

Frauke Gebauer (Hamburg): “Sanotaan, että suomalainen mies on punakka, tanakka ja hanakka.”¹ Taking a Closer Look at Gender Attributes and at how Gender Relations are Represented in a Learner’s Dictionary

1. Introduction

"Oletteko nainen vai ihminen?" 'Are you a woman or a human?'

PresiTentti 27.12.1993 [TV debate with candidates running for presidency]

The notion of 'gender' is multifaceted and can be approached from a great many different points of view. The present account will deal with the topic from a linguistic perspective, i.e. taking a closer look at how attributes for each sex and the relations between genders manifest themselves within language, in this case the language of a dictionary.

Despite the presence of the topic in politics and in the media, much remains to be done to promote gender mainstreaming in society. Earlier, when the predominant social system was different throughout Western societies, a stereotypical picture of men and women was generated. The woman was to stay at home, to help in house-keeping and to help her parents, in her youth she had to remain a virgin. After getting married to a man, she was expected to raise the children. Most women remained uneducated or with very little education – or they were given an education that suited the purposes that others had for women: reading the Bible, sewing, knitting, cooking and counting eggs or cows. In public, the woman often only acted as an adornment for her husband. Basically, a woman was not entitled to make her own decisions, she depended on others, economically and financially. A woman on her own had to fight hard in society, and if she had children, she was hardly accepted.

Despite all the major changes that took place in Western-oriented societies up to the present day, this ancient picture often remains unaltered. In the heads of many people, there is still no such a thing as an independent and happy mother who is a chief executive in a big firm. There are no female superiors. For many people, females do not even work. They are at home, cooking, cleaning and raising children. This is not work, but woman's task by nature. Men, on the other hand, are strong, independent and brave. They make the decisions, at work and at home. They do not need to be pretty, they may allow themselves to be rude, to swear and to drink alcohol. Furthermore, there seem to be no such restrictions in having sex for men as there are for women, men just do it when they feel like it, also before marriage, and go unpunished.

¹ *Editor's note:* This saying, in English roughly 'They say that a Finnish man is ruddy, stout and eager', plays on the phonetic similarity of the three adjectives and the stereotype of a strong male more interested in food and sex than in immaterial values. All Finnish words and examples, untranslated in the original, have been translated by the editor.

This picture, despite all efforts, does not only exist in the imagination of some eternally backward people, it still makes its way into movies and literature, people with such attitudes are elected to public office and – most worrisome, we find it in our present-day teaching material (also Niemikorpi 1998). This paper will deal with a source of this kind: a single language dictionary for advanced learners of Finnish.

The focus of research will be the representation of male and female individuals throughout the book. Male or female characters may be represented by using given names, by indication through direct designations (such as *mies* ‘man’, *vaari* ‘Grandpa’, *tyttö* ‘girl’, *sisko* ‘sister’ etc.) or by apparent reference to one or the other sex via e.g. genitals or other unambiguous indicators (skirts, dresses, beard, bald head etc.).

The research questions addressed will be the following:

- 1) With which frequency do the items appear?
- 2) Which features are assigned to each gender?
- 3) What are the typical illnesses?
- 4) How do both sexes relate to sexuality?
- 5) How are job titles dealt with?
- 6) Where do roles change?

Answering these questions it is important to keep in mind that gender in language is not always neatly laid out for us to look upon, it does also occur implicitly, e.g. in words such as *sotilas* ‘soldier’ or *sairaanhoitaja* ‘nurse’ (Engelberg 2007). Implicit here means that the notion of gender cannot be explained by looking at reality, since e.g. soldiers can equally well be of female sex nowadays, as is presented in two first samples of the material studied:

*Tyttäreni halusi suorittaa vapaaehtoisen asepalveluksen.*² ‘My daughter wanted to volunteer for military service.’
Myös nuoria naisia on nykyisin armeijassa. ‘Nowadays, there are also young women in the army.’

Additionally, neutral expressions like *johtaja* ‘director’ are more likely to be understood in their male sense than in the female sense (Engelberg 2007) and masculine forms of the type *virkamies* ‘civil servant’ (containing the word *mies* ‘man’) cannot be understood to consistently make reference to both sexes – rather there is a tendency for them to be interpreted specifically, as referring to male persons only (Hasselblatt 1998: 147).

2. Data Description

The source of the data is the dictionary *Nykysuomen keskeinen sanasto* (‘Central Vocabulary of Modern Finnish’, in the following NKS) by Timo Nurmi (2004). The first edition of the work was published as *Suomen kielen sanasto ulkomaalaisille, Finnish Dictionary for Foreigners* in 1999. The book contains 17 000 entries, including the most frequently used Finnish words.

This work is a monolingual dictionary that focuses on learners of the language. Accordingly, it does not only provide a variety of synonyms to describe the meaning of the term in question, but also illustrates the typical scope of usage of each word by

² In the following examples, the headword of the respective entry in the dictionary will be underlined.

means of full sentences. The present analysis concerns the entries A-J, a total of 3179 entries (18,7% of the book) of which 570 (17,9%) have been identified as bearing reference to a male person and 443 (13,9%) that concern female individuals.

Altogether, there are 35 denotations for both men and women. Concerning given names, eleven different female names appear, compared to 57 names for male individuals – names of famous people as well as typical Finnish names. In the majority of the results of the data evaluation (43:7 cases) the number of *man* words is higher, as can be seen in table 1 below.

The data are collected for each letter individually, subdivided by word classes (N, V, Adj, and Adv) and collocations or proverbs. The lists are compiled according to male and female reference. To give the data a more comprehensible structure, the attributes (*alkoholisti* 'alcoholic', *ujo* 'shy', *kaunis* 'beautiful' etc.) are listed according to the denotations for different people used in the book (*mies* 'man', *tyttö* 'girl' etc.). The classification criteria for the data are the following: verbal behavior; relation to money/wealth; profession/education; makeup and body care; clothing; relation to nourishment/weight/health; sexuality; relation to the other sex; feelings expressed; general behavior; the person's relation to alcohol.

Furthermore, there are two broader attribute groups that concern mistakes a person makes and other, more specific attributes that cannot be subsumed under one of the headings above.

Certainly, not all criteria are valid for every individual. While some features appear frequently for all members of the same gender, others are special to certain persons. Nevertheless, there is also surprising assignment of certain features to the opposite group.

Table 1 shows the distribution of (fe-)male denotations throughout the entries of the first ten letters, A-J:

Table 1: distribution of (fe-)male denotations in entries A-J

	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
	Nouns		Verbs		Adjectives		Adverbs		Others		
A(423)	27	30	20	9	11	9	8	3	5	1	123
B(66)	5	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	12
C(15)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
D(64)	3	7	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
E(467)	29	29	5	5	9	11	5	5	12	3	113
F(79)	11	3	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	18
G(32)	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
H(1359)	107	85	90	70	65	57	5	4	9	5	497
I(498)	40	24	12	17	18	20	1	2	8	4	146
J(347)	26	12	18	14	5	1	2	1	6	1	86
3179	251	196	147	118	111	100	21	15	40	14	1013

- Male overall: 570 (17,9%)

- Female overall: 443 (13,9%)

- This makes 31,8%, thus almost a third of all entries contain a male or female word.

- Light grey: higher number of female-referenced entries (7 of 50)

- The number given after the letter is the number of all entries for the respective character, the number on the right gives the total of masculine or feminine-referenced entries for each letter.

