**

As a brewer denotes a gender-neutral connotation it includes both a woman who is a brewer and a man who is a brewer. The form breweress is old-fashioned enough to remain almost exclusively in dictionaries.

- **CONDUCTRESS**

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a conductor means two things. It conveys either “the director of an orchestra or chorus, who indicates to the performers the rhythm, expression, etc., of the music by motions of a baton or of the hands” or “the official who has charge of the passengers, collects fares, and generally directs the proceedings, on an omnibus, tram-car, or (in U.S.) railroad train”⁴ All in all a conductress standing for a woman conductor is still very common.

- **EMBROIDERESS**

An embroideress comes from the historical development of social thinking. It denotes a notion that mainly women were employed as embroideresses around 1900 and nowadays the use is on the decline. The chart achieved its top around at the turn of the century probably because the Belle Époque was in its heyday the period in which Art

⁴ OED [online]

Nouveau emerged. The embroidery patterns were highly fashionable and popular during both of these eras. (Townsend, Pessel v)

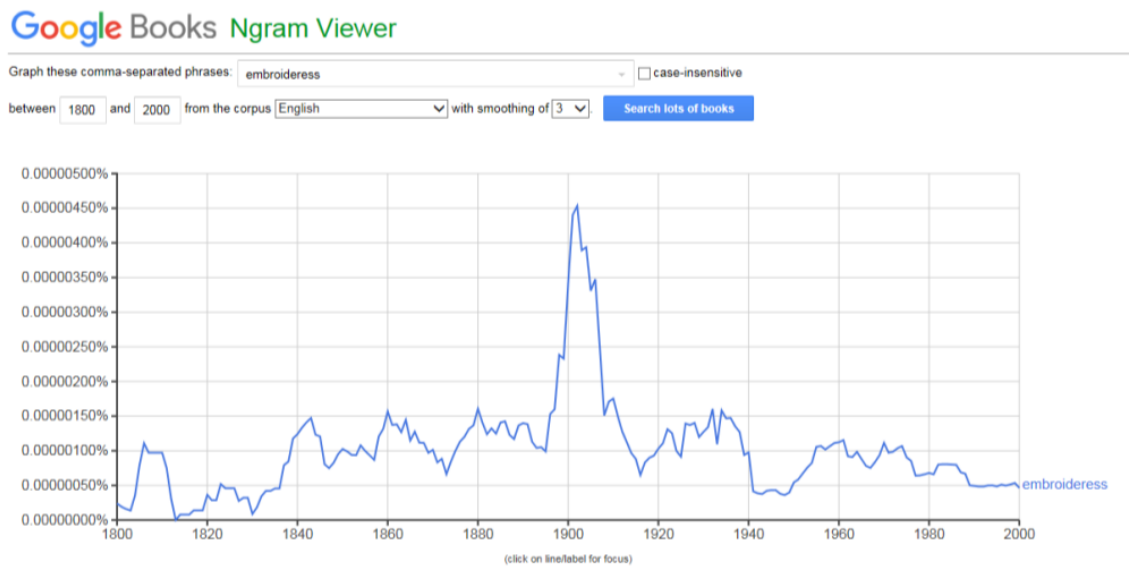


Figure 1 - "Embroideress" Query on Google N-Gram Viewer (accessed March 6, 2016)

- **HOSTESS**

The word *host* has many relatively different meanings. From the first point of view, a host is someone who throws a party or some event. The second definition is someone who introduces a show and entertains guests. The former expression for females is still often used to describe women who host a party. The latter usually earns money as it is a job. Both of these explanations have female counter-parts - a hostess. However, if we evoke a mental image of a hostess, we will most likely imagine a companion in the same sense as waitress. Vocabulary offers other variants such as presenter or announcer as a substitution.

Use of *female/male* compounds implies biological meaning of host as a female or a male organism which contains parasites. *Woman/man* compounds can be used to specify the gender of a human being.

- **MANAGERESS**

Manageress is another word which has been replaced by the gender-neutral term manager. Again the gender-neutral word manager is used in the field of business.

- **MISTRESS**

A female equivalent to master, mistress is considered to be old-fashioned when meaning a highly skilled woman. Women can feel offended thanks to the current connotation of mistress bearing immoral associations. Thus the word master has been more and more used to include women. Examples of *master* from the table can be replaced by other words like officer, worker, manager, supervisor or simply a head or a leader.

- **PRIESTESS**

Priest/priestess pair reflects the historical and mental development of society where a priestess has its roots in the historical background of the occupation. Priestesses performed religious ceremonies in antiquity and thus this term can be found in historical contexts when talking about the Oracle of Delphi where priestesses were the mouthpieces of the oracle. Whereas women are not allowed to hold the position in many world religions in the present, the Anglican Church already has female priests but they are not referred to as priestesses.

Female/woman compound should be used in order to reveal that a priest is a woman.

- **SCULPTRESS**

Sculptress is the same as authoress in this case. In the past people felt the need to point out the fact that women started to engage in the activity which was mainly a field for men. Presently the term is considered to be obsolete and the word *sculptor* incorporates both sexes.

- **SEAMSTRESS**

A seamstress is “a woman who earns her living by sewing.”⁵ English does not offer such a direct corresponding noun for men. The word *seamster* is very archaic, and you can find it as a query in a dictionary, but it is not used at all. Words that suggest men like tailor, dressmaker, or sewer are used instead. Google N-gram Viewer offers a rare case of doubling gender markers in the form of female seamstress.

- **SHEPHERDESS**

⁵ Medimex [online]

From a historical point of view, the words shepherd and shepherdess are declining. The term shepherdess is still used but it is not common as a profession or occupation title nowadays since our world has developed technologically and economically to the point where people are much more likely to be engineers or computer programmers.

- **STEWARDESS**

As stewardess, a female steward, and steward have been considered inconvenient in favour of more gender-neutral language, words more suitable were invented to prevent sexual bias. The gender-unspecific term flight attendant has been adopted instead.

- **TUTORESS**

A tutoress as a counter-part of tutor is no longer used. Again, a tutor involves both genders.

- **USHERETTE**

The word usherette is the only representative of the Latin suffix *-ette* in my corpus. This word is still widely accepted. Compounds are used in order to emphasize the specification of gender. According to Google N-gram Viewer, female usher was detected, but the term is much more used than the female usher compound.

- **WAITRESS**

Both waiter and waitress are still very common. Compounds are used very scarcely in order to specify the gender of a person.

- **WEAVERESS**

Weaveress is recognized as a very obsolete term. The word appears mainly in historical books about archaeology or handcrafting on Google N-Gram Viewer. Compounds are used more frequently.

2.3.1.2.2. Compounding

Another way of marking gender where masculine and feminine nouns are distinguished on morphological basis is compounding word-formation process.

In the case of compounding one constituent illustrates the formulation of the actual meaning of what is being expressed. The other component marks the gender with an appropriate term. These terms articulate gender in its essential meaning for instance male/female, man/woman, gentleman/lady, boy/girl, and so forth.

barman x barmaid

sportsman x sportswoman

male readers x female readers

he-goat x she-goat

“Compounding is the process whereby two bases are put together to form a third, but the result is a compound, defined in structural terms as a base whose ICs are themselves bases” (Bauer, Huddleston 1630-31).

In general, we can find the largest number of compounds in nouns. Words which involve occupations tend to be mainly noun-centred or verb-centred compounds.

In the following part I will distinguish between lexicalized compounds which are gender-marked compounds already established and used in dictionaries, like midwife or postman, and compounds where a gender complementation is deliberately inserted into a neutral occupational title. These unlexicalized compounds are more productive as they have not been adopted into dictionaries. On the other hand, lexicalized compounds along with suffixation words present more or less unproductive and entrenched entities.

Examples come mainly from created corpus.

○ **NOUN CENTRED COMPOUNDS**

A compound is noun centred in case the second base is a noun. The first base can be a noun, a verb, an adjective or some other category. The layout below illustrates brief explanation of structure, examples and basic information about these compounds.

- Noun + Noun

Examples: manservant, maidservant

The noun + noun structure of compound is the most productive kind of compounding in English and also the most productive kind of word-formation. It involves coordinative (dvandvas etc.) and ascriptive compounds. The bases of coordinative compounds are on an

equal level. The connection between two nominal components is similar to that “between an ascriptive modifier and the head noun in NP structure as male servant”⁶

- Adjective + Noun

Examples: blacksmith, wetnurse, handyman

The degree of productivity is rather low here but links words with a high degree of semantic specialisation (*software*). In many cases the property denoted by the adjective does not apply to the denotation of the noun base but to something else that is understood: *blacksmith* is not black but works with black or dirty things or *wetnurse* is not a nurse who is wet.

- Verb + Noun

Examples: call-girl, workman

Verb-centred compounds differ from this type in having the verbal element in the contingent position. The first dependent verbal element can have –ing suffix (*chewing-gum*).

- Other categories of first base: Pronoun + Noun

Examples: he-goat, she-wolf

This kind can be seen most importantly in the naming of animals.

○ **VERB CENTRED COMPOUNDS**

Verb-centred compounds are compounds whose main base is a verb or its forms. By that is meant that the forms being indistinguishable from that of the bare lexical base of a verb or derived from it by suffixation. There are many combinations of constituent elements such as V + N (pickpocket), N + verbal element without suffix (rainfall) etc. I introduce only a combination relevant to this thesis’ topic.

- Noun + Deverbal noun in –er

Examples: factory-worker, bus driver, stage-manager

⁶ Bauer, Huddleston 2002, p. 1648.

Due to the suffix the whole compound designates the person or thing corresponding to the subject in a clausal construction. Generally, this kind of compound has limited meanings because it refers to people, animals or machines whose performance, action or function is expressed by a verbal element.

2.3.1.2.2.1. Lexicalized Compounds

Lexicalized words are words which become a part of a lexicon of a language and appear as entries in dictionaries. (Lipka 1) To illustrate this thought, “midwife” is a regular dictionary entry but “female driver” is a compound which is composed deliberately by the speaker in order to capture a momentary idea. “Female driver” is written together only from the notion of the user’s intentions, but this compound is not provided in dictionaries. The most important role for the first part of a compound is to specify the gender of the second part of the compound. Compounds are more flexible and compatible; they can be more easily manipulated. Also compounds offer a way to avoid using a gender specific noun unless sex is relevant to the discussion. Then the appropriate insertion is interposed. On the contrary, affix constructions are fixed and they are decreasing slowly within the purview of rising gender-neutral language.

Because suffixes like *-ess* , *-trix* or *-ette* carry the notion of gender in its very semantic essence, an insertion of another gender marker is pointless. All of the words from the corpus can be created among affixation and blending can also be created by compounding. Consequently, there is no problem with the compounds “female aviator” or “woman conductor”, but “female waitress” is unlikely to happen.

The following chart reflects the overall results which indicate that all 571 samples can be created by compounding, 38 samples out of 571 can be created apart from compounding by affixation and finally only one appearance of blending word-formation process. Only a fragment of presented words with suffixes are used to date.

571 compounds include both lexicalized and non-lexicalized samples. The total number of lexicalized compounds is 19 examples of professions. Suffixations and lexicalized compounds are in the minority against those which are not gender-marked at all.

Occurrence of Word-formation processes	
compounding (lexicalized compounds)	571 (19)
affixation	38
blending	1

Table 2 - Occurrence of Word-formation Processes

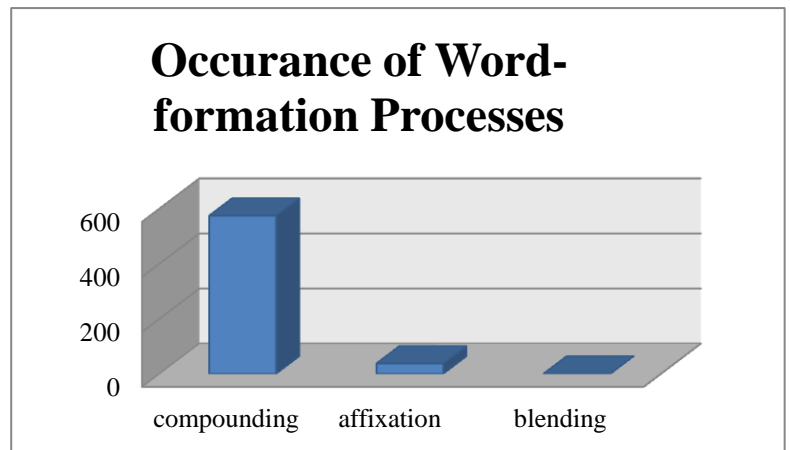


Figure 2 - Occurrence of Word-formation Processes

Unique example of blending will be discussed in the Case studies Chapter.

2.3.1.2.2.1.1. Kinds of Lexicalized Compounds

Now we approach the second column of the initial table. Let us focus on more specific evaluation of combinations which make compounding word formation processes possible. I will exclude more general female/male and woman/man constituents which are located in the first position of compounds as individual words before the second part of compounds' individual words, like *a woman animator*, because I will deal with them in the following chapter about competitive forms.

I include words like, for instance, *a sportswoman*. This word is already a gender-specific compound thus the addition of another gender-specific *female* seems to be redundant. Moreover, the *-woman* part, contrary to *a woman animator*, appears as an inherent element directly subsequent to a field of interest – sport in this case. There are many gender-markers like boy, girl, lady, wife, husband, maid and, of course, woman and man.

I will also mention examples where the addition of a gender-marker influences semantic meaning and thus our perception of the individual doing the job.

The group of words are noun centred compounds whose gender markers stand in the second position (barman, blast-furnace man, blaster foreman, boatman, clergyman, draughtsman, fireman, landlord, policeman, room-maid, spaceman, sportsman, watchman, stable boy and midwife).

All of these professions possess the feature of the same construction pattern:

- **BARMAN/BARMAID**

Barman, denoting a man, is no more a job only for men. Consequently, *-man* can be substituted by *-maid* to mark a lady behind a bar. The trend of gender-neutral language comes into effect and gender-marked barman or barmaid is replaced by the neutral term bartender.

