

Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Letras e Ciências Humanas

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Gender and Dictionary: Russian Perspective

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Gender and Dictionary: Russian Perspective

Master Thesis
European Master in Lexicography

Supervised by
Professor Álvaro Iriarte Sanromán

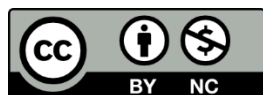
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DIREITOS DE AUTOR E CONDIÇÕES DE UTILIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO POR TERCEIROS

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STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

Gender and Dictionary: Russian Perspective

ABSTRACT

The problem of gender bias in dictionaries has been lately getting more and more attention in the public as well as academic discourse, as numerous examples of gender stereotypes found on dictionary pages have been reported and discussed not only in the academic communities, but also in newspapers, social media and other news outlets. However, this problem has hardly been researched in Russian lexicography. This master dissertation aims at analysing major monolingual dictionaries of Russian, published during 20th – 21st centuries to detect the presence of any gender bias in them and describe it by comparing the representation of woman and man in the corresponding dictionary entries. The analysis results show an abundance of gender stereotypes in the dictionaries as well as certain patterns in the depiction of female and masculine gender roles. The problem of biased gender representation in monolingual dictionaries of Russian requires a more profound critical evaluation and research. Moreover, it is necessary to revise dictionary lexicographic data to eliminate any gender stereotypes present there.

Keywords: feminist dictionary, gender bias, gender stereotypes in dictionaries, sexist lexicography, women and dictionary making.

Género e Dicionário: uma Perspetiva Russa

RESUMO

O problema do viés de género nos dicionários tem vindo a receber cada vez mais atenção do público, bem como do discurso académico, uma vez que numerosos exemplos de estereótipos de género encontrados em páginas de dicionários têm sido relatados e discutidos não só nas comunidades académicas, mas também em jornais, meios de comunicação social e outros meios de comunicação. Porém, este problema quase não foi estudado na lexicografia russa. O objetivo desta dissertação de mestrado é analisar os principais dicionários monolíngues de russo, publicados durante os séculos XX - XXI para detetar a presença de qualquer preconceito de género nos mesmos, e analisá-la comparando a representação da mulher e do homem nas entradas correspondentes dos dicionários. Os resultados da análise mostram uma abundância de estereótipos de género nos dicionários, assim como determinados padrões na representação dos papéis de género feminino e masculino. O problema do viés de género nos dicionários monolíngues de russo requer uma avaliação e uma investigação mais profundas e críticas. Além disso, é necessário rever os dados lexicográficos dos dicionários para eliminar quaisquer estereótipos de género presentes nos mesmos.

Palavras-chave: dicionário feminista, estereótipos de género em dicionários, lexicografia sexista, mulheres e a criação de dicionários, viés de género.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. Introduction

In 2019 the topic of gender representation in dictionaries generated a serious public discussion. Thus, for example, in September 2019 Merriam-Webster Dictionary added an additional sense to the pronoun *they* ‘a single person whose gender identity is non-binary’ (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Later the dictionary also named ‘they’ its word of the year, reporting that searches for ‘they’ on the dictionary’s website were 313% higher that year than they were in 2018 (Merriam-Webster: Non-binary pronoun ‘they’ is word of year, 2019).

Meanwhile, the Oxford Dictionaries were severely criticized, as their thesaurus entry under lemma *woman* caused a public outcry. Thousands signed a petition to remove a list of sexist terms from the dictionary, as a series of misogynistic synonyms to the lemma *woman* featured among others such words as *bitch*, *besom*, *piece*, *bit*, *mare*, *baggage*, *wench*, *petticoat*, *frail*, *bird*, *bint*, *bidy*, *filly*. The entry was completed by such examples as – ‘I told you to be home when I get home, little woman’ or ‘Don’t be daft, woman!’ (Giovanardi, 2019; Fortin, 2019) The protest campaign featuring hashtags #IAmNotABitch and #SexistDictionary was launched in social networks, while an Oxford University Press spokeswoman tried to explain that their dictionaries ‘reflect rather than dictate how language is used’ and that ‘this is driven solely by evidence of how real people use English in their daily lives’ (Flood, 2020).

It is not the first time the OED is accused of sexism. In 2016 a dictionary article for lemma *rabid* was drawn to the centre of the public attention, as its definition ‘having or proceeding from an extreme or fanatical support of or belief in something’ (Lexico, n.d.) was accompanied by an example phrase ‘rabid feminist’. In fact, the dictionary proved to abound in gendered illustrative example sentences, tending to negatively depict women: ‘shrill of women voices’ to illustrate the lemma *shrill*, ‘nagging wife’ for the lemma *nagging*, ‘a bossy, meddling woman’ for the lemma *bossy*, ‘her high, grating voice’ for the lemma *grating*, ‘she’s a wild, promiscuous, good-time girl’ for the lemma *promiscuous* and so on. Moreover, man was always portrayed positively, as an intellectual capable of high achievements, as in the example sentences ‘he was made a Doctor of Divinity’ (the entry *doctor*) and ‘he prefaces his study with a useful summary of his own researches’ (found under *research*), while all that a woman got to do was a load of housework: ‘She still does all the housework’ (under the lemma *housework*) (Oman-Raegan, 2016). While the Oxford Dictionaries explained that these sentences reflected common usage and did not represent the views of the publisher (O’Toole, 2016), dictionary

users kept asking a valid question: ‘Why does the Oxford Dictionary of English portray women as “rabid feminists” with mysterious “psyches” speaking in “shrill voices” who can’t do research or hold a PhD but can do “all the housework”?’ (Oman-Raegan, 2016; Wang, 2016).

The importance of gender perspective in the modern lexicography is beyond question, as the discussion about gender is attracting more and more attention in the society. However, even the most acclaimed dictionaries fall behind the updating and revising their entries in order to meet societal expectations in this respect and reflect the shifting gender norms. Therefore, a critical analysis of gender bias in dictionaries plays a crucial role in the review of their lexicographic contents and their quality improvement.

Another important aspect to take into account is the fact that so far the problem of gender bias and gender stereotypes in dictionaries have not received any thorough metalexicographic treatment. There has not been any theoretical discussions of the possible approaches to solving this problem and every now and then one can hear some justifying remarks (see Giovanardi, 2019; Fortin, 2019) claiming that as long as the dictionary data complies with the descriptive approach, it is totally fine to put gendered sample sentences into the dictionary. Thus, more theoretical discussion is needed with regard to what extent the descriptive approach is applicable to dictionary-making and also with regard to lexicographic data always being a matter of lexicographers’ and editors’ personal choice despite dictionaries’ supposed neutrality and objectivity (Williams, 2020).

1.2. Research objectives and scope

The aim of the current research project is to critically review a representation of woman and man in the major monolingual dictionaries of the Russian language by analysing and comparing the corresponding dictionary articles for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] and lemma *muzhchina* [man]. The focus of the analysis will be on gender stereotypes, if any, present in the dictionaries articles under inspection and on how these stereotypes correspond to the traditional gender ideology¹ widespread in the Russian society. The analysis will concentrate on the monolingual dictionaries of Russian published in the 20th and 21st centuries and will demonstrate how gender representation in the dictionaries changed over time.

¹ In this paper traditional gender ideology is understood as a type of gender ideology that ‘normalizes men’s and women’s differences and justifies their their separation into the public and private spheres, respectively, as well as the inequalities that arise from this arrangement.’ (Jones et al., 2019, p. 1) Traditional gender ideology extends beyond an individual and their awareness and maybe present as an individual’s implicit attitude and also is embedded within the cultural artefacts such as language and books.

1.3. Literature Review

As a part of the introduction to the topic and as a point of departure for my own research, it would be of a great importance to take account of previous works on the topic. Therefore, this section will summarize and critically acclaim the scholarly works dealing with the problem of gender bias and stereotypes in English, German and Russian monolingual dictionaries.

1.3.1. Monolingual Dictionaries of English

The problem of gender stereotypes found on the pages of monolingual dictionaries of English has been described and discussed in critical literature in great detail. As a matter of fact, it is still a focal point of many scholarly papers printed presently and despite the fact that it has been well-researched, it still requires more scholarly and public attention and discussion, a more profound scientific investigation and critical description, as traditional gender ideology has not been eliminated from the dictionaries. As one historian of lexicography put it: 'English dictionaries can usefully be considered as a single edited and reedited text' (Dolezal, 1986, p.48) and they definitely belong to an androcentric ('in the sense of representing knowledge of the world in terms of men, maleness, and masculinity and under-representing knowledges of women, femaleness, and femininity' (Russell, 2011, p. 23)) and sexist ('in the sense of exhibiting prejudice against certain sexes, genders, and sexualities, particularly by fostering stereotypical conceptions of sex roles' (Russell, 2011, p. 23)) tradition. Since they rely heavily on the past lexicographic scholarship, 'the traces of earlier male bias are still highly visible', despite the steps being taken to remove still present signs of gender bigotry (Cameron, 2015).

The active exploration of the English monolingual dictionaries through the lenses of gender ideology began in the 1970s with the articles by H.L. Gershuny (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978), who critically analysed and reviewed some particular dictionaries as well as widely criticized the theoretical and practical grounds of traditional, androcentric lexicography in general. Thus, for example, her article 'Public Doublespeak: The Dictionary' (1975) critiques the use of masculine and feminine pronouns and nouns in illustrative examples found in *Random House Dictionary of English Language* (1966). In particular, she aims at finding out whether the given lexicon 'perpetuated sex-role stereotypes in illustrating neutral entry words and whether one gender was given more representation than "the other"' (Gershuny, 1975, p. 938). The investigation shows the dictionary to abound in the examples of sexism and sex-role stereotypes as well as deep-rooted cultural clichés about men and women. Male gender is ascribed with such culturally desirable qualities as assertiveness, competence, dominance, strength, whereas female gender is strongly associated with passivity, emotionality, domesticity,

subjectivity (Gershuny, 1975, p. 939). Although men are also negatively impacted by sex-role stereotyping, this phenomenon is more harmful to women, who are traditionally depicted as subordinate and inferior to men. Moreover, the dictionary constructed a decidedly negative picture for feminine words in contexts where the already negative stereotype is illustrated. For instance, not only is she always shown as incompetent and irritating, but also she is depicted so even in such stereotyped feminine contexts as cooking, talking and emoting. The author also notes the lack of interchangeability of gender roles as depicted in the dictionary (although men do appear in domestic context as husbands, women never do as their partners in the business world) and how it fixes behavioral possibilities according to static stereotypical concepts. When women and men do change places and acquire the qualities typical of the opposite group (e.g. a male portrayed as a helpless victim or an aggressive, dominant female), it is always seen and evaluated negatively. Interestingly enough, it is more serious for a male to possess feminine characteristics than for a female to have masculine ones, as in the androcentric world of white supremacy it is viewed as the loss of status vs. gain of status, respectively. From the quantitative perspective, female gender is stereotyped in 75% of sample sentences and it is also often rendered linguistically invisible in relation to male gender. Masculine words outnumber feminine words by around 2:1 and masculine gender sentences appear almost thrice as often as feminine ones (Gershuny, 1975, p. 941). All in all, the dictionary takes part in promotion of an eternal cycle of rivalry and hostility between men and women, of one sex dominating the other. However, Gershuny uses the example of this particular dictionary to make a more general and profound statement about a high status dictionaries have received in our society and about the perils of blind faith into the dictionary word:

Cloaked in the virtues of an avowed descriptive objectivity and traditional authority, the dictionary is potentially one of the most dangerous carriers of cultural bias and prejudice. In the guise of linguistic objectivity, the modern dictionary then appears neutral to editorial preference, poetry and politics. (Gershuny, 1975, p. 938)

Criticism of the dictionaries self-proclaimed objectivity and language authority is an essential point of feminist lexicographic critique on the whole. As Patricia C. Nichols rightly mentions in her review of '*A Feminist Dictionary*' (1988), Anglo-Saxon societies traditionally lack any official language academies, delegating the responsibilities of unofficial authorities to dictionaries and handbooks instead, which often have pernicious consequences:

...Unrecognized and unexamined for the role they play, they often exercise power in irresponsible ways [...]. Claiming to be dictionaries and handbooks of the language, they have actually been compilations of and comments on the language as used and experienced by men. (Nichols, 1988, p. 601)

The article with a meaningful name “‘Women are alcoholics and drug addicts’”, says dictionary’ (Kaye, 1988) focuses on the gender ideology present in *Collins COBUILD Dictionary*, at that time a freshly published, innovative, corpus-based dictionary, a real highlight of descriptive linguistics, implementing what appears to be deliberate attempts to avoid sexism. For this purpose, the use of they/them/their for indefinite pronouns was applied instead of generic use of such words as he or man. However, in case of illustrative sentences the efforts to avoid sexism and sex-role stereotyping were not so consistent. The author points out the unbalanced character of the dictionary examples and asks whether it was possible to select more neutral illustrations. Female character is once again shown as romantic, emotional, obedient, feeble-minded. But the most disturbing portrayal is of woman as an alcoholic and drug addict, which often emerges from an extra information, which could have easily been omitted (such as sample sentences of the headwords that are not related to drugs or alcohol). The drawback of this research, however, is that does not include any precise description of the methodology involved, so it is not clear how many example sentences were analyzed and how they were selected.

One of the first systematic, computer-assisted research into the gender bias in monolingual dictionaries of English is presented in the paper ‘A Study of Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Oxford English Dictionary 2E’ (Fournier and Russell, 1992). Using special software tools, developed at the University of Waterloo (Canada), the scholars were able to analyse the large and culturally significant textual database of the electronic Oxford English Dictionary 2e as well as sub-files of gender-related definitions or quotations. The main research question of their analysis was - ‘to what extent does the dictionary, which, in its focus on the past, describes and reflects cultural values, also encode the stereotypes of the present and perpetuate sexual stereotypes for future users of the dictionary?’ (Fournier and Russell, 1992, p.13). In the course of a relatively sophisticated study the textual data was analysed on two levels – overt and systematic. The overt level analysis consisted in the examination of the definitions and illustrative examples found by searching under key headwords susceptible to gender stereotyping (e.g. searching under such headwords as *strong-minded, woman, female, etc.*). The authors report that in most cases the results of this analysis type are revealing and in line with the previous works on the

topic, showing the overt sexism of the society as well as of the dictionary editors. Thus, for instance, the choice of quotations under the lemma woman betrays a negative attitude towards women:

The distance could not be greater between the neutrality of the definition, and the extreme sexism of these quotations, which depict a being who is unremittingly a demonic sex-object lacking the capacity for higher (religious) reasoning, and doomed to be controlled by men.

(Fournier and Russell, 1992, p.15)

Sometimes, however, gender bias is present on the definition level, when lexicographers deliberately describe a sexist word sense or word usage without labeling it as such. Because of the efficiency of the computer-assisted corpus search, the scholars were able to test some of the earlier statements about the nature of the OED. For example, they checked such word pairs as *king and queen*, *husband and wife*, etc., in which the most important/ positive word is supposedly always placed first, and their opposites with the inverted word order, finding out that the male figure in the first position was indeed represented more frequently than the female one. In the course of the systematic analysis more elaborate and diverse search methods were employed, aiming at building gender-specific subcorpora: a corpus containing quotation text dealing with women exclusively, a quotation text corpus having reference to men and the same types of two gender-specific corpora for definition texts. The research show that women are twice as often described in relation to their appearance and looks than men are. Domestic sphere proved to be another great reference point for woman as well as feelings. Men's functions and characteristics turned out to be less narrowly focused. The research showed a greater degree of stereotyping in the representation of women than in that of men, even though on the whole, the subcorpora with reference to men was twice as large as the female ones. Another important finding is that the quotation text contained a greater amount of sex-role stereotyping, whereas the definition corpora and thus, the language of lexicographers themselves turned out to be more neutral.

The article 'Punctuating the Dictionary' (Kramarae, 1992) criticizes the existing practice of dictionary making from the feminist grounds, highlighting its most harmful theoretical aspects. Pointing out the fact of women's separation and oppression from their language, the author states that despite recent minor improvements of the most blatantly sexist examples, the 'misogynist makeup of the dictionary' is left unaltered (Kramarae, 1992, p. 136). The very lexicographic and editorial practice itself, the very basic form and functions of the men's dictionary have negative implications on the linguistic creativity and understanding of the language. Moreover, the stress on dictionaries as the best and only authority on language use is false and harmful: 'I am concerned about the firm, widespread,

and, I argue, damaging belief that dictionaries are *the* records of language use' (Kramarae, 1992, p. 137). The article mentions five damaging effects caused by men's dictionaries. Firstly, it is limitations on imagination, as traditional dictionaries are not designed by women or for women's exercise of imagination. Moreover, they set forth a category system, which is not only hostile for women, but is referred as the only system. This system does not encourage ideas or new connections or any playfulness about how we could write and talk. 'Experts' often ridicule feminists who suggest alternative spellings or meanings. Secondly, men's dictionary promote absolute authority of their products by portraying lexicographers and dictionary editors as diligent recorders of the language facts. The publishers have been telling the public for many years that they are *the* authority, trying to win the market through claims of the authority and completeness of their specific dictionary and also by pointing out objectivity of their lexicon. But in fact, as Kramarae rightly points it out, we do not know 'who collects what information from what sources' (Kramarae, 1992, p. 140). What we do know, however, is that speech of women and minorities is often not included and editors quote from each other's work extensively. The third damaging effect of the men's dictionaries is the illusion of agreement they promote. That illusion states that there is a general agreement of speakers about word meanings and thus, it neglects the flux and change of the language, as at any certain point in time lexicographers and editors can easily determine most frequent meaning. The fourth damage of traditional androcentric lexicography is its inclination to the language standardization and thus, its proprietary interest in the language use. As a result of it, linguistic diversity stays hidden and people who do not speak dictionary-proper English feel oppressed and separated from the language. The valid question to ask, however, when we speak about a necessity for the language standardization is 'standardized according to whose specifications? Effective for which persons speaking what class form?' (Kramarae, 1992, p. 145). The fifth damage of traditional dictionaries is related to their focus on the written language: 'Most dictionaries contain mostly the words, meanings and experiences of published authors, mostly male authors or "statesmen". Mostly dead males' (Kramarae, 1992, p.146). By using a literary standard and quotation material based largely on this type of literature, dictionary compilers help maintain 'class structure and the supremacy of the male educated class' (Kramarae, 1992, p.146). Therefore, the author comes to see (and not without the reason) dictionaries as an instrument of social control, stating that women still have to win their linguistic rights and their linguistic visibility. Although the article was published 22 years ago, most of its criticism stays true nowadays.

The fact that women's language creativity is normally restricted by normative linguistics and lexicography is supported by the history of the coinage of the word *womyn*, as presented in the article

'Womyn: the Evidence' (Steinmetz, 1995). Serving as an alternative spelling of the word *women*, this feminist invention was firstly coined in 1970s in order to avoid the word ending –men. It firstly found its way into a dictionary in 1991, being included in *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* and thus becoming the subject of great public discussion, criticism and controversy. The other 'feminist' entries such as *herstory* and *waitron*, also included in that dictionary edition raised no questions, as by that time both had already been published in other lexicographic works. However, the entry *womyn* turned out to be so controversial that it actually made editors from other publishing houses explain their reasons for not including this word into their lexicons. It was stated, for example, that the word had a restricted use in the 'literature of women's issues' and that when it did occur in general literature, it was always accompanied by a gloss or enclosed in shudder quotes, which proved that the word in question was not widespread enough (Steinmetz, 1995, p. 430). The debates around the spelling in question led to *RHWCD* editors' decision to reveal their citational evidence in this case. The body of citations that constituted the evidence covered the years from 1976 to 1994 (later citations included to show the word's continuous use after the dictionary publication). The list contained 49 quotations from 29 sources covering the span of 19 years and represented only a fraction of actual number of times *womyn* was mentioned in print. For example, the Nexis/Lexis electronic database gave back about 250 cases of *womyn* for the same time period, which justified the inclusion of this spelling into the dictionary from the lexicographic standpoint. The discussion around the word *womyn* shows how lexicography can never be neutral or objective and how it is always a matter of personal choice and decision (that of a lexicographer or of a publisher) and in fact, also a matter of one's politics:

...Dictionary users have the right to wonder on what grounds the Random House editors made the decision to enter *womyn* into their dictionary. Did the citational evidence justify the entry? Or was the entry politically motivated, a reflex of the editorial staff's feminist leanings? Of course, the converse can also be asked: if the evidence does favor entering *womyn*, were the dictionary editors who decided to exclude it politically motivated, that is, resisting what they perceived to be a brazen manipulation of English spelling to advance the feminist cause? The answer to either question lies in the evidence and how it is interpreted. (Steinmetz, 1995, p. 430)

In the article 'Women's Rights – Children's Games: Sexism in Learner's Dictionaries of English' (Prechter, 1999) several editions (7 books in total) of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of*

Current English, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* are tested against the presence and reinforcement of gender stereotypes. In short, the article concludes that no continuous progress has not been made in the development of non-sexist learners' dictionaries of English, as the dictionaries under inspection promote stereotypical representation of women and men by portraying a restricted view of women as being active only in a limited set of fields (finding a male partner, maintenance of romantic relationship with men, etc.) and also by portraying men as courageous and reliable, yet independent and strong minded, close to crime and aggressive (male aggressiveness is depicted in a positive way by the dictionaries) (Prechter, 1999, p. 60).