The different denotations and personal names found for males and females are the following:

Table 2: denotations for people and personal names employed

names (female)	names (male)	denotations (female)	denotations (male)
Agatha Christie	Alvar Aalto (3)	anoppi 'mother-in-law'	appi 'father-in-law'
Liina	Antti Eemeli	akka 'old woman'	eno 'uncle'
Neitsyt Maria 'Virgin Mary'	baarimikko 'bartender'	daami 'lady'	esimies 'boss'
Mariella	Bach	(kana-)emo 'mother hen'	herra 'lord, gentleman'
Päivi Nurmi	Charles Chaplin	emäntä 'landlady'	herrasmies 'gentleman'
Saara	C.L. Engel	esinainen 'female boss'	hintti 'gay'
Silja	Nikolai Gogol	eukko 'old woman'	hulltio 'good-for-nothing'
Sisko	Hitler (4)	haltijatar 'fairy'	isoisä 'grandfather'
Rouva Virtanen 'Mrs. V.'	Veikko Huovinen	hellapoliisi 'nagging wife'	isovelii 'big brother'
	Jeesus (2)	hunajapupu/makupala	isä 'father'
	Jukka	'honey, babe'	isäntä 'landlord'
	Immanuel Kant	hienohelma 'posh lady'	isäpuoli 'stepfather'
	Presidentti Koivisto	huora 'whore'	juoksupoika 'errand-boy'
	Hannes Kolehmainen	ilotyttö 'hooker'	jäkälä 'stick-in-the-mud old man'
	Eino Leino	isosisko 'elder sister'	jätkä 'lad'
	professori Heikki	isoäiti 'grandmother'	kavaljeeri 'cavalier, (dance) partner'
	Leskinen	jumalatar 'goddess'	keikari 'dandy'
	Väinö Linna	juokсутыttö 'errand-girl'	maalaisukko 'old villager'
	Marsalkka	kaunotar 'beauty'	maamies 'farmer'
	Mannerheim	kuningatar 'queen'	miehistö 'crew'
	Matti (2)	lentoemo 'stewardess'	mies 'man'
	Mozart (2)	lentoemäntä	miesystävä 'boyfriend, partner'
	Mussolini	'stewardess'	palomies 'fireman'
	Toivo Mäkelä	morsian 'bride, fiancée'	pikkupoika 'little boy'
	Nietzsche	mummo 'grandma'	pikkuväli 'little brother'
	Alfred Nobel	nainen 'woman'	poika 'boy'
	Paavo Nurmi	pikkutyttö 'little girl'	poikaset 'little boys'
	J.K. Paasikivi (2)	rakastajatar 'mistress'	rakastaja 'lover'
	Pekka (2)	rouva 'lady'	setä 'uncle'
	Pelle	sisar 'sister'	sulhanen 'bridegroom, fiancé'
	Kalle Pääatalo	sisko 'sister'	sähkömies 'electrician'
	professori Kalevi	tyttö 'girl'	talonmies 'caretaker'
	Pöykkö	tytär 'daughter'	ukko 'old man'
	Martti Rapola	täti 'aunt'	vaari 'grandpa'
	Herra Salminen 'Mr. S.'	vaimo 'wife'	veli 'brother'
	Sartre	äiti 'mother'	
	Shakespeare	ämmä 'old woman'	
	Jean Sibelius (3)		
	F.E. Sillanpää		
	roomalainen runoilija		
	Tibullus 'Roman poet T.'		
	Tommi		
	Anton Tšehov		
	Tuomas (2)		
	James Watt		
	Big Joe Williams		
	Lasse Viren		
	P.G. Woodhouse* (2)		
	Väinämöinen		
11	57	35	35

- *[sic] The name is spelt incorrectly, the correct full name is Sir Pelham Grenville Wodehouse.
- Additionally, the terms *parta* 'beard', *rinnat* 'breasts', *kalu*, *mulkku* 'dick' are employed as sex-specific items.
- Once *N.N.* is used instead of a name.

3. Analysis

In his 1998 work, Mantila finds that in the Finnish language there is a word for almost every psychological and physical state a human may be in. Of course, such words draw a certain picture of the members of a gender, via the attributes connected. And they also give an idea of the society that builds and uses the language. Interestingly, the majority of these attributes show a negative connotation, but less so for women. While in 1998 the *Suomen kielen perussanakirja* ('Basic Dictionary of Modern Finnish', PS), according to Mantila, was the only dictionary that contained entries about sexual relations between people of the same sex, in the 2004 edition of the NKS *hintti* 'gay' turns up twice in the lexicon entries studied. Other novelties or changes will be dealt with in the sections below.

3.1 Frequency of Appearance

As can already be seen in the data description, in general the variety of words for male and female individuals seems very balanced, both show 35 items. This impression is contradicted by the frequency of personal names: the number of male names is more than 5 times as high. Moreover, the relation of famous and ordinary people is strikingly different, for men there is a relation of almost 4:1 in favor of famous people, whereas for women the numbers are close to 1:4 for the ordinary people. Disregarding the fact that there are less names for women, what might be the reason for this unequal ratio? In past centuries men had a much greater chance to become famous, e.g. by achievements in their jobs or by the greater probability of being chosen as a character in literature (*Nobel*, *Watt*, *Sibelius*, *Aalto*, *Väinämöinen*). Women back then just were not considered to be part of the rational, capitalistic world.

Nevertheless, there are and have been a great many successful women. While a variety of personalities from different areas (sportsmen, politicians, scientists, musicians etc., including many Finnish ones) appears in the men's column, there is not a single Finnish person to appear among the women named, but instead a British writer and a figure from the Bible.

Other authors have also attempted to explain the imbalance in the frequencies: already Karlsson (1974) stated that language is not objective concerning gender roles, as there are differences in the length of dictionary entries and the frequency of appearance. Niemikorpi (1998) also found that there is an asymmetry between the number of words for men and women. As has already been mentioned, at least in terms of different denotations this is not the case in this book, the number is well-balanced (both 35). But this is just the case at first sight, the picture changes when the frequency of each item is considered. While 18% of the dictionary entries studied mention a male person, a female individual is mentioned in only 14% of the cases. This does not seem to be a big difference, but since this structure is recursive, i.e. a

certain devalorization of femaleness is to be observed throughout the work, it is another factor that needs to be mentioned.

Concerning frequency, Hasselblatt (1998: 150) experienced something interesting: in his grammar book (1992) he paid attention to giving a balanced ratio of masculine and feminine terms. Nevertheless, Alvre (1994: 56) in his review of Hasselblatt's work claims that the author preferred females. In fact, for readers almost equal numbers of male and female references are irritating, astonishingly they perceive this as a prevalence of female-related entries. This is further evidence for the idea that the default case is masculine. As unmarked, it does not attract as much attention as do feminine terms. This goes along with findings from psycholinguistics, more precisely, information theory: here *mies* 'man' has been shown to need less processing effort, contain less information than *nainen* 'woman'. This shows that masculine items are more deeply rooted in language structure, which means that it will also take longer for them to change (Niemi 1998: 45). According to Mila Engelberg (2007), excessive use of male-referenced terms even makes it more difficult for women to remember a text – but not so for men. Indeed, exactly this predominance of masculine gender shows that not only in prose but even in academic texts there is no sign of a greater 'objectivity' (Niemi 1998: 42f.).

Even in female casual speech there seems to be a tendency for the male role to be predominant. Niemi explains this by assuming that this might come as a consequence of the traditional role models of everyday work in rural areas, where men's work has traditionally been important and is talked about a lot. It is very likely that exactly these role models are behind the suppositions made about societal structure in the NKS, too, which will become more visible in the next sections that consider the attributes of male and female persons.

3.2 Features Assigned to Each Gender

Sisaresi on kuin kala kuivalla maalla 'Your sister is like a fish on dry ground'

Veljeni pärjää kuin kala vedessä 'My brother gets through, like a fish in the water'

Mies ampui kuulan kalloonsa 'The man shot a bullet through his head'

Äiti on kakalla 'Mummy's in the toilet going poo-poo'

As can be seen right away from these examples taken from the NKS, there is a large variety of different ideas the author, or the Finnish language in general, appears to have about certain people and their characteristics. Some make us feel more (or less) respect for a person, some evoke the feeling of being unjustified or unjust, a few make us wonder and even others just ridicule the person in question. The features judged to be most decisive are those that appear more than ten times throughout the entries studied. Even here we have evidence for differences in the articles with female people: there are less entries to appear more than ten times, therefore we find a higher total number (44m/64f).