- **BLAST-FURNACE MAN AND BLASTER FOREMAN, BOATMAN, DRAUGHTSMAN**

It is likely that the people who work in these jobs are men. Although this does not mean that there are no women. Female variation is analogous (blast-furnace woman, blaster forewoman, boatwoman, draughtswoman). The woman/man part is replaced by person to create gender-neutral nouns (draughtsperson etc.)⁷ Or they are replaced by an absolutely different word like explosive expert.

- **SPACEMAN, SPORTSMAN, WATCHMAN, POLICEMAN, FIREMAN, CLERGYMAN**

The formation of a female alternative corresponds with the latter job titles. However, all of them are replaceable by an absolutely different word which is gender-neutral. The gender-neutral forms have been adopted quickly and are starting to be used more often than the original forms.

Spaceman or spacewoman can be changed to astronaut, athlete replaces sportsman and sportswoman, watchmen are guards, members of the police are police officers, firefighters takes the place of firemen and finally clergyman is called according to the position in the church and the church itself – vicar, priest or the widely used to member of clergy.

- **LANDLORD**

Landlord is the only representative of the *lord* compounds on the list. Even though *lady* appeared several times, it suggests that lord/ lady denotes some higher position in a social status. It expresses that in the past landlords owned a pub or an inn and simultaneously he may have worked there as well as his employees or family members and that he run the business.

A publican applies in the present when we want to talk about an owner of a pub who also manages it.

- **ROOM-MAID and the cleaning personnel**

⁷ Written separately “boat people” are called refugees who leave their countries in small boats.

Room-maid is derived from the fact that mainly women work as room-maids in the hotel industry or they worked as housemaids for the nobility in the past. Now “the cleaning sector” is more complex and representatives of both sexes are gaining ground in this field. So if you said “a maid” somebody might cast doubt upon naming a male housekeeper.

The term “housekeeper” is more general and courteous. It will affect different groups that usually remain independent like “cleaning lady” and “maid”. The terms “cleaning lady” and “maid” are perceived as feminine substantives whereas a neutral housekeeper implies a person who is in charge of house maintenance. A cleaning lady is someone who comes in in order to do cleaning, Hoovering, sweeping, dusting, mopping etc. She comes at prearranged times. On the other hand, a maid implies somebody who attends more often or potentially lives in the house and provides a wider range of services and occupational responsibilities (changing linens, washing and folding laundry, ironing and so on). A difference between maid as a lexeme and maid as the base of a compound is only to refer to the sphere of work (dairymaid, room-maid).

To sum it up, gender-markers in the field of cleaning implies a sexist bias. Less prejudiced terms like housekeeper or cleaner or household assistant can be used but there is a question as to whether or not they would be considered equal in meaning and correspondence.

- **STABLE BOY, STABLE GROOM**

Stable boy is the only representative of the “boy” compound in the list. It is probably derived from the fact that mainly young men were helping in the lowest rank there and women were not considered suitable for the job. Gender-neutral terms include stable hand which is quite old-fashioned or some kind of helper. A stable man has its counterpart in a stable woman, but it is not very common. A stable groom does not have its match in stable bride, because a groom has not been considered as a bride’s counterpart but rather another expression which meant a young boy or male child.

- **MIDWIFE**

Even though women have been trained to assist other women during childbirth, the Oxford English Dictionary defines a midwife as a person whose job is to help women in childbirth, but preferably a woman who assists. But what are men who are midwives called?

Some male midwives explain that the term midwife comes from Old English and literally means “with a woman”. The “wife” in this compound indicates the woman who is giving birth, because only women can be pregnant. It does not refer to the woman who is helping (Morrison “Mid-person”).

Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary suggests that the wife part of the compound refers to the practitioner who helps expectant mothers.⁸ The pattern midhusband could be used according to this definition. Nevertheless, the etymology does not have to be relevant for correct contemporary standards. Female/male or woman/man addition to already formed midwife emphasizes the gender of the person. From the 16th century the term man-midwife is used to indicate a man who practices midwifery and it dominates heavily over other variations (Morrison “Mid-person”). Gender-specific terms can be replaced by *an obstetrician* which is from Latin or *an accoucheur* from French (Merz “No job for a man”; Rowles “Would you want a male midwife?”; Williams “ ‘I stopped seeing him as a man’ ”)

On the whole, the most used kind of word-formation process is compounding. It supports the general contemporary tendency of using gender-neutral language. The process offers a speaker of the English language the option of speaking about job titles generally, without indicating gender at all. If it is relevant to the discussion they will add the appropriate components. Examples with gender-marking suffixes are used only scarcely; many of them are obsolete and are not used anymore. Blending appeared as the unique exception in the form of *manny*, which will be dealt with in Case Studies.

The more specific combinations appeared within compounding. The one considerably sized group were compounds where gender-markers are inherently a part of a word, not set aside like lexemes which are not gender-specific and act as words with dual gender. The lexicalized compounds represent a wide scale of various gender-markers like lady, lord, maid and other.

2.3.1.3. Dual Gender

Last possibility for marking gender is actually not marking it at all.

⁸ Merriam-Webster dictionary [online]

Among dual gender substantives belong nouns which mark both genders under a single word without a noticeable difference. The speaker does not even have a mental image of the referent as being either male or female. (Dušková 84-86)

meteorologist, artist, editor, doctor, assistant, cook, friend, member

If it is necessary to explicitly convey gender, a gender-marking component is added as described in the following chapters about competitive forms. Thus these gender-neutral expressions tend to be favoured nowadays.

3. Gender Neutrality in English and Contemporary Tendencies

So far I have been dealing with gender-specific terms but contemporary tendencies suggest the opposite.

As stated by Bauer and Huddleston:

[G]ender-marking is widely perceived as one of the areas where the language displays a sexist bias, and campaigns for linguistic reform from around the 1970s have certainly brought about a change in attitudes and usage, so that – especially with nouns denoting human occupations – many speakers now to a large extent avoid the use of gender-marked nouns in favour of ones that are gender-neutral. (1680)

Gender neutrality in the English language has become one of the principal topics in linguistic style since the second wave of feminism in the 1960s and the 1970s. The aim of gender-neutral language is to minimize or preferably substitute gender-marked terms with unbiased neutral ones. Supporters of this tendency argue that the usage of gender-specific words indicates a male predominance and mirrors an unequal social status between the two. The use of masculine pronouns or gender-specific instances is common in scientific style. It follows that the historical context implies that men have been considered the prototype of the human species, where men “were in the position to define” and “had the dominant position in society” (Kotthof, Wodak 20). Supporters of gender equality fight against those ideas for the empowerment of women. This confrontation has projected itself into language because feminists started to take actions against androcentric language and tries to establish gender-neutral language.

The use of gender-neutral language occurs in the field of politics; mainly the military institutions, the law, the government, mainly because the state's principles stand on democratic bases of equality, thus gender equality in terms of language. The clash between gender-specific and gender-neutral language appears in the formation of job titles because women have been trying to be perceived as equal. This impartiality should prevent sexist overtones and offer the same conditions to both sexes.

Nowadays linguistic prescription encourages using neutral words instead of distinct forms. For instance, the word "fireman" includes the gender-marked form; hence the unbiased word "fire fighter" is preferred. Another example is "flight attendant", which is a gender-neutral replacement for the terms steward or stewardess.

However, these are merely preferred terms, desirable suggestions; the question is whether they are really used in real conversation. Whether the first concept speakers have in their head is fireman or fire fighter, because *fireman* is so widely established. It influences the addition of further gender markers in view of the fact that language presently perceives the necessity to divest itself of gender-markers in order to create *fire fighter*, but at some point when speakers really need to express the gender of that person they will add gender again, for example, 'a female fire fighter'. Many of them are widely established like *flight attendant*, but some of those terms are not considered to be used in common language, like mentioned *fire fighter* or *mail carrier*, gender-neutral term which replaced *mailman*.

The main prevailing areas of the use of gender-specific terms in the English language are journalism and the media where it is sometimes difficult to avoid mentioning the sex of a person in order to be clear and precise when presenting information. A speaker has to explicitly express gender in order to avoid misunderstanding in cases or situations where it is needed.

The other point of view is related to the semantic meaning. Humankind has had to adapt to the politics, social environment and global development of way of thinking during years. Our mental imagery of things has been shaped by the world we see around us. For example our understanding of the origins of professions influences our mental image. The first idea speaker get when somebody says "a worker in heavy industry", is probably a man who stands somewhere near a blast furnace wearing a dirty boiler suit in unpleasant conditions. However, who did work in factories during the world wars when men were fighting on the front lines? Women did. In the past there was a preference in physically demanding jobs were given to men for their strength and resistance. As external conditions or women's self-consciousness

has changed, women achieved positions in a variety of professions. Therefore the majority of jobs are constituted for both genders and the mental distinction of gender is not present in words like optician or ecologist where we do not even have a mental image of the person as specifically male and female. Under those circumstances, the semantic meaning of a profession still reflects deep-rooted beliefs.

These assumptions about tendencies will be elaborated throughout the thesis but mainly in the Case studies Chapter.

4. Competitive Forms

I have already mentioned the process of development in the English language when marking gender. The language attempts to form gender-neutral terms from gender-specific terms, which are created by affixation and lexicalized compound, under external influences. Even though users of language create these neutral words, they still need to express gender.

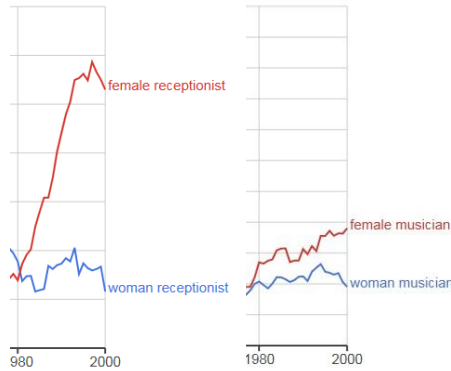
The following analysis of competitive forms deals with compounds which are primarily gender-neutral, and users of English have to intuitively decide what gender marker is appropriate.

Firstly I will illustrate the methodology and data used for my research and search engine I worked with. Secondly, analyses of particular markers will follow.

I will deal with the second table Competitive Forms which is, unabridged, enclosed in the Appendix. Again, only a piece of the whole table is provided for better understanding. I will focus on tendencies ascertained from the results I gathered from the Google N-Gram Viewer.

The first two columns examine whether Google N-Gram viewer found more female compounds in comparison with women compounds and vice versa. The same principle applies to male competitive forms of compounds. The third column presents notes related to the first and second column. If Google N-gram Viewer does not find one variation from the pair, I will specify what is missing and what phrase was not found.

Further columns reflect visual proximity of lines in graphs. Letters stand for near (N), male (M), female (F), woman (W). Near position suggests that lines are very close during the whole development but mainly at the end of the chart around the year 2000. Discrete *female* or *woman* results occur when the sets culminate far from each other, for example at opposite ends.



Picture 1- Distant Position (left) and Close Position (right), (accessed 19 March, 2016)

All of these results in the table of Competitive Forms were accessed during January 2016.

Table 3 presents a short sample from a total of 260 job titles from the Competitive Forms table enclosed in the Appendix.

NUMBER	JOB TITLE	WOMAN/FEMALE	MALE/MAN	NOTES	MASCULINE GRAPH		FEMININE GRAPH	
220	scientist	woman	male		M			W
221	scriptwriter	female	neither				N	
222	sculptor	woman	male	man not found	M		N	
223	secretary	female	male		M			F
224	servant	female	male		N		N	
225	shoemaker	woman	neither				N	
226	singer	female	male		M			F

Table 3 - Visualization of the Table of Competitive Forms

4.1. Methodology

The Methodology Chapter provides insight into a process of creating corpus and explanation of Google N-gram Viewer, the main tool I used for searching for results.

4.1.1. Corpus

The most crucial phase before I could even start my research was gathering data for analysis. The initial step I took when creating a corpus was unifying several different lists of human professions from the websites *www.alec.co.uk*, *www.occupationsguide.cz* and *www.careercentre.dtwd.wa.gov.au*. These websites provide a platform for people who are seeking a job or just want to be informed about what a particular job involves. I intentionally

used different types of English to secure the authenticity and variety. The extensive range of input data was essential because it should ensure the intricacy and universal relevance.

The resulting list of possible human professions is enclosed in the Appendix. All following outcomes proceed from the original list.

4.1.2. Google N-gram Viewer

Google N-gram Viewer is an on-line computer program, based on Google Books, which tracks the progress or development of the frequencies of any word or phrase using yearly count of n-grams found in the sources printed between 1500 and 2008 in more than eight languages.⁹

The most common function provides a simple display of a graph showing how entered words or phrases have occurred in a corpus of books over the selected years. More advanced operations can demonstrate a query with features like wildcard search, inflection search, case insensitive search, part-of-speech tags, and n-gram compositions.

Although some researchers have criticized N-gram Viewer for its ambiguity in Chinese, English language corpora (American English, British English, English Fiction and English One Million) are very reliable. In fact, respected institutions and authorities on the English language work with Google N-gram Viewer. For instance, such a highly respectable authority on the language as the Oxford English Dictionary derives its frequency data from this N-gram Viewer application.¹⁰ There are a number of difficulties in charting the frequencies, so frequencies given for individual words should be dealt with with caution. Nevertheless, this does not considerably affect collected values such as overall rates of growth, which I am interested in for my thesis.

Thanks to Google N-gram database, researchers have analyzed books written in American and British English and came to the conclusion that word frequencies expressing mood in books reflect popular trend statements and significant historical events such as The Great Depression or World War II. They also discovered that American authors show their emotions more often and more explicitly than the British (Acerbi “The Expression”). And thus Google’s N-gram Viewer is a beneficial research tool in the interdisciplinary field of the humanities and computational linguistics. A mutual connection between the historical

⁹ Google Ngram Viewer, en.wikipedia.org [online]

¹⁰ OED [online], < <http://public.oed.com/resources/the-oed-in-two-minutes/>>

background and social events and language enables us to observe the constant change of language and vice versa. This function will help us to find which forms are still relevant.

In my bachelor thesis I deal with a corpus of all English language varieties (BrE, AmE, CanE, AusE and others) in Google N-gram Viewer settings. Firstly, observations are focused on the period between 1800 and 2008 for better visualisation of the words' development. Secondly, the limits are set on the period from 2000 to 2008 in order to examine closer differences between individual lines and show their position within the diagram.

