Sex Bias in Japan-Published Monolingual English Dictionaries

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It is acknowledged that English is not a "neuter" language, and the study of sexism within the English language is now in its fourth decade. Some attempts to abolish sex bias are being made, such as the publication of a non-sexist dictionary in the United States. The study of sexism in the English language has also been started in Japan (e.g., Abe, 1988).

When we learn a foreign language, a dictionary is necessary. For non-native English learners, an English dictionary is essential for understanding the meaning of words in writings. A valid question is whether dictionaries, in their definitions of ordinary words or in their example sentences, give particular imagery of females or males which may form unconscious stereotypes even before readers are exposed to the works of writers. Our research shows substantial stereotyping according to sex in four monolingual English dictionaries published in Japan.

日本で出版された英英辞典にみられる性差別

英語が"中性"語でないことは、既に知らされている。そして、英語言 語におけるセクシズムの研究は今40年目をむかえている。これまで、数多 くのエッセイ、小説、教科書などにおけるセクシズムの研究は、英語の単 語それ自体やその単語がどのように性差別を示すかについて論じている。 また、性差別をなくす為の幾つかの試みがなされ始めている。例えば、ア メリカ合衆国では、子供たちのためのノンセクシスト辞典が作られた。近 年、日本においても、英語言語にみられるセクシズムの研究がはじめられ ている。

我々が外国語を学ぶ時、辞書は欠くことができないものである。英語が 母国語でない者にとって、英語辞書は必要不可欠な物であり、文書のなか の単語の意味を理解する手助けとなる物である。英語の学習者は、辞書を 絶対的に信頼し、辞書による影響を受けやすい傾向にある。そういう中で、 辞書にみられる一般的な単語の定着や例文が、我々に無意識のうちに女性 または男性特有のイメージを固定観念として与えてしまうのではないかと いうことが最大の論点である。以下は、日本で出版された4種類の英語辞 典に関する研究をまとめたものである。

1. Introduction

The feminist movement in the United States has brought to people awareness of sex discrimination and has seen the coining of the word "sexism". The first appearance of the word in a dictionary was in the late 1960s. Two definitions of sexism are found in The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (second edition, 1985): 1. discrimination based on sex, esp. discrimination against women; 2. attitudes or conditions that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender.

In this paper, the word "sexism" refers to specific imagery of males or females contained in dictionaries when words are not necessarily considered to have a specific male or female application. This study focused on the following points:

1. imagery of males or females in definitions;

2. ratio of males to females in example sentences;

3. imagery of males or females in example sentences.

Principal materials examined were four popular monolingual English dictionaries published by Japanese companies:

Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary (hereinafter referred to as ISED), Kaitakusha, 1987.

Kenkyusha's New Collegiate Dictionary of English Language (hereinafter referred to as NCDEL), Kenkyusha, 1987.

Sanseido's Concise English Dictionary (hereinafter referred to as CED), Sanseido, 1987.

Obunsha's Senior English Dictionary With Japanese Annotation (hereinafter referred to as SED), Obunsha, 1987.

2. Imagery of Males or Females in Definitions

Definitions connected with human beings were divided into female imagery and male imagery.

2.1 Female Imagery

The following questions were put to seventeen American (and native English speaking) visitors to Hiroshima's peace park, in order to observe how they would answer such questions. The results are shown in Table 1.

	Table 1							
Q. Which gender do you use these words with?								
	male female both ?*							
hairdresser	0	5	12	0				
pony tail	0	6	11	0				
pin-up	0	4	13	0				
barren	0	13	0	4				
coquette	1	13	0	3				
beauty	0	17	0	0				
jilt	0	2	12	3				
debutante	0	16	1	0				
dower	0	8	0	9				
curtsy	0	16	0	1				
concubines	0	15	0	2				
companion	1	6	9	1				
nurse	0	2	15	0				
* word not re	ecogniz	ed or no	answe	er given				

It can be seen that some native speakers from the U.S. claimed that a number of the words could be used with either gender, though these words assume female gender in one or another of the four Japanese dictionaries. The following five words were looked up in dictionaries published in the United States to check how they define them. The definitions, given below, seem to indicate that these words can be used with either gender. These definitions are compared with those definitions found to favor one sex or the other in one or more of the Japanese dictionaries.