The article 'Telling it Straight? Dictionary definitions of women's genitals' (Braun and Kitzinger, 2001) focuses on the analysis of dictionary entries for lemmas *vagina* and *clitoris*, using entries for *penis* as a comparison, in 12 specialized medical dictionaries and 16 general purpose English language dictionaries covering the time span from 1989 to 1998. The results of the analysis show that *vagina* and *clitoris* are overwhelmingly defined by their location in a female body without any mentioning of the function these organs perform, whereas *penis* is always defined in terms of its function. Therefore, any reference to sex or sexuality is omitted from the *vagina's* and *clitoris's* definitions. Moreover, women's genitals continue to be described in relation to an implicit penile norm, when male bodies are viewed and understood as norm and female bodies are under-represented, their functions are omitted or they are defined in terms of male bodies, as it is the case with *clitoris* that is often portrayed as a female counterpart of the penis. On the whole, it is possible to conclude that generally the entries in question portray female sexuality as passive and male sexuality as active. They depict women's genitals as absence and men's genitals as presence. They also state that genitals are used for heterosexual sex only. In fact, these definitions present sexist stereotypes as a biological facts and therefore, serve to remind how dictionaries construct our image of body and also a limited idea of gender: 'The process of definition is not value-neutral, and dictionaries 'give the values they select stability and authority' (Landau 1985, p. 269; Gershuny, 1977, as cited in Braun and Kitzinger, 2001, p. 215), values which are often socially/politically conservative. 'The construction of authorless definitions furthers the seeming authority and 'factual' nature of these definitions' (Potter 1996, as cited in Braun and Kitzinger, 2001, p. 215).

The article 'This Is What a Dictionary Looks Like: The Lexicographical Contribution of Feminist Dictionaries' (Russell, 2011) gives tribute to feminist dictionaries printed in the period between 1970 and 2006. The list of works covered by such a term consists of 18 books and includes, among others,

such texts as *A Feminist Dictionary* (Kramarae and Teichler, 1985), *Encyclopedia of Feminism* (Tuttle 1986), *The Nonsexist Word Finder: A Dictionary of Gender-Free Usage* (Maggio, 1987), *Womanwords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Patriarchal Society* (Miller, 1989) *Wimmin, Wimps and Wallflowers* (Herbst, 2001), etc. Surprisingly enough, all of these innovative lexicographic project received little attention in the world of 'big lexicography', even though they are 'ambitious revisions of lexicographic theory and practice worthy of historical documentation and contemporary consideration' (Russell, 2011, p. 1). Nowadays they continue to be neglected – neither cited, nor mentioned in the historical lexicographic accounts. Thus, for example, they are excluded from Cowie's (2009) *Oxford History of English Lexicography*, described by the publisher as the fullest account of English language lexicography. The book covers fifteen centuries of lexicographic practice and mentions dictionaries in 'botany, chemistry cant, catch-phrases, ecclesiastics, engineering, farming, forenames, geography, geology, husbandry, law, maritime terms, mathematics, medicine, mineralogy, music, physics, place names, regional dialect, rhyme, slang, surnames, and zoology' (Russell, 2011, p. 3). However, not a single feminist dictionary is included in any list, chapter or catalogue of other references. Despite the invisibility of feminist dictionaries, today it would be especially worthy to take their ideas and perspectives into account and see what they have to say about traditional lexicography. Feminist dictionaries propose and enact innovative principles of lexicography, using criticism as a point of departure from traditions of lexicography, which, in their opinion, absent women 'as a significant component of the humanity' and construct 'women, men, and relations between the two in damaging ways' (Russell, 2011, p. 9).

So what are the principles of feminist dictionary making? Firstly, editors and lexicographers should disclose the circumstances of dictionary production, such as people involved in the process and their perspectives. It needs to be done to break that neutral authoritative tone adopted by dictionaries today and show compilers' personal biases. For example, feminist dictionaries openly declare their feminist biases, striving to show that their creators are shaped by and dependent on specific institutional, economic and sociocultural circumstances. They also aim at demonstrating the scholarly and economic settings of dictionary production with their own biases (Russell, 2011, p. 12). Secondly, dictionaries should 'foster active, opinionated, and exploratory dictionary consumption' (Russell, 2011, p. 13).

This principle highlights the importance of readers' personal perspectives and opinions, their participation in the contents interpretation and meaning creation. Feminist dictionaries are a sight of exploration and inspiration. They invite their users to the active dictionary use, to adding to the dictionary by constructing definitions in such a way that leaves quite a bit of work to readers, making

them ask questions, see conflicts, feel confusion. Thirdly, 'a dictionary should highlight meaning as a universal and collaborative construction, highly embedded, frequently personal, commonly contested, and only partly linguistic' (Russell, 2011, p. 15). Feminist dictionaries view word meanings not as objective facts, but as existing in conversation and often in contest with one another, situated within social practices and personal decisions, as a matter of opinions and experiences. Therefore, meanings are never neutral. All in all, this paper shows how feminist dictionaries engage in a serious, systematic reconfiguration of dictionary genre.

One of the latest articles investigating the problem of gender stereotypes found on the dictionary pages is 'Linguistic Turn and Gendering Language in the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary' (Arimbi and Kwary, 2016). It focuses on the analysis of the imbalance in gender representations found in the example sentences in the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 3rd Edition*. The methodology used for the research purposes consists in sorting out the examples bearing labels 'approving' and 'disapproving'. Within the resulting example sentences the ones were sorted out that contained words woman/ women and man/ men in them. It resulted in 11 sample sentences labelled 'approving' for man / men, 5 examples labelled 'approving' for woman/ women, 29 sentences labelled 'disapproving' for man/ men and 19 sentences labelled 'disapproving' for a woman/ women. As the next step, the resulting sentences were analysed to see how they represent woman and man. The principle of opposition is widely used in the depiction of two genders. Men are generally better depicted than women. They are characterized as urban whereas women as earthly and rural. They symbolize culture, whereas women symbolize nature. They possess emotional maturity whereas women are just emotional. The gender hierarchy is constructed by creation of different identities for women and men. Continuing the opposition, women are depicted as sexually passive whereas men as dominant and active. Women who are not sexually passive perceived as morally bad. Men are associated with self, whereas self is non-existent for women (there is a self-made man, for example, but there is no such thing as a self-made woman). 'Man is self, while woman is other' (Arimbi and Kwary, 2016, p. 172).

The article 'Toward a Feminist Historiography of Lexicography' (Russell, 2018) critically reflects on the historically established way we have got used to perceive and interpret the history of lexicography. The fact that men still dominate the dictionary scholarship despite many women being involved in it is related to our construction of dictionary making history. It is a common belief affirmed in many historical accounts that for many centuries, just until recently, lexicography has been fully driven by men. Samuel Johnson, Noah Webster, Peter Mark Roget, George Smith, James Murray, Joseph

Wright are among the greatest and most respected ‘fathers’ of lexicography. Exclusion of women (who have been present but invisible) led to field picture that ‘favors, not just certain practitioners (i.e., men) but certain practices (i.e., modes of dictionary making we might call masculinist); it also disregards lexicography as a system of sociality interlocking with and sometimes benefitting from other systems of sociality (like gender, like sexism)’ (Russell, 2018, p. 170). Feminist historiography offers the ways to unmask and deroutinize some of the gender biases of past and present, critically reevaluate our histories so that there is room for a more inclusive understanding of many modes of dictionary making. It is important to understand that any history is a series of constructions and thanks to the prevailing masculinist tradition of dictionary making many female participants were forgotten, underappreciated, villainized and marginalized. Russell writes:

But there are actually lots of women to be found in the history of lexicography. Some of the names that appear in dictionary discussions and collections include Elizabeth Elstob, credited with writing a Latin–English grammar in 1715 (e.g., Percy 2010); Sarah Sophia Banks, known to have penned lists of British dialect terms between 1779 and 1814 (e.g., Ruano-García 2016); Hester Piozzi, credited with publishing the 1794 British Synonymy after years of playing patron to Samuel Johnson (e.g., Berglund 2009); Charlotte Yonge, attributed with writing a historical dictionary of Christian names in 1863 and with assisting in the making of the OED (e.g., Partridge 1978); Hope Emily Allen, remembered as an editor of the ill-fated Early Modern English Dictionary (e.g., Cassidy 1989; Hirsh 1988, 99–130); and Margaret Sinclair Ogden, recalled as an editor of the Middle English Dictionary whose “eminence [...] was not always easy for male colleagues to accept” (Adams 2005, 706). Other women who occasionally bear mention contributed to large-scale male-edited lexicons. The women who volunteered to read for the OED, for example, are widely recognized as having joined ranks that included a handful of women staff members as well as a number of editors’ wives, daughters, and sisters-in-law. (Russell, 2018, p. 172)

However, they and their contributions stay invisible for larger lexicographic histories. Their work is viewed as not quite lexicographical: ‘Their dictionaries are “really” grammars, thesauruses,

encyclopaedias, novelties, nonstarters; while their contributions are “really” ancillary or obligatory’ (Russell, 2018, p. 173). Thus, feminist historiography lets us see how the idea of dictionaries as exclusively male domain is continually constructed by our histories and how we can deconstruct it as such by taking another perspective.

I have given special care to making such a detailed overview of the previous works on the topic for several reasons. On the one hand, the fact that the problem of gender bias in English lexicography is so well-studied gives us an opportunity to understand and evaluate this problem in all its intricacies and aspects. Many of the patterns described above are quite universal and can be encountered in lexicographic practices of other languages. On the other hand, this account gives us a good understanding of the current state of affairs and general context, so that one can see the importance of the topic of gender bias in dictionaries. I believe, that taking feminist perspective of dictionary-making into account is crucial for the future of theoretical and practical lexicography.

1.3.2. Monolingual Dictionaries of German

The article ‘“*Sie sah zu ihm auf wie zu einem Gott*” – *Das Duden-Bedeutungswörterbuch als Trivialroman*’ [“She looked up to him as to a god” - The Duden-Bedeutungswörterbuch as a light novel] (Pusch, 1996) analyses the example sentences found under letter A (86 pages in total) in 1970 edition of *Duden-Bedeutungswörterbuch*. From the quantitative perspective out of 1100 people mentioned on these pages there are 920 men and only 180 women, which makes men’s dictionary presence five times more stronger than women’s. From the qualitative perspective the lexicographically depicted images of man and woman are not free from the gender bias and they promote a set of unreflected gender stereotypes of both men and women. Male reference points are society, profession, business, world, whereas female reference points are man, children and family. Woman is often portrayed as uneducated, naïve and annoying, sometimes even fat and sweaty, sometimes haughty and silly (Pusch, 1996, p. 232). Female world is limited to house and garden, while male world goes far beyond the household and it is all about adventures, success and attention. Interestingly enough, in the dictionary world woman can never communicate with other women. Her only connections are children and her husband/boyfriend. The characters depicted by the dictionary, both male and female, are so schematic and stereotypical that the author of the article ironically compares the dictionary to a *Trivialroman*, a simple and light entertaining novel type. It is funny how the same headwords are illustrated differently depending on, whether the subject in question is he or she. For example, under *abbrausen* one finds

the following: ‘*Er braust mit Vollgas ab, die braust die Kinder in der Wanne ab*’. Under *am* the following examples can be found: ‘*Er ist am schnellsten, sie ist am Putzen*’. And under *annehmer*: ‘*Er wird bei der Fima angenommen, sie hat sich der kranken Kinder angenommen*’ (Pusch, 1996, p. 220). The male profession range mentioned in the dictionary is quite broad: *he* can be an author, a boss, a teacher, a member of parliament, an avant-gardist, while woman is referred to professionally only two times in the whole letter ‘A’ section: as a doctor and as a high school graduate. As Pusch ironically comments, such a distribution is totally sensible, because *her* principal occupations are being a wife, a housewife and a mother. Taking care of *him* as a woman’s principal task is a significant part of the example sentences (Pusch, 1996, p. 230-232). The conclusion leads us to a somewhat harsh, but fair verdict: ‘*Mief, Spießigkeit, Männlichkeitswahn, Pennälermentalität, Obrigkeits- and Schubladendenken. Und eine geradezu abgründige Frauenverachtung*’ [Stench, filthiness, delusions of masculinity, penniless mentality, authority and drawer thinking. And a downright abysmal contempt for women] (Pusch, 1996, p. 233).

The article ‘*Männer – Frauen: Sprachliche Stereotype*’ [Men – Women: Language Stereotypes] (Bär, 2001) focuses on the representation of woman and man in synonym dictionaries, investigating the corresponding entries in the 10-volume *Duden* (1999), the 6-volume *Brockhaus-Wahrig* (1980-1984) and the 7-volume *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (1961-1977). The analysis indicates the presence of numerous stereotypical assumptions about both genders. Firstly, both women and men are judged by their looks and appearance, which serves as the basis for their categorization and further stereotyping. Thus, in this sense women’s hair colour is viewed as the source for various stereotypes. For men a bigger body size is believed to be an indication of strength and power, whereas for women the same physical characteristics is viewed negatively. A smaller, petite female body size is perceived positively, whereas for man it is surely presumed to be negative. Another strongly negative aspect of women’s outlook is the absence of grooming. Secondly, men are traditionally expected to be strong, tough, hard-working and successful; women are perceived as chatty and talkative. Men are regarded to be active, whereas women – passive. Men are also associated with physical and verbal violence, which is often aimed at women. Thirdly, financial prosperity, power, social activity, professional success and intellectual capacity are still viewed as purely male domains.

The paper ‘*Frau im Wörterbuch – Das Duden-Universalwörterbuch 2003 als Fortsetzung eines Trivialroman*’ [Woman in Dictionary - Duden-Universalwörterbuch 2003 as a sequel of a light novel] (Porsch, 2005) further develops Pusch’s criticism (1996). Although the author critiques a newer edition of *Duden*, he claims it to be the sequel of the trivial novel found on the pages of 1970’s dictionary

edition. He starts by quoting an example sentence found under the lemma *aufschauen*: 'sie wünscht sich einen Mann, zu dem sie a. kann' (Porsch, 2005, p. 363). There is again this lady, who needs a man to look up to, even if in a more independent manner and not as to a god (which was the case in the 1970 edition). The article enumerates more misogynistic examples, found in the dictionary, some of which place woman right somewhere in between a man and an animal. For example, under the lemma *Anatomie*:

'Aufbau, Struktur des [menschlichen] Körpers: die A. des Menschen, der Frau, der Hauskatze; die weibliche Anatomie' (Porsch, 2005, p. 360).

The numerous example sentences quoted directly from the dictionary let us see how deeply rooted the traditional gender ideology still was in one of the leading and most acclaimed German-speaking dictionaries back in 2003.

The article *'Zur lexikografischen Inszenierung von Geschlecht'* [On the Lexicographic Staging of Gender] (Nübling, 2009) summarizes various research on the topic, conducted for German, French, Swedish and English lexicography. It also carries out a detailed analysis of the modern monolingual dictionaries of the German language, starting with *Illustriertes Lexikon der deutschen Umgangssprache* (Küpper 1982). For each and every dictionary Nübling compares the entries for the lemmas *Frau* and *Mann*. Surprisingly enough, the first lexicon in question renders woman almost fully linguistically invisible. The striking quantitative difference consists in one column of dictionary text (32 senses) for the lemma *Frau* and seven columns of dictionary text (116 senses) and four pictures for the lemma *Mann*. The same dramatic difference in the representation of woman and man is found in *Brockhaus-Wahrig: Deutsches Wörterbuch in 6 Bänden (1980-984)* with *Frau* occupying 26 dictionary lines and *Mann* occupying 113 dictionary lines (Nübling, 2009, p. 611). In addition to the quantitative difference, there is also a qualitative one in the semantic representation of woman and man. The article structure and the definition construction work in such a way that for *Frau* her role as a wife, girlfriend, lover is highlighted as the primary one. For example, the word sense 'wife' is put as a separate word sense, the word sense 'lover, girlfriend' is put as the first subsense of the sense1 ('weiblicher erwachsener Mensch'). However, the parallel word senses occupy different (lower) positions in the structure of the entry *Mann*. The word sense 'husband' is presented only as a subsense1.3 of sense1. The word sense 'boyfriend, lover' is absent in the article. Moreover, woman is always depicted as passive object of man's actions. As the next step, Nübling compares two editions of *Duden-Bedeutungswörterbuch* (1985 and 2002) and comes to the conclusion that the earlier edition in many ways misrepresents and misinterprets the facts of real life. For example, in the synonym section of the entry *Frau* there are

many negative animal names used to talk about females in a derogatory manner ('Gans, Gänschen, Glucke, Pute, Zicke, Ziege') (Nübling, 2009, p. 614). Even though there are similar animal names in German applied in reference to men, the dictionary does not mention any of them, enumerating only the more 'noble' ones showing more positive characteristics (such as Hahn im Korb, Zugpferd). Another example would be the mentioning of homosexuality for women (Lesbe, Lesbieren), but omitting it in the entry for men (Nübling, 2009, p. 615). In the 2002 edition in the entry for *Frau* man is mentioned as its opposite, whereas in the entry under *Mann* there is no mention of woman as its opposite. Therefore, once again, the dictionary portrays woman in relation to man, dependent on him, not existing without him, whereas man is never portrayed in the context of woman or dependent on her. He is autonomous and the focus here is on his relation to the big world. Other Duden dictionaries analysed in the article are *Duden-Universalwörterbuch* (1983 and 2007), 7-volume *Duden-Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1976-81) and 8-volume *Duden-Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1993-95). All of these lexicons in a great degree repeat trends discussed above: quantitative invisibility of woman, the stress on her biological functions, her existence as exclusively possible only in the presence of man. Although there is a gradual improvement in the later editions, the obsolete concepts are not eliminated – they go hand in hand with modern gender representation.

One of the dictionaries inspected by Nübling that is worth special attention is *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwart Sprache (1961-1977)* published in East Germany by two sisters Ruth Klappenbach and Helene Malige-Klappenbach. In comparison to other lexicographic products of that time, the dictionary can be viewed as quite modern and progressive as to how it represents woman and man on its pages. Firstly, from the quantitative point of view there is no such great difference in the space distribution for both lemmas (even though *Mann* still occupies more space). Secondly, as Nübling remarks, for the first time there is an impression that somebody put two entries beside each other and compared their contents doing their best to organize the entry structures according to the same reference points: age, appearance, family life, etc. Thus, for example, in illustrative examples almost the same attributes are used in the categories age and appearance for both man and woman (age: *alt, jung + Mann/ Frau*; appearance: *hübsch, schön, blond, groß, klein, kräftig + Frau/Mann*). Of course, the family aspect is still highlighted for woman, who is depicted as *alleinstehende, mütterliche, häusliche, schwangere, kinderlose*, but at least it is mentioned for man, too, as such adjectives as *verheirateter* and *geschiedener* are used as attributes to modify the word *Mann* (Nübling, 2009, p. 624). One more discrepancy is that only a woman is described as *zierliche, nervöse, hysterische, verwöhnte*. But at

least both genders are described according to the same criteria, which was not the case in any other dictionary analysed in the study.

In conclusion, the author says that lexicography should not be used as a stage for gender performance. It should not misrepresent reality and real language use as it was the case with attributing homosexuality to women exclusively, or mentioning derogatory synonyms for women only. In reality, there are no natural gender differences other from the ones that have been socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, when we talk about gender perspective in lexicography, we do not talk about political correctness or idealization, but we talk about making a conscious lexicographic choice not to take or show our position on certain points, as it is done when it comes to racism or anti-Semitism: we do not take stand on them by not reproducing these kind of views in dictionaries, and it should be the same with sexism.

This brief overview of the current state of affairs in English and German monolingual lexicography has shown that sexism in dictionaries has some common patterns that are the same for the both languages. Woman is reduced to her biological functions, her domain is household and family life, whereas man is all about society and culture and his domain is outer world. The opposition woman – nature, man – culture is preserved in both national lexicographic practices. The very mechanisms of how women are treated linguistically invisible both in languages and dictionaries are very similar. For example, both *man* and *Mann* can mean a human or individual. Then the question arises to what extent women are included when *mankind* or *Mannschaft* is mentioned. Moreover, the way women got all the nasty synonyms in German dictionaries is very close to inclusion of swear words as synonyms to the headword *woman* in Oxford dictionary. The numerous articles on the topic of gender bias show that gender stereotypes in dictionaries are a systematic problem that is omnipresent over centuries, dictionaries and languages.

1.3.2. Monolingual Dictionaries of Russian

There are very few scientific articles devoted to the the problem of gender stereotypes in the monolingual dictionaries of Russian, which indicates the lack of scholarly as well as public interest to the problem of gender representation and gender bias in dictionaries and language.