The explanation of methods of creating the results through Google N-grams will be appertained to particular chapters and particular cases.

4.1.3. Procedure of Obtaining Data

For instance, when I wanted to analyze the word astronaut, I put both variants (female astronaut and woman astronaut or male astronaut and man astronaut) into the query line. The results appear in the form of a chart where two lines follow the occurrence of these terms in books uploaded into the Google Books service. Under the chart are the links to books where the phrases can be found in contexts. If a man compound is not found, like in the case of *electrician*, it will be written in the notes. If there is a blank space, it means that a man compound has been found after all but male compounds were detected more frequently. I went over approximately five pages of books and examined how the phrases were used in those books in order to avoid misinterpretation. The misinterpretation lies in a semantic meaning where certain collocations imply biological overtone but not job titles or the phrase is not taken compactly but it is spread across the sentence. Finally, I evaluated which compounds appeared more.

I used the case-insensitive function for searching. The tool has been useful for such job titles as smith, mason, or carpenter which have become so common that they were transformed into surnames. This function is able to identify the capitalization. "The Ngram Viewer will then display the yearwise sum of the most common case-insensitive variants of the input query."¹¹ Then I could select the option I was interested in.

¹¹ <<https://books.google.com/ngrams/info#>>

4.1.4. Dismissed Words

The process of creating the corpus and the original sources is described in Chapter Corpus.

The shorter the phrase is, the more likely it is that it will get a large number of hits. For that reason I extracted the main word from the collocation (e.g. from building and road machinery mechanic to mechanic).

I dismissed the following:

- not fixed words
- words which collocate with animal names (butcher, carpenter)

I excluded certain words from the list which actually do not mean anything fixed or relevant. To illustrate this thought, I dismissed a word “digger” because a digger can be whoever (person or animal) who digs at the moment of speaking. Moreover, female digger appeared only in a collocation “female digger wasp” which carries no connotation to a human profession. Other examples are “owner” or “founder”. Everybody can be a founder or an owner of something. It does not have to be a job from which you earn money, thus results from the N-gram Viewer could be misleading. I dismissed “dyer” because a dyer can be whoever dyes something at the moment of speaking.

Many of these dismissed words had not been found by Google N-gram Viewer at all. For this reason percentage results for competitive forms are not in any way misinformed or lessened. Among other excluded words are: maker, finisher, gilder, harpooner, knitter, roaster, scaffolder, melter, glasscutter, weigher, driller, carver, binder, crusher, cutler.

I kept the word “dresser” because the results did not show a piece of furniture designated especially for women or men, but rather people who works in theatres taking care of costumes.

I also kept words like researcher, player, tuner, driver or worker. It is true that player can be anyone who plays a game and worker anyone who works somewhere or on something. However, N-gram Viewer automatically matched these words to collocations which make reference to professions. Players for example may refer to tennis players or musical instrument players. Instrument tuners were matched to tuners. Bus drivers and factory

workers were assigned to drivers and workers. It is interesting to follow these collocations and examine how gender-markers and job titles behave in context.

The second group of dismissed words are words which collocate with animal names. Thus they add a different meaning to these words. If I left them in the corpus, the results would be misleading. For example a woman carpenter appears, but it is probably influenced by the fact that female carpenter appeared in collocation with bees.

Male variation was found for a butcher denoting a profession. Men butchers compounds however referred to soldiers who slaughtered other men in battles and gunfights. Also, male butcher compounds were discovered referring to male butcherbirds.

4.2. Analysis of Feminine Markers

Variation	Number of Hits	Percentage
<i>female</i>	113	43%
<i>woman</i>	75	29%
<i>neither</i>	72	28%
total	260	100%

Table 4 - Representation of Feminine Markers

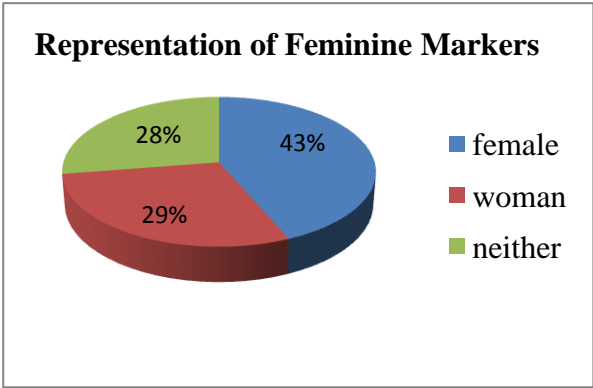


Figure 3 - Representation of Feminine Markers (Pie Chart)

Table 4 and figure 3 show the proportional representation of feminine markers – female versus woman part of the compound. Neither of the two variants was found in 72 cases.

Undiscovered words display certain common features. The words were not found, firstly, because the job title is too specific so Google N-gram Viewer does not offer corresponding hits (e.g., geophysicist, croupier, cartographer, biotechnologist), or secondly, because women were not usually employed in such types of job like butler, bricklayer, or gunsmith.

4.2.1. Female

Female compounds predominate over women compounds in a ratio of 113:75 examples.

Among female compounds are classified words that mainly include the professions which are considered to be lower-paying jobs and where you do not need to achieve any

specialized university degree, but you do need to acquire some particular skill to do the job. These jobs are generally seen as not as respected on the scale of social values. A beautician, a cook, an electrician, a miller, a bartender or a baker are among them. A baker must be able to create a roll or bread quickly and effectively and an electrician needs to be skilful in order to be responsible for installing and maintaining electrical wiring systems.

Words like athlete or author belong among female compounds. They are quite well-respected. But both of these professions have had to earn their success by their own work and diligence.

If a business field is concerned, you will find among female compounds terms like a clerk, a counsellor, a consultant, an adviser, an officer, a secretary, an attorney (who is under a judge) and a notary (who is under a lawyer). All of these professions are in some way underrated or a lower-level position working under superior staff. Secretaries and assistants help organize a schedule for their managing director. Advisers or consultants provide guidance but in many cases it is the only thing they are allowed to do.

In the medical sphere, jobs like nurse, paramedic or midwife are described using female compounds because they are on a lower level than respected doctors, dentists and specialized surgeons. A psychiatrist, a psychologist and a manager are exceptions but the graph lines of *female* and *woman* variants are very close to each other. In the case of psychiatrist, a woman compound led over a female compound until 1991, psychologist lines have been nearby since 1980 and manager lines have been close since 1997.

The use of female in relation to these types of professions can be explained by the position of *female* itself. *Female* used in terms of giving birth and limiting the use only towards animals which are able to give birth suggests that a *woman* is used in more thoughtful and creative way of using a brain. A *woman* is on the social status rank definitely above a *female*. Thus *female* is used for more manual labour while *woman* is often used for more intellectual professions.

With a closer look, we will discover that in the area of *female* compounds are words which end with *-er* and *-or* suffixes. An ethnographer, a manager, an inspector, a dancer, a choreographer and others appear when filtering the table. As mentioned in the chapter about affixation it denotes a person filling the role of agent in reference to the verb. (Bauer, Huddleston 1698).

4.2.2. Woman

As a consequence, women compounds are used more frequently with job titles which are considered to be more appreciated or of a higher social status. It is more often related to a woman as a human and thus potentially surpasses a female as an animal.

The terms from business and politics suggest high intellectual potential and a level of education. An ambassador, a judge, a lawyer, a journalist, an economist, or a diplomat are some of the representatives.

The media representatives – a broadcaster, an editor, or a publisher – reflect that “women doers” need to have a general cultural, social, and political overview.

Other examples come from the field of science and medicine. As previously discussed in an above paragraph, women compounds are often used for “worthy” jobs such as doctor, dentist, or surgeon who is considered more important and trusted. A chemist or a biologist also belongs to the sphere of women compounds.

Another field where women compounds can be found is history and art as in for example a historian, a curator, an architect, a sculptor, a designer, an archivist or a composer. In all of these professions you definitely need a certain type of creativity or logical thinking.

The only exception from this white collar tendency is a woman welder. But the graph lines for these two variants are very close.

As female compounds have their prevailing suffix in the forms of *-er* and *-or*, women compounds have their own too. The suffix *-ist* is originally neutral but again it denotes a person professionally pursuing some field requiring a high level of education as I introduced above. (i.e. a zoologist, a novelist, an economist, a biologist, an agronomist, a chemist)

A unique model occurs in the variations of the doctor compound. There are several possibilities to form compounds using “woman”, “female” or “lady” bases. According to the results from Google N-gram Viewer, women doctors leads contrary to a female doctor or a lady doctor which is very low on the chart contrary to woman doctor or female doctor. Both the female doctor and the woman doctor lines developed very close to each other over time. According to Google N-gram Viewer results a *woman* doctor implies a woman who is a medical practitioner regardless of specialization. Among outcomes provided by N-gram Viewer concerning female doctors appear more connotations with gynaecology or midwifery. However, there are also many occurrences of female doctors being regular doctors who are

women. A lady doctor, considered old-fashioned, is another option for referring to a woman who is a doctor.

4.3. Analysis of Masculine Markers

Variation	Number of hits	Percentage
<i>male</i>	156	60%
<i>man</i>	0	0%
<i>neither</i>	104	40%
total	260	100%

Table 5 - Representation of Masculine Markers

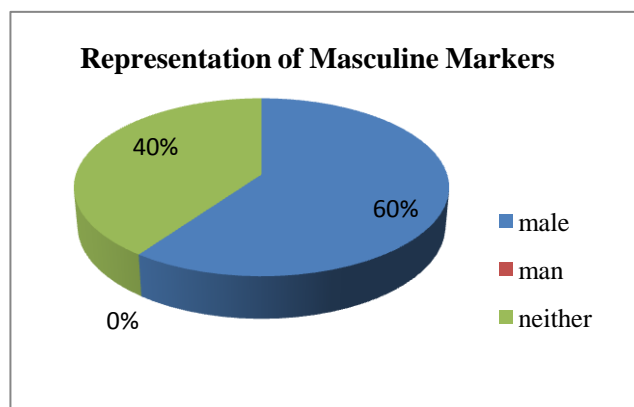


Figure 4 - Representation of Masculine Markers (Pie Chart)

Neither of the men or male compounds occurred in 104 cases. The proportion of these occurrences hints a general rule. Job titles primarily contain a neutral version for both variants in their meaning. Secondary meaning splits up this version into gender-specific forms. To illustrate, the word actor means a person who performs something. It covers both sexes in its first interpretation. Decomposition of the generic word into male “actor” and female “actress” suggests the reason why Google N-gram Viewer did not find any matches. Actor (denoting male or man) is then already gender-specific and it seems pointless to add an extra gender marker, like male or man.

4.3.1. Male

The male compounds predominate in the cases where one or the other was found. Nevertheless, it does not mean that man compounds do not exist; male compounds are preferred. Grammatically, male is principally used as an adjective. The main reason why male compounds overwhelmed man compounds is that an adjective modifies a noun, so it follows that the construction male teacher (adjective + noun) is more morphologically and syntactically favourable than the structure man teacher. In situations such as describing professions this structure can be seen as clumsy. On the other hand, men can feel offended

that they are referred to as males indicating something less than a human. (Of course women can be offended in the same way by female references.)

4.3.2. Man

As I mentioned above, a preponderance of male compounds does not necessarily mean that men compounds do not exist at all.

Distribution of <i>Men</i> Compounds		
<i>man not found at all</i>	66	42%
<i>man found</i>	90	58%
total males	156	100%

Table 6- Distribution of Men Compounds

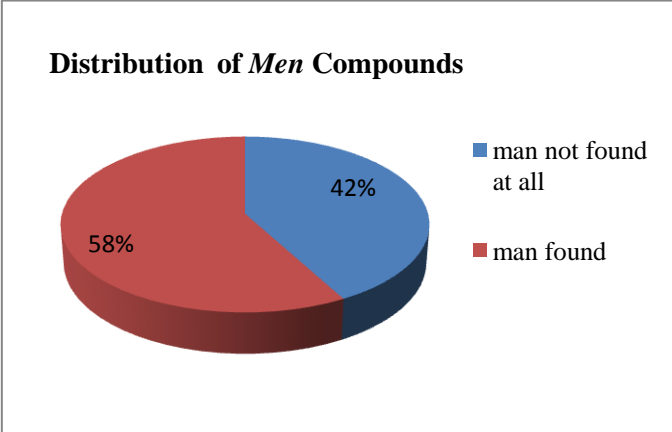


Figure 5 - Distribution of Men Compounds (Pie Chart)

Statistics shows that in 90 cases out of 156, *men* compounds related to professions were found. Examples demonstrate that men compounds appeared mainly in well-respected intellectual white-collar jobs, like women compounds. However, less attractive jobs can also be discovered using men compounds. The data “*man not found at all*” appear throughout the list without systematic exposition. Blue-collar and white-collar occupations were represented in equally.

4.4. Evaluation of Graphs

Masculine markers		Feminine markers		
TOTAL: 156		TOTAL: 188		
MALE	NEAR	WOMAN	FEMALE	NEAR
137	19	35	54	99

Table 7 - Evaluation of Graphical Lines from Google N-Gram Viewer

Table number 7 presents the results of the visual development of graphs. *Male*, *woman* and *female* headings suggest that they appeared many more times contrary to their counterparts. Because it shows from the previous table of masculine markers that male compounds triumphed in all job titles, there is no numeral description for men. In the legend, “near” means that the lines of graphs were situated near each other, either during a specific period or during the last few years.

Only 19 job titles which have had close *men* and *male* compounds were found from a total 156 cases. A judge, an ambassador or a chemist belong among those who are considered to be well-respected ones, but the majority of them were rather traditional blue-collar occupations (gardener, cook, butcher, and tailor etc.). Because *male* compounds outnumber *men* compounds the rest applies to *male* compounds.

In many cases where both female and women constructions were drawn nearer to each other, mirrors the assumption that feminine markers are not so noticeably distinguished. They can be used interchangeably by speakers of English. These close results concern both blue-collar and white-collar occupations. There are a small number of gender-specific compounds in which one variant appears much more often than other variants. Female compounds are more common with 54 cases and women compounds is less common with only 35 cases. If we took only results without close outcomes, we would see that the adjectives female and male again dominate in marking human professions. Women compounds overtake female compounds mainly in intellectual occupations like composer, biochemist, journalist, scientist, surgeon or lawyer. Farmers, however, are also mainly referred to as women.