Table 2				
	Japan-published dictionaries	Webster's ¹	American Heritage²	
hairdresser	a person who cuts or arranges women's hair (NCDEL)	one whose occu- pation is the dressing or cutting of hair	a person who arranges hair	
ponytail	a style of girl's hair- dressing in which the hair is clasped in the	a style of arrang- ing hair to res- emble a pony's	a hair style in which the hair is clasped in the	

(pony tail)	back so as to hang down like a pony's tail (NCDEL)	tail; also: hair arranged in this style	back so as to hang down like a pony's tail	
pin-up	a picture of a very attractive girl, pinned up on a wall (NCDEL) (CED) a picture of a very attractive girl, to be displayed on a wall (SED)	something fasten- ed to a wall; as: a photograph of a pin-up girl	a picture to be pinned up on a wall, esp. a pho- tograph of a sexually attrac- tive woman or movie star	
jilt (n)	a woman who does this [(v) to get rid of a lover after pretending to love him] (ISED) a woman who rejects or casts off a man whom she previously accepted as a lover (NCDEL) a woman who first encourages a man and then casts him off (CED) a woman who rejects a previously accepted lover (SED)	one who capri- ciously or unfeelingly drops a lover	a woman who discards a lover	
nurse (n)	a girl or woman who has charge of or looks after young children (ISED) a woman who cares for and brings up the young children or babies of another (NCDEL) a woman who takes care of the young babies of another person (CED) a woman who takes care of children (SED)	a woman who takes care of a young child	a person em- ployed to take care of a young child: nursemaid	

¹ Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 1987
² The American Heritage Dictionary, Second College Edition, 1985

From these results it can be inferred that editors added the specific imagery of females to these words, though they seem not necessarily to be considered to have exclusively female application.

2.2 Male Imagery Words which are not necessarily considered to have a specific male application were examined. It was found that these definitions mainly referred to occupations or physical characteristics.

The following occupations can include both males and females. This is also made clear by the wording of the definitions.

	Group 1				
i) doctor: one who has studied diseases and how to treat them: one who practices medicine					
ii) grocer: a person who sells dry and tinned goo soap, candles, etc. (NCDEL)					
iii) employee: iv) merchant:	a person employed for wages (CED) a person who buys and sells goods (SED)				

But there are some definitions which contain male references.

	Group 2				
v) dentist:	a man who looks after teeth, filling holes in them, taking them out when neces- sary, and fitting new ones (ISED)				
vi) butcher:	 a man who makes a business of kill- ing animals for food a man who keeps a meat shop (NCDEL) 				
vii) labourer: viii) dealer:	a man doing work for wages (CED) a man who trades (SED)				

To see if the occupations in Group 2 were open only to males, those words were looked up in the other three dictionaries.

	Group 3					
ix) dentist:	a person who makes a business of treat- ing (e.g., filling, cleaning, taking out) teeth (NCDEL)					
	one who practices dental surgery (CED) a doctor whose work is to take care of the teeth (SED)					
x) butcher:	one who kills animals, cuts them up, and sells the meat (ISED) one who kills animals for food; a meat dealer (CED)					

(butcher)	1. a person whose business is to kill animals for food
xi) labourer:	2. a person who sells meat (SED) one who works with his hands, as agri- cultural labourers (= farmworkers) (ISED) a person who labours, esp. with hands (NCDEL)
xii) dealer:	a worker, esp. one who works with his hands (SED) a person who buys and sells goods (ISED) a person or group who trades (NCDEL) one who trades (CED)

By looking at these definitions, it can be seen that the occupations in question are not necessarily defined as all-male occupations.

The occupations in Group 2 are similar to those in Group 1. For example, comparing *dentist* with *doctor* in ISED, there is no significant difference between them to necessitate differentiating one from the other by male vs. generic reference. Since these words are defined with male reference (though they were intended by the writer to refer to both genders), it can be said that these dictionary writers have made arbitrary choices in their selection of words for the defining of terms, or that the usages of "man" in the definitions of Group 2 words were specifically intended to be male references. Which, indeed, could it be?

	Group 4					
xiii) body: the whole material part of a man or an mal (ISED) (NCDEL) (CED) the physical structure of the man or an						
	animal (SED)					
xiv) skin:	the outer covering of the body in men and animals (ISED)					
	the covering of the body in men, animals and plants (CED)					
xv) human:	1. of man; belonging to man (not to God or animals) (NCDEL)					

224

xvi) backbone:	1. the main bone along the center of the
	back in man or otheranimals; the spine
	(SED)

Since the compilers of the dictionaries supplying the above definitions obviously could not have intended to say that only males have bodies, skin, and so forth, it must be concluded that their choice of male or neutral references are arbitrary.