The article '*Slovar' V.I. Dalya i feminnie stereotipi*' ['Dahl's Dictionary and the Female Gender Stereotypes'] (Efremov, 2012) focuses on the impact the nineteenth-century Dahl's Dictionary, considered to be the first monolingual dictionary of modern Russian, had on the lexicographic tradition

in the country. The dictionary, firstly published in 1866, despite being definitely outdated today, is still regularly republished and in general considered one of the most famous and acknowledged lexicographic reference tools for the Russian language. It indeed laid the foundation for many theoretical and practical dictionary-making principles still widely applied in Russian lexicography nowadays. It also introduced some stereotypical tropes in the dictionary treatment of gender, which have been reproduced in monolingual dictionaries of Russian across centuries. Thus, for example, it was Dahl who firstly introduced the representation of woman and man as two opposites rather than being of a complementary nature (Efremov, 2012, p. 47). This principle of lexicographic description, as we will see it later, is implemented almost in each and every dictionary of the 20th and 21st centuries and it greatly contributes to the polarization of woman and man. Moreover, it is the Dahl's Dictionary that firstly explicitly mentions that the use of a masculine name to refer a woman is acceptable and in fact, increases a woman's status and that it works in the opposite direction when a female name is applied in reference to a man downgrading his social status. The current trend is observed in many languages, but for Russian it was firstly put into dictionary by Dahl. Dahl also introduced a lot of the female profession names, using the rich possibilities of the Russian word building. Some of the profession names had indeed been mentioned in the previously published literature, newspapers and so on. But some of the words were firstly introduced in the dictionary and supposedly invented by the dictionary author himself. However, in general, the treatment of the problem was not systematic and full, and many professions were left without their female counterparts either due to their 'masculine' character or because of the author's carelessness. It was also Dahl who firstly introduced the word *bespridannitsa* to signify a woman without any dowry, who has low prospects of marriage and therefore is dependent on the 'kindness' of man who can marry her because of her beauty and despite the deficiency in financial support (Efremov, 2012, p. 49).

The article '*Muzhchinka: semanticheskii metamorfozi*' ['Muzhchinka: Semantic Metamorphosis'] (Osmak, 2012) focuses on the lexeme *muzhchinka*, which consists of the root *man* and a diminutive suffix, and can be literally translated as a *small man*. The article compares lexeme's dictionary definitions to its real use and definitions provided by language speakers, i.e. lay users. Monolingual dictionaries always define this word as strictly derogatory and disapproving and used by women exclusively. However, the Internet research, forums and blogs, where people discuss the real meaning they put into the word when they use it, show that the meaning of the lexeme is much broader than what the dictionary says. Apparently it is also used as 1. playful and tender address form to a lover; 2. a neutral or positive name for homosexual male; 3. a metrosexual synonym; 4. humorous

name for a little boy; 5. collective image of a 'new man / new masculinity standard' (Osmak, 2012, p. 64).

The article '*Gendernie stereotipi i russkaia lexicografia*' ['Gender Stereotypes and Russian Lexicography'] (Efremov, 2016) describes some common gender bias examples found on the lexicon pages, such as:

- lexicographic label *female* used to indicate female profession names (whereas label *male* is never used for the same purpose). Moreover, all the female profession lexemes are usually defined through their male counterparts;
- lexicographers' 'patriarchal' perspective which is manifested through various fixed expressions and clichés, such as *slabij pol* [weaker sex] to indicate women and *silnij pol* [stronger sex] to describe men;
- most lemmas carrying positive connotation use male individuals in their example sections. For instance, all positive character features (wise, clever, friendly, etc.) mention a man and not a woman in their illustrative examples.

The article also explores the representation of the lemmas *muzhik* [a rough synonym to the lexeme man] and *baba* [a rough synonym to the lexeme woman] in different lexicographic works over time and how this representation changed over the centuries getting more biased. The lexeme *muzhik* was firstly used in the 15th century and was a diminutive form of the lexeme man (Efremov, 2016, p. 104). In western Slavic language it was used to speak about midgets and minors. In Russian the word did not have any negative connotation for three centuries. *The Dictionary of the Russian Academy*, printed in 1783-1794, gives only one sense of this lemma – a male pheasant. However, it is in the *Dahl's Dictionary* where an additional negative sense firstly appeared – uneducated, rude person, which was most likely due to another stereotypical assumption that people with lower social status had bad manners and no education. In the Soviet dictionaries the word became even more marginalised. It came to represent all the negative, socially unacceptable traits, whereas another word *muzhchina* [man] came to be used in neutral or positive sense to signify a male person. A female counterpart of the lexeme *muzhik*, the lexeme *baba* has gone approximately the same way from neutral lexeme meaning a female pheasant to highly pejorative connotation acquired in 20th century.

The problem of sexism in monolingual dictionaries of the Russian language has been hardly studied: there are very few papers concerned with this topic focusing on different individual examples of sexism present in the lexicographic works. Thus, no systematic research has not been conducted so

far. Therefore, present thesis will surely make an important contribution in the study of the problem of gender stereotypes in the Russian lexicography.

1.4. Terms and Definitions

This section provides a brief overview of the main terms used in the dissertation and their definitions. In this paper I differentiate between **sex** and **gender** in the standard manner, when **sex** is viewed as a set of biological attributes present in humans and animals, such as chromosomes, gene expression, hormone levels and function, and reproductive/sexual anatomy. Although sex is usually defined as binary (male or female), it is also a well-known fact that it is not limited to the binary opposition and a variation of different biological attributes is possible. **Gender** is used to refer to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, identities and expression modes of girls, women, boys, men and diverse people. Person's gender identity affects their self-image as well as how they perceive others, how they act, interact and communicate and also 'the distribution of power and resources in society' (What is gender? What is sex?, 2020). Although traditional gender ideology views gender as static and binary, it is neither this or that. Gender is a spectrum and it is fluid, possible to change over time. 'There is considerable diversity in how individuals and groups understand, experience and express gender through the roles they take on, the expectations placed on them, relations with others and the complex ways that gender is institutionalized in society' (What is gender? What is sex?, 2020). The differences between sex and gender are shown in Figure 1.

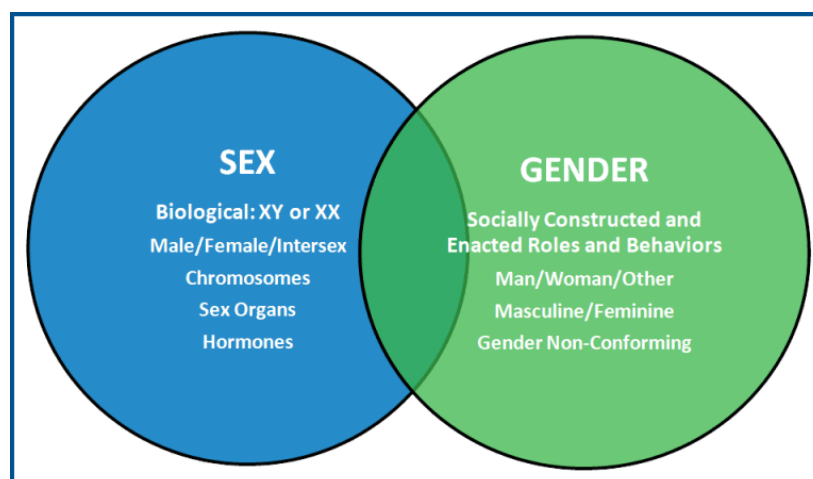


Figure 1. Differences between Sex and Gender

Source: Adapted from American Women's Association Website (<https://www.amwa-doc.org/sghc/>)

According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), a **gender stereotype** is a 'generalised view or preconception about attributes, or characteristics that are or

ought to be possessed by women and men or the roles that are or should be performed by men and women. A gender stereotype is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives' (Gender Stereotyping, n.d.). We have already seen many common examples of gender stereotypes present in the dictionaries when women and men are ascribed certain personality traits by reason of their membership in the social group of women or men. European Institute for Gender Equality defines **gender bias**, or **sexual discrimination**, as 'prejudiced actions or thoughts based on the gender-based perception that women are not equal to men in rights and dignity' (Gender bias, n.d.). It is true that women suffer much more from gender bias than men. However, it is important to remember that sexual discrimination can be aimed at men, too, as well as at any gender-non-conforming person.

As to lexicographic terminology, I would like to define some of the terms used in my work. In this thesis the terms **lemma** and **headword** are used interchangeably and are understood as 'the position at which an entry can be located and found in the structure of a reference work' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 83). The terms **dictionary article** and **entry** are also used as synonyms in the meaning 'the basic reference unit in a dictionary' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 50). Other important terms are **prescriptive** and **descriptive** lexicographic approaches:

Dictionaries are often perceived as authoritative records of how people 'ought to' use language, and they are regularly invoked for guidance on 'correct' usage. They are seen, in other words, as **prescriptive** texts. Lexicographers have for long been uncomfortable with this idea – at least from the time of James Murray, the founding editor of the Oxford English Dictionary – and we see ourselves as working firmly within the tradition of descriptive lexicography. For us, a dictionary is a description of the vocabulary used by members of a speech community (for example, by 'speakers of English'). And the starting point for this description is evidence of what members of the speech community do when they communicate with one another. (Atkins & Rundell, 2008, p. 2)

Macrostructure is defined in the following way:

...an overall list structure which allows the compiler and the user to locate information in a reference work. The most common format in Western dictionaries is the alphabetical word-list

(although there are other ways of ordering the headwords, e.g. thematically, chronologically or by frequency)' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 91).

Microstructure is 'an internal design of a reference unit. In contrast to the overall word-list (macrostructure), the microstructure provides detailed information about the headword, with comments on its formal and semantic properties' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 94).

On the pages of this work a reference will be made to **comment on form** and **comment on semantics**: according to *Dictionary of Lexicography*, comment on form provides information about spelling, grammar and pronunciation, whereas comment on semantics contains information about definition, etymology and usage (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 23).

Sense is 'one of several meanings that can be established for a word or phrase and covered by a definition in a reference work' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 125).

Definition is 'a component part of microstructure of a reference work which gives an explanation of the meaning of a word, phrase or term. The definition provides an essential function: it is the place where compilers locate and users find semantic information' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 35-36).

Example is 'a word or phrase used in a reference work to illustrate a particular form or meaning in a wider context, such as a sentence. Examples can either be based on objective evidence [...] or be invented by the compiler' (Hartmann & James, 2002, p. 53).

Corpus is 'a collection of texts, of the written or spoken word, which is stored and processed on computer for the purpose of linguistic research' (Renouf, 1987, p. 1). Sinclair (2004) sees corpus as 'a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research'.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into three chapters. Following the introductory part, stating the research objectives and presenting its topic as well as social and lexicographic context around it, the thesis deals with the practical dictionary analysis in the second chapter by critiquing the major monolingual dictionaries of Russian published in 20th and 21st centuries. The third chapter draws general conclusions and summarizes previous theoretical and practical research on the topic.

CHAPTER 2

2.1. Research Methodology

Monolingual dictionaries of Russian, published during the 20th – 21st centuries serve as the research material of the current project. Due to the lexicographic data type typically contained in the monolingual lexicons their comment on semantics can provide a rich material for the gender-focused analysis. As it has rightly been noticed in the critical literature (Nübling, 2009, p.594) a monolingual lexicography serves as a big stage for the gender display. The current research does not take into account any monolingual Russian dictionaries published in the 19th century for several reasons: firstly, some of them have been of a mixed type containing both Russian and Old Slavonic lexemes (*Dictionary by the Russian Academy*, the first edition published during 1789-1794, the second edition published during 1806-1822); secondly, later on more modern editions that did not include any Old Slavonic lexemes still presented a mixed macrostructure type consisting of both standard Russian and dialectal words (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language* by Vladimir Dahl, printed during 1863-1866); thirdly, some of the later lexicographic works applying a stricter criteria for the macrostructure candidate headwords were not completed (*Dictionary of the Russian Language, Compiled by the Second Department of the Imperial Academy of Sciences* by Yakov Grot, started in 1891).

Therefore, the present analysis will focus on six major lexicographic works published in the Soviet Union as well as modern day Russia and covering the scope from 1934 to the present day. Many of these dictionaries have been republished and reedited for many decades. Thus, for example, *Ushakov's Dictionary* (Ushakov, 1935-1940) underwent many editions and is still being widely used. Hence whenever possible, different editions of one and the same dictionary will be analysed and compared to see if any major changes occurred in-between. Figure 2 demonstrates a detailed timeline showing the milestones of the Russian monolingual lexicography.

The present research follows the methodology suggested by the German scholar Damaris Nübling in her paper 'Zur lexikografischen Inszenierung von Geschlecht' ['On the Lexicographic Staging of Gender'] (2009). Thus, for each dictionary a focus of the analysis will be on the comparison of a dictionary article for the lemma *muzhchina* [man] with a dictionary article for the lemma *zhenshchina* [woman]. The articles will be compared from the place distribution perspective as well as qualitatively. Special attention will be paid to the analysis of the sense definitions and the example sentences.

Lexicographic Timeline

Russian Monolingual Dictionaries in Time

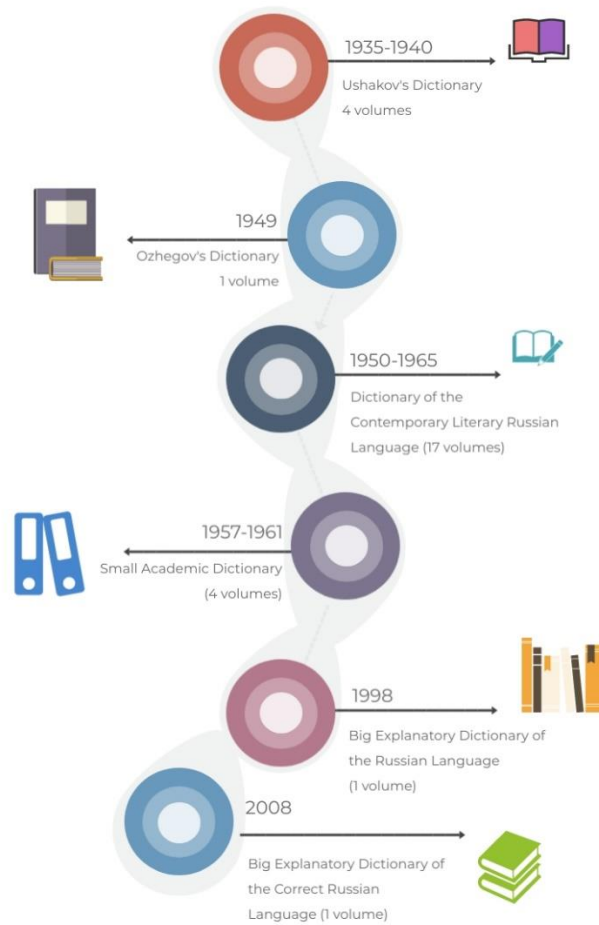


Figure 2. Russian Monolingual Dictionaries in Time

Source: Solonets (2020)

When a dictionary user consults a dictionary, what they expect from the reference tool – and this is what modern dictionaries normally aspire to achieve – is maximum neutrality and distance from any kind of ideology. Needless to say, such an endeavour is hardly attainable, as any dictionary is a product of its time (Nübling, 2009, p.595). The further analysis seeks to examine the place of each dictionary on the scale between gender neutrality and gender bias. We will see how the dictionaries in questions present a social construct of gender for men and women, what social roles they attribute to each

gender and if they reproduce any gender stereotypes. We will also see what means are used to reproduce gender stereotypes, if any, and how exactly gender bias is embedded into the lexicographic data.

My approach to the gender-focused analysis follows the gender theory as it was expressed by West and Zimmerman in their paper 'Doing Gender' (1987), which perceives gender not as an innate characteristic of a person, but rather as a psychologically ingrained social construct that is actively utilized and reproduced in the daily communication. According to this theory, gender is a performative act, intended to establish a gendered behavior as naturally occurring. We constantly *do gender* through our daily actions and behaviour: the clothes we wear, the make-up we put on, the way we speak is all an act of doing gender, which ultimate goal is to meet gendered societal expectations and by managing to do so, to acquire a status of a successful society member. Gender is performed in interactions and our behaviours are assessed based on the socially accepted conceptions of gender. West and Zimmerman highlight the interactional level on which gender is performed and reinforced. From that perspective, monolingual dictionaries can be viewed as a perfect scene for the lexicographic doing gender (Nübling, 2009, p.595, 628), as they on the one hand, reflect and reproduce the conceptions of gender existing in the society and, on the other hand, by doing so, they reinforce these stereotypical notions and in this sense they should definitely be considered as a powerful means of doing gender.

The article 'Undoing Gender' (Deutsch, 2007) emphasizes the importance of undoing gender, an action which refers to 'social interactions that reduce gender difference' (Deutsch, 2007, p.122). When we undo gender, we aim at thwarting gender stereotypes at interactional as well as institutional level. Such resistance to gendered social interaction is viewed as an important source of change. The opposition of doing and undoing gender will serve as a crucial point for the following analysis.

2.2. The Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by D.N. Ushakov, also known as Ushakov's Dictionary

2.2.1. General Information²

This is one of the major dictionaries of the Russian language. Published in 4 volumes over the period 1934 – 1940, the first dictionary edition included 85 298 headwords (not including 5054 headwords used for cross-reference purposes) and survived numerous reprints, still being regularly reissued and revised. Its appearance filled a gap in the description of a modern early 20th century Russian, as none of the miscellaneous lexicographic projects of the 20th century attempted before had not been brought to a conclusion. The dictionary aimed at the description of the contemporary literary³ Russian language, covering the scope from early 19th century to the current moment in time and including 'classic literature words from Pushkin⁴ to Gorky and also words of common scientific, business and book language, formed in the 19th century' (Ushakov, 1935, p. 5). Another important goal pursued by the authors was the inclusion and lexicographic treatment of the rapidly growing new vocabulary brought on by the revolution and socio-political change in the country, for example, numerous neologisms formed by word blending, generally acclaimed technical terminology and socio-political terms. In the dictionary preface the authors stated that the dictionary was intended to reach a broad circle of readers aiming at the prescription of the correct language use in such areas as pronunciation, grammar, orthography and stylistics: 'the dictionary can serve as a weapon in the struggle for the quality of the language [...], for the language purification' (Ushakov, 1935, p. 5).

The lexicographic team involved in the dictionary creation process consisted of the leading linguists, lexicographers and philologists of that time under the guidance of Dmitry N. Ushakov, an experienced lexicographer and editor. Although during their lexicographic work the scholars agreed to take into account previously published monolingual dictionaries, it was specifically pointed out that the new dictionary was not envisaged as a mere compilation or repetition of already existing lexicons. Therefore, the team had to build their own corpus of texts in the form of index cards, on which the quotations and other lexicographic data were written down. Different types of printed materials were

²The information in this section comes from various sources: Nikitin (2004, 2016a, 2016b); Basovskaya (2013, 2014); Ushakov (1935).

³ All dictionaries to be analysed in this chapter are dictionaries of literary (or in other words, standard) Russian. There is no agreement among scholarly community about what exactly is considered to be a literary language. Russian linguist and lexicographer V. V. Vinogradov defined it as a 'common written language of a nation or nations, the language of official and business documents, school, science, journalism, fiction' (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 329). Other authors define it as a standard form of Russian, written and oral, which main feature is its normativity. (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 77)

⁴ All the dictionaries analysed in this chapter cover the Russian language starting from Pushkin (early 19th-century), a Russia's national poet, famous for his contribution to the modernization and development of Russian (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p., 81).

used for this purpose: newspapers, classic literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, military records, political books, technical brochures, agricultural handbooks and so on. The main criterion for lemma inclusion in the dictionary was its high frequency. Thus, some of the swear words, vulgar expressions and colloquialisms made their way into the dictionary as long as they were used frequently enough. The system of lexicographic labels was developed to indicate headwords' register.

Socio-political context of that time period plays a crucial role in the understanding of the dictionary' nature. The dictionary was developed under the strict censorship of Stalin's regime and the first volume of the dictionary published in 1934 was almost fully destroyed by the command of the government, as it did not correspond to the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the country. After its publication the first volume received a negative review in the press, as it supposedly promoted 'anti-soviet and bourgeois content' (Nikitin, 2016b, p. 37). The lexicographers had to defend their scholarly creation in a series of public discussions held during November-December of 1935 in Leningrad. As a result, the dictionary was claimed to be 'a harmful act of political crime' (Nikitin, 2016b, p. 37), the publication was suspended and the first volume had to undergo a full revision. From that time on the lexicographic process was supervised by a political editor B. M. Volin responsible for dictionary's ideological correctness. One of the authors, V. Vinogradov was exiled to the city of Vyatka (896 km from Moscow) and did not take part in the further lexicographic work. His name was also removed from the dictionary cover.

However, in the end the first volume of the dictionary was newly published in 1935, soon followed by the consequent volumes. Despite all odds and thanks to the immense efforts of the lexicographic team, it has become one of the most acknowledged lexicographic works in the country and has been reissued many times with the last edition dating back to 2014.