4.5. Case studies

In this chapter I will provide several randomly chosen occupational titles as examples of how Google Ngram Viewer shows results and what these results say about the tendencies in gender marking.

1) Astronaut

It is public knowledge that the first people in space or on the moon were men. However, the expeditions which followed also included women. Appropriate gender markers are added in order to emphasize the reality that the appearance of women in this industry is more sporadic than the occurrence of men.

Google Books Ngram Viewer



Figure 6 - "Astronaut" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

2) Clerk

The word "clerk" can bring to one's mind that generally this occupation is typified by men. From the chart below we can come to the conclusion that female/woman clerk is used more frequently because men are/male clerks are considered prototypical representatives of this occupation and thus the female gender needs to be explicitly expressed by adding a gender marker.

Google Books Ngram Viewer

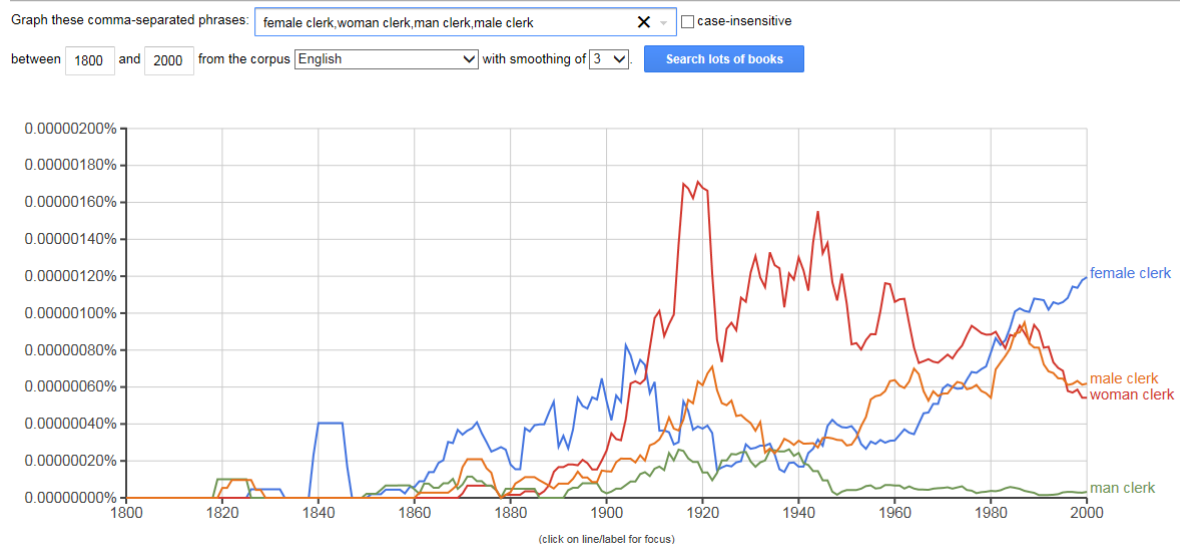


Figure 7 - "Clerk" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

3) Composer

The most famous or well-known composers have historically been men. The graph implies that composers who are men are considered as prototypical. A thus higher occurrence of compounds denoting women means that they need to be differentiated from the prototypical male.

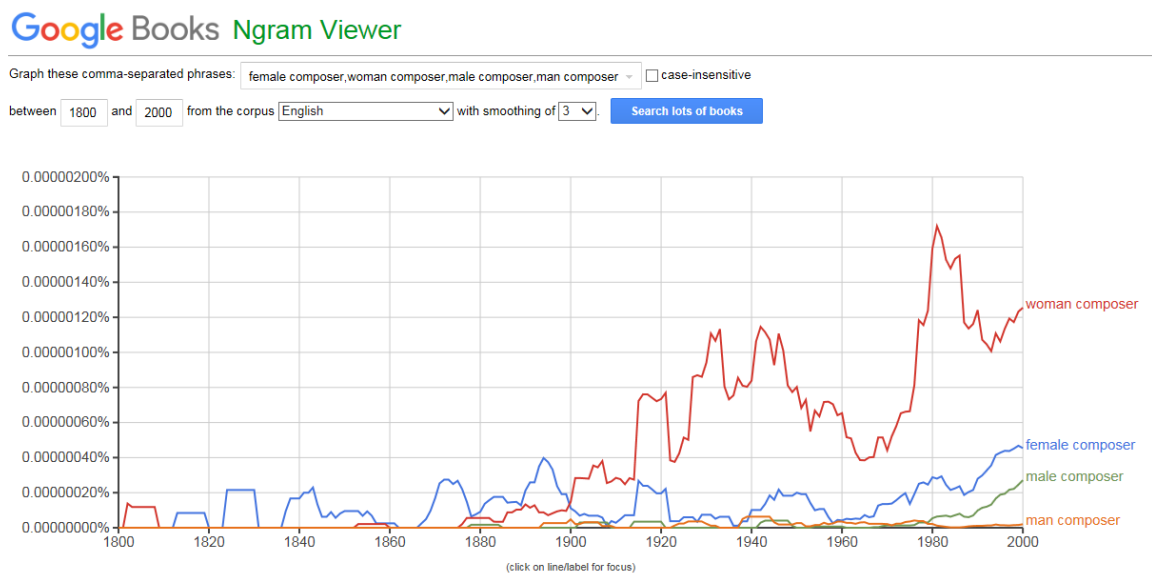


Figure 8 - "Composer" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

4) Fire fighter

The gender neutral word “fire fighter” was adopted to substitute the gender-specific term “fireman”. Results from Google N-Gram Viewer indicate that this directive is not accomplished in real conversation and, even though it is on decline, “fireman” is still more common.

Graph these comma-separated phrases: case-insensitive

between and from the corpus with smoothing of



Figure 9 - "Fireman vs. Firefighter" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

When I filtered only gender specific options, the female firefighter form leads over male firefighter because it needed to be specified that women do the same job which has been mainly assigned to men. Also the occurrence of female/male firefighter shows that this form of gender-neutral word is not well-chosen, as speakers of the English language still tend to use gender markers and created new gender specific forms without returning to the established form *fireman*.

Graph these comma-separated phrases: case-insensitive

between and from the corpus with smoothing of



Figure 10 - "Firefighter" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

5) Judge

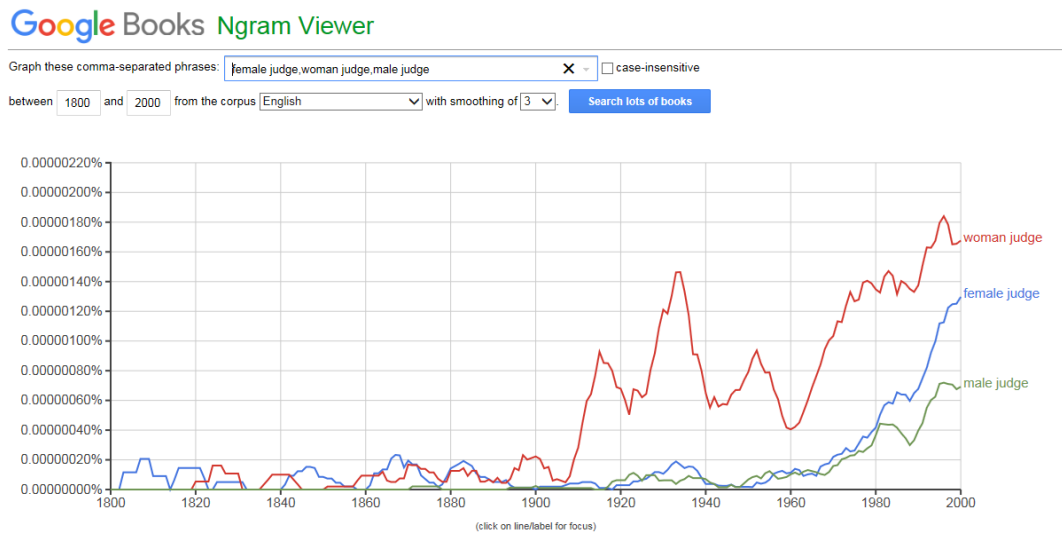


Figure 11 - "Judge" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

Men held the post of judges in the past but nowadays women appear frequently in this position. As a result, feminine gender markers needed to be attached to an occupational title in order to emphasize that women work as judges too.

6) Model

Both men and women work in the fashion industry as models. However, the first mental image which comes to one's mind when referring to a model or supermodel is probably a woman. So the necessity to emphasize men, who work as models as often as women do, is displayed in the graph where male model leads over prototypical female model.

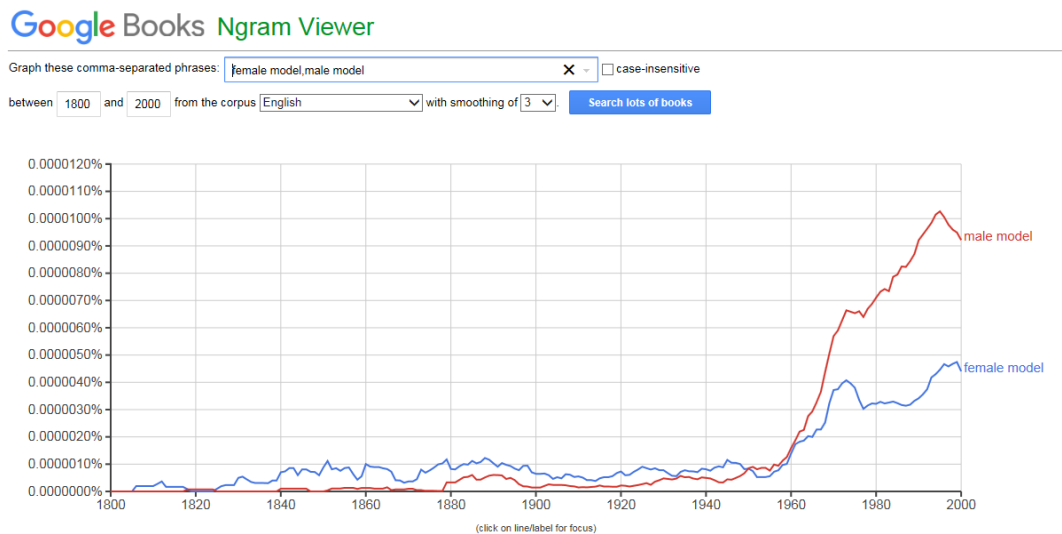


Figure 12 - "Model" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

7) Nanny

The unique example of blending in the list of analysed professions is the word *manny*, made up of the words man/male and nanny. The position of nanny has historically been assigned only to women. Nevertheless, the mentality of society is changing and the language is simultaneously changing with it. There have been demands for male childcare providers in recent times. Consequently, a new word had to be established. The word *manny* meets these communicative demands - from the long term male *nanny* came the more fashionable, shorter and simpler term *manny*.

Blending is another kind of word-formation process which is very rare in the vocabulary field of occupations. (Danks “Separating Blends”) This process is arranged among minor word-formation processes according to Bauer and Huddleston. *The Cambridge Grammar* also defines blending as “the formation of a word from a sequence of two bases with reduction of one or both at the boundary between them”. The newly coined blend is usually shorter than the longer of the two bases from which the whole blend is created. However, exceptions can be found and some of them provide a model of creating blends of the same nature. (Bauer, Huddleston 1636-37)

There are no other blends which present ascriptive compounds implying an occupation. Among blends belong those mentioned in the chart below, but these are definitely not the only ones.

heliport	helicopter	airport
smog	smoke	fog
workaholic	work	alcoholic
zonkey	zebra	donkey

Table 8 – Examples of Blends

Google Ngram Viewer shows the results when *male nanny* and *female nanny* are inserted into query box. Male nanny dominates over the female variant, which supports the assumption that a gender which prevails is, in fact, less frequent than the second one in the field of certain occupations because there is a need to distinguish the difference by adding a gender marker.

Visualization in the form of a graph is provided below.

Google Books Ngram Viewer

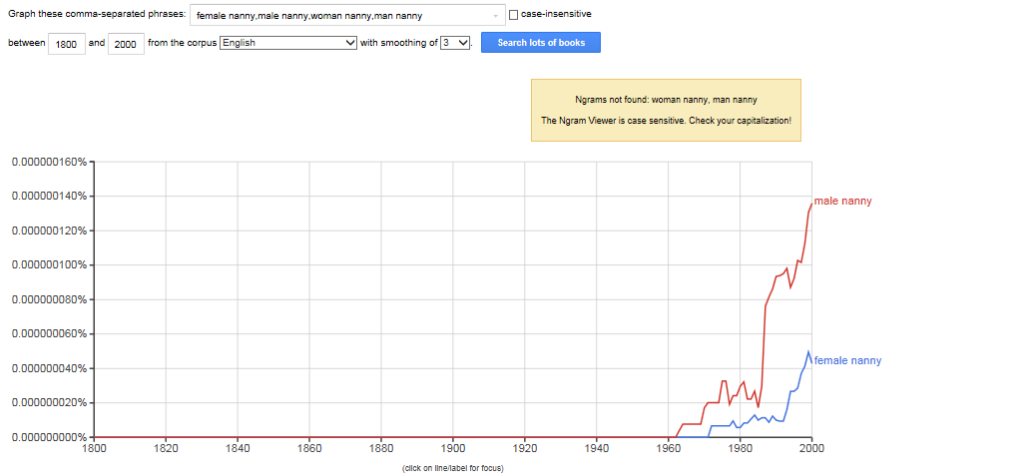


Figure 13 - "Nanny" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

8) Nurse

Google Books Ngram Viewer

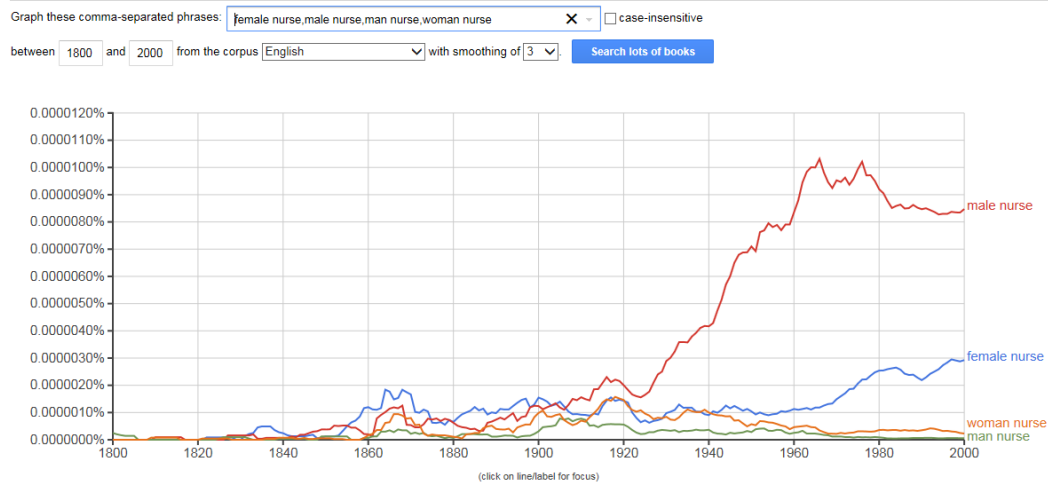


Figure 14 - "Nurse" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

The concept of nurse belongs among those where the difference between both sexes is fully visible. Nurses are predominantly seen as women in hospitals throughout many cultures. Of course there are men too, but in such small numbers that women overshadow them. Demand for specifying that men work as nurses is reflected in the graph by the fact that “male nurse” prevails over both feminine variants.