3. Ratio of Males to Females in Example Sentences

3.1 Method of Counting

References to males or females in example sentences were counted in the following manner:

When a pronoun referred to a previously counted word, it was not counted separately (e.g., *Tom's father and mother went out and left him in the house alone*. [SED] = male 2; female 1).

The word "man" was counted as male even when it could have been intended as generic (e.g., All men are equal. [SED] = male 1). Words were not counted which have no sex in themselves (e.g., doctor, teacher, singer, etc.). But if it was revealed that one or the other sex was referred to, the words were counted appropriately. The doctor gave us a careful examination. (SED) = no count The singer made her first appearance. (NCDEL) = female 1Words with the suffix "-man" were counted as male (e.g., policeman, chairman, fireman, etc.).

3.2 Results

Following a count of the words, it was found that males appeared 5470 times in ISED, 8824 times in NCDEL, 809 times in CED, and 2832 times in SED. Females appeared 977 times in ISED, 2129 times in NCDEL, 173 times in CED, and 1036 times in SED.

It can be seen that an imbalance exists in all four dictionaries, showing a stronger focus on males. This is in spite of the fact that none of these words are necessarily considered to have a specific male or female application.

Table 3. Ratio (Number) of references						
	ISED	NCDEL	CED	SED		
male	5.6 (5470)	4.1 (8824)	4.7 (809)	2.7 (2832)		
female	1.0 (977)	1.0 (2129)	1.0 (173)	1.0 (1036)		

4. Imagery of Males or Females in Example Sentences

Example sentences were examined for imagery which might not be relevant to the actual use of the words. Focus was put not on the words themselves, that is not on whether the words themselves contained sex bias, but on how the dictionaries defined words that do not contain sex bias. Furthermore, examination was made of what kind of context these words were given in the example sentences in which they were used.

First, example sentences connected with males or females were examined. The words which gave some particular imagery of males or females in those sentences were selected, collected, and categorized into five groups: those referring to *character*, referring to *mental ability*, referring to *occupation and work*, referring to *money*, and referring to *appearance*.

4.1 Character

4.1.1 Males are stronger than females.

- 1. He had braved death a hundred times. (ISED)
- 2. A strong man can lift heavy things. (NCDEL)
- 3. an able-bodied seaman (CED)
- 4. He is a man of strong will. (SED)

Focusing on the *strong* image mentally and physically, males appeared 52 times in ISED, 53 times in NCDEL, 4 times in CED, and 24 times in SED, while females appeared only once in NCDEL and not at all in ISED, CED, or SED. The one example in which females were strong ("Woman as she was [= though she was a woman], she was brave.") even helps to confirm the idea that females are not usually strong.

<u></u>	Table 4. Strength				
	ISED	NCDEL	CED	SED	
male	52	53	4	24	
female	0	1	0	0	

4.1.2 Males fear more often than females.

5. He was speechless with fear. (ISED)

6. He was struck dumb with terror. (NCDEL)

7. She screamed (out) that there was a ghost by the window.

(NCDEL)

8. He shrank from the danger. (CED)

9. He averted his eyes from the horrible sight. (SED)

In the words related to *fear*, males appeared 22 times in ISED, 20 times in NCDEL, 9 times in CED, and 8 times in SED, while females appeared 9 times in ISED, 12 times in NCDEL, not all in CED, and twice in SED. Differences were not found in the objects males and females are frightened of, but a different reaction toward *fear* was found in NCDEL. (See example sentences 6 and 7.) Although males are shown to be stronger than females in Table 4, males fear more often than females.

Table 5. Fear					
	ISED NCDEL CED SED				
male	22	20	9	8	
female	9	12	0	2	

4.1.3 Females cry more than males.

10. Sobs shook her frame. (ISED)

11. Her tears melted my heart (NCDEL)

12. Tear blurred her eyes. (CED)

13. She was crying over her misfortune. (SED)

Focusing on the imagery of cry, tears, weep, and sob, females appeared 21 times in ISED, 43 times in NCDEL, 3 times in CED, and 19 times in SED, while males appeared 4 times in ISED and NCDEL, only once in SED, and not at all in CED. (The one example of male tears in SED was "He sobs in his joy." The male was not crying because he was sad but because he was happy.) Although male tears are not different from females' in ISED and NCDEL (e.g., *Tears rained down his cheeks* [ISED]; *He wept over his sad fate* [NCDEL]), male appearance in this imagery is quite rate compared with that of females.