2.2.2. Dictionary Analysis

The dictionary articles analysed below come from the first dictionary edition. The lemma *zhenshchina* [woman] can be found on the page 858 of the first volume published in 1935 and the lemma *muzhchina* [man] can be found on the page 275 of the second volume published in 1938. The original dictionary articles for these lemmas in Russian as well as their translation into English are presented in the Table 1:

Table 1. Entries for lemmas woman and man in Ushakov's Dictionary (1935-1940)

ЖЕНЩИНА, <i>ы, ж.</i> ⁵	МУЖЧИНА, <i>ы, м.</i> ⁶
<p>1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу. <i>Женщины и мужчины в СССР пользуются одинаковыми правами. Женщина-врач.</i></p> <p> Лицо женского пола, как типическое воплощение женского начала. <i>С чуткостью женщины она оказала ему помощь как раз во-время.</i></p> <p>2. Взрослая, в противоп. девочке. <i>Вагон для женщин и детей.</i></p> <p> Лицо женского пола, начавшее половую жизнь, в противоп. девушке. <i>Замужняя женщина. Она рано стала женщиной.</i></p> <p>3. Лицо женского пола легкого поведения, кокетка (фам.). <i>Тратит деньги на женщин</i></p> <p>4. Женская прислуга (разг.) <i>Нанять женщину к ребенку.</i></p>	<p>1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу. <i>У нас в бригаде четыре мужчины и две женщины. Красивый мужчина.</i></p> <p>2. Лицо мужского пола, достигшее зрелого возраста, физической и духовной зрелости. <i>Настоящий мужчина. Скоро ты будешь уже мужчиной.</i></p>
WOMAN	MAN
<p>1. An individual whose sex⁷ is opposite to the male one.</p>	<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one.</p>

⁵ Grammatical information about plural form and grammatical gender.

⁶ See the footnote 8.

⁷ In this dictionary and in the dictionaries that are going to be analysed further, the Russian word *пол* [sex] is used to define *woman* and *man*. From the dictionary context it is obvious, however, that it is not only the biological differences that are implied by this word, but also social and cultural ones associated with them. Nowadays the English word *gender* is more widely used to talk about certain social construct associated with people's perceptions of

<p><i>Women and men in the USSR have equal rights.</i></p> <p><i>Woman doctor</i></p> <p>// A female person, as the typical embodiment of female nature.</p> <p><i>With her woman's sensitivity, she was able to help him just at the right time.</i></p> <p>2. An adult female person as opposed to a girl.</p> <p><i>Carriage for women and children</i></p> <p> A female person who has started her sex life as opposed to a girl.</p> <p><i>Married woman. She has become a woman very early.</i></p> <p>3. A girl of easy virtue, a prostitute (derogatory).</p> <p><i>To spend money on women.</i></p> <p>4. A female servant (coll.).</p> <p><i>To hire a woman for a child.</i></p>	<p><i>There are four men and two women in our squad. A handsome man.</i></p> <p>2. A male person, who is mature physically and mentally.</p> <p><i>A real man. You will be a man soon.</i></p>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Source: Adapted from Ushakov's Dictionary (1935-1940)

From the quantitative perspective the dictionary article for the lemma *woman* occupies two times more space than the one for the lemma *man*: it has three senses with two sub comments whereas the lemma *man* has only two senses.

In the first sense the headwords are defined in the similar way: lemma *zhenshchina* [woman] – as an opposite of the word *muzhchina* [man] and lemma *muzhchina* [man] – as an opposite of the word *zhenshchina* [woman]. On the one hand, such an opposition used as a definition strategy may be explained by the semantic purposes. The authors may have wanted to avoid using the words *zhenskii* [female] and *muzhskoi* [male] in the corresponding definitions in order to eschew definitions containing

sex, but this term is relatively new and not well-known outside the feminist / LGBT+ communities. Thus, every time when the word 'sex' is used in a definition, what is really meant is both sex and gender (see Figure 1).

same stem words as the defined headwords. For example, in modern German and English monolingual dictionaries no opposite sex is typically used in definitions of lemmata *woman* and *man* and such words as 'weiblich', 'männlich' for German (Duden, n.d.) and 'female' and 'male' for English (Lexico, n.d.) turn out to be useful in this case. In the Russian language, however, the similar strategy cannot be implemented successfully because of the above-stated semantic reasons.

On the other hand, such approach to defining these lemmas is rather typical of Russian lexicography on the whole as we are going to see during the course of our research. After *Dahl's Dictionary* (Dahl, 2006) firstly introduced the idea that a man and a woman were opposites by their nature (Efremov, 2012, p. 47), this stereotypical representation has been reused and reinforced in almost every monolingual dictionary of Russian and is still a common definition to be found in the newest dictionaries (for example, in the *Great Academic Dictionary* (Gorbachevich, 2004 – present)). It undoubtedly reflects some stereotypical notions and ideas existing in the people's perception of gender roles before and today.

Moreover, the examples illustrating the first sense are worth special attention. '*Women and men in the USSR have equal rights*'. This phrase is one of the many Soviet propaganda mottos. Following the socialism's ideology of equality, the Soviet government implemented many laws granting equal rights to women. For example, men and women holding the same professional position should have had the same salary. After the Revolution in 1917 Soviet women also gained the right to vote. It is true that in 1920-1930s women were perceived as an equally important workforce and got access to education and job market. As legal restrictions were lifted, women started to make significant contributions in all sectors of economy (Maksimov, 2016, p. 132). However, it is worth mentioning that the rapid emancipation was cut short in 1930 and the return to traditional values was initiated. Thus, for example, abortion was illegalized and divorce became practically unattainable ('Women in Russia', 2020). Moreover, despite certain steps being taken by the Bolshevik government towards women's emancipation in the early 1920s, all in all, these reforms failed to change people's attitudes to gender roles in the society and thus, although women managed to enter the workforce briskly, they were still largely associated with household and domestic responsibilities getting a double load of professional occupation responsibilities and household chores (Maksimov, 2016, p. 134).

This stereotypical perception of women's role prevailing in the society can be proved by the first sense's second example - *woman doctor*, meaning *a doctor who is female*. This phrase can be often found in the Soviet and some Russian dictionaries and it has a negative implication as if a female

doctor were something unusual or exotic or if '*woman doctor*' were somehow different from the male one. Needless to say, the opposite phrase – a man doctor is non-existent in the dictionaries.

Depicting the profession of a doctor as something unusual for a woman to practise, the dictionary ascribes the occupations of a prostitute and a servant to a woman (sense3 and sense4 of the entry *woman*). It shows them as typically female professions by presenting these jobs not even on the illustrative example level, but rather introducing them as separate word senses.

The first structural discrepancy in the lexicographic treatment of these two lemmas occurs in the first sense of the lemma *woman*, which has a subcomment, whereas the first sense of the lemma *man* does not, as it is shown in Figure 3.

ЖЕ'НЩИНА, ы, ж. 1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу. Женщины и мужчины в СССР пользуются одинаковыми правами. Ж.-врач. || Лицо женского пола, как типическое воплощение женского начала. С чуткостью женщины она оказала ему помощь как раз во-время. 2. Взрослая, в противоп.

Figure 3. First Subcomment of the Sense1 of Lemma Woman

Source: Adapted from Ushakov's Dictionary (1935-1940)

The subcomment provides an additional meaning of the lemma *woman* – 'a female person, as the typical embodiment of female nature'. Interestingly enough, the authors did not care to explain what exactly is meant under the 'female nature' or its 'typical embodiment'. However, we can get a glimpse of their idea of female nature through the example following this definition: '*With her woman's sensitivity, she was able to help him just at the right time.*' Thus, according to the example sentence, one of the the woman's typical characteristics is sensitivity - it is presumed as a feature of their nature. Although the authors did not mention other 'typical' features of woman's nature here, their general idea of it is quite clear: it continues the opposition of a woman and man, stated in the first sense and exploits an old cliché of women being sensitive and men – sensible, women – emotional and men – rational. On the one hand, such generalized and exaggerated depiction reflects the stereotypes existing in the society (Lobko, 2012, p. 21-22), on the other hand, it reinforces them by reproducing them in the dictionary and also by setting a lexicographic tradition followed in the subsequent lexicographic works.

The second sense of the headwords represents another inconsistency of the lexicographic treatment: *woman* is described as ‘an adult female person as opposed to a girl’, whereas *man* is defined as ‘a male person, who is mature physically and mentally’. Generally speaking, both definitions convey a similar idea, but using different words for this purpose: the lemma *woman* gets a very straightforward and precise definition, meanwhile, for *man* such characteristics as maturity, both physical and mental, are pointed out. By describing similar concept differently, the authors once again polarize their representation of a woman and a man, given in the dictionary. If one defines *woman* as an adult and *man* as a physically and mentally mature person, does it not give a sense of superiority to the man? Besides that, the definition of the lemma *man* implies a traditional perception of a man as a breadwinner and protector, as somebody can only be considered a man when he is mature enough to make a living, to be the head of a family and to handle their emotions, stress and responsibilities. That is what is meant by such examples as ‘real man’ or ‘you will be a man soon’. When this definition were in line with the sense2 for the lemma *woman* and only mentioned the opposition to a boy, lad, then it would be free of the stereotypical gender representation.

Sense2 of the lemma *woman* has an extra subcomment, providing the following definition: ‘A female person who has started her sex life as opposed to a girl.’ Surprisingly enough, here the lexicographic team has managed to avoid that awkward euphemism, which, as we will see later, is present in all other dictionaries, when the headword *woman* is defined as ‘a female person who is married’. In the USSR the discussion of sexuality (and especially female sexuality) was out of question: according to the famous saying, ‘there is no sex in the USSR’ (*‘V SSSR seksa net’* [There is no sex in the USSR], 2020), which means that there was no open mentioning of any aspect of human sexuality in the public discourse. That is why other dictionaries later opted for using the euphemism *married* to define this word sense, although it is false and incorrect. It is really surprising to see that *Ushakov’s Dictionary* managed to avoid any false definitions in this respect, even though it was published under such a strict censorship.

As *Ushakov’s Dictionary* is considered to be a classic monolingual dictionary of Russian, not only setting the lexicographic tradition in the Soviet-Russian lexicography for many years on, but still being regularly reprinted, it would be interesting to see if there have been any major changes in the lexicographic treatment of the lemmas in question in the newer editions. One of the latest available copies of the dictionary is one-volume *Explanatory Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Language by D. N. Ushakov*, published in 2014 and containing 100 000 words. As it is stated in the preface, this

edition is 'corrected, completed and revised' (Ushakov, 2014, p. 3), and it follows the lexicographic principles of the original dictionary.

The following entries, as seen in Table 2, for the lemmas *woman* and *man* are to be found in the new edition on pages 138 and 312 respectively.

Table 2. Entries for lemmas *woman* and *man* in Ushakov's Dictionary (2014)

ЖЕНЩИНА, Ы, Ж.	МУЖЧИНА, Ы, М.
<p>1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу. <i>Женщина-врач</i></p> <p>2. Взрослая, в противоположность девочке.</p>	<p>1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу. <i>Красивый мужчина.</i></p> <p>2. Лицо мужского пола, достигшее зрелого возраста, физической и духовной зрелости. <i>Настоящий мужчина.</i></p>
WOMAN	MAN
<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the male one. <i>Woman doctor</i></p> <p>2. An adult female person as opposed to a girl.</p>	<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one. <i>Handsome man.</i></p> <p>2. A male person, who is mature physically and mentally. <i>A real man.</i></p>

Source: Adapted from Ushakov's Dictionary (2014)

If compared to the original manuscript, the new version is definitely shorter, as it contains only two senses for each lemma. In the original edition the lemma *woman* has four senses - in the latest one editors have discarded of what has been sense3 and sense4 of the lemma *woman* in the original dictionary. The obsolete sample sentences based on the Soviet realities have also been eliminated. For instance, such examples as '*women and men in the USSR have equal rights*' did not find their way to the new edition. Another significant change is the removal of the subcomment of the sense1 and the subcomment of the sense2 of the lemma *woman*: luckily enough, *woman* is not defined a set of typical characteristics or as the embodiment of the female nature any more. But despite these little positive

changes, the core definitions were not revised or improved and they still reproduce stereotypical gender roles found in the original dictionary. Thus, man and woman are still viewed as opposites, both physically (having opposite sexes and genders) and psychologically (man is still depicted as a physically and mentally mature person). A 'woman-doctor' can still be found among the examples. All in all, the changes are too minor and the reason for making them is most likely not in the inappropriate stereotypical character of the original lexicographic data, but in the fact that because of the space restrictions, the dictionary provides lexicographic treatment only for the frequently used word senses.

Summing it up, it is important to note that Ushakov's Dictionary was the first monolingual dictionary of the new time and the new country. It has set the lexicographic conventions still widely used in Russian lexicography today. Because of its general high quality and popularity, a lot of its lexicographic heritage was one way or the other reproduced in the later lexicographic works (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 295). However, as we have seen on the examples of the lemmata *woman* and *man*, the dictionary contains a number of gender stereotypes and prejudiced lexicographic description. The further analysis of the dictionaries published afterwards will let us see if any of these gender stereotypes have been reproduced in other dictionaries.

2.3. The Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by S. I. Ozhegov and N. Y. Shvedova

2.3.1. General Information*

First published in 1949, this dictionary remains to be one of the most popular monolingual dictionaries of Russian. Initially the dictionary consisted of one volume and included 50 000 lemmas. The idea to create a concise lexicon belonged to Dmitry Ushakov, the author of the lexicographic work already discussed above, who suggested his lexicographic team they should continue their scholarly work in order to prepare and publish a prescriptive concise dictionary of Russian, based on the four-volume dictionary published by Ushakov earlier (Nikitin, 2017, p. 19). Sergei Ozhegov, who had actively participated in the work on the four-volume edition, became one of Ushakov's main collaborators again. The work on the project started in 1940, but firstly the World War II and then Ushakov's sudden death prevented the successful accomplishment of this lexicographic endeavour. After editor-in-chief's death, Ozhegov turned out to be in charge of the whole lexicographic process. He had to find new

* The information in this section comes from various sources: Nikitin (1999, 2017); Basovskaya (2014); Skvortsov (2001).

collaborators to continue the work on the dictionary, as most team members had left the project by that moment (Nikitin, 2017, p. 20).

Working on this dictionary Ozhegov maintained practical and theoretical lexicographic principals established during the creation of Ushakov's Dictionary: the new dictionary was meant to be of a prescriptive nature providing instructions on the correct use of the standard form of Russian (Nikitin, n.d.). The dictionary articles did not include any alternative options, always offering only one possible and supposedly correct language use. The system of prohibitive lexicographic labels was widely employed. Similar to the preceding lexicographic project, this dictionary also could not help avoiding the governmental intervention in the lexicographic process. The author had to do his best to defend his lexicographic principles and the traditions of the Russian-Soviet lexicography from the ideological pressure of the bolshevist regime (Nikitin, 2017, p. 24).

After the dictionary publication in 1949 Ozhegov did not stop his lexicographic work. Only during his lifetime, the dictionary was reissued six times with two editions being revised and completed by the author. As he wrote in 1964 in the letter to the publisher, he intended to continue the dictionary revision, as he did not see 'any point in the further publication of the dictionary in its unrevised form' (Dobrovolsky, n.d.). He wished for his dictionary to keep up to date with the language and register any changes taking place in the language use, constantly toiling to improve dictionary's macro- and microstructure and expand its lemma list. The card-index archive keeps track of the lexicographer's notes intended to be used for the new edition: new words and expressions noticed in newspapers and radio programmes as well as their definitions, grammatical information and so on (Nikitin, n.d.; Dobrovolsky, n.d.).

However, due to Ozhegov's death in 1964, the subsequent work on the dictionary was taken over by Nataly Shvedova, who worked on the dictionary for over twenty years and continued the realization of Ozhegov's plans. She kept the dictionary revision and completion process going for all that time: correcting existing mistakes, adding lexicographic data, building on new lemmas, she managed to check and revise each and every dictionary article and increase the dictionary volume from 50 000 initial lemmas to 80 000. One of the most recent goals of this dictionary project, which became plausible to achieve after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, was to make the dictionary completely free of any influence of the ideological and political propaganda, present in the explicit and implicit forms in the previous editions. Another important aspect of the recent lexicographic work was to show the latest changes occurring in the language (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 2006, p. 3-4).

Since 1992 Shvedova officially became a dictionary's co-author and her name appeared on the book cover. In fact, by that time the dictionary had become an absolutely new lexicographic product, completely different from the original 1949 edition. Despite this fact Ozhegov's name is still present on the cover, because the new editions continue the fundamental lexicographic principles, employed during the work on the original book: macrostructural and microstructural composition, label system, approach to lexicographic treatment of lemmata are all still the same, even though the prescriptive-prohibitive viewpoint transformed into a more descriptive approach (Dobrovolsky, n.d.).

2.3.2. Dictionary Analysis

The dictionary articles analysed below are taken from the fourth dictionary edition, printed in 2006. Unfortunately, it was not possible to get access to earlier editions. Otherwise, it would have been interesting to compare the first edition of 1949 with later editions to see if there are any conspicuous changes. Not having opportunity to get access to all the necessary dictionaries is one of the greatest restrictions of this work.

Following the methodology described above, the dictionary articles for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] found on page 192 of the dictionary and the lemma *muzhchina* [man] found on the page 369 are presented in the Table 3.

Table 3. Entries for Lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by Ozhegov and Shvedova (2006)

ЖЕНЩИНА, Ы, Ж.⁹	МУЖЧИНА, Ы, М.
<p>1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу, та, которая рождает детей и кормит их грудью.</p> <p><i>Женщина равноправна с мужчиной.</i></p> <p><i>Женщина-мать.</i></p> <p><i>Ищите женщину!</i> (говорится как намёк на то, что какое-нибудь неясное, запутанное дело не обошлось без женского участия; шутил.)</p>	<p>1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу.</p> <p><i>Будь мужчиной!</i> (веди себя так, как подобает мужчине).</p> <p><i>Поговорим как мужчина с мужчиной</i> (как подобает мужчинам).</p>
<p>2. Лицо женского пола, вступившее в</p>	<p>2. Такое взрослое лицо, в отличие от мальчика, юноши.</p>

⁹ Grammatical information about plural form and grammatical gender.

<p>брачные отношения. <i>Она стала женщиной.</i> прилагательное женский, -ая, -ое¹⁰. <i>Женский пол. Женские болезни.</i> <i>Международный женский день</i> (8 Марта).</p>	<p><i>Сын вырос, уже совсем мужчина.</i> уменьшительное мужинка, -и, м¹¹. (просторечное шутовое) // прилагательное мужской, -ая, -ое¹² и мужчинский, -ая, -ое¹³ (просторечное шутовое). <i>Мужской пол.</i></p>
<p>WOMAN</p>	<p>MAN</p>
<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the male one; she gives birth to children and breastfeeds them. <i>A woman has equal rights with a man.</i> <i>A woman-mother.</i> <i>Look for the woman</i> (used as a hint that a mysterious or puzzling situation involves a woman, humorous). 2. A female individual, who has started the matrimonial relationships . <i>She became a woman.</i> Adjective <i>zhenskii</i> [female]. <i>Female sex. Female illnesses. International women's day</i> (8 March).</p>	<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one. <i>Be a man!</i> (behave like a man is supposed to). <i>Let's have a man talk!</i> (in a way appropriate to men). 2. Such an adult individual as opposed to a boy, or a young man. <i>The son has grown up, he is already a man.</i> diminutive muzhchinka [a little man] (colloquial, humorous). Adjective muzhskoi [male] and muzhchinsky [male]¹⁴ (colloquial, humorous). <i>Male sex.</i></p>

Source: Adapted from the Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by Ozhegov and Shvedova (2006)

From the quantitative perspective the dictionary articles occupy equal amount of dictionary space (approximately ten dictionary lines each) and have symmetrical structure: each lemma has two senses with more or less equal number of examples.

The first sense of the lemma gives a definition, quite similar to the one found in the Ushakov's Dictionary. Woman and man are described as opposites, as two biologically and socially polar

¹⁰ Grammatical information about adjective's endings in feminine and neuter forms.

¹¹ Grammatical information about diminutive's form plural form and grammatical gender.

¹² Grammatical information about adjective's endings in feminine and neuter forms.

¹³ See the footnote 12.

¹⁴ In the original there are two forms of these adjective: first – standard, second – colloquial, humorous.

individuals. As far as this part of the definitions goes, it repeats the Ushakov's ones word for word. However, the definition of *woman* gets an unexpected addition, attributing to woman such biological functions as ability to give birth and breastfeed as the most essential and defining for her. The first part containing implicit gender stereotypes is inappropriate enough, as it reproduces the stereotypical notions from 1935 right right into 2006 without a slightest change. But pointing out woman's biological functions right in the definitions makes the definition simply wrong and invalid. Needless to say, there is a good number of women without any children, but according to such a definition they cannot be considered women any more. The same would be true for women who are unable to have children, or women who do not breastfeed, intersex people, transgender women and so on. Besides, being a poor lexicographic choice, this definition is quite misogynistic, as it reduces woman's social role, her interests and ambitions to her biological function. Thus, it anchors a woman to the household, family and children and reproduces a traditional stereotypical perspective of a patriarchal society where woman is not to be seen outside of the family life context (Zavodskaya, 2019).