9) Paramedic

The result based on Google N-gram Viewer suggests that mainly men are employed as paramedics because the masculine form of paramedic is located on the lower level. If female paramedics lead, it would imply that female paramedics are not as frequent and this deflection needs to be expressed by the addition of a feminine gender marker.



Figure 15 - "Paramedic" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

10) Pilot

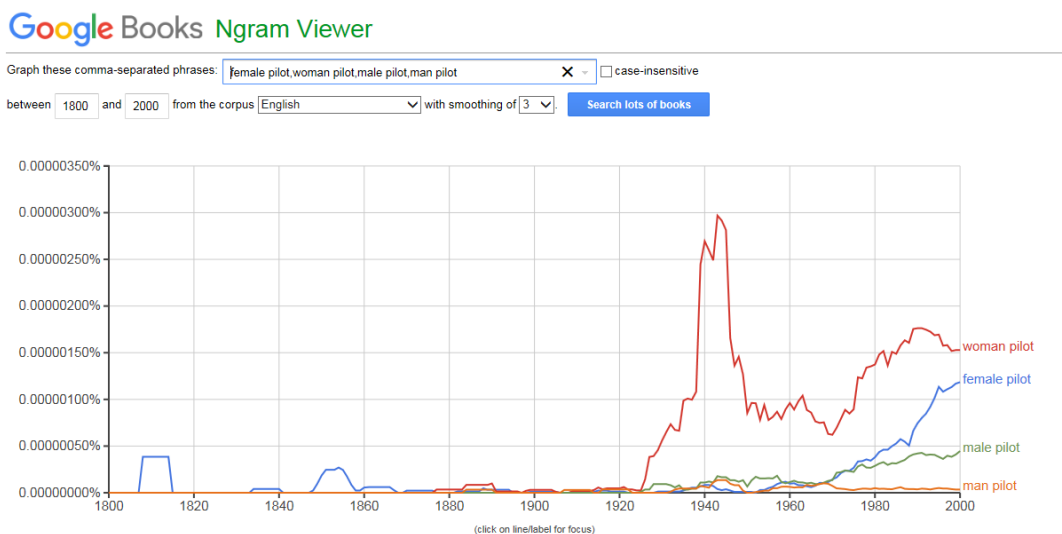


Figure 16 - "Pilot" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

Men usually work as pilots. As a consequence of this, feminine markers need to be added in order to emphasize women and because of stressing this feature feminine forms are more frequently used than the more usual masculine forms which are taken for granted.

11) Secretary

A word secretary is primarily gender neutral but many English speakers probably picture a woman when they hear this word. Women work as secretaries more often than men. If only male/female phrase is considered, the male secretary phrase is more common than the female until the mid-1990s. This suggests that female secretaries were relatively common. As a consequence, people felt the need to specify men in this position as well.

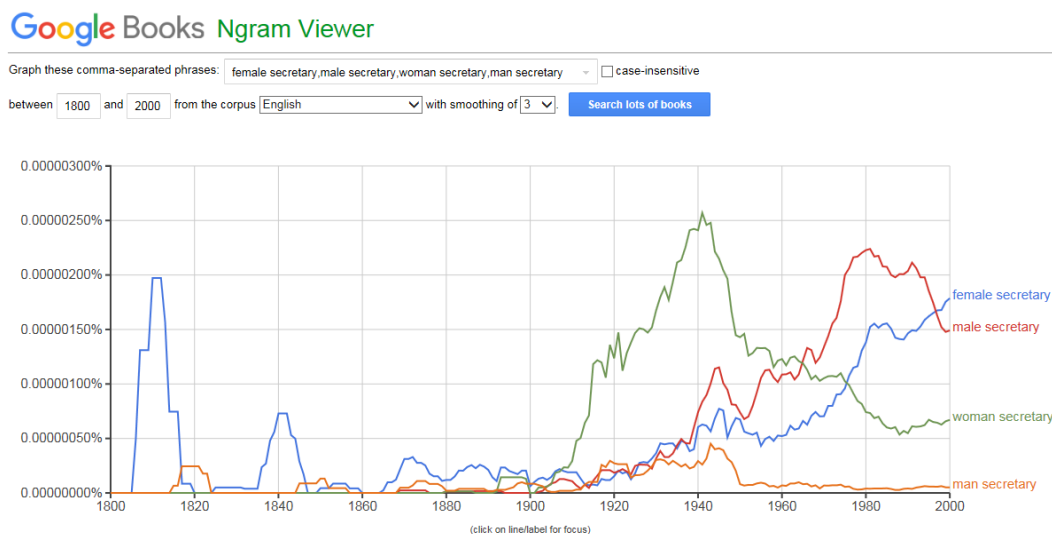


Figure 17 – “Secretary” Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

12) Teacher

Conceptual representation of gender in the field of teaching is relatively equal if female/male teacher is concerned. The prototype of a teacher is defined differently in various cultures, contrary to for example, the nurse case. Students are probably more used to having a female teacher in the Czech Republic, whereas more male teachers are employed in the United States. The spread of people of both sexes depends also on the level or type of educational institution.

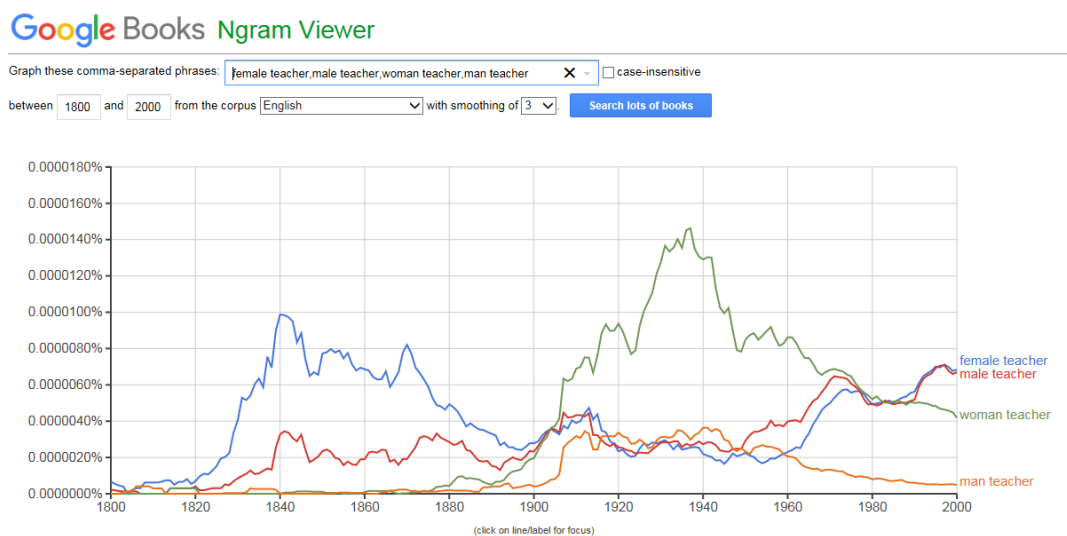


Figure 18 - "Teacher" Query (accessed March 14, 2016)

13) Aerial rigger

Let us consider the semantic meaning of *aerial rigger*. A rigger is someone “who specializes in the lifting and moving of extremely large or heavy objects, often with the assistance of a crane or a derrick.”¹² Judging by this definition, people would expect that women do not work in this field. The addition of “aerial” suggests that a person operates at high altitudes dealing with satellite dishes, for instance. If women do work as aerial riggers, it will be a very small number. If you would like to find a female aerial rigger, the results will show that they will not lead to women in heavy industry.

Another meaning of aerial rigging is a type of performance art. Aerial riggers perform acrobatics high in the air on ropes, hoops or hoisting mechanisms in theatres, films or shows. The representation of women in this field is incomparably larger than in heavy industry.

14) Butler

Another example is the word *butler* which comes from the socio-historical advancement of communal values. A man who was (or still is) the chief servant of the whole household originally had charge of the wine cellar. This profession is almost non-existent in its original sense, and as household managers they remain in existence only in some aristocratic

¹² Rigger (industry), en.wikipedia.org, [online]

households. Nowadays butlers are more widespread in the hotel industry, where they work as personal assistants or high-class temporary child caretakers in luxury hotels. Nowadays there is a strong chance the butler might be a woman. Unfortunately, a similar individual term for a female butler does not exist.

5. Conclusion

My research has revealed that the gender-marking of occupational titles is a more complex and ambiguous topic than it seems at first sight. Although I went “against” the development of language it returned me back to the generally accepted ideas.

I assigned appropriate gender markers to each occupational title according to the results from Google N-Gram Viewer and drew following conclusions.

Each and every one of a total of 571 occupational titles can be created by a compounding word-formation process in order to specify gender. Only 38 words appeared which can be created apart from compounding by affixation word-formation processes and 19 examples out of 571 compounds are, so called ‘lexicalized compounds’, which contain gender marker and are already established words which can be found in dictionaries.

Among those 38 suffixation phrases are included the same words which occurred many times and after the elimination of these reoccurrences only 19 different expressions remained. According to my analysis the expressions with feminine gender-marking suffixes have been on decline in favour of gender-neutral verbalizations and only a fragment of them are still used to date, such as *actress* or *conductress*. The rest of them are now considered to be obsolete or bear misleading connotations (*mistress*, *priestess*).

Secondly, the amount of lexicalized compounds is very small and all of them can be replaced by a gender-neutral form with the same meaning.

The most numerous group of words are those which are not lexicalized, and thus primarily from gender neutral compounds. The superiority in numbers and decline of previously mentioned processes supports the general direction in linguistics towards using gender-neutral language. The analysis of competitive forms, forms where users of the language intentionally incorporate gender marker, proved that the usage of *male/female* and *man/woman* compounds is a matter of political correctness because the usage of certain types decreases the speaker’s ability to speculate about conclusions they do not want to communicate.

From the whole number of 260 analysed competitive forms it came out that female forms were found in 43% of cases leaving behind forms where woman compounds are preferred

with 29%. The remainder have not been found by Google N-Gram Viewer probably because the terms were too specific or women do not appear in these kinds of jobs.

The background of these phrases suggests that the *female* marker is predominantly used in cases where a particular job is considered to have less social status and the *woman* marker is accepted in cases denoting more socially respected occupations. The analysis also showed that deciding whether to use the female or woman marker is not as unequivocal as in the analysis of masculine markers.

In the analysis of masculine gender markers *male* with 156 occurrences (60%) is much more common than *man* compounds, with no occurrence at all. (The remaining 40% stands for the fact that neither variant was found.) Nevertheless, it does not mean that *man* compounds do not exist. In 90 incidences from those 156 examples the *man* compound was found, but the *male* variant was always more common.

As a result, it is reflected in the overall development of graphical projection. The distinction between female and woman gender markers supports the assumption that feminine markers are ambiguous to use because from the total 188 feminine markers the graph lines of 99 of them are near to each other and often intersect. On the contrary, *male* compounds dominate in the charts with 137 incidences from the total 156.

Case studies demonstrate the contexts where gender-marking is relevant. According to the results, gender is deliberately inserted in such cases where we need to explicitly express the exception from the mental image of the common norms established throughout social, mental and cultural development of society. Among those cases the unique form of nanny, aka male nanny, was found which reflects how language meets the communicative demands of its users.

The analysis exposed that even though affixation constructions are considered sexist and, for contemporary tendencies, inappropriate, some of them are still generally accepted and can be heard in everyday conversation. Nevertheless, they are slowly going out of style in favour of gender neutral language. On the other hand, lexicalized words are so deep-rooted that they are often still used in favour of new gender neutral forms, as in the *fireman/fire fighter* example.