Men:	Women:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - consumption of alcohol (56) - aggressiveness, brutality (25) - knowledge: job / education (19) - dies / kills himself (15 + 3) - is ugly / fat / vulgar (18) - at work: responsible, self-confident, successful (17) - sex-related behavior (staring at women etc.) (16) - is mean, plays tricks on others (16) - is unfaithful (16) - is weak and timid (15) - is delinquent, goes to jail (15) - is ill / in bad shape (14) - is funny (12) - goes fishing / hunting (9 + 2) - is lazy (10) - is confused (10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - family (34) - gives herself to men / playmate / whore (33) - object of men's desire (24) - is kind to other people (22) - beauty (14) - angry / hot-tempered (13) - is a good cook (13) - has breasts (13) - is ugly / fat (10) - is well-dressed (10) - is shy, silent, gives in easily (10) - brings trouble upon her husband (10)

According to these attributes, the dictionary shows men in a very negative light. The only positive characteristics are the fact that men can be funny and the activity of hunting and fishing (although for many people also hunting as an act of killing is considered a violent action, but at least it is described as a social activity that men perform together). Women are presented in a more positive way, though they are reduced to their sexuality or their appearance in five cases. The fact that they interact with other people and care for them as well as their shyness and timidity are perceived to be more likable than the self-confidence, education and careless behavior claimed for men.

These findings go together with Hasselblatt's (1998: 149), who found that if female characters come to be mentioned the task to be fulfilled is reckoned to be typically performed by women, e.g. baking, cleaning, sewing (see also Helbig/Schenkel 1991: 110f.) Furthermore he found that (also Römer 1973), mirroring the situation in the present study, attributes such as 'intelligent' or 'well educated' appear in entries that refer to men. To them this indicates a kind of establishment of societal roles that cannot be accepted. Society and language change over time so that after a while discrepancies between the written description in the dictionary and reality arise. This is of special importance here, since the dictionary is made to be used by learners who will predominantly be young people who are still to form their final picture of society and its relations.

In the same vein, Mantila (1998: 29) detected a negative attitude towards males becoming visible in adjectives, e.g. "*meidän ukko se oli taas sikana juhliissa*" 'our old man behaved like a pig at the party once again'. His conclusions are that the work he examined, the *Suomen kielen perussanakirja* (PS), provides a mainly negative image of Finnish men and women. Additionally, the dictionary is quite conservative. In his study he discovered that a man has to present himself and his social gender by getting himself a good job – to avoid being called weak or incompetent. Additionally, he found that there are many more words with a negative touch for the male part of the population than there are for women – and there seemingly is a word for each single negative property. Conversely, the positive words in his data are al-

most all loans from other languages, like e.g. *herra* 'lord, master, gentleman', *daami* 'lady, dame', *kavaljeeri* 'cavalier'. Words for sexuality also seem to be borrowed in many cases, such as *macho* or *gay*.

Karlsson (1974) claims that there are more expressions for females. According to him, there are also noticeably more words with a negative connotation (e.g. *ämmä* 'old hag', *naikkonen* 'slut', *äijä* 'old man', *akka*, *muija* 'old hag'). In the present study there are examples such as *noita-akka* 'old witch', "*pidä akka turpas kiinni*" 'shut up, you old hag', "*ja se saamarin harppu pitäköön suunsa kiinni!*" 'and that damned old hag should shut up', "*kadulla seisoskeli irstaan näköinen huora*" 'there was a dirty-looking whore standing on the street', "*se saamarin ämmä on aina juoruumassa kai-kenlaista*" 'that damned old hag is always gossiping', "*sano sille typerälle eukollesj, ettei tule enää tänne!*" 'tell that stupid woman of yours not to come here any more!' On the other hand, there are quite a few denotations for men who are socially or morally incompetent, e.g. *heittiö*, *hulttio*, *ketale*, *renttu*, *lurjus* 'good-for-nothing, rogue' (Mantila 1998: 24f.). It seems as if in general there were no such words for women. Women are insulted/called names when their morality is affected: Mantila found *hem-pukka*, *hutsu*, *lutka* 'slut', the NKS comes up with *ilotyttö* 'hooker, prostitute', *huora* 'whore'. This may also happen if women aim at more power than is granted to them from a man's point of view: *syöjätär* 'ogress, witch' (PS), *hellapoliisi*, *pirttihirmu* 'kitchen policewoman', "home monster" (expressions for nagging, dominant wives; NKS).

Nevertheless, men are also not free of criticism, in the NKS we find e.g. *irstas vanha ukko* 'dirty old man', *alkoholistisetä*³ 'alcoholic uncle', *naapurin poika oli ihan hölmö melkein aikuiseksi asti* 'the neighbour's son was a real idiot almost until adult age', *juoppo eno*⁴ 'drunkard uncle'.

Here, as well as in Mantila's material (1998: 27), men are also referred to by their genitals: "*Painu helvettiin, senkin mulkku!*" ('Go to hell, you dick!') Mantila even points out an interesting paradox: while for women there are no such declarations, for men he found the following: "[...] sekä kyrvän että *mulkun* merkitykseksi mainitaan 'vittumainen mies tai tyyppi'" (both *kyrpä* and *mulkku* 'dick' [as referring to persons] are explained with a synonym containing a word for female genitalia; PS).

Engelberg (2007) still mentions that if, however, a female term is used for a man, then in most cases this is done with the purpose of decreasing some aspect of his masculinity, to make him appear weaker, more vulnerable or of strange or bad behavior: "*Akkamainen mies on neiti, joka pelaa neitikiekkoa ja jonka pitäisi vetää hame päälleen.*" ('A womanish man is a sissy, who plays sissy-hockey [derogatory expression for avoiding physical contact in ice-hockey] and who should put a skirt on.')

3.2.1 Female Attributes

To come back to the women, several authors have found many parallels among the attributes for women. Mantila (1998: 15) mentions *turhamaisuus* 'vanity', *sulous* 'grace', *hempeys* 'sweetness', Siironen (1988) in her study of the *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (NS) adds e.g. *lempeäluontoinen nainen* 'a woman with gentle character', *hiljainen tyttö* 'quiet girl', *ujo maalaistyttö* 'shy country girl', *nöyrä vaimo* 'humble wife', *oi-*

³ found under the entry for *absolutisti*

⁴ found under the entry for *eväs*

kukas nainen ‘capricious woman’, *mokomakin isosuu akka* ‘a regular big-mouthed old hag’, *tunteikas vaimo* ‘an emotional wife’. She also lists *kauneus* ‘beauty’, *hempeys* ‘sweetness’, *kainous* ‘coyness’, *koreilunhalu* ‘desire to show off’, *lempeys* ‘gentleness’, *sulous* ‘grace’, *turhamaisuus* ‘vanity’, *uteliaisuus* ‘curiosity’. Niemikorpi, according to Nuolijärvi (1992), names *beauty, kindness and nosiness/curiosity*, Nuolijärvi (1992: 52f.) adds that the choice of attributes may also be traced back to the fact that earlier most writers were men.

Finally, Mantila (1998: 26f.) remarks that there seems to be a slight problem in the depiction of women: they are either depicted as madonnas or as whores, e.g. *huora, lumppu, lutka, narttu, portto, vamppi* ‘whore, slut, bitch, vamp’. Furthermore, while he found *nakutyttö* ‘naked girl, pin-up girl’, there is no *nakupoika*. And most interestingly, while a *vanhapoika* ‘bachelor’ is a person leading an active life, a *vanhapiika* ‘old maid, spinster’ is what a woman remains if she has not found a husband. Or better: has not been found by a man, because most of the previous data suggest that a woman is supposed to be passive and quiet. All these data fit in very well with what has been found in the NKS, the only real difference seems to be the hot-temperedness and trouble-bringing attributed to women here that will be dealt with in section 3.5. The appearance of such forms of behavior even in a dictionary can be taken to be a first indicator of an upcoming change in the perception of women, their self-confidence, their wishes and their present-day image of themselves as free, independent and self-determined people.