	,	Fable 6	. Cryin	g	
	ISED	NCDE	L CED	SED	
male	4	. 4	0	1	
females	21	43	3	19	

4.1.4 Males get angry more often than females.

14. His blood is up. (ISED)

15. His face turned red with anger. (NCDEL)

16. He vented his anger on the dog. (CED)

17. He was consumed with rage. (SED)

Focusing on the imagery of *anger*, males appeared 39 times in ISED, 38 times in NCDEL, 11 times in CED, and 19 times in SED, while females appeared 5 times in ISED and SED, twice in NCDEL, and 3 times in CED. Thus, females also have the imagery of *anger*, but did not appear this way was often as males did.

		Table	7. Ange	r	
	ISED	NCDEI	CED	SED	
male	39	38	11	19	
female	5	2	3	5	

4.2 Ability

4.2.1 Males exhibit good mental ability more often than females.

Focusing on the imagery of good mental ability, males appeared 66 times in ISED, 92 times in NCDEL, 20 times in CED, 52 times in SED; while females appeared 9 times in ISED, 5 times in NCDEL, 3 times in CED, and 7 times in SED. Moreover, males are described in more various ways than females, as follows:

male: able; alert; brain; bright; brilliant; clever; cultured; cultivated; decision; educated; excellent; genius; great; knowledge; sharp; talent; wise; wit female: clever; fine; neat; wise

	Table 8	. Good	menta	al ability.	
	ISED	NCDE	L CED	SED	
male	66	92	20	52	
female	9	5	3	7	

4.2.2 Males exhibit a wider variety of skills than females, and certain types of skills are marked for sex.

Skills were categorized into five groups, as follows:

	Table 9. Skills	
	Male	Female
Art	drawing/music playing violin, piano	arranging flowers/art dancing/draws/music playing piano/singing
Sports	baseball/basketball/ driving/football/ golf/pitch/rider/ run/shoot/swimming/ tennis	swimming/volleyball
Study	American History/ calculation/chemistry/ Dutch/eloquence/ English/French/ German/language/ mathematics/physics/ Russian/science/ speech	arithmetic/English/ French/mathematics
Household Work		cooking/knitting/ making pies/needle- work/sewing/sweeping
Games	cards/chess	cards

From Table 9, it can be seen that males are shown to have superiority in sports and studying. The imagery of study skill might have a connection with the male imagery of good mental ability (Table 8). Females show superiority in the arts and in

domestic work, but domestic work was not associated with males at all. For example, here are some pairs of example sentences taken from NCDEL:

- 18. She is clever at cooking.
- 19. He is clever with his hands.
- 20. She busies herself about the house.
- 21. He is busy with some important work.
- 22. She is good at sweeping.
- 23. He is good at language.
- 24. She is pretty useful at cooking.
- 25. He is a useful man to know.
- 26. She excels as a cook.
- 27. John excelled in spelling.

4.3 Occupation

Related to the imagery of male or female ability, the job market for males would appear to be larger than that for females. Males appeared in 66 kinds of work in ISED, 78 kinds in NCDEL, 24 kinds in CED, and 41 kinds in SED, while females appeared in 13 kinds in ISED, 17 kinds in NCDEL, 8 kinds in CED, and 14 kinds in SED. Complete lists follow on the next four pages.

4.4 Money

All affairs concerned with *money* were counted in this category, for example, earning, losing, gaining, spending, giving, or having money. Males appeared 134 times in ISED, 184 times in NCDEL, 26 times in CED, and 45 times in SED; while females appeared 9 times in ISED, 12 times in NCDEL, twice in CED, and 7 times in SED. These results show that males are connected with money more often than females.