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Appendix

The Corpus

actor, actress; actuary; administrative worker; advertising manager; aerial rigger; agricultural adviser; agricultural machinery mechanic; agronomist; air traffic controller; air traffic safety technician; aircraft instrument technician; aircraft mechanic; airline ticket agent; airline clerk; ambassador; ammunition and explosives operative; animal technician; animator; anthropologist; applications manager; apprentice training officer/ trainer (instructor); archaeologist; architect; architectural conservation officer; art critic; historian; art glazier and window-pane maker; art metalworker; art photographer; art restorer; articulated clerk (legal assistant); artificial flower maker; artistic promotions manager; assessor; assistant housekeeper (domestic help); assistant printing worker; astrologer; astronaut/cosmonaut; astronomer; athlete; auctioneer; audio graphic designer; auditor; author; auto-electrician; auxiliary ship assistant; auxiliary worker in geological survey; auxiliary worker in pharmaceutical; auxiliary worker in textile and clothing industry; auxiliary worker in the timber industry; auxiliary worker in water management; aviator; baker; bank clerk; barber; hairdresser; bartender; basket-maker and weaver; beautician; beekeeper; bibliographer; biochemist; biologist; biotechnologist; biscuit maker; blacksmith; blast-furnaceman; blaster foreman/ explosive expert; blasting works engineer; boatman; boiler operator; boilermaker; bookkeeper; bookmaker; botanist; brewer; bricklayer; broadcaster/announcer; brush-maker; builders' labourer; building and road machinery mechanic; building electrician; building fitter; building inspector; building machine operator; building materials production operative; building tinsmith; building/civil engineering/architectural technician/technologist; butcher; butler; button maker; cab/taxi dispatcher; cabinet maker; cable car driver; cable manufacture labourer; camera mechanic; camera operator; canning worker; capital markets clerk; captain of an aircraft; car mechanic; car service worker; care assistant; career guidance counsellor/adviser; caretaker; carpenter; cartographer; cellulose operator; ceramic model maker; ceramic painter; ceramicist; charter agent/ship broker; cheese maker; chemical industries operative; chemical industry production manager; chemical laboratory technician; chemical plant operator; chemical researcher; chemical technologist; chief/ senior guard; chimney sweeper; children's nurse; choir master; choreographer; circus artist / performer; cleaner; clerk for cash or credit card systems; cloakroom attendant; coffee roaster; commentator, reporter, journalist; commercial lawyer; composer; computer engineer; computer equipment operator; computer network manager; computer programmer; concrete

worker; conductor (orchestral); conductor (tram/bus); confectioner; conservator (museum/ art gallery); construction carpenter/joiner; construction/building site manager; cook; corrosion control fitter; costume maker; court executive officer; craft ceramicist; craft gilder; craft glass etcher; craft glassmaker; craft metal founder and chaser; craft metalworker and brazier; craft mosaic maker; craft plasterer; craft stonemason; craft upholsterer; crane driver (crane operator); crate maker / cooper; criminal investigator; crop treatment operative; croupier; custodian; customs officer (custom inspector); dairy worker; dance teacher/trainer; dancer; data transfer appliance technician; debt collector; decorator-paperhanger (painter and decorator); dental surgery assistant (dental nurse); dental technician; dentist; developing and printing technician; dietician; digger; diplomat; director; disc jockey; dish washer; dispatch clerk; dispatcher; diver; doctor; dog trainer; doorkeeper, porter; draughtsperson; dresser; driller; drilling rig operator; driver of motor vehicles; driver's assistant; driving instructor; dust control technician; ecologist; economist; editor; educational methods specialist; electrical and power systems design engineer; electrical equipment inspector; electrical fitter; electrician; electroceramic production operative; electronic equipment mechanic; electroplating operator; employment agent; enamel worker; engineering fitter; engineering maintenance technician; entertainment officer; environmental protection inspector; ergonomist; ethnographer; exhibitions production manager; faith healer; farm worker; farmer; fashion designer; feed production operator; fibreboard production operative; film critic; film designer; film or videotape editor; film projectionist; financial analyst; financial officer; fine artist; firefighter; fire officer; fire prevention officer; fish farmer; fish warden; fisherman; fitter; flight attendant (steward); flight engineer; floor fitter; flower, scrub or plant grower; flying instructor; food industry production manager; food industry technologist; foreign exchange clerk; forester; forestry machine operator; forestry worker; fringe/trimmings maker; fruit farmer; funeral service assistant; fur coat seamstress; furnace operator; furrier; gardener; gas industry inspector; general labourer – chemical industry/ rubber and plastic manufacturer; geneticist; geographer; geological surveying equipment mechanic; geologist; geomechanic technician; geophysicist; glass decorator; glass jewellery maker; glass making machine operator; glass melter; glass painter; glass production worker; glasscutter; glassworker; glazier; goldsmith; government licensing officials; graphic designer; gravedigger; guide; gunsmith; hand embroiderer; hand lacemaker; harbour guard; hatter; heating and ventilating fitter; heating and ventilating fitter; heating engineer; herbalist; high-rise work specialist; historian; horse breeder; host; hotel manager; hotel porter; hotel receptionist; hydrologist; ice-cream maker; image consultant; industrial designer; information assistant; inspector of

telecommunications equipment; insulation worker; insurance clerk; interior designer; interpreter; translator; investment clerk; jeweller/goldsmith and silversmith/jewellery designer; jewellery maker; judge; archivist; land surveyor; landscape architect; laundry worker; dry-cleaner; lecturer; librarian; lifeguard; lift attendant; lift fitter; lightning conductor fitter; lightning technician; lithographer; livestock farmer; lottery ticket street vendor; machine shop worker; maker of non-woven textiles; make-up artist and wigmaker; management accountant; management consultant; manager for shopping, accommodation or food-service; supervisor; marine engineer; mason; materials handler; mathematician; mechanic; mechanical engineering designer; mechanical engineering production manager; mechanical engineering technologist; mechatronic engineer; medical laboratory assistant or technician; metal engraver; metal grinder; metal refiner; metal worker/steelworker; metallurgist; meteorologist; metrologist; microbiologist; midwife; miller; milling-machine operator; mine rescue service mechanic; mine ventilation technician; miner; mining air control technician; mining electrician – heavy-current equipment; mining finisher; mining mechanic; mining mechanic operator; mining rescue worker; mining/minerals surveyor; model/fashion model, photographic model; modeller (model maker); motor vehicle bodybuilder/ repairer; mountain guide; multimedia designer; multimedia programmer (web site designer); municipal police officer; municipal services worker (communal service worker); municipal street cleaner; museum/ art gallery curator; music director; musical instrument mechanic; musician; musicologist; nanny (nursery nurse); naturalist/ nature guide; newspaper editor; nuclear power station operator; nurse; nursery school teacher; nutritionist; office junior; on-line customer services operator; operational analyst/researcher; operations electrician or mechanic; operative –food processing, or in chemical and synthetic fibre manufacture; optical component maker/ lens grinder; optical instrument mechanic; optician; orthopaedic shoemaker; orthotic/prosthetic technician; out-of-school educator; overhead telecommunications cable fitter; packer; paediatrician; paper worker; paramedic; patent agent; paver (road worker); pawnbroker; pedicurist, manicurist; personnel officer; control officer; petroleum and petromechanical process operators; pharmaceutical industry operative; pharmacist; philosopher; photographer; photographic reporter; physicist; physiotherapist; piano tuner; pilot; pipe fitter; pizza maker; plumber; plywood maker; police assistant; police investigator; police officer/ inspector; political scientist; pollster; post office counter clerk; post service worker; postal transport worker; postal worker; postmaster; pottery maker; poultry breeder; poultry butcher; powder metallurgist; power engineering specialist; power station supervisor /operator; power truck driver; prefab construction worker; press

officer/public relations officer; priest/clergyman/clergywoman; primary school teacher; printer; printing machine mechanic; prison guard; private detective; producer; product designer; production manager in whatever field or industry; professional soldier; prompter; property manager; property master; psychiatrist; psychologist; psychotherapist; public administration officer; public notary; public relations manager; publican in old terms (landlord/landlady); publisher; purchasing officer (merchandiser); quality control technician; quality inspector; radio and TV technician; radio officer/operator; radiographer/radiotherapist; rail transport worker; rail vehicle mechanic; railway carriage and wagon inspector; railway electrician; railway engine mechanic; railway freight handler; railway guard; real estate agent; receptionist; referee; refrigeration engineer; refuse collector; removal worker; reproduction technician; restorer of applied arts and crafts; retoucher; river basin keeper; road assistant; rolling-mill operator; roofer; room maid (chambermaid); rope maker; rotating machine fitter; rubber operator; rubber processing machine operator; safety engineer; sales assistant; sales manager; sales representative; scaffolder; scene painter; scene-shifter; school caretaker; school inspector; script editor; scriptwriter; sculptor; secondary school teacher; secretary (/personal assistant); security guard; servant; sewing machinist; shepherd; shift engineer; ship fitter; ship's captain; ship's officer; shoemaker (cobbler); shop cashier; singer; smith; social worker; sociologist; solicitor; songwriter; sound effects technician; sound engineer; speech therapist; stable hand/groom; stage/theatre designer; state attorney (public prosecutor); statistician; stock broker; stonemason; storekeeper; stove fitter; stuntman; surgical toolmaker; surveyor's assistant; tailor /dressmaker; tanner; tax advisor/specialist; technician; textile refiner, printer, dyer, technologist; tinsmith; tool setter; tool-maker; tourist guide; town planner; track engineer; tracklayer; tractor-driver; train dispatcher; train driver; tutor; typesetter; usher; valuer; varnisher; veterinary surgeon; wages clerk; waiter; wardrobe master; warehouse clerk; watch-maker; watchman /watchwoman; security guard; weaver; weir and dam operator; welder; welding operator; well digger; window cleaner; wood carver; worker in whatever field or industry; zookeeper; zoologist

Table of Analysed Names of Professions

No.	Jobs	Word-formation process	Specific process
1	actor	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
2	actuary	compound	female/woman, male/man
3	administrative worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
4	advertising manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
5	aerial rigger	compound	female/woman, male/man
6	agricultural adviser	compound	female/woman, male/man
7	agricultural machinery mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
8	agronomist	compound	female/woman, male/man
9	air traffic controller	compound	female/woman, male/man
10	air traffic safety technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
11	aircraft instrument technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
12	aircraft mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
13	airline ticket agent	compound	female/woman, male/man
14	airline clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
15	ambassador	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
16	ammunition and explosives operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
17	animal technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
18	animator	compound	female/woman, male/man
19	anthropologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
20	applications manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
21	apprentice training officer/ trainer (instructor)	compound	female/woman, male/man
22	archaeologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
23	architect	compound	female/woman, male/man
24	architectural conservation officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
25	art critic	compound	female/woman, male/man
26	historian	compound	female/woman, male/man
27	art glazier and window-pane maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
28	art metalworker	compound	female/woman, male/man
29	art photographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
30	art restorer	compound	female/woman, male/man
31	articled clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
32	legal assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
33	artificial flower maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
34	artistic promotions manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
35	assessor	compound	female/woman, male/man

36	assistant housekeeper (domestic help)	compound	female/woman, male/man, cleaning lady
37	assistant printing worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
38	astrologer	compound	female/woman, male/man
39	astronaut/cosmonaut	compound	female/woman, male/man, spacewoman/spaceman
40	astronomer	compound	female/woman, male/man
41	athlete	compound	sportsman/sportswoman, female/woman, male/man
42	auctioneer	compound	female/woman, male/man
43	audio graphic designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
44	auditor	compound	female/woman, male/man
45	author	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
46	auto-electrician	compound	female/woman, male/man
47	auxiliary ship assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
48	auxiliary worker in geological survey	compound	female/woman, male/man
49	auxiliary worker in pharmaceutical	compound	female/woman, male/man
50	auxiliary worker in textile and clothing industry	compound	female/woman, male/man
51	auxiliary worker in the timber industry	compound	female/woman, male/man
52	auxiliary worker in water management	compound	female/woman, male/man
53	aviator	affixation, compound	female/woman, male/man, -trix, also see pilot
54	baker	compound	female/woman, male/man
55	bank clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
56	barber	compound	female/woman, male/man
57	hairdresser	compound	female/woman, male/man
58	bartender	compound	barman/barmaid, female/woman, male/man
59	basket-maker and weaver	affixation, compound	female/woman, male/man, weaveress
60	beautician	compound	woman/female, male/man
61	beekeeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
62	bibliographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
63	biochemist	compound	female/woman, male/man
64	biologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
65	biotechnologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
66	biscuit maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
67	blacksmith	compound	female/woman, male/man
68	blast-furnaceman	compound	man/woman
69	blaster foreman/ explosive expert	compound	man/woman
70	blasting works engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
71	boatman	compound	man/woman
72	boiler operator	compound	female/woman, male/man

73	boilermaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
74	bookkeeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
75	bookmaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
76	botanist	compound	female/woman, male/man
77	brewer	affixation, compound	female/woman, male/man, -ess
78	bricklayer	compound	female/woman, male/man
79	broadcaster/announcer	compound	female/woman, male/man
80	brush-maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
81	builders' labourer	compound	female/woman, male/man
82	building and road machinery mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
83	building electrician	compound	female/woman, male/man
84	building fitter	compound	woman/female, male/man
85	building inspector	compound	woman/female, male/man
86	building machine operator	compound	woman/female, male/man
87	building materials production operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
88	building tinsmith	compound	female/woman, male/man
89	building/civil engineering/architectural technician/technologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
90	butcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
91	butler	compound	female butler
92	button maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
93	cab/taxi dispatcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
94	cabinet maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
95	cable car driver	compound	female/woman, male/man
96	cable manufacture labourer	compound	female/woman, male/man
97	camera mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
98	camera operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
99	canning worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
100	capital markets clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
101	captain of an aircraft	compound	woman/female, male/man
102	car mechanic	compound	woman/female, male/man
103	car service worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
104	care assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
105	career guidance counsellor/adviser	compound	woman/female, male/man
106	caretaker	compound	woman/female, male/man
107	carpenter	compound	woman/female, male/man
108	cartographer	compound	woman/female, male/man
109	cellulose operator	compound	woman/female, male/man
110	ceramic model maker	compound	woman/female, male/man
111	ceramic painter	compound	woman/female, male/man
112	ceramicist	compound	woman/female, male/man
113	charter agent/ship broker	compound	woman/female, male/man
114	cheese maker	compound	woman/female, male/man