3.2.2 Male Attributes

In contrast, turning to men again, we get an entirely different picture. According to Niemikorpi (1998: 37), typical attributes for men are: *determination, wisdom and courage*. Siirainen (1988) adds *vaikutusvaltainen* ‘influential’, *määrätietoinen* ‘determined’, *tiukka* ‘strict’, *rohkea* ‘brave’, *järkähtämätön* ‘dauntless’, *jäykkäniskainen* ‘obstinate’, *vahva* ‘strong’, *rehti* ‘just’, *peräänantamaton* ‘steadfast’, *sivistynyt* ‘civilized, educated’, *viisas* ‘wise’, *ponteva* ‘energetic’, *tinkimätön* ‘uncompromising’, *lujatahtoinen* ‘strong-willed’ and *miehekäs* ‘masculine’. This picture does not completely correspond to the attributes in the NKS. Of course, a large proportion of the above items can be found, too, but there are others that clearly contradict this list. These items include:

<i>vulgar,</i>	<i>Baariin astui kovin epäsiisti mies.</i> ‘A very unkempt man entered the bar.’ <i>Mies ei ollut kammannut tukkaansa tullessaan hotellin aamiaiselle.</i> ‘The man had not combed his hair as he came to the hotel breakfast.’ <i>Naapurin hullu mies haistatteli ja näytteli keskariaan pihan lapsille.</i> ‘The crazy man from next door shouted obscenities and showed his middle finger at the children on the yard.’
<i>confused,</i>	<i>Isä pani huomaamatta(an) kellonsa jääkaappiin.</i> ‘Father put his watch inadvertently into the fridge.’ <i>Mieheni pani aamulla epähuomiossa hammasharjan jääkaappiin.</i> ‘In the morning, my husband inadvertently put his toothbrush into the fridge.’
<i>brutal,</i>	<i>Isä oli julma lapsilleen.</i> ‘The father was cruel to his children.’ <i>Isäntä hutki hevostaan.</i> ‘The farmer beat his horse.’
<i>ill,</i>	<i>Isäni on sotainvalidi.</i> ‘My father is a disabled soldier.’ <i>Mieheni on tullut liiallisesta työstä aivan hermoraunioksi.</i> ‘Too much work has made my husband a nervous wreck.’
<i>delinquent,</i>	<i>Veljeni joutui kaltereiden taakse.</i> ‘My brother got behind bars.’

<i>weak and timid,</i>	<i>Mieheni kärsii monenlaisista <u>fobioista</u>. 'My husband suffers from various phobias.'</i> <i>Mies <u>epäro</u>i istua naisen viereen. 'The man hesitated to sit down beside the woman.'</i>
<i>funny,</i>	<i>Isoisä kertoi hauskoja <u>juttuja</u>. 'Grandfather told funny stories.'</i> <i>Isäntä osasi <u>hauskuttaa</u> vieraitaan. 'The landlord knew how to entertain his guests.'</i>
<i>mean,</i>	<i>Pojat keksivät aina kaikenlaisia <u>hassutuksia</u> tytöille. 'Boys always think of some practical jokes for girls.'</i> <i>Isäni suhtautui <u>homoseksuaalisiin ihmisiin</u> torjuvasti. 'My father had a negative attitude towards homosexuals.'</i> <i>Mies pyrki koko ajan <u>alistamaan</u> vaimoaan. 'The man tried to humiliate his wife all the time.'</i>
<i>lazy,</i>	<i>Se laiska mies ei liikuttanut <u>eväänsäkään</u>. 'That lazy man did not do a thing.'</i> <i>Poika rupesi työn loppua kohti <u>fuskaamaan</u>. 'Towards the end of the job, the boy started cheating.'</i>
<i>alcoholic,</i>	<i>Molemmat setäni ovat <u>kaappijuoppoja</u>. 'Both of my uncles are closet drunkards.'</i> <i>Taas miehesi <u>heiluu</u> tuolla pihalla humalassa. 'There's your husband again, swaggering drunk in the yard.'</i> <i>Minua harmittaa, kun poikani ei <u>harrasta</u> mitään muuta kuin tuota kaljanjuontia. 'It really gets to me, my son has no other hobbies except beer-drinking.'</i>
<i>infidelity and sex-related behavior;</i>	<i>Mies nautti vaimoltaan salaa kiellettyä <u>hedelmää</u>. 'Concealing it from his wife, the man enjoyed the forbidden fruit.'</i> <i>Mieheni <u>haksah</u>ti matkallaan vieraaseen naiseen. 'On his trip, my husband made this blunder with another woman.'</i> <i>En minä sellaisen <u>innottoman</u> naisen kanssa sänkyyn mene! 'I won't go to bed with such a passive woman!'</i> <i>Mies aukaisi taitavasti yhdellä kädellä naisen rintaliivien <u>hakaset</u>. 'The man deftly opened the clasps of the woman's bra with one hand.'</i>

This is more than half of the list of the most frequent items. Furthermore, for some attributes there is positive and negative evidence, e.g. for *sivistynyt*:

<i>Miesystävälläni on hyvin <u>elegantit</u> käytöstavat. 'My boyfriend has very elegant manners.'</i>	<i>vs. Mies rupesi <u>kaivamaan</u> nenäänsä. 'The man started picking his nose.'</i>
<i>Tuo herrasmies käyttäytyy aina <u>arvokkaalla</u> tavalla. 'That gentleman always behaves in a very dignified way.'</i>	<i>Isä <u>karjui</u> naapurille ikkunasta kurkku suorana. 'The father yelled at the neighbour from the window.'</i>
<i>Hän avasi <u>herrasmiehenä</u> naisille oven. 'Being a gentleman, he opened the door for the ladies.'</i>	<i>Mies <u>töllisteli</u> meitä <u>haavi</u> (suu) auki. 'The man gaped at us.'</i>
<i>Sillä herrasmiehellä on aina niin <u>huoliteltu</u> käytös. 'That gentleman always shows such refined manners.'</i>	<i>Mieheni <u>hyppää</u> jatkuvasti vieraissa naisissa. 'My husband keeps running after other women.'</i>
	<i>Naapurin hullu ukko kävi taas <u>huutamassa</u> ulko-ovella kurkku suorana. 'That crazy old man next door was there yelling at our door once again.'</i>

In all such cases, expectedly, the number of negative items is higher.

Recalling the list from the beginning of the section, the most prominent feature concerning the male part remained undiscussed up to this point: the consumption of alcohol. It constitutes an incredible 10% of all entries concerning men, although there are persons like (*pikku*)*poika* 'little boy' who do not drink alcoholic beverages. This worrisome property confirms a popular stereotype of men in general and especially of Finnish men, at least from a German point of view. A very special case is *setä*

‘(paternal) uncle’, where five of six entries make reference to alcohol. Also for *eno* ‘(maternal) uncle’ more than half (6:11) entries are related to drinking. The problem with drinking becomes clear here, too, it emphasizes the negative attributes given in the list for men before: *aggressiveness*, *ugliness*, *unfaithfulness*, even frightening little girls:

Humalainen ryhtyi ahdistelemaan pikkutyttöjä. ‘The drunken man started to harass little girls.’

Other examples are:

Seurasimme humalaisen ukon holtitonta kävelyä tiellä. ‘We watched the drunken old man’s unstable walking on the road.’

Mies ajoi autoa alkoholin vaikutuksen alaisena. ‘The man drove a car under the effect of alcohol.’

Juoppo veljesi käyttäytyi juhlassa jälleen oikein holtittomasti. ‘That drunkard brother of yours lost his control at the party once again.’

Mikäli vanhat enteet pitävät paikkansa, mieheni tulee pikkujoulusta taas umpihumalassa. ‘If old omens are to be trusted, my husband will once again come home from the party dead drunk.’

There are only two examples in which women behave the same way as men do, in all other cases they behave as described by the list above:

Nainen oli heittäytynyt epätoivoissaan junan alle. ‘The desperate woman had thrown herself under a train.’

Tuo nainen antaa humalassa vaikka kenelle. ‘That woman, when drunk, will let anyone.’

3.2.3 Fathers and Mothers

Mantila (1998: 27) notes that fatherhood seems to be a positive feature, basing his assumption on the fact that he found three diminutives in the PS. This is astonishing in contexts that in general present males negatively. He also states that the word reveals vestiges of patriarchy within language (*isiemme maa* ‘land of our fathers’, *saada isän kädestä* ‘get it [punishment] from a father’s hand’). However, the example *saada isän kädestä* is clearly not positive at all. In the NKS this expression turns up as well, next to e.g.

Isä jylisi suutuspäissään kurittomille lapsilleen. ‘The father grumbled in anger at his undisciplined children.’