	T	able 11	. Mon	ey.	
	ISED	NCDE	L CED	SED	
male	134	184	26	45	
female	9	12	2	7	

Example sentences that follow show this tendency:

- 28. Some husbands begrudge their wives money to buy clothes. (ISED)
- 29. His property is reported to be worth a million. (NCDEL)

	Table 10. Occupation Male References														
	ISEI) NCDE	L CED	SED		ISED	NCDEL	CED	SEI						
actor	6	9	0	2	artist	1	_ 5	0	3						
airman	2	0	0	0	author	1	1	0	0						
ambassador	2	1	0	1	aviator	0	1	0	0						
banker	0	0	0	1	minister	1	0	0	0						
barrister	1	0	0	0	missionary	0	1	0	0						
bishop	0	2	0	0	monk	1	2	1	0						
boxer	1	0	0	0	M.P.	0	1	0	0						
bricklayer	1	0	0	0	muffinman	1	0	0	0						
businessman	3	4	0	1	musician	0	1	0	1						
butcher	2	0	1	0	navigator	0	1	0	0						
cameraman	0	1	1	0	newspaperman	2	0	0	0						
captain	1	14	0	0	novelist	0	1	0	2						
carpenter	2	0	0	0	office boy	1	0	0	0						
chairman	5	5	0	4	officer	8	0	1	0						
chief	1	0	0	0	painter	0	1	0	1						
clerk	2	2	0	0	pastor	0	1	0	0						
coachman	1	0	0	0	peer	0	0	1	0						

	ISED	NCDE	l CED	SED		ISED	NCDEL	CED	SED
conductor	0	1	0	0	performer	0	1	0	0
cowboy	0	0	0	1	pianist	0	2	0	1
crew	1	0	0	0	ploughman	0	1	0	0
czar	0	1	0	0	poet	3	10	4	4
diplomat	0	1	0	0	policeman	21	22	2	15
director	0	6	0	0	politician	1	2	0	0
diver	1	0	0	0	postman	2	3	1	2
doctor	18	3	0	7	President	0	2	0	0
dramatist	0	0	0	1	president	0	9	0	5
driver	0	3	1	0	priest	4	2	1	6
duke	1	1	0	1	prime minister	3	2	0	0
eminence	0	1	0	0	prince	3	18	1	1
emperor	0	1	0	1	principal	0	0	0	1
employer	3	0	0	0	professor	1	1	0	2
explorer	1	0	0	0	railwayman	0	0	1	0
farmer	2	4	0	0	sailor	4	7	0	0
fireman	2	1	1	0	salaried man	1	1	0	0
fisherman	3	1	1	1	salesman	5	7	0	2
foreman	0	1	0	0	scholar	5	5	0	4

	ISEI	D NCDE	L CED	SED		ISED 1	NCDEL	CED	SE
gardener	0	2	0	0	scientist	1	1	0	4
hangman	2	0	0	0	seaman	1	1	0	0
highness	0	0	2	0	secretary	0	3	0	0
husband	33	2 1	3	6	servant	2	2	1	0
inventor	0	0	0	1	serviceman	0	1	0	0
judge	0	2	0	0	shopkeeper	2	0	0	0
juggler	0	1	0	0	singer	1	1	0	0
king	62	151	10	24	soldier	20	Б	0	2
knight	3	11	0	0	statesman	10	5	2	0
lawyer	9	4	0	5	swordsman	0	1	0	0
leader	1	2	0	1	tailor	2	1	1	1
liege man	0	0	2	0	teacher	21	17	1	4
magician	0	1	0	0	tradesman	0	1	0	0
majesty	0	0	1	0	translator	0	0	0	1
manager	2	1	0	1	waiter	1	1	0	1
master	2	2	0	0	watchman	3	1	0	0
mayor	0	2	0	4	workman	18	11	3	6
merchant	2	3	0	0	writer	1	6	0	1

Female References														
	ISED	NCDEL	CED	SED		ISED	NCDEL	CED	SEI					
actress	3	7	0	2	maid	0	1	0	2					
bus girl	1	0	0	1	needlewoman	1	0	0	0					
dancer	0	0	0	1	nun	0	3	1	0					
doctor	0	0	0	1	office girl	1	0	0	0					
doctoress	0	0	0	1	pianist	0	1	0	0					
duchess	0	0	0	1	president	0	1	0	0					
empress	0	0	1	2	princess	0	1	0	0					
factory girl	0	0	1	0	queen	11	44	2	13					
governess	1	0	0	1	sales girl	0	0	0	1					
highness	0	0	2	0	servant	1	0	1	0					
hostess	0	3	0	1	shop girl	1	0	0	0					
housekeeper	0	1	0	0	singer	0	2	0	0					
lady doctor	1	1	0	0	teacher	2	2	1	2					
lady president	0	1	0	0	waitress	0	2	0	0					
lady principal	1	0	0	0	wife	56	80	8	21					
lady secretary	0	1	0	0	woman doctor	1	0	0	0					
					woman hatter	0	2	0	0					