115	chemical industries operative	compound	woman/female, male/man
116	chemical industry production manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
117	chemical laboratory technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
118	chemical plant operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
119	chemical researcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
120	chemical technologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
121	chief/ senior guard	compound	female/woman, male/man
122	chimney sweeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
123	children's nurse	compound	female/woman, male/man
124	choir master	affixation, compound	master/mistress
125	choreographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
126	circus artist / performer	compound	female/woman, male/man
127	cleaner	compound	female/woman, male/man, cleaning lady
128	clerk for cash or credit card systems	compound	female/woman, male/man
129	cloakroom attendant	compound	female/woman, male/man
130	coffee roaster	compound	female/woman, male/man
131	commentator, reporter, journalist	compound	female/woman, male/man
132	commercial lawyer	compound	female/woman, male/man
133	composer	compound	female/woman, male/man
134	computer engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
135	computer equipment operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
136	computer network manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
137	computer programmer	compound	female/woman, male/man
138	concrete worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
139	conductor (orchestral)	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
140	conductor (tram/bus)	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
141	confectioner	compound	female/woman, male/man
142	conservator (museum/ art gallery)	compound	female/woman, male/man
143	construction carpenter/joiner	compound	female/woman, male/man
144	construction/building site manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
145	cook	compound	female/woman, male/man
146	corrosion control fitter	compound	woman/female, male/man
147	costume maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
148	court executive officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
149	craft ceramicist	compound	female/woman, male/man
150	craft gilder	compound	female/woman, male/man
151	craft glass etcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
152	craft glassmaker	compound	female/woman, male/man

153	craft metal founder and chaser	compound	female/woman, male/man
154	craft metalworker and brazier	compound	female/woman, male/man
155	craft mosaic maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
156	craft plasterer	compound	female/woman, male/man
157	craft stonemason	compound	female/woman, male/man
158	craft upholsterer	compound	female/woman, male/man
159	crane driver (crane operator)	compound	female/woman, male/man
160	crate maker / cooper	compound	female/woman, male/man
161	criminal investigator	compound	female/woman, male/man
162	crop treatment operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
163	croupier	compound	female/woman, male/man
164	custodian	compound	female/woman, male/man
165	customs officer (custom inspector)	compound	female/woman, male/man
166	dairy worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
167	dance teacher/trainer	compound	female/woman, male/man
168	dancer	compound	female/woman, male/man
169	data transfer appliance technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
170	debt collector	compound	female/woman, male/man
171	decorator-paperhanger (painter and decorator)	compound	female/woman, male/man
172	dental surgery assistant (dental nurse)	compound	female/woman, male/man
173	dental technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
174	dentist	compound	female/woman, male/man
175	developing and printing technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
176	dietician	compound	female/woman, male/man
177	digger	compound	female/woman, male/man
178	diplomat	compound	female/woman, male/man
179	director	compound	female/woman, male/man
180	disc jockey	compound	female/woman, male/man
181	dish washer	compound	female/woman, male/man
182	dispatch clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
183	dispatcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
184	diver	compound	female/woman, male/man
185	doctor	compound	female/woman, male/man, lady
186	dog trainer	compound	female/woman, male/man
187	doorkeeper, porter	compound	female/woman, male/man
188	draughtsperson	compound	man/woman
189	dresser	compound	female/woman, male/man
190	driller	compound	female/woman, male/man
191	drilling rig operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
192	driver of motor vehicles	compound	female/woman, male/man
193	driver's assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
194	driving instructor	compound	female/woman, male/man
195	dust control technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
196	ecologist	compound	female/woman, male/man

197	economist	compound	female/woman, male/man
198	editor	compound	female/woman, male/man
199	educational methods specialist	compound	female/woman, male/man
200	electrical and power systems design engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
201	electrical equipment inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
202	electrical fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
203	electrician	compound	female/woman, male/man
204	electroceramic production operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
205	electronic equipment mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
206	electroplating operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
207	employment agent	compound	female/woman, male/man
208	enamel worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
209	engineering fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
210	engineering maintenance technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
211	entertainment officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
212	environmental protection inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
213	ergonomist	compound	female/woman, male/man
214	ethnographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
215	exhibitions production manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
216	faith healer	compound	female/woman, male/man
217	farm worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
218	farmer	compound	female/woman, male/man
219	fashion designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
220	feed production operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
221	fibreboard production operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
222	film critic	compound	female/woman, male/man
223	film designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
224	film or videotape editor	compound	female/woman, male/man
225	film projectionist	compound	female/woman, male/man
226	financial analyst	compound	female/woman, male/man
227	financial officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
228	fine artist	compound	female/woman, male/man
229	firefighter	compound	female/male, fireman/firewoman
230	fire officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
231	fire prevention officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
232	fish farmer	compound	female/woman, male/man
233	fish warden	compound	female/woman, male/man
234	fisherman	compound	female/woman, male/man
235	fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
236	flight attendant (steward)	affixation, compound	female/woman, male/man, steward, stewardess
237	flight engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man

238	floor fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
239	flower, scrub or plant grower	compound	female/woman, male/man
240	flying instructor	compound	female/woman, male/man
241	food industry production manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
242	food industry technologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
243	foreign exchange clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
244	forester	compound	female/woman, male/man
245	forestry machine operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
246	forestry worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
247	fringe/trimmings maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
248	fruit farmer	compound	female/woman, male/man
249	funeral service assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
250	fur coat seamstress	affixation, compound	female seamstress, tailor, male seamstress/ seamster
251	furnace operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
252	furrier	compound	female/woman, male/man
253	gardener	compound	female/woman, male/man
254	gas industry inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
255	general labourer – chemical industry/rubber and plastic manufacturer	compound	female/woman, male/man
256	geneticist	compound	female/woman, male/man
257	geographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
258	geological surveying equipment mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
259	geologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
260	geomechanic technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
261	geophysicist	compound	female/woman, male/man
262	glass decorator	compound	female/woman, male/man
263	glass jewellery maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
264	glass making machine operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
265	glass melter	compound	female/woman, male/man
266	glass painter	compound	female/woman, male/man
267	glass production worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
268	glasscutter	compound	female/woman, male/man
269	glassworker	compound	female/woman, male/man
270	glazier	compound	female/woman, male/man
271	goldsmith	compound	female/woman, male/man
272	government licensing officials	compound	female/woman, male/man
273	graphic designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
274	gravedigger	compound	female/woman, male/man
275	guide	compound	female/woman, male/man
276	gunsmith	compound	female/woman, male/man
277	hand embroiderer	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man

278	hand lacemaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
279	harbour guard	compound	female/woman, male/man
280	hatter	compound	female/woman, male/man
281	heating and ventilating fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
282	heating and ventilating fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
283	heating engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
284	herbalist	compound	female/woman, male/man
285	high-rise work specialist	compound	female/woman, male/man
286	historian	compound	female/woman, male/man
287	horse breeder	compound	female/woman, male/man
288	host	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
289	hotel manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
290	hotel porter	compound	female/woman, male/man
291	hotel receptionist	compound	female/woman, male/man
292	hydrologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
293	ice-cream maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
294	image consultant	compound	female/woman, male/man
295	industrial designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
296	information assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
297	inspector of telecommunications equipment	compound	female/woman, male/man
298	insulation worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
299	insurance clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
300	interior designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
301	interpreter	compound	female/woman, male/man
302	translator	compound	female/woman, male/man
303	investment clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
304	jeweller/goldsmith and silversmith/jewellery designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
305	jewellery maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
306	judge	compound	female/woman, male/man
307	archivist	compound	female/woman, male/man
308	land surveyor	compound	female/woman, male/man
309	landscape architect	compound	female/woman, male/man
310	laundry worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
311	dry-cleaner	compound	female/woman, male/man
312	lecturer	compound	female/woman, male/man
313	librarian	compound	female/woman, male/man
314	lifeguard	compound	female/woman, male/man
315	lift attendant	compound	female/woman, male/man
316	lift fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
317	lightning conductor fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
318	lightning technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
319	lithographer	compound	female/woman, male/man

320	livestock farmer	compound	female/woman, male/man
321	lottery ticket street vendor	compound	female/woman, male/man
322	machine shop worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
323	maker of non-woven textiles	compound	female/woman, male/man
324	make-up artist and wigmaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
325	management accountant	compound	female/woman, male/man
326	management consultant	compound	female/woman, male/man
327	manager for shopping, accommodation or food-service	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
328	supervisor	compound	female/woman, male/man
329	marine engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
330	mason	compound	female/woman, male/man
331	materials handler	compound	female/woman, male/man
332	mathematician	compound	female/woman, male/man
333	mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
334	mechanical engineering designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
335	mechanical engineering production manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
336	mechanical engineering technologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
337	mechatronic engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
338	medical laboratory assistant or technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
339	metal engraver	compound	female/woman, male/man
340	metal grinder	compound	female/woman, male/man
341	metal refiner	compound	female/woman, male/man
342	metal truner	compound	female/woman, male/man
343	metal worker/steelworker	compound	female/woman, male/man
344	metallurgist	compound	female/woman, male/man
345	meteorologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
346	metrologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
347	microbiologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
348	midwife	compound	male/female, man-midwife, midhusband
349	miller	compound	female/woman, male/man
350	milling-machine operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
351	mine rescue service mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
352	mine ventilation technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
353	miner	compound	female/woman, male/man
354	mining air control technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
355	mining electrician – heavy-current equipment	compound	female/woman, male/man
356	mining finisher	compound	female/woman, male/man
357	mining mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
358	mining mechanic operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
359	mining rescue worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
360	mining/minerals surveyor	compound	female/woman, male/man

361	model/fashion model, photographic model	compound	female/woman, male/man
362	modeller (model maker)	compound	female/woman, male/man
363	motor vehicle bodybuilder/ repairer	compound	female/woman, male/man
364	mountain guide	compound	female/woman, male/man
365	multimedia designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
366	multimedia programmer (web site designer)	compound	female/woman, male/man
367	municipal police officer	compound	female/male, policeman/policewoman
368	municipal services worker (communal service worker)	compound	female/woman, male/man
369	municipal street cleaner	compound	female/woman, male/man
370	museum/ art gallery curator	compound	female/woman, male/man
371	music director	compound	female/woman, male/man
372	musical instrument mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
373	musician	compound	female/woman, male/man
374	musicologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
375	nanny (nursery nurse)	compound, blend	male nanny, manny, female nanny
376	naturalist/ nature guide	compound	female/woman, male/man
377	newspaper editor	compound	female/woman, male/man
378	nuclear power station operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
379	nurse	compound	female/woman, male/man
380	nursery school teacher	compound	female/woman, male/man
381	nutritionist	compound	female/woman, male/man
382	office junior	compound	female/woman, male/man
383	on-line customer services operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
384	operational analyst/researcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
385	operations electrician or mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
386	operative –food processing, or in chemical and synthetic fibre manufacture	compound	female/woman, male/man
387	optical component maker/ lens grinder	compound	female/woman, male/man
388	optical instrument mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
389	optician	compound	female/woman, male/man
390	orthopaedic shoemaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
391	orthotic/prosthetic technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
392	out-of-school educator	compound	female/woman, male/man
393	overhead telecommunications cable fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
394	packer	compound	female/woman, male/man
395	paediatrician	compound	female/woman, male/man
396	paper worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
397	paramedic	compound	female/woman, male/man
398	patent agent	compound	female/woman, male/man
399	paver (road worker)	compound	female/woman, male/man
400	pawnbroker	compound	female/woman, male/man
401	pedicurist, manicurist	compound	female/woman, male/man

402	personnel officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
403	control officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
404	petroleum and petromechanical process operators	compound	female/woman, male/man
405	pharmaceutical industry operative	compound	female/woman, male/man
406	pharmacist	compound	female/woman, male/man
407	philosopher	compound	female/woman, male/man
408	photographer	compound	female/woman, male/man
409	photographic reporter	compound	female/woman, male/man
410	physicist	compound	female/woman, male/man
411	physiotherapist	compound	female/woman, male/man
412	piano tuner	compound	female/woman, male/man
413	pilot	compound	female/woman, male/man
414	pipe fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
415	pizza maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
416	plumber	compound	female/woman, male/man
417	plywood maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
418	police assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
419	police investigator	compound	female/woman, male/man
420	police officer/ inspector	compound	female/male, policeman/policewoman
421	political scientist	compound	female/woman, male/man
422	pollster	compound	female/woman, male/man
423	post office counter clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
424	post service worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
425	postal transport worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
426	postal worker	compound	female/male, postman, postwoman
427	postmaster	affixation, compound	postmaster/postmistress
428	pottery maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
429	poultry breeder	compound	female/woman, male/man
430	poultry butcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
431	powder metallurgist	compound	female/woman, male/man
432	power engineering specialist	compound	female/woman, male/man
433	power station supervisor /operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
434	power truck driver	compound	female/woman, male/man
435	prefab construction worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
436	press officer/public relations officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
437	priest	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
438	clergyman/clergywoman	compound	man/woman
439	primary school teacher	compound	female/woman, male/man
440	printer	compound	female/woman, male/man
441	printing machine mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
442	prison guard	compound	female/woman, male/man

443	private detective	compound	female/woman, male/man
444	producer	compound	female/woman, male/man
445	product designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
446	production manager in whatever field or industry	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
447	professional soldier	compound	female/woman, male/man
448	prompter	compound	female/woman, male/man
449	property manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
450	property master	affixation, compound	mistress
451	psychiatrist	compound	female/woman, male/man
452	psychologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
453	psychotherapist	compound	female/woman, male/man
454	public administration officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
455	public notary	compound	female/woman, male/man
456	public relations manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
457	publican in old terms (landlord/landlady)	compound	lord/lady, innkeeper
458	publisher	compound	female/woman, male/man
459	purchasing officer (merchandise)	compound	female/woman, male/man
460	quality control technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
461	quality inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
462	radio and TV technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
463	radio officer/operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
464	radiographer/radiotherapist	compound	female/woman, male/man
465	rail transport worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
466	rail vehicle mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
467	railway carriage and wagon inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
468	railway electrician	compound	female/woman, male/man
469	railway engine mechanic	compound	female/woman, male/man
470	railway freight handler	compound	female/woman, male/man
471	railway guard	compound	female/woman, male/man
472	real estate agent	compound	female/woman, male/man
473	receptionist	compound	female/woman, male/man
474	referee	compound	female/woman, male/man
475	refrigeration engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
476	refuse collector	compound	female/woman, male/man
477	removal worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
478	reproduction technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
479	restorer of applied arts and crafts	compound	female/woman, male/man
480	retoucher	compound	female/woman, male/man
481	river basin keeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
482	road assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
483	rolling-mill operator	compound	female/woman, male/man