The example sentence stating women's equal rights with the men's seems irrelevant and out of place after such a definition, as it is impossible to speak about any equality, when family, children and household are considered to be a female principal area of interest and responsibility, and other possible social roles are not even mentioned, as if there had been none.

The second example '*woman-mother*' again points out the role allocated to a woman in the society run by men. It is worth noting that such an expression does not really exist in Russian. On the one hand, it is simply incorrect, as it is redundant (the word *mat'* [mother] in Russian implies a female parent and thus, it does not need the specification 'woman'). On the other hand, such an expression can be found neither in the Russian National Corpus (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>) nor in Google. Therefore, it is doubtful that it exists and moreover, it is not clear where exactly the lexicographers found it and for which purpose they used it in the dictionary as an example sentence.

The third example sentence is a cliché coming from the French expression '*Cherchez la femme*' and implying that a woman is a probable source of all the trouble. Although the dictionary notes this example with the label 'humorous', it is not quite clear what lexicographic reasoning can justify the reproduction of a negatively biased cliché on the pages of one of the most acclaimed monolingual dictionaries in the country.

However, in many cases gender bias is bilateral and the examples that can be found under the first sense of the lemma *man* are no exception. There are two examples and both of them exploit more or less the same gender stereotype. The first one commanding somebody to be a man has a

lexicographer's brief explanation ('behave like a man is supposed to'). However, it is not explained in detail what is expected from the man's behavior. The second refers to a '*man talk*', clarifying that it is a type of conversation considered appropriate for men. Once again, no explanation is provided with regards to what exactly is appropriate in the men's conversation. One is left to guess and interpret these examples according to one's own experience (Turina, 2020). However, as similar examples had already been used in Ushakov's Dictionary before, it is not difficult to conceive what is really implied by these phrases. It is surprising how in 2006 the representation of 'real' man in the society has hardly changed (at least what concerns dictionaries) in comparison to 1930s. It still implies a strong masculine personality, most likely emotionless and cold-blooded, making a living for his family, operating in the society, solving problems, having constant man-to-man talks, involved in the important issues, while she, the one giving birth and breastfeeding, stays at home and arranges hearth and home for him. (Zadvornova, 2013, p. 34).

Sense2 of the lemmas presents asymmetrical definitions. Woman is defined as someone who started 'matrimonial relationship', whereas a man is defined as an adult opposed to a boy. Although a woman here is once again defined through her relation to a man, it is only half of a problem. The definition is rather awkward for several reasons. Firstly, it is not quite clear what is meant by 'matrimonial relationships'. If the authors refer to a married woman, then this definition is wrong, as in Russian the word woman is never used in the meaning of wife. One does not become a *zhenchina* [woman] when one gets married - one becomes a *zhena* [wife]. If what the authors really mean by matrimonial relationships is sexual intercourse, then this euphemism is not only quite awkward but also misleading and incorrect, as sex is not an exclusive realm of married couples. Even taking into account the fact that in the USSR there was no public discussion of any aspect of human sexuality including women's sexuality, it is still strange that the authors failed to call things by their real name so many years later after the dissolution of the USSR (Karpov, 2020). We have seen that, for example, Ushakov's Dictionary avoided this awkwardness.

The dictionary also offers derivatives of the lemmas *man* and *woman*. The illustrative examples for the adjective *zhenskii* [female] are worth a special comment. Firstly, there is a negatively connoted example - *female illnesses*, whereas there is nothing like that for the derivative *muzhskoi* [male]. Unsurprisingly enough, male illnesses did not come into play. According to the example sentences, woman can either be associated with her primary biological functions (giving birth, breastfeeding) or with their degradation (female illnesses). The last example offers the name of the bank holiday in Russia – International Women's Day, celebrated on March, 8. Around the world this day is celebrated

with demonstrations where women show their solidarity in the struggle for equal rights. However, in Russia there is a different tradition associated with this day. Women receive flowers, chocolate and other appropriately 'female' presents. They are usually praised for their femininity, elegance, tenderness and beauty on this day. For many people this day has a controversial meaning, as it is one time in the year when all gender stereotypes of the patriarchal society come to a climax. The younger generation disapproves of such a tradition viewing this celebration as meaningless and misogynistic. Their reason that women would rather have more equality all year round (and not only one day a year) is difficult to argue with (Anistratova, 2020). Being aware of the cultural aspects of this date in Russia, makes it easier to see negative associations and connotation behind this seemingly neutral example sentence.

Among the derivatives of the word *man* there is one that stands out, namely a diminutive form *muzhchinka*, which can be roughly translated as a small man, or little man. It is a colloquial expression, used to talk about a man who is not real man enough or not masculine enough and does not correspond to a traditional perception of the appropriate male behavior or outlook. The dictionary consistently reproduces one and the same stereotype of male role model. The examples of the first word sense point out the importance to be a real man and behave in accordance with the normative gender perceptions existing in the society. Anyone diverging from this cliché is considered a '*muzhchinka*', not man enough. Although the dictionary indicated this derivation as humorous, it can potentially be of a derogatory nature as well, depending on the context it is used in (Osmak, 2012, p. 61)

Summing it up, we can see that one of the latest dictionary editions of one of the most famous and acclaimed dictionaries of Russian contains a good number of bilateral gender stereotypes. These stereotypes are present not only in examples, but also in definitions. They portray women exclusively in the family and household context viewing them entirely through their biological functions. Men's representation is also heavily loaded with gender bias. Unfortunately, as there are no digital copy of the first dictionary editions available, it makes it impossible to compare this dictionary with earlier ones and to analyse the differences if any.

2.4. Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language (in 17 volumes), later on the Great Academic Dictionary of the Russian Language

2.4.1. General information¹⁵

The first 17-volume edition of this dictionary included 120 480 headwords (Kruglikova, 2012, p. 179). It was published in the period from 1948 (1950)¹⁶ to 1965. The dictionary project was firstly envisioned and discussed in 1937 due to a necessity to create a profound lexicographic work, which would provide contemporary Russian language with a comprehensive description, with special focus on the new vocabulary, that emerged after the Revolutions, the Civil War and the creation of the new Soviet State. However, the project realization was postponed by the WWII. The dictionary describes the Russian literary language starting from Pushkin time to the present day (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 117).

Later the dictionary was revised and reedited twice. The second edition occurred in 1991 and was supposed to increase its size in comparison to the previous one reaching up 20 volumes and including a block of new vocabulary. However, due to the social and financial instability in the country in the given period the processes was not completed and the project was terminated after the fifth volume. The third edition has started in 2004 and still continues up to the present moment. So far 26 volumes have been issued and lexicographic work is expected to be accomplished in the near future (*'Slovar sovremenogo russkogo literaturnogo yazyka'* [Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language], 2020).

This dictionary is of a normative character and it 'maintains and focuses on several norms: grammatical, morphologic, syntactic, semantic, orthographic, orthoepic, wordformational, word-combinational, phraseological, idiomatic, stylistic, syntagmatic and paradigmatic metamorphosis, correct mode of expression in reading-writing-speaking strategies of contemporary Russian literary language etc.' (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 16).

The dictionary structure is not strictly alphabetical: the word nesting is widely applied, as the lexicographers did not aim to create simply a 'list of words', but were determined to show the 'system of word usages, related etymologically and semantically', pointing out that even though the alphabetical word order 'helps to conduct dictionary enquiries faster', at the same time it 'disrupts natural relations

¹⁵ Information in this section comes from various sources: Karamian and Golovan (2012); Kruglikova (2012); Kosteva (2014).

¹⁶ Two dates are provided here as the dictionary starting point, because the critical literature reviews on the topic mention two different dates.

between words'. (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 121). The example of such nesting is illustrated in Figure 4 for the lemma *maetnost*.

Маётность, и, ж. Устар. и обл. Имене, поместье; угодые. *Степан Иванович Вишневецкий поселился в своих малороссийских маётностях.* Песк. Старин. пентопаты. По времени словно мор настигал Затрапезных, и в руках одной какой-нибудь пощаженной отрасли сосредоточивались имения и маётности остальных. Салт. Пошок. старина. Сам — молодец.., есть у его казака-отца не мало маётностей, садов, лошадей, овец, одежды и всякого добра. Данил. Прабабушка.
— С иным упар.: маётность (прим. см. выше). — Вейсманнов Лекс. 1731, с. 507: маётность; Росс. Целларнус 1771, с. 298: маётность; Даль, Слов.: маётность. — Польск. majetność — имущество.
Маётный, ая, ое; тең, тна, о. Простореч. Изнурительный, тяжкий; хлопотливый. Много видел солдат на своем сиротливом маётном секу. Левит. Степн. выселки. В теплой вечерней моле, в скрипе нагруженных телег, в протяжном мычании сытых недоенных коров угасал маётный день. Фадеев, Разгром.
Маётно, нареч. Простореч. Изнурительно, тяжело; хлопотливо Прозор маётно поживал под буркой. Шишк. Угрюм-река. = В знач. безл. сказа. — Жены, семьи, детей нету; скучно, тошно, маётно. Гл. Усп. Скуч. публика. — Маётно вам будет идти-то? Златовр. Крест.-присяжные. — Рассказывать-то теперь легко, .. — а тогда больно же маётно было Максим. Год на севере.

Figure 4. Word nesting in the Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language in 17 volumes (1950-1965)

Source: Chernyshev (1948-1965)

Unlike the Ushakov's Dictionary and Ozhegov's Dictionary, this lexicon is of a more descriptive approach: the earlier lexicographic works called for the use of only one supposedly correct option, whereas this lexicon recommends a more appropriate option without the strict prohibition. It also lists obsolete, colloquial, regional and vulgar forms using the system of lexicographic labels to specify the peculiarities of their use (Kruglikova, 2012, p. 184). As the authors point out, the dictionary only provides advice and recommendation and it does not serve to prohibit any word usages or, on the contrary, to force their implementation in the language': 'Following a necessity to express a thought in the context of artistic and scientific creativity of dialectal words, obsolete expressions and neologisms can be reinvented and reused' (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 121). The other important aspect of this dictionary project is a wide use of citation and illustrative examples in order to help the readers to

understand the meaning and the specifics of the use better as well as to provide a proof for each sense (Chernychev, 1950, volume1, p. XIII).

During the work on the first three volumes of the first edition the editors had to confront the influence of Marrism, also known as Japhetic theory. This new study about language origin, developed by a Stalin's Georgian compatriot N. Marr, was a pseudoscientific but ideologically correct school of linguistics, firmly established in the USSR in the period from 1920s to 1940s and supported by the government: 'The Japhetic theory rejected, among other things, the Indo-European, Semitic, Finno-Ugric etc. language families. Academician Marr claimed that all the world's languages were derived from a Japhetic proto-language, spoken at one time in the Caucasus. Marr advanced the fantastic claim that all words of all languages go back to the four elements *sal, ber, jon, rosh'* (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 115). This theory crippled the developments of the Soviet lexicography for many years to come, as all the lexicographic decisions and strategies had to be in line with the Marrist ideology¹⁷. It had destroyed the first volume of Ushakov's Dictionary by strongly criticizing it and later it affected the quality of the first three volumes of this new lexicographic endeavour and they had to be fully revised before the publication, which eventually became possible only in 1950 after Marrism's official dethronement (Nikitin, 2016, p. 27).

The latest dictionary edition is claimed to be fully cleared from the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, after many lexemes were revised to ensure that they would be treated in a neutral, objective way. It is also claimed to be the most comprehensive monolingual dictionary of Russian, encompassing the time period from the early 19th century to the early 21st century (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 179). The initial dictionary size was declared to be 150 000, but it is surely going to be exceeded. The editorial team states that the new lexicon follows the principles of the original edition, but at the same that it is rather a new independent lexicographic work than simply a reedition of the previous volumes (Kruglikova, 2012, p. 179). The latest volumes of the third dictionary rely both on the card index (inherited from the original edition and greatly expanded since then) and digital corpus of texts, even though the latter became beneficial only for the later volumes (Karamian & Golovan, 2012, p. 180).

2.4.2. Dictionary Analysis

In the following section the dictionary articles from two editions are going to be investigated: firstly, we will analyse the dictionary articles for the headwords *zhenschina* [woman] and *muzhchina* [man] coming from the original edition (from the volume 4 printed in 1955, page 82 and volume 6

¹⁷ Ushakov and later Ozhegov also had to confront the influence of marrism.

printed in 1957, page 1349) and then respective articles found in the 3rd and latest edition of the dictionary (volume 5 printed in 2005, page 612 and volume 10 printed in 2008, page 479).

Following the methodology applied in the previous sections, the dictionary articles for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] and the lemma *muzhchina* [man] are to be presented in Table 4 in Russian followed by their appropriate English translation.

Table 4. Entries for Lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language in 17 volumes (1950-1965)

ЖЕНЩИНА, -Ы, ЖС.	МУЖЧИНА, -Ы, М.
<p>1¹⁸. Лицо, противопологаемое по полу мужчине.</p> <p><i>Женщине в СССР предоставляются равные права с мужчиной во всех областях хозяйственной, государственной, культурной и общественно-политической жизни.</i> Конституция СССР, ст. 122.</p> <p><i>В любви она так нежна, во всех её отношениях ко всем столько мягкости, ласкового внимания – словом, она женщина!</i> Гончаров. Обломов.</p> <p><i>У костра сидели двое – мужчина и женщина. Женщина подобрала ноги под юбку, засунула кисти рук в рукава драпового пальто.</i> А. Н. Толстой.</p> <p>Хмурое утро.</p>	<p>1. Лицо, противопологаемое по полу женщине.</p> <p><i>Кто же родился мужчиною, тому рядиться в юбку странно и напрасно.</i> Пушкин. Домик в Коломне.</p> <p><i>В направлении к Невскому шли смуглая дама и бледноватый мужчина с плохо рыжею бородою.</i> Чернышевский. Пролог.</p> <p><i>Женщин в отряде было всего две.. Все остальные – мужчины в возрасте от 18 до 25 лет.</i> Линьков. Война в тылу врага.</p> <p> </p> <p>Лицо этого пола, отличающееся твердостью, мужеством.</p> <p><i>Но к чему же эта злоба, эти дрожащие губы, этот яд в глазах? Или, может быть, иначе нельзя? Нельзя быть мужчиной, бойцом, и остаться кротким и мягким?</i> Тургенев. Накануне.</p>

¹⁸ In the fourth volume, containing the dictionary article for the lemma *woman*, no numbering was used to introduce different word senses. However, the sixth volume containing the lemma *man* used the numbering to differentiate between senses. Therefore, the author of this work considered it possible for the convenience of the analysis to attribute the sense numbering to the dictionary article of the lemma *woman*.

<p>2. Взрослая, вышедшая из состояния подростка.</p> <p>[Лизе] <i>было тогда семнадцать лет.. И, между тем, в тот самый вечер, при мне, началось в ней то внутреннее, тихое брожение, которое предшествует превращению ребенка в женщину.</i> Тургенев. Дневник лишнего человека.</p> <p><i>Как медленно развиваетесь вы в женщину! Перед вами свобода, жизнь, любовь, счастье – а вы разбираете тон, манеры! Где же человек, где женщина в вас?</i> Гончаров. Обрыв.</p> <p>3. Состоящая или состоявшая в браке.</p> <p>Противоположное: девица.</p> <p>[Глафира:] <i>Поможешь мне? Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри женщиной, что из меня выйдет.</i> А. Островский. Волки и овцы</p>	<p>- <i>Тяжело мне, доктор. Гадко мне, – ответил тихо Бобров. – Пустяки, пустяки, идем! Будьте мужчиной, плюньте.</i> Куприн. Молох.</p> <p>2. Взрослый человек, вышедший из состояния мальчика-подростка.</p> <p><i>Пете было весело оттого, что, уехав из дома мальчиком, он вернулся молодцом-мужчиной.</i> Л. Толстой. Война и мир.</p>
<p>WOMAN</p>	<p>MAN</p>
<p>1. An individual, who is opposed by gender to a man.</p> <p><i>Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state,</i></p>	<p>1. An individual, who is opposed by gender to a woman.</p> <p><i>For that person who is born a man it is strange and dangerous to wear a skirt.</i> Pushkin. Little</p>

<p><i>cultural, social and political life. Constitution of the USSR, article 122¹⁹.</i></p> <p><i>She is so gentle in love, in her attitude to everybody there is so much tenderness and gentle attention. In short, she is a woman!</i></p> <p>Goncharov, Oblomov.</p> <p><i>There were two people sitting by the fire – a man and a woman. The woman hid her legs under her skirt and put her hands in the sleeves of her woolen coat.</i> A.N. Tolstoi. Gloomy morning.</p>	<p>House in Kolomna.</p> <p><i>In the direction of the Nevsky (prospect) were walking a swarthy lady and a pale man with a thin red beard.</i> Chernyshevsky. Prologue.</p> <p><i>There were only two women in the detachment. The rest consisted of men aged 18-25 years.</i></p> <p>Linkov. War in the enemy's rear. </p> <p>An individual of this sex, who is distinguished by strength and courage.</p> <p><i>But why that wicked look, those trembling lips, that angry fire in his eyes? Or is it, perhaps, inevitable? Isn't it possible to be a man, a hero, and to remain soft and gentle?</i> Turgenev. On the Eve.</p> <p><i>'I feel shabby, doctor. I feel terrible,' said Bobrov quietly. 'Nonsense, come along! Be a man, snap your fingers at the whole thing.'</i> Kuprin. Moloch.</p>
<p>2. An adult female, who is no more an adolescent.</p> <p><i>[Lisa] was seventeen then. And meanwhile, that very evening, before my eyes, there began that soft inward ferment which precedes the metamorphosis of the child into the woman.</i></p> <p>Turgenev. Diary of a Superfluous Man</p> <p><i>How slowly you are becoming a woman. Before you lie freedom, life, love, happiness, and you talk of tone and manners. Where is the human soul, the woman in you?</i> Goncharov. The</p>	<p>2. An adult human being, who is no longer a teenage boy.</p> <p><i>Pete was happy because after having left his home he came back there as a dashing man.</i> L. Tolstoi. War and Peace.</p>

¹⁹ Translation is taken from *1936 Constitution of the USSR*. Bucknell University (n.d). Retrieved on July 19, 2020 from: <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/36cons04.html#chap10>

<p>precipice.</p> <p>3. A female who is married or has been married. Opposite: maiden ('devitsa' in Russian) <i>[Glafira]: Will you help me? You know me as a girl, but see what comes of me as a woman.</i> Goncharov. Wolves and Sheep.</p>	
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Source: Adapted from the Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language in 17 volumes (1950-1965)

The articles' structure is heterogeneous with the entry for the lemma *woman* having three senses and the entry for the lemma *man* having two senses and one subsense. The dictionary article for the lemma *woman* occupies 27 lines whereas the lemma *man* occupies 18 lines.

The first sense presents the definition that is, as we have already seen, classic for the Russian lexicography, but in a bit of a modified manner. The usual 'individual whose sex is opposite to the (fe)male one' is replaced by the 'individual, who is opposed by gender to a man / woman'. Such a slight paraphrase serves to amplify the well-established opposition: if other dictionaries highlighted opposite sexes, this one in particular depicts a man and a woman as opposed individuals, confronted by their sex and because of their sex, as if there were no free choice in this situation and gender construct dictated the rules of the game: 'Given patriarchy's prescription that one must be either masculine or feminine, free choice is conditioned (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 145).

Taking a look at the illustrative example sentences, one sees a quote from the Soviet constitution (1936) stating women's equal rights with the men's. However, the very form itself in which these rights are asserted is dubious. Firstly, it is worth noting the use of passive voice: woman is given the rights, they are provided to her ('*Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men*'). Woman is viewed as a passive recipient, who is let a certain degree of equality in certain areas. Secondly, the document does not proclaim that women and men are equal in their essence as it has been the case in Ushakov's Dictionary in the entry for *woman* ('Women and men in the USSR exercise equal rights'). It points out that women should have equal rights with men, thus, giving it a general sense of men's rights being of essential and fundamental nature and women's rights being just provided to her. There is no questioning of men's rights, as they have always been there, whereas women are just elevated to the level of men in this case, above their normal position. Although all that is not stated explicitly, it conveys an implicit idea of women's inferiority in comparison with men.

The second example of the first sense of the lemma *woman* is a quote from a 19th classic literature's novel 'Oblomov': *'She is so gentle in love, in her attitude to everybody there is so much tenderness and gentle attention. In short, she is a woman!'* On the one hand, classic literature is undoubtedly a good source of the normative literary Russian language and the correct language use. On the other hand, a piece of literature written by a male author living in the 19th century patriarchal Russian Empire can hardly be considered as an unbiased source from the gender perspective, as in most cases it shows a woman from the male point of view in that unequal position she happened to find herself two centuries ago. In classical Russian literature a woman is hardly ever a central character, she is used exclusively for one reason: to tell a male protagonist's (or male antagonist's) story (Heldt, 1987, p. 2). Thus, in this example we see that woman we have already encountered on the Ushakov's Dictionary's and Ozhegov's Dictionary's pages: she embodies not only a social norm of a woman, but all the stereotypical notions of what a woman should be: tender, gentle, soft. Then 'she is a woman'. But if in the previous dictionaries a separate sense or subsense was attributed to this social concept of a woman, in this dictionary this idea is conveyed not so explicitly, only on the example level.