Isä oli julma lapsilleen. ‘The father was cruel to his children.’

Varo vain, ettei sinusta tule alkoholistia, niin kuin isästäsi! ‘Look out, you might become an alcoholic like your father!’

Isä purki harminsa lapsiin. ‘The father let his resentment out on his children.’

Äiti huokasi raskaasti kuultuaan isän taas juopottelevan kaupungilla. ‘The mother sighed heavily, as she heard that the father was downtown drinking once again.’

Isä karjui naapurille ikkunasta kurkku suorana. ‘The father yelled at the neighbour from the window.’

These examples show that fathers are not necessarily different from what is said about men in general. But on the other hand, we also have the following examples which present a different kind of man, an image that also incorporates typical female attributes such as *showing feelings, taking care actively, looking after the children or calmness*:

Isä huolehti äidin kuoltua ansiokkaasti perheen lapsista. 'After the mother's death, the father took excellent care of the children of the family.'

Isä oli pukeutunut joulupukiksi. 'The father had dressed up as Santa Claus.'

Isä ajaa aina hijjaa. 'Father always drives slowly.'

Isä hyssytteli lasta uneen. 'The father was lulling the child to sleep.'

Isä haki tyttärensä lastentarhasta. 'The father fetched his daughter from the kindergarten.'

Isäni arvosti myös vieraita uskontoja. 'My father respected other religions as well.'

Mentiin isin kanssa ongelle. 'Daddy and I went fishing.'

Jäin isyyslomalle vauvan synnyttyä. 'After the birth of the baby, I took a paternal leave.'

Isä alkoi huolestua perheen toimeentulosta jouduttuaan työttömäksi. 'After losing his job, the father started to worry about the family's finances.'

Pidän isyyslomaa ainakin kuukauden. 'I will take at least one month paternal leave.'

But, admittedly, not only fathers sometimes have to rebuke their children, mothers do so as well:

Äiti oli aina estämässä meidän hauskoja leikkejämme. 'Mother always had something against our funny games.'

Äiti lohdutti alakuloisia lapsiaan. 'The mother consoled her sad children.'

Äiti käski lasten panna huoneensa järjestykseen. 'The mother told the children to tidy up their room.'

Äiti antoi tuhmille lapsilleen kyytiä. 'The mother punished her naughty children.'

Nevertheless, the general 'tasks' and attributes of mothers are as follows:

Äiti jakoi karamellit tasan lasten kesken. 'The mother divided the candies justly between the children.'

Äiti, mulla on hirveä kakkahätä! 'Mummy, I need to poo-poo!'

Äitisi on jalo ihminen. 'Your mother is a fine person.'

Hänen äitinsä on varsinainen kanaemo. 'His/her mother is a regular mother hen.'

Äiti kantoi nukahtaneen lapsen sänkyyn. 'The mother carried the sleeping child to bed.'

Äiti pesi keväällä ikkunoita. 'In the springtime, Mother was cleaning windows.'

Äiti antoi minulle ison annoksen perunoita ja lihapullia. 'Mother gave me a big portion of potatoes and meat balls.'

Äiti avusti minua läksyissä. 'Mother helped me with the homework.'

Äiti on meidän perheen voimahahmo. 'Mother is the powerhouse of our family.'

Äitini oli oikea talousihme. 'My mother was an incredible housekeeper.'

Äiti ei väsynyt ihastelemasta poikansa erinomaisuutta. ‘The mother tirelessly admired her excellent son.’

So, in general, the same caring and loving that is also shown by fathers becomes visible. The difference is that fathers are rather responsible for providing the principal, basic maintenance, i.e. money, food, safety, love. Love of course is also given by mothers, but they are working beyond the basic, they make a meal out of what has been provided by the father, they are the ones to really overwhelm their children with lots of food, sweets, love and care. Furthermore, they are the ones to understand the more simple problems children may have.

As a last point, it can be said about grandparents that in their behavior they are an extension of what is attributed to mothers and fathers. They love their grandchildren, teach them and indulge them with love and good food. They admit their weaknesses, and grandmothers often think back to the happy times of their youth:

Isoäiti tunnettiin ihmisläheisenä. ‘My grandmother was known as a people person.’

Isoisä kertoi hauskoja juttuja. ‘Grandfather told funny stories.’

Isoäiti osasi tehdä herkullisia karijalanpiirakoita. ‘Grandmother could make delicious Karelian pasties.’

Lähdimme isoisän kanssa kalaan. ‘We went fishing with Grandfather.’

Isoäiti haikaili suloista nuoruuttaan. ‘Grandmother wished to be back in her sweet youth.’

Isoisästä nykyajan nuoret ovat ihan mukavia. ‘Grandfather thinks that today’s young people are OK.’

Isoäiti muisteli huolettomia lapsuutenaikojaan. ‘Grandmother remembered her care-free childhood.’

Saimme olla mummon hellässä hoidossa. ‘We could enjoy Grandmother’s loving care.’

3.3 Illnesses and Sexuality

Also in this delicate area the difference between men and women becomes evident. Keeping in mind that women constitute a little bit more than half of the population on earth and given that their body works the same way as a man’s, we should be able to safely assume that they suffer from the same diseases and disabilities men suffer from. Since both men and women have genitals, why should we not assume that these are mentioned with the same frequency? And how does it come about that while women who have sex are said to do this willingly and can thus be despised as whores, men in general are presented as slaves to their lust who cannot be accused of having done anything wrong?

3.3.1 Illnesses

Taking a look at the overall number of sick people, of the 70 characters we find there are seven female ones who suffer from a disease and four male individuals who are not healthy for various reasons. Although both groups are of the same species, there is great variation in their health problems.

3.3.1.1. Women

The female individuals who have problems are the grandmother, the woman, the sister, the girl, the daughter, the aunt and the wife, i.e. special properties of a person such as social status, appearance, character or profession are excluded. Here we find only terms for women as family members.

The health problems to be found are quite stereotypical. Women are too thin or obese, have asthma, rare infections and look sickish. Older women tend to forget things:

Lihava nainen hengästyi kiivetessään portaita ylös. 'The fat woman got out of breath while climbing the stairs.'

Vaimoni ei saa itseään millään hoikistumaan. 'My wife just cannot lose weight.'

Isoäiti taitaa olla jo vähän vanhuudenhöperö. 'Grandmother seems to be a little senile already.'

Tyttöni on kovasti hoikistunut. 'My girl has lost a lot of weight.'

Tyttäreni näyttää niin laihalta ja hauraalta. 'Your daughter looks so thin and frail.'

Vanha tätini sairastui dementiaan. 'My elderly aunt got dementia.'

Sisareni vaikeaa hengitystien tulehdusta voi pitää jo melkein astmana. 'My sister's severe inflammation in respiratory ducts can almost be regarded as asthma.'

Mothers seem to be a special case, they suffer from all kinds of problems:

Äitini kärsii liian alhaisesta verenpaineesta. 'My mother suffers from too low blood pressure.'

Sairas äitini kärsii myös alemmuuskompleksista. 'My sick mother also suffers from an inferiority complex.'

Äitini kärsii syvästä depressiosta. 'My mother suffers from deep depression.'

Äiti on kärsinyt jo pitkään kaikenlaisista huolista. 'My mother has long been suffering from various worries.'

Äidilläni on Alzheimerin taudista johtuva dementia. 'My mother has dementia due to Alzheimer's disease.'

A special property of referring to women's sicknesses is to emphasize the problem using modifiers such as *paha* 'bad, severe', *liian* 'too (much)', *syvä* 'deep', *kova* 'hard, severe', *pitkään* 'long' etc. It seems that women have to struggle with the ideals and customs of modern society, they suffer from weight problems – sometimes imaginary ones, they develop psychosomatic problems, seemingly as a consequence to stress – a fact that shows especially with mothers, who are often accused of perfectionism. Their excessive devotion to their family and its needs seems to make them put themselves last, which again could be taken as a sign of lower self-esteem.

This problem motivates examples such as the following ones:

Jumppakerho oli äidin henkireikäni kahdesti viikossa. 'The gym club was Mother's breathing hole, twice a week.'

Minäkö holhoaisin aikuista miestä, ei tulisi kuuloonkaan! 'Me taking care of a grown-up man, don't even think of it!'