484	roofer	compound	female/woman, male/man
485	room maid (chambermaid)	compound	maid/boy, cleaning stuff, see cleaner, housekeeper
486	rope maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
487	rotating machine fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
488	rubber operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
489	rubber processing machine operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
490	safety engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
491	sales assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
492	sales manager	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
493	sales representative	compound	female/woman, male/man
494	scaffolder	compound	female/woman, male/man
495	scene painter	compound	female/woman, male/man
496	scene-shifter	compound	female/woman, male/man
497	school caretaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
498	school inspector	compound	female/woman, male/man
499	script editor	compound	female/woman, male/man
500	scriptwriter	compound	female/woman, male/man
501	sculptor	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
502	secondary school teacher	compound	female/woman, male/man
503	secretary (/personal assistant)	compound	female/woman, male/man
504	security guard	compound	female/woman, male/man
505	servant	compound	maidservant, male/man servant, female/woman
506	sewing machinist	compound	female/woman, male/man
507	shepherd	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
508	shift engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
509	ship fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
510	ship's captain	compound	female/woman, male/man
511	ship's officer	compound	female/woman, male/man
512	shoemaker (cobbler)	compound	female/woman, male/man
513	shop cashier	compound	female/woman, male/man
514	singer	compound	female/woman, male/man
515	smith	compound	female/woman, male/man
516	social worker	compound	female/woman, male/man
517	sociologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
518	solicitor	compound	female/woman, male/man
519	songwriter	compound	female/woman, male/man
520	sound effects technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
521	sound engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
522	speech therapist	compound	female/woman, male/man

523	stable hand/groom	compound	stable boy/groom, stableman/ stablewoman
524	stage/theatre designer	compound	female/woman, male/man
525	state attorney (public prosecutor)	compound	female/woman, male/man
526	statistician	compound	female/woman, male/man
527	stock broker	compound	female/woman, male/man
528	stonemason	compound	female/woman, male/man
529	storekeeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
530	stove fitter	compound	female/woman, male/man
531	stuntman	compound	female/woman, male/man
532	surgical toolmaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
533	surveyor's assistant	compound	female/woman, male/man
534	tailor /dressmaker	compound	female/woman, male/man
535	tanner	compound	female/woman, male/man
536	tax advisor/specialist	compound	female/woman, male/man
537	technician	compound	female/woman, male/man
538	textile refiner, printer, dyer, technologist	compound	female/woman, male/man
539	tinsmith	compound	female/woman, male/man
540	tool setter	compound	female/woman, male/man
541	tool-maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
542	tourist guide	compound	female/woman, male/man
543	town planner	compound	female/woman, male/man
544	track engineer	compound	female/woman, male/man
545	tracklayer	compound	female/woman, male/man
546	tractor-driver	compound	female/woman, male/man
547	train dispatcher	compound	female/woman, male/man
548	train driver	compound	female/woman, male/man
549	tutor	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
550	typesetter	compound	female/woman, male/man
551	usher	affixation, compound	-ette, female/male
552	valuer	compound	female/woman, male/man
553	varnisher	compound	female/woman, male/man
554	veterinary surgeon	compound	female/woman, male/man
555	wages clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
556	waiter	affixation, compound	-ess, female/woman, male/man
557	wardrobe master	affixation, compound	master/mistress
558	warehouse clerk	compound	female/woman, male/man
559	watch-maker	compound	female/woman, male/man
560	watchman /watchwoman	compound	woman/man - guard
561	security guard	compound	female/woman, male/man
562	weaver	affixation,	-ess, female/woman, male/man

		compound	
563	weir and dam operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
564	welder	compound	female/woman, male/man
565	welding operator	compound	female/woman, male/man
566	well digger	compound	female/woman, male/man
567	window cleaner	compound	female/woman, male/man
568	wood carver	compound	female/woman, male/man
569	worker in whatever field or industry	compound	female/woman, male/man
570	zookeeper	compound	female/woman, male/man
571	zoologist	compound	female/woman, male/man

Table of Competitive Forms

Legend: N - near

M - male

F - female

W- woman

Number	Word	Female/woman	Male/man	Notes	Graph - masculine		Graph - feminine		
1	accountant	female	male	man not found		M		F	
2	actuary	neither	neither						
3	adviser	female	male	man not found		M	N		
4	agent	female	male			M		F	
5	agronomist	woman	neither	female not found					W
6	ambassador	woman	male		N				
7	analyst	female	male			M	N		
8	animator	woman	neither	female not found					W
9	announcer	female	male	man not found		M		F	
10	anthropologist	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
11	arborist	neither	neither						
12	archaeologist	woman	male	man not found		M			W
13	architect	woman	male			M			W
14	archivist	woman	neither	female not found					W
15	artist	woman	male			M			W
16	assessor	woman	neither	female not found					W
17	assistant	female	male			M		F	
18	astrologer	female	neither				N		
19	astronaut	female	male			M		F	
20	astronomer	woman	neither						W
21	athlete	female	male			M		F	
22	attendant	female	male			M		F	
23	attorney	female	male			M		F	
24	auctioneer	female	neither	woman not found				F	
25	auditor	female	male	man not found		M	N		
26	author	female	male			M	N		
27	aviator	female	male	man not found		M	N		
28	baker	female	male			M	N		
29	barber	female	male			M		F	
30	barrister	woman	male	man not found		M			W
31	bartender	female	male			M		F	

32	beautician	female	male	woman, man not found		M			F	
33	beekeeper	woman	neither	female not found						W
34	bibliographer	neither	neither							
35	biochemist	woman	neither	female not found						W
36	biologist	woman	male	man not found		M		N		
37	biotechnologist	neither	neither							
38	blacksmith	woman	male		N			N		
39	bookkeeper	female	male	man not found		M		N		
40	botanist	woman	neither					N		
41	brazier	neither	neither							
42	breeder	female	neither					N		
43	brewer	female	neither					N		
44	bricklayer	neither	male	man not found		M				
45	broadcaster	woman	male	man not found		M				W
46	broker	woman	male	man not found		M		N		
47	butler	neither	neither							
48	captain	female	male	man not found		M		N		
49	cardiologist	neither	neither							
50	caretaker	female	male			M			F	
51	cartographer	neither	neither							
52	cashier	female	male	man not found		M			F	
53	ceramicist	neither	neither							
54	chemist	woman	male		N					W
55	chief	female	male			M		N		
56	chiropractor	woman	neither	female not found						W
57	choreographer	female	male	man not found		M			F	
58	cleaner	female	male	man not found		M			F	
59	clerk	female	male			M		N		
60	cobbler	female	neither	woman not found					F	
61	commentator	female	male	man not found		M		N		
62	composer	woman	male			M				W
63	concierge	female	male	man not found		M		N		
64	conductor	woman	male			M		N		
65	confectioner	neither	neither							
66	conservator	neither	neither							
67	consultant	female	male	man not found		M			F	
68	controller	female	male	man not found		M		N		
69	conveyancer	neither	neither							
70	cook	female	male		N			N		
71	cooper	neither	neither							
72	counsellor	female	male	man not found		M		N		
73	critic	female	male			M		N		
74	croupier	neither	neither							

75	curator	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
76	custodian	female	male	man not found		M		F	
77	dancer	female	male			M		F	
78	collector	female	male			M	N		
79	decorator	woman	neither				N		
80	dentist	woman	male			M	N		
81	designer	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
82	detective	female	male			M	N		
83	dietician	neither	neither						
84	diplomat	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
85	director	woman	male			M			W
86	dispatcher	female	male	man not found		M		F	
87	diver	female	male	man not found		M	N		
88	doctor	woman	male			M			W
89	doorkeeper	female	neither				N		
90	dresser	female	male	woman not found, man not found		M		F	
91	driver	woman	male			M			W
92	ecologist	neither	neither						
93	economist	woman	male	man not found		M			W
94	editor	woman	male			M	N		
95	educator	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
96	electrician	female	male	man not found		M		F	
97	embroiderer	female	male	man not found		M	N		
98	engineer	woman	male			M	N		
99	engraver	female	neither	woman not found				F	
100	entrepreneur	female	male			M	N		
101	ergonomist	neither	neither						
102	ethnographer	female	male	man not found		M	N		
103	expert	female	male		N		N		
104	farmer	woman	male			M			W
105	firefighter	female	male	man not found		M		F	
106	fitter	woman	neither	female not found					W
107	forester	neither	neither						
108	furrier	neither	neither						
109	gardener	woman	male		N		N		
110	geneticist	neither	neither						
111	geographer	female	neither	woman not found				F	
112	geologist	woman	neither				N		
113	geophysicist	neither	neither						
114	glazier	neither	neither						
115	goldsmith	neither	neither						
116	grinder	neither	neither						

117	grower	neither	neither						
118	guard	female	male		N			F	
119	guide	female	male		N		N		
120	gunsmith	neither	neither						
121	hairdresser	female	male	man not found		M	N		
122	handler	woman	neither				N		
123	hatter	neither	neither						
124	healer	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
125	herbalist	woman	neither				N		
126	historian	woman	male		N		N		
127	housekeeper	female	male	woman, man not found		M		F	
128	hydrologist	neither	neither						
129	inspector	female	male		N		N		
130	installer	neither	neither						
131	instructor	female	male			M		F	
132	interpreter	female	male			M	N		
133	investigator	female	male			M	N		
134	jockey	female	male	man not found		M	N		
135	journalist	woman	male			M			W
136	judge	woman	male		N		N		
137	keeper	female	male		N		N		
138	labourer	female	male			M	N		
139	lawyer	woman	male			M			W
140	lecturer	woman	male			M	N		
141	librarian	female	male	man not found		M	N		
142	lifeguard	female	male	man not found, woman not found		M		F	
143	lithographer	neither	neither						
144	machinist	female	male	man not found		M	N		
145	manager	female	male			M	N		
146	manicurist	neither	neither						
147	mason	neither	neither						
148	mathematician	woman	male	man not found		M			W
149	mechanic	female	male			M	N		
150	merchandiser	neither	neither						
151	metallurgist	neither	neither						
152	metalworker	neither	neither						
153	meteorologist	woman	neither	female not found					W
154	metrologist	neither	neither						
155	microbiologist	neither	neither						
156	midwife	female	male		N			F	
157	miller	female	neither	woman not found				F	
158	miner	woman	male	man not found		M			W

159	model	female	male			M			F	
160	musician	female	male			M		N		
161	musicologist	neither	neither							
162	notary	female	neither					N		
163	novelist	woman	male			M				W
164	nurse	female	male			M			F	
165	nutritionist	neither	neither							
166	officer	female	male			M			F	
167	official	female	male			M		N		
168	operative	female	male		N			N		
169	operator	female	male			M			F	
170	optician	neither	neither							
171	orthodontist	neither	neither							
172	packer	woman	neither					N		
173	paediatrician	neither	neither							
174	painter	woman	male			M				W
175	paramedic	female	male	man not found		M			F	
176	paver	neither	neither							
177	pawnbroker	woman	neither					N		
178	pedicurist	neither	neither							
179	performer	female	male			M			F	
180	pharmacist	female	male	man not found		M		N		
181	philosopher	woman	male			M		N		
182	photographer	woman	male			M				W
183	physicist	woman	male			M				W
184	physiotherapist	female	neither	woman not found					F	
185	pilot	woman	male			M		N		
186	plasterer	neither	neither							
187	player	female	male			M		N		
188	plumber	woman	male			M		N		
189	police officer	female	male	man not found		M			F	
190	pollster	neither	neither							
191	porter	female	male		N			N		
192	practitioner	female	male	man not found		M			F	
193	presenter	female	male	man not found		M			F	
194	printer	woman	male		N			N		
195	producer	female	male			M			F	
196	programmer	woman	male	man not found		M		N		
197	projectionist	neither	neither							
198	prompter	neither	neither							
199	prosecutor	female	male	man not found		M			F	
200	psychiatrist	female	male			M		N		
201	psychologist	female	male			M		N		

202	psychotherapist	female	neither					F	
203	publisher	woman	male			M			W
204	radiographer	neither	neither						
205	radiotherapist	neither	neither						
206	receptionist	female	male	man not found		M		F	
207	referee	female	male	man not found		M	N		
208	refiner	neither	neither						
209	repairer	neither	neither						
210	reporter	woman	male			M	N		
211	representative	female	male		N		N		
212	researcher	female	male	man not found		M		F	
213	restorer	neither	neither						
214	retoucher	neither	neither						
215	rigger	neither	neither						
216	roofer	neither	neither						
217	scene-shifter	neither	neither						
218	scientist	woman	male			M			W
219	scriptwriter	female	neither				N		
220	sculptor	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
221	secretary	female	male			M		F	
222	servant	female	male		N		N		
223	shoemaker	woman	neither				N		
224	singer	female	male			M		F	
225	smith	neither	neither						
226	sociologist	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
227	soldier	female	male			M	N		
228	solicitor	woman	male	man not found		M	N		
229	songwriter	female	male	man not found		M	N		
230	specialist	woman	male			M	N		
231	statistician	neither	neither						
232	supervisor	female	male			M		F	
233	surgeon	woman	male			M			W
234	surveyor	neither	male	man not found		M			
235	chimney sweeper	neither	neither				N		
236	tailor	female	male		N		N		
237	tanner	neither	neither						
238	tattooist	neither	neither						
239	teacher	female	male			M	N		
240	technician	female	male	man not found		M		F	
241	technologist	neither	neither						
242	therapist	female	male			M		F	
243	tinsmith	neither	neither						

244	toolmaker	neither	neither						
245	trainer	female	male	man not found		M		N	
246	translator	woman	male	man not found		M		N	
247	tuner	neither	neither						
248	tutor	female	male			M		N	
249	typesetter	woman	neither	female not found					W
250	upholsterer	neither	neither						
251	valuer	neither	neither						
252	varnisher (painter)	neither	neither						
253	vendor	woman	male	man not found		M		N	
254	warden	female	male	man not found		M			F
255	washer (dishwasher)	female	neither	woman not found					F
256	weaver	female	male			M		N	
257	welder	woman	male	man not found		M		N	
258	worker	woman	male			M		N	
259	zookeeper	neither	neither						
260	zoologist	woman	neither	female not found					W