The third illustrative example is surprisingly gender neutral as it neither attributes to a woman any universal personality characteristics, nor depicts her in any traditional social roles (wife, mother, sister, lover etc.).

The illustrative example sentences for the first sense of the headword *man* are rather neutral not giving much of a gender-specific information. However, the first sample sentence is a bit controversial, as it may sound rather strange when given without any context: *'For that person who is born a man it is strange and dangerous to wear a skirt.'* On the one hand, it is not fully clear, what is exactly meant here. On the other hand, it again exploits that opposition between a man and a woman, highlighting the fact that there should be nothing female in a real man (female traits in man serve to lower his social status and therefore unacceptable for society). However, it only works so in the dictionary within the the context of the opposition given by the first sense. If one knows the context of the joking poem, where the citation was taken from, one perceives the sense of the quote quite differently: a man pretends to be a woman and gets a job as a cook in a family, because he is in love with a young daughter. He gets discovered when he is shaving in his room: *'For that person who is born a man it is strange and dangerous to wear a skirt: one day he will have to shave his beard, which does not come in line with female nature'* (Pushkin, n.d.). Thus, with no context provided, the quotation may convey a wrong impression and may be interpreted incorrectly.

The first sense of the lemma *man* has a subcomment on the sense: 'An individual of this sex, who is distinguished by strength and courage.' It is similar to what we have already seen in other dictionaries: the lexicon exploits stereotypical ideas about masculinity (toughness, strength, brutality, etc.) by trying to polarize it with the stereotypical assumptions about 'norm' of the femininity (tenderness, gentleness, softness).

The first illustrative example found under the subcomment of sense1 of the lemma *man* ironizes the social idea of masculinity, as the narrator wonders, if it were possible to be a man and to remain soft and gentle at the same time. He also adds the description of socially acceptable masculinity – wicked look, angry fire in the eyes. The second example depicts the importance to put a brave face on, not to show your emotions and distress, not even to have the right to have negative emotions, as it a sign of weakness and does not come along with a real man's behavior.

The second sense defines (wo)man as an adult person (as opposed to a teenager): quite an appropriate definition, followed, however, by not so appropriate sample sentences. For instance, the first example of the lemma *woman* – '*[Lisa] was seventeen then. And meanwhile, that very evening, before my eyes, there began that soft inward ferment which precedes the metamorphosis of the child into the woman*' – shows a girl in the sexualized context and implies not the coming of age situation, but rather the male narrator's perception of a woman as a sexual object.

The third sense of the lemma *woman* provides a definition related to the woman's marital status, as it defines a woman as a female who is married or has been married. We have already seen a similar definition in Ozhegov's dictionary, but claimed it dubious, as such a meaning is non-existent in the contemporary Russian language and there are two special words for a married woman – *zhena* [wife] and *supruga* [spouse]. When somebody gets married, for example, they are usually asked during an official ceremony if they want to take their partner as their legal wife / husband and in this case the word *zhena* [wife] is used and not the word *zhenschina* [woman]. In the Ushakov's Dictionary such meaning is absent, which proves a false nature of such a definition - most likely a euphemism invented by the Soviet lexicographers not willing to mention female sexuality in their dictionaries. In this case, the definition is accompanied by an example, which gives us an opportunity to check how this lexeme is used in the text. The quotation comes from the 19th century play 'Wolves and Sheep' by Ostrovsky. It is set in the provincial Russia and depicts the life of Russian landlords and landladies in possession of vast territories, villages, houses and peasants. Two female characters are discussing their life prospects and a poor girl says that she wants to get married to their mutual acquaintance to escape poverty asking her richer interlocutor for help: '*Will you help me? You know me as a girl, but see what comes of*

me as woman.’ On the one hand, the context indicates that the meaning of the word woman here is very close to the word wife, as the poor girl Glafira asks for help to get married. She also says: ‘You know me as a girl (*devushko*).’ The word *devushka* [young girl] indicates that the meaning of the word *zhenschina* [woman] is marriage-related here, as there are such phrases in Russian as *ostatsya v devkah, sidet v devkah* [stay in girls, ‘sit’ in girls – if translated literary], used to describe unmarried status of a girl or a woman. On the other hand, despite the fact that the example proves the definition to be valid, we cannot say for sure if that it proves that such sense does exist as it may be just an occasional use or out-of-date usage.

The next step is to analyse corresponding entries in the third dictionary edition and see what transformation the respective dictionary articles underwent in the new edition of the dictionary, published almost 40 years later and if the new dictionary reflects any changes in the attitudes to gender roles that happened in the society. It is worth remembering that the editors of the new edition claim it to be an absolutely independent lexicographic project and not a mere reedition of the already-existing lexicon. The dictionary entry for the lemmata woman and man shown in Table 5 can be found in volume 5 and volume 10 respectively.

Table 5. Entries for Lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Great Academic Dictionary of the Russian Language (2004-present)

ЖЕНЩИНА, -Ы, Ж.	МУЖЧИНА, -Ы, М.
<p>1. Лицо, противоположное по полу мужчине.</p> <p><i>Замужняя женщина. Красивая женщина. Женщина средних лет.</i></p> <p><i>У костра сидели двое – мужчина и женщина. Женщина подобрала ноги под юбку, засунула кисти рук в рукава драпового пальто. А. Н. Толстой.</i></p> <p>Хмурое утро.</p> <p><i>Есть вещи, порой даже мелочи, которые замечают только женщины. Воеводин.</i></p> <p>Эта сильная слабая женщина. </p> <p>Лицо женского пола как воплощение</p>	<p>1. Лицо, противоположное по полу женщине.</p> <p><i>Кто же родился мужчиною, тому рядиться в юбку странно и напрасно.</i></p> <p>Пушкин. Домик в Коломне.</p> <p><i>Женщин в отряде было всего две.. Все остальные – мужчины в возрасте от 18 до 25 лет. Линьков. Война в тылу врага.</i></p> <p> </p> <p>Лицо этого пола, отличающееся</p>

<p>свойств, качеств этого пола.</p> <p><i>Как медленно развиваетесь вы в женщину! Перед вами свобода, жизнь, любовь, счастье – а вы разбираете тон, манеры! Где же человек, где женщина в вас?</i> Гончаров. Обрыв.</p> <p><i>Уже проснувшись в ней женщина подсказывала ей самые красивые движения и ту неуловимую форму кокетства, к которой она прибегала из желания нравиться.</i> Н. Островский. Рожденные бурей.</p> <p>◆ <i>Деловая женщина. На этот раз она играла деловую женщину, руководительницу предприятия.</i> Ганина. Золотое одиночество.</p> <p>2. Лицо женского пола, состоящее или состоявшее в браке.</p> <p><i>[Глафира:] Поможешь мне? Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри женщиной, что из меня выйдет.</i> А. Островский. Волки и овцы.</p> <p><i>Как вы думаете – она девушка или женщина? – спросил меня Пал Палыч, когда мы вышли из дому.</i> Нагибин. Ночной гость.</p>	<p>твердостью, мужеством.</p> <p><i>Нельзя быть мужчиной, бойцом, и остаться кротким и мягким?</i> Тургенев. Накануне.</p> <p><i>- Тяжело мне, доктор. Гадко мне, – ответил тихо Бобров. – Пустяки, пустяки, идем! Будьте мужчиной, плюньте.</i> Куприн. Молох.</p> <p><i>Ну, будем мужчинами, - сказал отец, легко шлепнул меня ниже спины и вновь принялся за валенок.</i> Тюрин. Предполье.</p> <p>◆ Как мужчина с женщиной (поговорить, потолковать и т. п.). Как подобает лицам этого пола; твердо, смело. – <i>Мадам, будем говорить как мужчина с женщиной.</i> М. Кольцов. Испанский дневник.</p> <p>2. Взрослый человек этого пола в отличие от юноши, мальчика.</p> <p><i>Пете было весело оттого, что, уехав из дома мальчиком, он вернулся молодцом-мужчиной.</i> Л. Толстой. Война и мир.</p> <p><i>Антамбахуака, пожалуй, единственные на Мадагаскаре, кто сохранил для себя традицию проведения массовой церемонии посвящения в мужчины.</i> С. Кулик. Когда духи отступают.</p>
WOMAN	MAN

<p>1.²⁰ An individual whose sex is opposite to the male one.</p> <p><i>Married woman. Beautiful woman. Middle-aged woman.</i></p> <p><i>There were two people sitting by the fire – a man and a woman. The woman hid her legs under her skirt and put her hands in the sleeves of her woolen coat.</i> A.N. Tolstoi. Gloomy Morning.</p> <p><i>There are things, sometimes small details, that only women notice.</i> Voevodin. This Strong Weak Woman. </p> <p>A female person as the embodiment of personality traits and characteristics of this sex.</p> <p><i>How slowly you are becoming a woman. Before you lie freedom, life, love, happiness, and you talk of tone and manners. Where is the human soul, the woman in you?</i> Goncharov. The Precipice.</p> <p><i>A woman awakening in her taught her the prettiest movements and that elusive form of coquetry she used when she wanted to be adored.</i> N. Ostrovsky. Born by the storm.</p> <p>◆ Business woman. <i>This time she was playing a role of a business woman, the director of a company.</i> Ganina. Golden Loneliness.</p> <p>2. A female who is married or has been married.</p> <p><i>[Glafira]: Will you help me? You know me as a girl, but see what comes of me as a woman.</i> Goncharov. Wolves and Sheep.</p>	<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one.</p> <p><i>For that person who is born a man it is strange and dangerous to wear a skirt.</i> Pushkin. Little House in Kolomna.</p> <p><i>There were only two women in the detachment. The rest consisted of men aged 18-25 years.</i> Linkov. War in the Enemy's Rear. </p> <p>An individual of this sex, who is distinguished by strength and courage.</p> <p><i>Isn't it possible to be a man, a hero, and to remain soft and gentle?</i> Turgenev. On the Eve.</p> <p><i>'I feel shabby, doctor. I feel terrible,' said Bobrov quietly. 'Nonsense, come along! Be a man, snap your fingers at the whole thing.'</i> Kuprin. Moloch.</p> <p><i>Let's be men, - said my father slightly slapping below my back and got back to (fixing) the shoes.</i> Turin. The Front Line.</p> <p>◆ (have) a man talk. (Talk) in a way appropriate to men; authoritatively, boldly. – <i>Madam, let's have a man talk.</i> M. Koltsov. Spanish Journal.</p> <p>2. An adult human being of this sex, as opposed to an adolescent or a boy.</p> <p><i>Pete was happy because after having left his home as a boy he came back there as a dashing</i></p>
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²⁰ Once again no numeration is used in this article of the dictionary. The author of this paper applied numeration to ease the analysis.

<p><i>Do you think she is a girl or a woman? – asked me Pal Palych, when we left the house.</i></p> <p>Nagibin. Night Guest.</p>	<p><i>man.</i> L. Tolstoi. War and Peace.</p> <p><i>The Antambahoaka are probably the only people in Madagascar who preserved the tradition of the mass initiation for men.</i> S. Kulik. When the Spirits Draw Back.</p>
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Source: Adapted from the Great Academic Dictionary of the Russian Language (2004-present)

The dictionary articles of the lemma *woman* and the lemma *man* in the new edition have symmetrical structure – two senses and one subsense – and they are equal with regard to the space distribution with the lemma *woman* occupying 36 lines and the lemma *man* – 34 lines.

By and large, the microstructure of the dictionary articles did not go through any major changes in comparison with the first edition. The number of examples was increased (although the original examples were mostly preserved). The lemma *woman* obtained a new subcomment on sense – ‘*a female person as the embodiment of personality traits and characteristics of this sex*’. In addition to that, two collocations were added. Apart from these minor changes, everything else was left without any alterations. The definitions were not revised and the articles were definitely never evaluated from the gender bias perspective. The new subcomment on sense clearly follows the lexicographic tradition of *Ozhegov’s* and *Ushakov’s Dictionaries* by depicting a socially acceptable idea of what a woman should be. Despite the editors’ claim of the dictionary’s innovative nature, the inclusion of this biased subcomment is a step back if compared to the original version, where this assumption was present only in the implicit form. The newly added sample sentences depict women through their relation to men (*married woman*), judgement of their appearance (*beautiful woman*) and their age (*middle-aged woman*). They authors made an attempt to show a woman in her professional surrounding (*business woman*), but step back by saying she was just ‘*playing a role of a business woman*’. Social norm of masculine behaviour is shown with the help of the collocation ‘*(have) a man talk*’: according to the explanation, it is a type of a conversation that is bold and authoritative, which on the one hand, reflects the stereotypes existing in the society and on the other hand, reinforces them by reproducing them in the dictionary: ‘Fixing roles in symbol and in reality so that men do not take charge of children or do domestic work because that role is regarded as feminine and of low status and women do not seek careers and satisfying work outside the home will tend to promote an unending cycle of one sex

dominating the other, and perpetuating the battle of the sexes as opposed to their mutual liberation' (Gershuny, 1975, p. 941).

It is clear that a considerable time has already passed from the moment of the publication of these volumes. The lemma *woman* can be found in the fifth dictionary volume published in 2005 and lemma *man* – in the tenth volume published in 2010. From the modern perspective these two entries seem biased and bilaterally discriminating.

2.5. Small Academic Dictionary by A. P. Evgenieva

2.5.1. General information²¹

This four-volume dictionary is similar to the Ushakov's four-volume lexicon. Published during 1957-1961, the first dictionary edition contained 83 016 word. The revised and updated second edition was issued twenty years later. There was no further revised reprints. This dictionary encompassing the time period from Pushkin to the present day is, like all previously analysed lexicons, of a normative type: 'It is a normative dictionary. The normative character of the lexicographic treatment is reflected in a) the selection of lemmata constituting the dictionary macrostructure, b) senses selection and their lexicographic description c) stylistic labeling indicating the word usage d) citation, illustrating the word usage e) grammar forms of the lemma f) word stress indication g) spelling' (Evgenieva, 1999, p. 6).

The aim of the dictionary is to 'show the current state of the vocabulary of the literary Russian language providing the fullest description of its lexicon' (Evgenieva, 1999, p. 6). The editors aimed at giving a lexicographic description to the new lexemes reflecting social, economic and cultural changes happening in the society in 1940s-1950s. The dictionary also contains a 'widely used 19th century vocabulary necessary for the comprehension of classic literature, journalism and science of that period' (Evgenieva, 1999, p. 6).

The second edition aimed at reflecting the new vocabulary of 1960s-1970s as well: 'During the work on the second edition the whole dictionary was revised. The main goal was to include new vocabulary and new word senses that appeared during the last 20 years as well as to update illustrative examples, showing the word usage in the language.' The system of stylistic labels was also expanded (Evgenieva, 1999, p. 5).

The dictionary microstructure includes a lemma, a comment on stress, a comment on grammatical forms (nouns have a comment on grammatical gender), a part of speech comment, followed by a paraphrase of meaning with a lexicographic label when applicable. The senses are

²¹ The information about the dictionary comes mainly from the dictionary foreword and usage instructions (Evgenieva, 1999, volume I, p. 5-14)

separated with || sign. Word sense is followed by the comment on the use where applicable (e.g. an impersonal verb form). The dictionary also includes idioms and collocations.

2.5.2. Dictionary Analysis

The dictionary articles analysed below (see Table 6) come from the first (lemma *woman*) and the second (lemma *man*) volumes of the fourth edition, published in 1999. This edition is a complete copy of a second revised edition. The lemma *woman* is found on page 478 of volume I, whereas lemma *man* – on page 309 of volume II.

Table 6. Entries for the lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Small Academic Dictionary by A.P.Evgenieva (1999)

ЖЕНЩИНА, -ы, ж.	МУЖЧИНА, -ы, м.
<p>Лицо, противоположное по полу мужчине.</p> <p><i>Молодая женщина. Замужняя женщина. Женщина средних лет. Женщина и мужчина имеют в СССР равные права. Конституция СССР. </i></p> <p>Лицо женского пола как воплощение определенных свойств, качеств.</p> <p><i>Как медленно развиваетесь вы в женщину! Перед вами свобода, жизнь, любовь, счастье – а вы разбираете тон, манеры! Где же человек, где женщина в вас? Гончаров. Обрыв.</i></p> <p><i>Уже проснувшаяся в ней женщина подсказывала ей самые красивые движения и ту неуловимую форму кокетства, к которой она прибегала из желания нравиться. Н. Островский.</i></p>	<p>Лицо, противоположное по полу женщине.</p> <p><i>На бале, говорят, как солнце вы блистали. Мужчины ахали, красавицы шептали. Пушкин. Борис Годунов.</i></p> <p><i>В направлении к Невскому шли смуглая дама и бледноватый мужчина с плохо рыжею бородою. Чернышевский. Пролог. </i></p> <p>Взрослый человек этого пола в отличие от юноши, мальчика.</p> <p><i>[Я] не мог надивиться, как три или четыре года могли превратить бодрого мужчину в хилого старика. Пушкин. Станционный смотритель.</i></p> <p><i>Давно ли то было? А дети росли. И вот они, вправду, мужчины. У самого края советской земли ведут боевые машины. Твардовский. Семья кузнеца. </i></p>

<p>Рожденные бурей. </p> <p>Лицо женского пола, состоящее или состоявшее в браке.</p> <p><i>[Глафира:] Поможешь мне? Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри женщиной, что из меня выйдет.</i> А. Островский. Волки и овцы.</p>	<p>Лицо мужского пола, отличающееся твердостью, мужеством.</p> <p><i>- Тяжело мне, доктор. Гадко мне, – ответил тихо Бобров. – Пустяки, пустяки, идем! Будьте мужчиной, плюньте.</i> Куприн. Молох.</p>
<p>WOMAN</p>	<p>MAN</p>
<p>An individual whose sex is opposite to the male one.</p> <p><i>Young woman. Married woman. Middle-aged woman. Women and men in the USSR have equal rights.</i> Constitution of the USSR. </p> <p>A female person as the embodiment of certain personality traits and characteristics.</p> <p><i>How slowly you are becoming a woman. Before you lie freedom, life, love, happiness, and you talk of tone and manners. Where is the human soul, the woman in you?</i> Goncharov. The precipice.</p> <p><i>A woman awakening in her taught her the prettiest movements and that elusive form of coquetry she used when she wanted to be adored.</i> N. Ostrovsky. Born by the Storm. </p>	<p>An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one.</p> <p><i>You are said to be shining like the sun at the ball. Men were gasping, women were whispering.</i> Pushkin. Boris Godunov.²²</p> <p><i>In the direction of the Nevsky (prospect) were walking a swarthy lady and a pale man with a thin red beard.</i> Chernyshevsky. Prologue. </p> <p>An adult human being of this sex, as opposed to an adolescent or a boy.</p> <p><i>I was surprised how three or four years could turn an energetic man into a weak elderly.</i> Pushkin. The Station Master.</p> <p><i>How long ago did it happen? Meanwhile the children grew up. Now they are men. Driving military cars at the end of the Soviet land.</i>²³</p> <p>Tvardovsky. Blacksmith's Family. </p> <p>An male individual, who is distinguished by</p>

²² This is a poetic text in the original.

²³ A poem in the original.

<p>A female who is married or has been married.</p> <p><i>[Glafira]: Will you help me? You know me as a girl, but see what comes of me as a woman.</i></p> <p>Goncharov. Wolves and Sheep.</p>	<p>strength and courage.</p> <p><i>'I feel shabby, doctor. I feel terrible,' said Bobrov quietly. 'Nonsense, come along! Be a man, snap your fingers at the whole thing.'</i> Kuprin. Moloch.</p>
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Source: Adapted from the Small Academic Dictionary by A.P.Evgenieva (1999)

From the quantitative perspective both lemmas have received an equal lexicographic treatment with the space distribution of 20 dictionary lines for each lemma.

It is surprising to see a strong similarity of these dictionary articles with the ones from the Great Academic Dictionary, especially with its third edition, analysed in the previous paragraph. Not only the lexicographers distinguished exactly the same word senses, but the paraphrases of meaning are presented in almost exactly the same words. Although sample sentences differ a bit, there are some of them that are used in all three dictionaries. On the one hand, it may be explained by the fact that all dictionaries were published not only by one organization - the Institute for the Russian Language, but by almost the same editorial team: Barkhudarov, Vinogradov, Obnorsky participated in the work on the first edition of the Great Academic Dictionary and later in the work on the Small Academic Dictionary. There was one lexicographic tradition, one school of thought, one approach to dictionary making and even one and the same card-index. On the other hand, it is not quite clear what would be the purpose of reprinting one and the same lexicographic definitions and similar example sentences in different dictionaries and especially in the third edition of the Great Academic Dictionary, which, in fact, has been published in another country and in another century. For example, the lexicographers currently working on the Great Academic Dictionary have claimed that the card-index containing the lexemes and citations currently includes more than 8 000 000 cards. But apparently the newly added citations have not been used during the work on these two particular dictionary articles, which still preserve sample sentences picked out in 1950s.