The second example points forward to section 3.5 that will deal with women who try to get out of their dilemma because they have noticed that there is something wrong with their situation.

3.3.1.2 Men

Men's illnesses have different reasons. A very important reason here is being a soldier, which still is highly esteemed in Finnish society. Predominantly, men are disabled soldiers, have bad vision or hearing, retire prematurely because of illness and die of heart attacks. They are overweight and boys have allergies and pimples:

Katso kuinka tuon miehen maha hyllyy kävelyn tahdissa. 'Look how that man's belly quakes as he walks.'

Isoisä ei kuule enää heinäsirkan sivitystä. 'Grandfather cannot hear a grasshopper's chirping any more.'

Isä jäi sairaseläkkeelle 56 vuoden iässä. 'Father retired because of illness at the age of 56.'

Isäni on sotainvalidi. 'My father is a disabled soldier.'

Emme voi pitää huonekasveja poikani allergian vuoksi. 'We cannot have house plants because of my son's allergy.'

Poika puristeli finniään. 'The boy squeezed his pimple.'

Isoisä oli niin sokea, ettei hän erota eläimen etupäätä hantapäästä. 'Grandfather was so blind that he could not tell an animal's front end from its rear end.'

Isoisä hengitti kovasti hinkuen. 'Grandfather breathed with a loud whooping sound.'

Lihava mies rupesi huohottamaan kiivetessään portaita ylös. 'The fat man started panting when climbing the stairs.'

Mieheni sai lopulta hermoromahduksen aina vain lisääntyneiden vastoinkäymisten takia. 'Finally, my husband got a nervous breakdown because of the ever-increasing problems.'

Furthermore, the NKS suggests, men are more likely to commit suicide. Probably this can be traced back to something that expresses itself as a depression in women but remains unmentioned with men. At least the nervous breakdown hints at such a problem. In conclusion, we see that men suffer more from physical than from psychosomatic problems. A second thesis might be that men – who are subject to enormous stress nowadays, too, see a solution to their problems in drinking alcohol, a fact that has been discussed above. And can't an addiction also be considered a kind of psychological problem?

3.3.2 Sexuality

As has been mentioned before, men are not considered at fault when having to do with sex or having sex. They are also the ones who tend to talk more about the topic – and thus also use a larger variety of words referring to it. Furthermore, they are not considered sexual objects and attractors of lust as women are. This seems to be a relict of our past, too. In olden times, a man had to select a woman, to ask for her hand. Men are the ones who are to be active in sexual intercourse, as shown by expressions such as 'to deflower a woman / to take a woman's virginity'. No one would ever say 'I had my virginity taken' or else, the active part here is the man.

When a woman is actively attempting to get herself a man for the night, the remarks are of the following kind:

Se nainen himosi päästä sänkyyn kanssani. 'That woman yearned to go to bed with me.'

Pysy erossa miehestäni, senkin huora! 'Stay away from my husband, you whore!'

Vaimoni petti minua halpamaisesti vieraan miehen kanssa. 'My wife cheated on me with another man in a vile way.'

Se nainen jakelee persettä kaikille. 'That woman will let anyone.'

Kadulla seisoskeli irstaan näköinen huora. 'There was a dirty-looking whore standing on the street.'

Pidä varasi, mieheni voi tulla minä hetkenä hyvänsä! 'Be careful, my husband might come at any moment!'

Here we easily understand that the woman is acting intentionally. However, her intention is not meant to be understood in a positive way. The woman is presented as a prostitute and a traitor.

Men who intend to share their bed with someone else than their spouse, in contrast, are often presented as helpless victims to a woman's attraction and charm:

Tyydytin yöllä haluni vieraan naisen kanssa. 'I satisfied my desire with another woman last night.'

Tuo mies taitaa olla sinuun ihan heikkona. 'That man seems to have a crush on you.'

Mieheni juoksee vieläkin vieraiden naisten helmoissa. 'My husband is still running after other women.'

Tuo mies on himojensa orja. 'That man is a slave to his desires.'

Mies katsoi naista intohimon vallassa. 'The man looked at the woman, overwhelmed with passion.'

Eräs mies rupesi kopeloimaan minua hississä. 'In the elevator, a man started groping me.'

Mieheni harrasti nuorempana syriähyyppyjä. 'My husband had affairs when he was younger.'

Mies eksyi vieraaseen naiseen. 'The man made a mistake with another woman.'

Miehet kertoivat irstaita juttuja. 'Men told dirty stories.'

Veljeni ihastui oikopäätä siihen blondiin. 'My brother got an instant crush on that blonde.'

Tuo keikari kulkee aina vain hyvännäköisten naisten seurassa. 'That dandy always walks in the company of good-looking women.'

Here it is made evident that a man although performing sexual actions still remains a man, he is not called something like a whore. The fact that he had affairs when he was young rather sounds as if he did some kind of sports, something innocent (the construction is similar: *harrastaa tennistä*, *harrastaa pesäpalloa* 'play tennis/baseball (as a hobby)'). Then we find the term *keikari* 'dandy' instead of "call-boy" or "male prostitute" (these words do not appear at all in the data). Men may also tell their dirty stories or touch a woman in the elevator without being called names, it is attributed to them as if it were normal behavior. The semantics of *orja* 'slave',

vallassa 'overwhelmed by' or *eksyä* 'get lost, make a mistake' create a feeling that the man was ruled by an external force, not longer in control of himself.

There are a few tentative indications that girls or women may also feel attracted to men, but these are by far not as frequent and numerous as is the reverse idea:

Ihastuin siihen komeaan jätkään. 'I got a crush on that handsome guy.'

Katso, miten hyvännäköinen mies! 'Look, what a good-looking man!'

Olisi ihana hullaantua johonkuhun mieheen. 'It would be wonderful to fall madly in love with a man.'

Hän rakastui äkkäaseen mieheen. 'She fell in love with an elderly man.'

3.3.2.1 Sexuality and Matrimony

Another point concerning sexuality is the relation of *vaimo* 'wife' and *mies* 'husband'. It seems as if the picture of a woman changes completely as soon as she is married. She seems to be less desirable, her longing for bodily love seems to cease in the majority of the cases. It remains questionable whether this depends on the husband's boredom, unfulfilled 'hunting fever' or the need for approval:

Olemme vaimoni kanssa jo niin irtaantuneet toisistamme. 'My wife and I have lost contact with each other.'

Vaimoni on kylmä ja haluton. 'My wife is frigid and uninterested.'

Meillä ei ole kylmän vaimoni kanssa ollut mitään sukupuolista kanssakäymistä kolmeen vuoteen. 'My frigid wife and I have had no sexual intercourse at all in three years.'

Vaimoni oli pukeutunut eroottiseen yöasuun. 'My wife had put an erotic night-dress on.'

Luckily, there are also counterexamples:

Pidin vaimoni kanssa aamusta asti pientä esileikkiä. 'Since morning, I had a little foreplay going on with my wife.'

Vaimollani on kyltymätön rakkauden jano. 'My wife has an insatiable thirst for love.'

The idea of the less desirable woman is emphasized by utterances as follows:

Vaimoni kulkee kaiket päivät hollannikkaissa. 'My wife walks in clogs all day long.'

Vaimoni ei saa itseään millään hoikistumaan. 'My wife just cannot lose weight.'

Vaimoni juurusi puhelimessa tuntikausia. 'My wife spent hours gossiping on telephone.'

More examples of what makes a wife less desirable are to be found in section 3.5. The wife is the person who criticizes men most so that this 'type' of woman probably is perceived by them to be the most dangerous – and to some the least attractive.

3.3.2.2 Sexual Characteristics

The data show great differences concerning sexual characteristics of a person as well.

Whereas there are two instances in which male genitalia are mentioned (of which one is metaphorical), beards appears twice, female breasts are mentioned nine times, bras once.

Men, penis: *Pornolehdeissä oli kuvia miehistä, joilla oli kalu pystyssä.* 'The porn magazine had pictures of men with an erection.'
Painu helvettiin, senkin mulkku! 'Go to hell, you dick!'