- 30. He is greedy for money. (CED)
- 31. He is nothing without his money. (SED)

4.5 Appearance

4.5.1 Being "good-looking" is expected more of females than of males.

- 32. She was so good, clever and beautiful that she was the admiration of all the young men in the village. (ISED)
- 33. She is infatuated with her own beauty. (NCDEL)
- 34. Hate blinded him to her beauty. (CED)
- 35. She fancies herself beautiful. (SED)

Focusing on *good-looking*, females appeared 24 times in ISED, 50 times in NCDEL, twice in CED, and 26 times in SED, while in the same context, males appeared 7 times in ISED, 3 times in NCDEL, and only once in CED and SED.

- 36. He's a handsome fellow. (ISED)
- 37. A handsome boy. (NCDEL)
- 38. A man of fine appearance (CED)
- 39. He was wise and handsome, and rich withal. (SED)

Judging from example sentences on males or females being good-looking, the fine appearance of males seems simply to be mentioned in passing, while good female appearance is valued somehow by somebody. Particular consideration is given to only females' good looks.

4.5.2 Apparel is connected more with females than males.

Focusing on *apparel*, females appeared 48 times in ISED, 62 times in NCDEL, 3 times in CED, and 10 times in SED; while males appeared 14 times in ISED, 32 times in NCDEL, twice in CED and 3 times in SED. This result shows that females are mentioned in connection with apparel more often than males. For example, here are some example sentences from ISED and NCDEL:

- 40. She was wearing brilliant jewels. (ISED)
- 41. He's a brilliant scientist. (ISED)
- 42. She took a long time to choose her new hat. (ISED)
- 43. He had to choose between death and dishonor. (ISED)
- 44. Mary was ashamed of her dirty dress. (NCDEL)

- 45. Tom was ashamed to tell his mother he had failed. (NCDEL)
- 46. She is jealous of my new hat. (NCDEL)
- 47. He is jealous of his brother's wealth. (NCDEL)

From these example sentences, it can be said that females are concerned greatly with apparel, while males are concerned with a variety of matters and are peforming important roles in society.

	Table 12. Appearance											
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ISED	NCDEL	CED	SED							
male	good-looking clothes totals	7 14 21	3 32 35	1 2 3	1 3 4							
female	good-looking clothes totals	24 48 72	50 62 112	2 3 5	26 10 36							

5. Conclusion

Through this study, it was found that imagery of males or females, which could be called stereotyped, exists in dictionaries, which are believed not to have any stereotypes in themselves. Words are defined in isolation, but as indicated through this investigation, a great deal of imagery is provided for these words by the dictionary writers.

Since the dictionary is a very basic book and an essential tool for us, English learners, if it contains this kind of bias, it will, the writers believe, effectively form stereotypes in our minds without our noticing it, and these unconsciously established stereotypes in our mind will affect our daily life. A number of novels, textbooks, and other written materials which are often remarked on for their sex-biased content and sexual stereotypes might originally be the product of a dictionary which unnecessarily perpetuates these images.

Some definitions contain specific imagery of males or females which, it can ben concluded, was added by editors. It seems to the present writers that the editors were arbitrary, in spite of their great responsibility for making a non-biased dictionary for non-native English learners. It is suggested that a conscious effort be made to avoid unnecessarily biased imagery—that is, to avoid sexism in the definition of words.

Also found were imbalances and imagery which are not necessarily relevant to the actual usage of the words. To abolish these problems from example sentences, it is suggested that a conscious balance in the representation of males and females be a serious goal.

Non-sexist words such as *chairperson* and *Ms*. were not defined in these four dictionaries (except that CED has a *Ms*. definition), in spite of the fact that these words are widely used nowadays. Since one purpose of this study is to contribute to creating a non-sexist society, we feel it is important not only to abolish existing stereotypes from dictionaries but also to put non-sexist words in them. If the dictionary users notice the existence of these words, and use them, it will help in banishing sexism from the unsuspecting minds of students—and teachers—of English.

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