The fact that there are very few differences between the Small Academic dictionary and its predecessor, the first edition of the Great Academic Dictionary, means that all the gender bias existing in the latter dictionary is present in the other lexicon, too. All senses are intact and thus, all depictions of stereotypical roles men and women should play are intact, too. The lexicographers transferred the lexicographic data from the previous works without any critical revision and thus all the gender bias, prejudices and stereotypes present in the first edition of the Great Academic Dictionary had made their way to the Small Academic Dictionary with impunity.

2.6. The Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by S. Kuznetsov

2.6.1. General Information²⁴

It is a one-volume dictionary including around 130 000 headwords. Firstly published in 1998, it was reprinted several times with the last revised reissue dating back to 2014. The dictionary was developed over the period 1990-1998 by a group of Soviet-Russian linguists and scholars from the Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Sergei Kuznetsov. The dictionary is largely based on the previous lexicographic works of the Soviet lexicographers with the incorporation of encyclopaedic data and data from card indexes. During the dictionary development process the computer technologies were used, as the lexicographic data was stored in the computer database. However, no corpus material was available at that time, as Russian National Corpus was created much later, only in 2004. The dictionary provides the following types of information: definition, grammar, etymology, register, pronunciation and spelling as well as illustrative examples and a comment on phraseology (*Ekspertnoje zakluchenie* [Expert Report], (n.d.), pp. 2-3).

The authors point out that their work continues the scholarly traditions of the Soviet-Russian lexicography, especially the ones developed during the work on the Small Academic Dictionary and the 17-volume Dictionary of the Contemporary Literary Russian Language (Kuznetsov, 2002, pp. 3-4). As a matter of fact, all three dictionaries were created by a scientific group of one and the same academic organization and they are based on the selfsame card-index. Despite this fact, the new one-volume dictionary is claimed to be an independent scientific endeavour: the most comprehensive of all three, it provides a consistent and detailed description of Russian vocabulary, its word meanings, morphological, stylistic and syntactic characteristics of its lexemes. According to the critical reviews, all together these dictionaries make a triad of Russian lexicography, consisting of the one-volume dictionary, the four-volume one and the 17-volume lexicon (*Ekspertnoje zakluchenie* [Expert Report], (n.d.), p. 2).

The main objective of this dictionary is to give a full lexeme description (spelling, pronunciation, etymology, derivative forms, meaning, register, collocations) and also to indicate historic, aesthetic, symbolic connotations a lexeme may have. The dictionary is aimed at lay users as well as professionals, basically, at anyone who learns Russian or is interested in the Russian language and culture (Kuznetsov, 2002, p. 3).

²⁴ Most of the information in this section comes from the dictionary foreword (Kuznetsov, 2000, pp. 3-19)

The dictionary presents vocabulary of all styles and literary genres of the Russian language. The main criterion for the lexeme inclusion in the dictionary macrostructure is its use in fiction, science fiction, media as well as in oral speech. Besides general vocabulary belonging to literary Russian, the dictionary presents the basic terminology of the modern day science and technology as well as vocabulary belonging to industry, culture and social life in Russia. The key vocabulary of economics, history, philosophy, politics, art are presented in the dictionary in the ideologically free and unbiased manner. There is a significant amount of vocabulary included in the lexicon, which has never before made its way in any of the Soviet dictionaries, for example, new, recently coined words and expressions; vocabulary of astrology, parapsychology, folk medicine, religion and so on; jargon, swear and derogatory words and expressions. (Kuznetsov, 2002, p. 3)

2.6.2. Dictionary Analysis

The dictionary articles for lemmas *zhenschina* [woman] and *muzhchina* [man] analysed below (see Table 7) come from the edition printed in 2000. The entry for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] is to be found on page 303 and for *muzhchina* (man) on page 562.

Table 7. Entries for the lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by S. Kuznetsov (2000)

ЖЕНЩИНА -ы; ж.	МУЖЧИНА -ы; м.
1. Лицо, противоположное по полу мужчине. <i>Молодая женщина. Женщина средних лет. Замужняя женщина.</i>	1. Лицо, противоположное по полу женщине. <i>Высокий, красивый, молодой мужчина. Мужчина преклонных лет. Беседа мужчин. Находиться среди мужчин. Кокетничать с мужчинами.</i>
// Лицо женского пола как воплощение определённых свойств, качеств. <i>Превращение ребёнка в женщину. Выросла и превратилась в красивую женщину. В неловких движениях девочки всё-таки</i>	// Взрослый человек этого пола в отличие от юноши, мальчика. <i>Стать мужчиной. Мужчины и юноши поздравляют женщин. Вернуться после службы в армии мужчиной.</i>

<p><i>угадывается будущая женщина.</i></p> <p>2. Лицо женского пола, состоящее или состоявшее в браке.</p> <p><i>Стать женщиной. Она девушка или уже женщина?</i></p>	<p>2. Лицо мужского пола как воплощение определённых свойств, качеств (суровости, твёрдости, честности и т.п.).</p> <p><i>Настоящий мужчина. Будьте мужчиной. Из него не получится мужчина. Вести себя, как мужчина.</i></p> <p><i><Мужчинский, -ая, -ое. Народно-разговорное и шутливое. Мужчинский голос. Мужчинский характер.</i></p>
<p>WOMAN</p>	<p>MAN</p>
<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the male one.</p> <p><i>Young woman</i></p> <p><i>Middle-aged woman</i></p> <p><i>Married woman</i></p> <p>// A female person viewed as the embodiment of certain qualities.</p> <p><i>The transformation from a child into a woman.</i></p> <p><i>She grew up and turned into a beautiful woman.</i></p> <p><i>In the clumsy movements of the child one could see a future woman.</i></p> <p>2. A female person who is married or has been married.</p> <p><i>To become a woman.</i></p> <p><i>Is she yet a girl or a woman?</i></p>	<p>1. An individual whose sex is opposite to the female one.</p> <p><i>Tall, handsome, young man.</i></p> <p><i>Elderly man.</i></p> <p><i>Men's talk</i></p> <p><i>Be among men.</i></p> <p><i>Flirt with men.</i></p> <p>// An adult male person as opposed to a boy, lad.</p> <p><i>To become a man.</i></p> <p><i>Men and boys congratulate women.</i></p> <p><i>To return from army being a man.</i></p> <p>2. A male person viewed as the embodiment of certain qualities (sternness, toughness, honesty, etc.)</p>

	<i>Real man.</i> <i>Be a man!</i> <i>He is never going to become a man.</i> <i>To behave like a man.</i>
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Source: Adapted from the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by S. Kuznetsov (2000)

If we look at this lexicographic data from the quantitative point of view, we can see that each headword is treated more or less equally in regard to space distribution. The dictionary articles have symmetrical structure: each headword has two senses with the first one having a subsense and a more or less equal number of the examples. The only difference is that the lemma *man* includes one derivative form, whereas the lemma *woman* does not indicate any derivations.

Let us take a closer look at the lexicographic treatment of the headwords by analysing the first sense of the respective headwords and the corresponding examples. In the first sense the headwords are defined in the similar way: lemma *zhenschina* [woman] - through a word *muzhchina* [man] and lemma *muzhchina* [man] - through a word *zhenschina* [woman]. This approach to the definition of the first sense of these headwords has been inherited from the Soviet lexicography, as this opposition has been present in each and every dictionary we have analysed and this lexicon is no exclusion, even though, it is a relatively modern one.

The examples illustrating the first sense represent adjective-noun type and are of particular interest, as on the one hand, the adjectives in them seem to be quite randomly attributed having no lexicographic or linguistic reasoning behind them and, on the other hand, here the first asymmetry occurs when woman is described as married, but man is not. It is worth noting that such discrepancy not only demonstrates the secondary role of the woman in the patriarchal society where she is always defined through her relation to a man, but also shows the lexicographic weakness of the author's approach. It is important to point out that in the Russian language, unlike English and German, there are two different adjectives for 'married': *zamuzhniya* [married]²⁵ can only be used in reference to a woman and *zhenatyj* [married] can only be used to talk about a man's marital status. Thus, including not only *zamuzhniya zhenschina* [married woman], but also *zhenatyj muzhchina* [married man] as an

²⁵ *Zamuzhniya* [married] (used for a woman) is a derivative form of a word *muzh* [husband], which literally means *the one behind a husband*. *Zhenatyj* [married] (used for a man) derives from a word *zhena* [wife] and means *one with a wife*. These two words are not interchangeable in Russian, even though it is a common mistake to mix them up.

illustrative example would help to demonstrate the correct language use and assist in eliminating a common mistake.

The first subsense of headword *woman* and the second sense of the lemma *man* include a similarly structured definition: 'A female / male person viewed as the embodiment of certain qualities'. Then the characteristics expected of a man are listed: 'sternness, toughness, honesty, etc', whereas for a woman no specification is provided. However, if we take a look at the later revised reprint from the year 2014, we will see that the authors corrected this inconsistency and now advise all women to be in possession of such essential characteristics as elegance, tenderness, kindness, etc. (Kuznetsov, 2014). As we have seen in the previously analysed dictionaries such word sense (or subsense in some cases) is also typical of all the Soviet-Russian dictionaries. However, Kuznetsov and his lexicographic team developed this idea further by actually specifying what they expect from both sexes²⁶. Even if viewed outside the national context, the attribution of such personal character features to particular sex as typical exclusively of it lacks any plausibility or rationality. Why are only women, for example, expected to be kind or tender? Are these not universal characteristics? If we look at these anticipated qualities in the context of the country, it would be quite easy to continue the enumeration and add to the aforementioned ones the following characteristics, which women and men are expected to have. Women should be obedient, submissive, patient, humble and passive. It is important for a woman to be able to put up with everything a man does, to be wise not to argue with the man, to agree to everything and devote herself to the husband and family. If the woman does not have a husband and a child, she is considered to be a failure, as she has not fulfilled herself. As for the man, in addition to already mentioned qualities, he should be strong both physically and emotionally (feelings are only for the weak), and be able to protect and provide for his family (Makeeva, 2017). The illustrative examples given in the dictionary enhance this stereotype, as they all hint at the importance of being or behaving like a 'real' man. An important point to take into account here is that present stereotypical assumptions have negative effect not only on women, but on men as well. For example, it is not advisable for a man in Russia to demonstrate any feeling or sentiments and boys in Russia are taught from the early childhood that they should not cry, because it is a sign of weakness and 'real' men do not cry (Barkovskaya, 2018).

The first sense of the lemma *man* contains a subsense, which we have also encountered in other dictionaries: 'An adult male person as opposed to a boy, lad.' If we look at the example sentences, we can see that here the meaning of adulthood and growing up is rather intertwined with

²⁶ It is not clear why for a woman this sense is attributed as a subsense to sense1 whereas for a man it was placed as a separate sense2.

those typical real man's qualities mentioned in the sense² – toughness, strength and so on. For instance, the third example '*to return from army being a man*' definitely hints not only at the fact of becoming an adult and losing all traces of a child, but it also has a connotation of becoming that 'real man' as it is understood in sense². In this case, only example² '*Men and boys congratulate women*' goes more in line with the definition and illustrates the meaning of adulthood.

The second sense of the lemma *woman* exploits that traditional euphemism present in all the dictionaries in question except Ushakov's. The illustrative examples do not really match the editors' definition: 'to become a woman', 'is she yet a girl or a woman?' relate exactly to the woman's sexual experience or its absence and not to her marital status. The topic of sex has been stigmatized in the USSR for a long time, it was discussed neither publicly nor privately, nor depicted in the films and books. Present day Russia is more open for its discussion but it is definitely not ready for public acceptance of women's sexuality (Serenko & Sno, 2019). This dictionary article serves as a proof of it. Apparently the authors decided to use this euphemism, firstly given in the Soviet dictionaries of 50s, instead of speaking plainly of things as they are.

After analysing five dictionaries with more or less exactly the same sense differentiation, it is not clear how the authors come up with the senses that they present in their dictionaries in the entries for *woman* and *man*. For example, it is not obvious why the denotation of being an adult or a grown-up as opposed to a child is totally lost for the lemma *woman*. In the Russian language there are three basic words used to describe a female person: *devochka* [girl] – *devushka* [young woman] – *zhenschina* [woman]. When the last one is chosen, there is always a meaning of being older and/or more experienced in relation to the first two, so that the definition for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] could be constructed in a similar way to the one for the lemma *muzhchina* [man]: an adult female person as opposed to a girl, young woman.

2.7. Big Explanatory Dictionary of the Correct Russian Language by L.I. Skvortsov

2.7.1. General Information²⁷

This normative dictionary containing 8000 lexemes was published in 2009 and it includes information on language difficulties, word usage, phraseology and norm variations in pronunciation, word stress, word formation, grammar. Besides that, it indicates the changes which have taken place in

²⁷ The information in this section comes mainly from Blagova (n.d.) and Skvortsov (2009).

the norms of the literary Russian language and provides detailed etymological data for the borrowings. The exemplary literary use is illustrated with the quotations from works of Russian classic literature from Pushkin to the present day (Skvortsov, 2009, p. 13-17). The dictionary is claimed to be a genuine encyclopaedia of the correct communication in standard Russian in its current state and historical development (Skvortsov, 2009, p. 1099). The editors also declare the novelty of their lexicographic product. The dictionary aims at all users, who appreciate Russian and are enthusiastic about improving their language skills. It is worth noting that the lexicon's editor-in-chief is a disciple of the lexicographers involved in the creation of the previously analysed dictionaries (V. Vinogradov, S. Ozhegov) (Skvortsov, 2009, p. 4).

In the dictionary foreword the editors express their concern with the current state of the language. Due to political and economic changes in the country occurring in the 1990s, the publishing of dictionaries and language reference books drastically dropped in number. TV and radio programmes about the language and its correct use, that had been so popular in the Soviet era, almost disappeared from the media outlets. In authors' opinion, all these led to the deterioration of the language use and to the spread of the incorrect forms, which were gradually superseding the correct ones. The main threat to the language was supposedly posed by a tendency to the language vulgarization, i.e. its constant stylistic and lexical decline, observed in the media, parliament and the Internet and the wide-spread use of slang and jargon in the everyday communication (Skvortsov, 2009, p. 4-6). This situation proved a necessity of the creation of a new lexicographic resource, namely this dictionary. Thus, the aim of the dictionary is not only to describe (and prescribe) the correct use, but also to explain the norms of the language use by showing their historic development. The editors tried to avoid using imperative or prohibitive remarks, but aimed at providing recommendations and explanations instead, even though the label 'not' is still present in the dictionary (Skvortsov, 2009, p. 15).

2.7.2. Dictionary Analysis

The following analysis aims to compare the dictionary articles for the lemma *zhenschina* [woman] and the lemma *muzhchina* [man], found on the page 209 and page 431 respectively of the edition printed in 2009 (see Table 8).

Table 8. Entries for Lemmas *Woman* and *Man* in the Big Explanatory Dictionary of the Correct Russian Language by L.I. Skvortsov (2009)

ЖЕНЩИНА, -Ы, женский род²⁸	МУЖЧИНА, -Ы, мужской род²⁹
<p>Лицо женского пола – взрослая, вышедшая из состояния подростка; состоящая (или состоявшая) в браке.</p> <p>Например: <i>Пусть мужчины себе дерутся и кричат о политике; женщины на войну не ходят, и им дела нет до Бонапарта. – Глаза ее засверкали. – Стыдись, - сказала она, - разве женщины не имеют отечества? разве нет у них отцов, братьев, мужьев? Разве кровь русская для нас чужда?</i> А. С. Пушкин. Рославлев.</p> <p><i>...Началось в ней [Лизе] то внутреннее, тихое брожение, которое предшествует превращению ребенка в женщину.</i> И. С. Тургенев. Дневник лишнего человека.</p> <p><i>- Поможешь мне? Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри женщиной, что из меня выйдет.</i> А. Н. Островский. Волки и овцы.³⁰</p>	<p>Лицо мужского пола – взрослый, вышедший из состояния подростка, юноши; состоящий (или состоявший) в браке.</p> <p>Например: <i>будь мужчиной!; поговорим как мужчина с женщиной</i> (то есть всерьез, по-мужски).</p> <p><i>Кто ж родился мужчиною, тому // Рядиться в юбку странно и напрасно.</i> А. С. Пушкин. Домик в Коломне.</p> <p><i>Пете было весело оттого, что уехав из дома мальчиком, он вернулся ... молодцом-мужчиной.</i> Л. Н. Толстой. Война и мир.</p> <p><i>Давно ли то было? А дети росли, // И вот они, вправду, мужчины.</i> А. Т. Твардовский. Семья кузнеца.</p>
WOMAN	MAN
An individual of the female sex – an adult, not an adolescent anymore; the one who is or has been	An individual of the male sex – an adult, not an adolescent anymore; the one who is or has been

²⁸ Information about plural form ending and grammatical gender.

²⁹ See the previous footnote.

³⁰ The description of the lexemes *woman* and *man* used as an address form to somebody is omitted here as it is not relevant for the topic of the current research.

<p>married.</p> <p>For example: <i>Let men shout and fight over politics; women do not go to the war, they do not care about Bonaparte. – Her eyes glared. – Shame on you, - she said, – do women not have a homeland? do they not have fathers, bothers, husbands? Is Russian blood foreign to us?</i> A. S. Pushkin. Roslavlev.</p> <p><i>There began that soft inward ferment in her [Lisa], which precedes the metamorphosis of the child into the woman.</i> Turgenev. Diary of a Superfluous Man</p> <p><i>- Will you help me? You know me as a girl, but see what comes of me as a woman.</i> Goncharov. Wolves and Sheep.</p>	<p>married.</p> <p>For example: <i>be a man!; let's have a men's talk (serious, in a manly manner).</i></p> <p><i>For that person who is born a man it is strange and dangerous to wear a skirt.</i> Pushkin. Little House in Kolomna.</p> <p><i>Pete was happy because after having left his home as boy... he came back there as a dashing man.</i> L. Tolstoi. War and Peace.</p> <p><i>How long ago did it happen? Meanwhile the children grew up. Now they are men.</i> Tvardovsky. Blacksmith's Family.</p>
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Source: Adapted from Big Explanatory Dictionary of the Correct Russian Language by L.I. Skvortsov (2009)

The dictionary articles for the lemmas *man* and *woman* are more or less equal in terms of the place distribution. They also have a symmetrical structure.

Firstly, it is worth pointing out that the editors decided not to distinguish between different lexeme senses, but opted for putting all three senses that have been traditionally distinguished in the previous lexicographic works in one definition. The first part of the definition provides the most general sense, but in a slightly modified manner: for the first time in the history of Russian lexicography the authors do not employ the opposition between woman and man to define these lexemes. Instead they use the adjectives *zhensky* [female] and *muzhskoi* [male] to define the lexemes, which is definitely a step to a more gender neutral definition. The second part of the definition employs a component of adulthood and opposes a woman and a man to an adolescent, whereas the third part of the definition continues to employ the false euphemism that is present in all other lexicographic works (besides *Ushakov's Dictionary*) and that defines woman as the one who is or has been married. However, the authors of this lexicon have gone even further in their lexicographic falsehood and attributed a sense *'the one who is or has been married'* to the lemma *man*. As the analysis of the previous dictionaries has shown, no dictionary before has ever distinguished such a sense for this lexeme. Indeed, there is no such meaning. If the lexeme *woman* does have a sense of the one who has lost her virginity, the

lexeme man does not and it refers more to the stereotypical characteristics of masculinity and the personality traits of the 'real' man. Thus, the authors continue to use gender bias as the definition strategy and expand it even more so that now it is applied to both lemmas.

Taking a look at the example sentences, it is possible to say that they are almost identical with the ones found in other works discussed above. Although the dictionary authors claim their reference work to be of innovative character, it is absent from these two dictionary articles, which heavily rely on the previous dictionaries and copy their article contents only in a slightly altered manner. Thus, for example, the entry for the lemma man exploits sample sentences referring to being a real man and mentioning the men's talk, even if not as directly as it was done in the previous works, where the reference to supposedly masculine characteristics was implemented not only in the example sentences, but also into the definition as a separate word sense. The illustrative examples from classic literature are completely borrowed from the previously published dictionaries. The only novelty found among sample sentences is the first example from Pushkin, found under the lemma *woman*: *'Let men shout and fight over politics; women do not go to the war, they do not care about Bonaparte. – Her eyes glared. – Shame on you, - she said, – do women not have a homeland? do they not have fathers, bothers, husbands? Is Russian blood foreign to us?'* Not complying with the character of other examples, this one plays ironically with stereotypical perception of a woman's role in the society as completely and exclusively focused on the household and family and not having anything to do with such important things as war, for example. Thus, this examples ironizes such a wide-spread gender stereotype by showing the importance of social issues and big-world problems for women as well.

Summing it up, it is possible to draw the following conclusion: although there is a bit of improvement with respect to the gender representation in this dictionary (man and woman are not opposed on the definition level, a positive sample sentence playfully dealing with gender bias), it is not systematic and is more likely unintentional and occasional. The way how the rest of the lexicographic material was further reproduced without any thorough revision and even multiplied in terms of gender stereotypes (see above the false use of 'married' in last part of the lemma definitions, the extension of the use of this euphemism for the lemma *man*, example sentences almost fully copied from the previous dictionaries and thus reinforcing the gender stereotypes presents in them) shows that the concept of gender neutrality was not really taken into account during the dictionary creation process and despite all claims on novelty and modernity, the dictionary is still full of the old contorted misperceptions, drawing a gender biased world view.