Men, beard: *Muistitko ajaa partasi?* 'Did you remember to shave?'
Isä ajelee partaansa eikä kuule mitään. 'Daddy is shaving and cannot hear anything.'

Women, voluptuous: *Lihavan naisen rinnat hylliyivät junassa.* 'A fat woman's breasts quaked on the train.'
Naisen valtavat rinnat hytkyivät kävelyn tahdissa. 'The woman's enormous breasts quaked as she walked.'
Naisella oli hillittömän isot rinnat. 'The woman had incredibly big breasts.'
Naisen suuret rinnat hölskyivät hänen juostessaan. 'The woman's big breasts shook as she ran.'

Women, natural: *Vauva imee äidin rintaa.* 'The baby sucks the mother's breast.'
Toivoisin, että rintani kasvaisivat. 'I wish my breasts would grow.'

Women, sexual: *Rakastajani hieroi ihanasti rintojani.* 'My lover gave my breasts a wonderful massage.'
Hyväilin hänen rintojaan. 'I caressed her breasts.'
Nainen kuljeskeli hiekkarannalla estottomasti rinnat paljaana. 'The woman walked on the beach uninhibited, with bare breasts.'
Mies aukaisi taitavasti yhdellä kädellä naisen rintaliivien hakaset. 'The man deftly opened the clasps of the woman's bra with one hand.'

The situation here again shows that while men are rather uninteresting as objects of sexual desire, the woman is very interesting. Not only is it emphasized that a woman **has** breasts – although this is natural and not worth mentioning at all –, eventually, it is also done in a pejorative and offensive way. This is not acceptable as good and neutral language and style that a reader can expect in a dictionary other than one of slang or youth language, and by no means with such a high frequency. Of course, many readers may find such sentences funny, but the insulting character of the examples is incompatible with morality and does not show any attempts to neutralize and balance the relation between the sexes. Again, at this point emphasis should be given to the fact that the work is intended for young readers.

A last point here are the words employed by each sex referring to the other one. Mantila (1998: 21) mentions that there is a variety of terms that either men or women use for the other sex: while women use *kundi* 'guy', men use *eukko*, *pimu*, *sussu* 'dame'. Furthermore, the NKS has *akka* 'old hag', *mimmi* 'dame', *kanaemo* 'mother hen', *hellapoliisi*, *pirttihirmu* [dominant wife], *hunajapupu* 'honey bunny', *makupala* 'tidbit', *ämmä* 'old hag'. For men there are *jätkä* 'guy', *jäkälä* 'old-timer', *keikari* 'dandy', *ukko* 'old man'.

3.4 Job titles and Compounds with *mies / nainen*

Hasselblatt mentions in his 1998 work that in general prestigious tasks are reserved for men, while for women we have the remainder of unattractive activities. This is discrimination on the basis of biological gender, sexism. This observation is elaborated on by Engelberg (2007) who states that there are professions for which it is characteristic to offer a service, to entertain, or to take care of someone or something, and these are termed with compounds in *-emäntä* 'hostess'. This ending classifies the professions in question as women's work and so inevitably splits up the job market into two sections. In her opinion, these examples show how sexist language not only simplifies gender aspects within the population by subsuming individuals of different sex under one term, but also segregates them by ascribing certain jobs to a person who has certain attributes concerning age, character, sex or intelligence. Importantly, we have to see that there is a connection between the person doing the job and the prestige the job is perceived to have in society. The more prestigious the job, the more honorable the person.

Engelberg (2007) also found that the official lists of occupational titles show more and more titles formed with *-mies* 'man'. The corresponding coinages for women are rather of the type of *aula- / kerrosemäntä* 'lobby hostess, receptionist'. Astonishingly, while in 1950 there were six terms of this type, in 1990 there were already 60. This certainly is not a development toward a balanced inventory of job titles.

Here Engelberg (2007) recalls something that has already been mentioned above. For example, in the case of *virkamies* the implicit maleness is not derived from the fact that in earlier times officers had been men, but from the idea that the stereotypical human is male. The same counts for *suomalainen* 'Finn'. This also becomes clear in translation processes. Male-based expressions like *lakimies* 'lawyer' ("law-man") are significantly more often translated with reference to men than are their neutral counterparts, in this case *juristi*.

Turning to the data from the NKS, we find the following:

Table 3: Women's jobs:

<i>sisustusarkkitehti</i> 'interior designer'	<i>graafinen suunnittelija</i> 'graphic designer'
<i>hammashoitaja</i> 'dental assistant'	<i>etumainen PR-nainen</i> 'foremost PR lady'
<i>lentoemäntä</i> 'stewardess'	<i>ilotyttö</i> (2) 'hooker'
<i>lentoemot</i> 'stewardesses'	

Johtaja ei pitänyt siitä, kun kutsuin häntä esinaiseksi. 'The director did not like being called *leading lady*.'

Eduskunnan puhemieheksi valittiin nainen. 'As president (spokesman) of the Parliament, a woman was elected.'

Uusi johtajamme on oikea äitihahmo. 'Our new director is a really motherly type.'

Women's jobs include two cases of *-emäntä* as described by Engelberg. All other occurrences of *emäntä* were independent concepts ('landlady, lady of the house'). More interesting are the cases of male-referenced words denoting a female. In the first sentence it seems as if the director (*johtaja*) does not want to be called a woman possibly for the reasons mentioned above, for women there are other attributes. Or to quote Siirinen (1988: 45):

"Kuten olemme oppineet, naiset ovat pehmeitä. Esimerkki *johtajaksi aivan liian pehmeä mies* kertoo, ettei pehmeys sovi johtajalle. Nainen ei siis luontaisten ominaisuuksiensa vuoksi sovi johtajaksi. Siksi valta on miehillä." 'As we have learned, women are soft. The example *a man all too soft for a director* tells that softness is not suitable for a director. Thus, a woman, due to her natural characteristics, is not suited for a director's post. This is why men have the power.'

The second example is simply a clarification, whereas the third again is playing with the attributes: in combination with the word 'mother' *johtaja* evokes different feelings. From the perspective of cognitive linguistics the case is that there are further attributes being integrated into the concept of a leader.

Men's jobs create a different picture: we do not have to deal with any problems as to who is meant. The eye-catching thing here is that men do not work predominantly in traditional service or caretaking jobs, instead, they are highly esteemed such as the *physician*. Otherwise they stick to jobs that require physical strength, high education or that have been held by men traditionally, such as the *poppamies* 'medicine man'. The only interesting case to analyze here is *lakimies / juristi* 'lawyer' also mentioned by Engelberg. Disappointingly, the neutral variant *juristi* again does not refer to a woman, the complete entry is: *Poikani valmistui juristiksi* 'My son graduated in law'. So although the neutral variant came to be used, it did not make a difference.

Mantila (1998) makes a further interesting contribution in female generics: he mentions *tytärkieli* 'daughter language', *tytärsolu* 'daughter cell', *tytäryhtiö*, *tytäryritys* 'subsidiary ("daughter") company'. On the one hand, this is a very productive element for compounding, but on the other hand the referents for such denotations are not people as is the case with the 'male' ones.

Table 4: Men's jobs:

<i>puuseppä</i> 'carpenter' <i>kilpa-autoilija</i> 'race driver' <i>myyntimies</i> 'salesman' <i>eläinlääkäri</i> 'vet' <i>eversti</i> 'colonel' <i>kotiseutumies</i> ⁵ <i>talonmies</i> 'caretaker' <i>everstiluutnantti</i> 'lieutenant colonel' <i>päämies</i> 'leader'	<i>pappi</i> 'priest' <i>johtaja</i> 'director' <i>poppamies</i> 'medicine man' <i>lääkäri</i> 'physician' <i>graafikko</i> 'graphic designer' <i>järjestysmies</i> 'peace officer' <i>sähkömies</i> 'electrician' <i>edustaja</i> 'representative'	<i>palomies</i> (2) 'fireman' <i>esimies</i> (3) 'superior' <i>lakimies</i> (2) 'lawyer' – <i>juristi</i>
<i>laivan ensimmäinen perämies</i> 'first shipmate'		

3.5 Role Changes and their Effects

Women leave their husbands:

⁵ *Editor's note:* *Kotiseutumies* is the word for a (male) activist who is interested in the history and culture of his home town, village or region, promotes local cultural interests, collects folklore or local history etc. It seems to be a fairly established expression in modern Finnish (more than 56 000 Google hits, as opposed to 56 for the female equivalent *kotiseutunainen*) but it can hardly be called a "job title".

Vaimoni hakee avioeroa. 'My wife will file for divorce.'

Nainen havitteli toisen miestä. 'The woman was after another woman's husband.'

Älä ota itsellesi juoppoa miestä! 'Don't take a drunkard husband!'

Hän on jättänyt sen juopon miehensä. 'She has left that drunkard husband of hers.'

Joka ikinen ilta entinen mieheni tuli juovuksissa kotiin. 'My ex-husband came home drunk every single evening.'

Annoin miehelleni lähtöpassit kuultuani hänen uskottomuudestaan vieraan naisen kanssa. 'I threw my husband out after I heard that he had cheated on me with another woman.'

Women behave unusually aggressively towards men:

Nainen oli huitaissut ahdistelijaa laukulla päähän. 'The woman had hit the harasser on the head with her bag.'

Nainen iski raiskaajaa puukolla itsepuolustukseksi. 'The woman stabbed the rapist in self-defence.'

Tekisi mieleni lyödä sitä ällöttävää miestä halolla päähän! 'I'd like to hit that disgusting man on the head with a log of firewood!'

Aggressive women:

Nainen iski suuttuneena oven kiinni. 'The woman slammed the door in anger.'

Äiti iski suutuksissaan lautasen säpäleiksi lattialle. 'The mother got angry and smashed the plate to smithereens.'

Behavior that scares men:

Vaimo hoputti saamatonta miestään. 'The wife urged her inefficient husband on.'

Se nainen siellä kotona on täysi hirviö! 'That woman there at home is a regular monster!'

Naapurin ukko elää vihaisen eukkonsa tohvelin alla. 'The old man next door is tied to his snappy old woman's apron strings.'

Siellä se pirttihirmu hellapoliisi taas tiuskii miehelleen. 'That dreadful house tyrant is nagging at her husband once again.'

Vaimoni haukkui minut pystyyn kun unohdin ostaa kerman. 'My wife told me off for forgetting to buy cream.'

Mieheni juoksenteli naisten perässä, kunnes tein siitä lopun. 'My husband used to chase other women, until I put an end to it.'

Vaimo suunnitteli kavalaa juonta paljastaakseen miehensä uskottomuuden. 'The wife was planning a clever plot to reveal her husband's infidelity.'

Changes toward gender mainstreaming, away from gender stereotype:

Naisesta on tullut itsenäinen. 'The woman has become independent.'

Miehet juoruavat yhtä paljon kuin naisetkin. 'Men gossip as much as women.'

Minäkö holhoaisin aikuista miestä, ei tulisi kuuloonkaan! 'Me caring for a grown-up man, don't even think of it!'

Myös nuoria naisia on nykyisin armeijassa. 'Young women are serving in the army nowadays, too.'

Tyttäreni halusi suorittaa vapaaehtoisen asepalveluksen. 'My daughter wanted to volunteer for military service.'

As has already been hinted at before, this last section wishes to give an idea of the change that is taking place. Harri Mantila (1998: 24) noted that power relations in a society are mainly described by words for men. This is true. And since it is difficult to change the words themselves, something else has to change – and this is the conception of womanhood. As long as people submit to the roles dictated by age-old stereotypes these gender roles will also be found around those people, in language and culture – and in dictionaries. Thus, the fact that the non-stereotypical woman has made her way into this work – and be it only to a small proportion of 4,9% of the female-referenced utterances –, is a considerable step in the right direction.

In these non-stereotypical examples, women are able to get rid of their men if they do not like them any longer. They do not have to accept the vulgar behavior of their husbands. Maybe women are curious and talk a lot, but they are not stupid, so they can decide for themselves and will find out about their men's tricks. Of course men do not like this. They will react to the fact that their wives do not correspond to **their** image of a woman any more and eventually call them names, but this merely indicates low self-esteem on the side of the man. A self-confident person can take this. Luckily, divorce is no longer a fatal step for a woman. Finally, not even the traditional refuges of men are safe, e.g. the army. But this then is another place where men and women have a chance to arrange their lives together, to get along and show their skills, learn from each other – and hopefully coin new job titles.

4. Conclusion

"Ob es besser wird, wenn es anders wird, weiß ich nicht. Dass es anders werden muss, wenn es besser werden soll, ist gewiss."

(Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Sudelbücher Heft K (293))

On the basis of the previous sections, one must note that there are still many fully-developed stereotypes that easily made their way into the work examined. Now a question arises that has also been asked by Niemikorpi (1998): does a dictionary merely reflect the attitude of its creator(s) or rather the world view belonging to the language system the writers themselves are part of? We could of course simply state that the author is a man. But of course both factors play a role, no one can acquire a language without being confronted with all the connected stereotypes that occur everywhere in language: in single words like job titles, in proverbs, in stories, swear-words and even in scientific texts. Of course, it is desirable to get rid of as much of the biased terminology as possible. Mantila (in Engelberg 2007) states that in dictionaries, certain lexical choices could be avoided in favor of the neutral variant. It cannot be said often enough that especially dictionaries of this sort are not only a reference work for young people (who are thus already presented with a biased picture by their learning material at school) – in this case the book was even compiled explicitly for foreign students as well, who will use it to draw conclusions on the cul-

ture behind the target language, given that they do not know much about the Finnish culture and lifestyle.

But this is fiction. It is impossible to get a counterpart for each masculine / feminine term, there is a natural asymmetry (Niemi-korpi 1998: 44). Furthermore, the male part is more frequent in most parts of language, be it in derivations or compounds as mentioned above, in pronouns or as an unmarked variant. Antero Niemi-korpi (1998: 47) concluded with the following statement:

"Lopuksi voidaan ehkä myös kysyä, vaatiiko sanastossa ilmenevä sukupuolten epäsymmetrisyys mitään tuntuva korjausta? Jospa kielen sukupuoliroolien epäsymmetrisyys ei lopulta ole tasa-arvokysymys vaan verrattavissa esimerkiksi siihen luonnolliseen ja helposti mitattavaan tosiasiaan, että nainen on keskimäärin lyhyempi ja kevyempi kuin mies." 'Finally, one might perhaps also ask whether the gendered asymmetry in lexicon requires any substantial corrections to be made. What if the asymmetry of gender roles in language is not a question of equality but comparable with, for instance, the natural and easily measurable fact that an average woman is shorter and lighter than a man?'

He is right in saying that the problem is not basically the frequency with which the items occur, in this book the problem lies elsewhere. Since the present work is not a dictionary that works with synonyms only, but primarily with explanations via sample sentences, there is a great chance for e.g. adjectives to occur in entries concerning a person or, conversely, for a person to turn up in an entry for an adjective. Similarly, verbs have their own semantics, i.e. for verbs that denote typically female duties like cleaning, baking etc. the probability to have a woman in the entry increases.

Otherwise, it could also be irritating for the foreign students who rely on their own traditional images in trying to understand the Finnish explanations to suddenly find a man cleaning the toilet or a woman doing construction work. On the other hand, this could tell them a lot about the status of development of the Finnish society. So, a certain amount of loyalty to traditional roles is naturally acceptable, but as soon as certain stereotypes are over-represented (like the consumption of alcohol or offensive example sentences with female breasts) thinking has to change rapidly. This does not help anyone, nor would it harm the authors to pay just a little more attention, as Hasselblatt did in his 1992 work.

Finally, there are two more examples from the work that head for the right direction, showing where part of the problem lies:

Miksi miehet saavat samasta työstä enemmän palkkaa kuin naiset? 'Why do men get paid more than women for the same work?'

Miesten ja naisten tyrkkä tuloeroja olisi tasattava. 'The sharp difference between men's and women's income should be levelled.'

This of course would be very helpful for society, but isn't it advisable, too, to get down to the root of the trouble and start with a means we use every day? If the pictures in language would change just a little bit towards more neutrality, a lot of the unnoticed but powerful stereotypes would lose their impact on our thinking.

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