2.8. Preliminary Conclusions

Having analysed six monolingual dictionaries of Russian, I have found out that all of them not only contain numerous examples of gender stereotypes and gender bias, but also certain patterns in the depiction of gender roles. These patterns do not change from dictionary to dictionary, from one lexicographer to another, always staying the same. In this sense, we can say that these patterns are omnipresent and they comply with an idea of 'omnipresence of gender as a created system of difference' (Deutsch, 2007, p. 109).

So, what are these patterns? Firstly, they depict women and men as essentially different, opposite groups, whose polarity is determined by sex categories they belong to. Thus, the dictionaries convey an 'invariance of the belief in essential differences between men and women' (Deutsch, 2007, p. 109).

Secondly, these 'fundamental' differences manifest themselves not only at the biological level (even though the priority of her biological functions is emphasized for a woman), but on the psychological and personal level as well. Men and women are attributed different personal characteristics as essential of their gender: women – soft, tender, gentle; men – tough, bold, authoritative. Dictionaries maintain the opposition between these two groups by showing men as sensible and women as sensitive, men as rational and women as emotional, men as mature physically and psychologically, women as forever soft and mild.

Thirdly, gender differences also determine the sphere of interest and activity of each group. Woman operates in the domestic, family world. She breastfeeds and raises children. Outside her household, there is really not anything interesting for her. Her professional activities are limited to domestic help and prostitution (in some rare cases, she might be a 'woman-doctor'), whereas man is hardly ever depicted as a father, husband or son. He lives in a big interesting world, where he can be a real man and compete with other males. He goes to war and serves in the army. Heroic deeds are his realm of activity.

All in all, woman is always found in an inferior position. She is often shown as an object of man's sexual desire. Even if she has some rights, she is not in the active position to exercise them, as she is depicted as a passive recipient of a man's good will.

In this lexicographic landscape men always follow 'masculine norms that prescribe breadwinning and exemption from housework' (Deutsch, 2007, p. 110). They also take place in the constant gender display and are victims of the gender role attributed to them. The importance to maintain a real man high status is enormous and in fact, playing this role is the primary duty of a man.

Any deviance will be considered as a failure, as normative conceptions of femininity or masculinity as they shown in the monolingual dictionaries of Russian are very narrow and rigid, not leaving any space for diversity. Thus, they have negative impact on both groups.

If we follow the idea that 'doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological' and then using them to 'reinforce the 'essentialness' of gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 137), than we can come to the conclusion that all of the analysed dictionaries are highly involved in the process of doing gender, as they repeat old gendered notions, already presented in the previous dictionaries and thus reinforce them over and over again.

Interestingly enough, these gendered conceptions of femininity and masculinity have not changed at all over the time and have been reproduced in a more or less intact state over a period of 85 years. They have survived the dissolution of the USSR, the mayhem of post-Soviet 90s Russia, political reforms and social changes. It was surprising for me to come across a dictionary article in one of latest academic dictionaries of Russian that is almost fully identical to the dictionary article found in the lexicons published in the mid-20th century.

In the course of the analysis it was also possible to see that an act of doing gender can be performed at different levels in the dictionary: sometimes gendered representations of femininity and masculinity are explicitly integrated into definitions. Sometimes they are presented implicitly, only through illustrative examples.

On the whole, the dictionaries reflect the social norms and gender expectations of the patriarchal society with its asymmetrical division of household labour, with men 'doing dominance' and women 'doing deference' (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 146). Unfortunately, none of the dictionaries took a gender perspective into account and revised their data against gender bias. Lexicographers preferred to provide false lexicographic data for the sake of compliance with societal gender conceptions, as the case of lemma *zhenschina* [woman] in the sense '*one who lost their virginity*' demonstrated.

It is indisputable that the problem of gender equality is very serious in Russia, as women there still lack some basics rights. For example, domestic violence has been factually legalized by the state, following decriminalization law adoption in 2017 (Ott & Odynova, 2020), women are still officially banned from 100 professions (Berkhead, 2020), their abortion right is being continuously and constantly limited (Lokshina, 2020). Sexual harassment in schools, universities and work place are considered to be normal and even when victims speak up against their abusers and about their

traumatic experiences, it leads neither to legal consequences nor to the reputation loss for the offender (Yapporova, 2020). Motherhood is still considered the main purpose of the woman's life, especially by the older generation, and without fulfilling it, woman cannot be considered a full member of society (*'Chasiki-to tikajut!'* ['Your clock is ticking!'], 2020). Taking a poor state of women's rights into account helps us understand possible reasons for the presence of gender stereotypes in the dictionaries in almost unaltered state since 1935. It also helps us understand the importance of critical voices speaking about gender bias both in the societies and in dictionaries. I hope that my work will contribute to the discussion of the problem in the public as well as academic discourse. Without a doubt, there is a strong need for the revision of lexicographic data from the gender perspective and creation of a gender neutral lexicon in the future.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. General Conclusion

Development of this research project enabled me to get a new perspective on the field of theoretical and practical lexicography. It also helped me to rethink and reevaluate what had been taught to us in the classroom and what we had read in our textbooks. I should admit that the questions of gender, gender bias or any other kind of bias were never really raised during our Master programme. On the contrary, I was misled to a certain degree by the discussions of the Dictionary, its unquestionable and undoubted authority as well as presumed objectivity of computational, corpus-driven modern day lexicographic practice. We heard funny stories about lexicographer of bygone days and their enormous prescriptivism. They lived so long ago, but of course, prescriptivism is not a problem nowadays when we have corpus-data at our hand. Or so we were told.

Thanks to all the research on the topic I conducted, all the articles and papers I read, I see now that such approach is very simplified, since it does not take into account the problem of biased corpus-data (and what to do with it). Neither it reflects the fact that it is still a human lexicographer that is to make a decision and to choose from numerous corpus-examples the ones that will make their way into a dictionary. It also does not pay any critical attention to the way how we are used to constructing our lexicographic histories with women voices still excluded and underrepresented. It leaves out much of the public discussion around the most outrageous examples of sexism discovered now and then even in the best of lexicons. It does not really say anything about the problem why we still presume that these examples of sexism in dictionaries are okay.

I believe that all of these are important questions to take into account. They were disregarded and were never allocated any room in our curriculum. But now I know that there is no Dictionary and there is no unified and conformed history of lexicography. There are many voices and perspectives which still have to be embraced. Therefore, our approach to lexicographic practice and to teaching lexicography should be more diverse and inclusive, more comprehensive and critical.

3.2. Limitations

Current research paper, as any other research project, has certain limitations, which have to be taken into account during the result evaluation process. The first limitation is associated with the a restricted access to the resources, i.e. dictionaries and critical literature. As this paper was written in Portugal and partly in Germany during pandemic period with all libraries shut down and travel restrictions put on, I did not have any chance to get access to the printed versions of dictionaries of Russian or to go to the library and compare and different editions of the same dictionary. I had to make use of the electronic materials available in e-libraries, repositories and other digital collections and therefore, it was problematic to get hold of the whole scope of work. Another serious issue is a certain lack of English-language materials in the library of the University of Minho. There was a number of articles, both in English and in German, not present in the library collections. To make matters worse, UMinho students are not eligible for a free access to such Internet resources as *jstor.org*, for example, that offer a good number of research papers and normally can be used freely in the academic purposes.

Second serious limitation is associated with the design of my research itself. Taking a look only on two entries in each and every dictionary turned out to be fruitful in my case, but it's worth remembering that it is still a very limited view and even though, it lets one see a general tendency, it fails to provide a comprehensive picture.

Third limitation is associated with the fact that my work has certainly been influenced by my own opinions, experiences and attitudes. Thus, it engrains a certain degree of bias, too. Despite the fact that I did my best to keep an objective researcher's view of things, the full degree of objectivity and neutrality is unattainable and it is important to admit it. Thus, I shall admit that my feminist position and my experience of life in the patriarchal society of Russia have certainly influenced my perspective reflected in the work.

3.3. Discussion on Future Work

The topic of gender representation in Russian-language lexicographic works has great potential, as it has not been researched yet. The potential focus of the future work on the topic could incorporate the following aspects.

Firstly, it would be beneficial to include an overview of historical development of gender equality and women's right in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia. Incorporating this perspective into the paper would allow us to put our lexicographic data into the historical-social context and better understand the reasoning behind certain lexicographic choices. Fortunately, this field has been pretty well studied and inspiration for the future work is certain to be found in such books as *Living Gender after Communism* (Johnson, J. & Robinson, J., 2007), *Gender Violence in Russia* (Johnson, J. 2009), *Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia* (Pilkington, 2003), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union* (Ilic, 2018), *Women at the Gates. Gender, Politics and Planning in Soviet Industrialisation* (Goldman, 2002) and many other.

Another aspect, which is worth consideration when planning future research in the field, is a possibility of increasing the research scope. The core of this paper is analysis of entries lemmas *woman* and *man*, but in the future it would be beneficial to include more lexicographic data for inspection. There are many ways how it is possible to be done and it is important to conduct a profound study beforehand to see which research methodology would suit the purposes of this research in the best way. It would be also beneficial to analyse dictionary data quantitatively (as well as qualitatively) with the help of some computer-assisted tools as it would enable me to take more data into account and thus to make my research results more trustworthy and more representative.

It is also important to include more dictionaries, more different editions of the same dictionary in the study, as many of the dictionaries published in the period of 30-50s are still in print nowadays having undergone many revisions and reprints and it would be interesting to take a look, if there were any changes within different editions.

Conducting current research, I have also got quite interesting in such aspect of possible research direction as historiography of lexicography. Thus, it would be really great to get a chance to see how history of lexicography was constructed in the USSR, what were the key participants influencing its canonic version as we know it and if in reality there were any women involved in lexicographic work and what was their contribution.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Original Entry for the Lemma *Woman* in Ushakov's Dictionary (Ushakov, volume I, 1935)

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ЖЕНАТЫЙ—ЖЕНЩИНА

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(книжн. поэт. устар.). Да здравствуют нежные девы и юные жены, любящие нас! Пушкин.

ЖЕНАТЫЙ, ая, ое; -нйт, а, о. Имеющий жену, состоящий в браке (о мужчине). Он был женат уже в двадцать лет. Женаты люди. Московский житель и жена. Грбдв. Так ты женат? Пушкин. || на ком. Состоящий в браке с кем-н. (о мужчине). Он женат на моей сестре. || только мы. Вступившие в брак, состоящие в браке (о муже и жене). Они уже давно женаты. **Женатая жизнь** (разг. устар.)—жизнь женатого человека. Разве тебе не нравится женатая жизнь? Ггль.

ЖЕНДЕЛЕГАТКА, я, жс. (нов.). Женщи-на-делегатка (от работниц в общественных организациях). См. [жен].

ЖЕНЬИ, а, о (разг.). Прил. к жена; принадлежавший жене. Мужу пьяному женьию сердце не радо. Д. Бдй. Муж-малыш, муж-слуга, из женьиных пазей. Грбдв.

ЖЕНИТЬ, жению, жёнишь, сов. и несов., кого-что на ком. Соединить (соединить) для брачного сожительства мужчину с женщиной, сделать (сделать) женатым. Как уже первая забота, — рано жлобна женили. Пушкин. Ж. кого-н. на себе (заставить кого-н. жениться на себе). **Без меня меня женили** (поговорка)— в мое отсутствие, без моего ведома предприняли что-н. в отношении меня, вовлекли меня во что-н.

ЖЕНИТЬБА, ы, мн. нет, жс. Действие по глаг. жениться; вступление в брак.

ЖЕНИТЬСЯ, женись, жёнишься, сов. и несов. Вступить (вступать) в брак (о мужчине). Я недавно женился. Ж. я несут не прочь. Грбдв. Женился—переженился. Поговорка.

ЖЕНИХ, а, м. Мужчина, имеющий невесту, будущий муж. || Мужчина, идущий в брак, имеющий намерение жениться. Богат, хороши собою, Ленский веде был принят как жс. Пушкин. || О молодом человеке, достигшем брачного возраста, великовозрастном юноше (разг. фам.). Совсем жс. **Смотреть женихом** (разг.)—иметь веселый, счастливый вид.

ЖЕНИХАТЬСЯ, жёнух, жёнухся, несов. (простореч., обл.). Вести себя как жених, по-жениховски, быть женихом. Он тогда не был женат, он тогда еще женился.

ЖЕНИХОВСКИЙ, ая, ое (разг.). Прил. к жених. Жениховские подарки. || Свойственный женихам. Ж. вид. Вести себя по-жениховски (напреч.).

ЖЕНИХОВСТВО, а, мн. нет, ср. (разг.). Пребывание в положении жениха. Я и себя за это время моего жениховства представлял верхом совершенства. П. Тлстй.

ЖЕНИШОК, шка, м. (разг.). Ласкат. или умиляют. к жених. Эти женишки мне не опасны—народ что-то больно жиденький. Ггль.

ЖЕНКА (или ж б н к а), и, жс. 1. Ласкат. к жена (разг. фам.). 2. То же, что жена (простореч.).

ЖЕНОЛЮБ, а, м. (книжн.). Женолюбивый человек.

ЖЕНОЛЮБЕЦ, бца, м. (устар.). То же, что женолюб.

ЖЕНОЛЮБИВЫЙ, ая, ое; -бйв, а, о (книжн.). Слишком любящий женщин, неравнодушный к женскому полу. Ж. старичок.

ЖЕНОЛЮБИЕ, я, мн. нет, ср. (книжн.). Чрезмерная склонность, любовь к женщинам.

ЖЕНОНЕАВИСТНИК, а, м. (книжн.). Человек, ненавидящий и избегающий женщин.

ЖЕНОНЕАВИСТНИЧЕСКИЙ, ая, ое (книжн.). Проникнутый женоненавистничеством, исполненный женоненавистничества.

ЖЕНОНЕАВИСТНИЧЕСТВО, а, мн. нет, ср. (книжн.). Отвлеч. сущ. к женоненавистнический; ненависть, отвращение к женщинам, противоп. женолюбие.

ЖЕНОПОДОБНЫЙ, ая, ое; -беп, бна, био (книжн.). Видом подобный женщине; похожий на что-н. женское. Ж. мужчина. Женоподобная грудь. Женоподобные руки.

ЖЕНОТДЕЛ, а, м. (нов., офиц.). Отдел по работе среди женщин при комитетах ВКП(б). См. [жен].

ЖЕНОТДЕЛЬСКИЙ, ая, ое (нов. офиц.). Прил. к женотдел.

ЖЕНОУБИЙСТВО, а, ср. (книжн. устар.). Убийство своей жены. Совершить жс.

ЖЕНОУБИЦА, ы, м. (книжн., офиц.). Убийца своей жены.

ЖЕН-ПРЕМЬЕР, а, м. [фр. jeune premier] (театр. арг.). Драматический артист, исполняющий роли первого любовника.

ЖЕНСКИЙ, ая, ое. 1. Прил. к женщина. Женская обувь. Ж. труд. Рождение по женской линии. || Свойственный женщинам. Женская глупость. Женская нежность. Ж. ум. Женские приемы. Ж. почерк. 2. в знач. сущ. женское, ого, мн. нет, ср. (простореч.). Менструация. **Женская логика** (разг. пров.)—способ мышления, пренебрегающий правилами логики и заменяющий их непосредственным эмоциональным отношением к явлениям (выражение, отражающее устар. пренебр. взгляд свысока на женщину). Женская болезнь (мед.)—болезнь половых органов женщины.

Женский пол—1) совокупность анатомо-физиологических признаков, отличающих женщину от мужчины (книжн.); 2) собир. женщины (простореч.). Женское состояние, женская явля, женское звание (разг. фам. шут.)—женщины. Женский вопрос (дореволюц. и загр.)—вопрос об уравнении женщин в гражданских правах с мужчинами. Женская рифма (лит.)—двусложная с ударением на предпоследнем слоге стиха. Женский род (грам.)—см. род.

ЖЕНСТВЕННОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, жс. (книжн.). Отвлеч. сущ. к жественный.

ЖЕНСТВЕННЫЙ, ая, ое; -вен, венна, венно (книжн.). Обладающий качествами, свойственными женщине, изысканный, нежный. Женственная натура. В ней нет ничего жественного.

ЖЕНУШКА (или ж б н у ш к а), и, жс. (разг.). Ласкат. к жена.

ЖЕНЩИНА, ы, жс. 1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу. Женщины и мужчины в СССР пользуются одинаковыми правами. Ж.-врач. || Лицо женского пола, как типическое воплощение женского начала. С чувствительностью женщины она оказала ему помощь как раз во время. 2. Взрослая, в противоп. девочке. Вагон для женщин и детей. || Лицо женского пола, начавшее половую жизнь, в противоп. девушке. Замужняя жс. Она рано стала женщиной. 3. Лицо женского пола легкого поведения, кокетка (фам.). Тратить-ся на женщины. 4. Женская прислуга (разг.).

муз. Чхв. 2. В том же языке «господ» — грубый, невоспитанный человек вообще (разг. пренебр. устар.). М. несомненный. 3. Мужичина (обл. и простореч. фам.). Мужики и бабы, с граблями и косами на плечах, идут на работу. Гичрв. Сельк-то болмал, да два человека всего мужиков-шо: отец мой да я. Нкрв. Он — здоровенный м. 4. Муж (обл.). Вот придет мой м. — задаст тебе!

МУЖИКОВАТОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, же. (разг. устар.). Отвлеч. суф. к мужиковатый.

МУЖИКОВАТЫЙ, ая, ое; -ват, а, о (разг. устар.). Грубоватый, неворотливый, наружностью и манерами похожий на мужика (см. мужик в 1 и 2 знач.). М. человек.

МУЖИЦКА, ая, ое. Прил. к мужик в 1 знач.; крестьянский. В лодк асилах течет мужицкая кровь. Тргив. Мой ум — мужицкой складки. Д. Блнй. На улицах Петербурга, Рига, Москвы пролетариат протянул руку передовикам мужицкого войска... Лип. | Прил. к мужик во 2 знач. (разг. пренебр. устар.). Мужицкие шныри.

МУЖИЦНА, ы, мн. нет, м. (простореч. фам.). Большой ростом, здоровенный мужичина, мужик.

МУЖИЧКА, и (разг. пренебр. устар.). Женск. к мужик во 2 знач.

МУЖИЧОК, чка, м. Уменьш.-ласкат. к мужик. Лошадку ведет под узды мужичок... с большим рукавицам, а сам с топоток! Нкрв.

МУЖИЧОНКА, и, м. (разг. пренебр.). Невероятный, маленький ростом мужик.

МУЖИЧЬЕ, я, мн. нет, ср.; собир. (пренебр. дорополющ.). В устах «господ» (пренебр.) — грубые, невежественные люди, мужики (в 1 и 2 знач.).

МУЖДАЧ, а, м. (разг. бран.). Грубый, невоспитанный человек. Эжий м.

МУЖНИЙ, ия, ое (простореч.). Мужнин. Жена не вытодила из мужней овсы. Д. Блнй.

МУЖНИН, а, о (разг.). Прил. прилагает. к муж в 1 знач. Мужнина родня. Мужнини долз она мне принесла. Пшки (о вдове).

МУЖКОВ, ая, ое. Прил. к мужичина. М. кол. М. колом. Мужская компания. Мужское общество. М. персонал. | Характеризующий мужчину, свойственный мужчине. М. ум. Мужская логика. ♠ Мужской род (грамм.) — см. род.

МУЖИЧНА, ы, м. 1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу. У нас в бригаде четыре мужичны и две женщины. Красивый м. 2. Лицо мужского пола, достигшее зрелого возраста, физической и духовной зрелости. Настоящий м. Скоро ты будешь уже мужичной.

[муз] (нов.). Сокращение, употр. в новых сложных словах в знач. музыкальный, напр. музсектор, музб (музыкальное отделение или отдел какого-н. учреждения) и т. п.

МУЗ, а, я, же. [греч. муза]. 1. В греч. мифологии — одна из девяти богинь, покровительниц различных искусств и наук, вдохновлявших поэтов и ученых в их творчестве. 2. перен. Источник поэтического вдохновения, одиозворлемый в образе женщины, богини (поэт. устар.). И отрываюсь, палый муж, от музы, дасковой ко мне, Бртиски. Рано надо ложь спятели вы другой, неласковой и нелюбимой музы. Нкрв. | Творчество поэта в его отличительных особенностях. М. Пушкина. Не красне называй свою музу «музой места и печали».

МУЗЕВЕД, а, м. Специалист по музейному делу, по музееведению.

МУЗЕВЕДЕНИЕ, а, мн. нет, ср. Наука об устройстве, задачах и работе музеев.

МУЗЕВЕДНЫЙ, ая, ое (книжн.). Прил. к музееведение.

МУЗЕВЕДЧЕСКИЙ, ая, ое (книжн.). То же, что музееведный.

МУЗЕЙ, а, м. [греч. museion, букв. храм муз]. Учреждение, имеющее целью собиране, хранение и экспозицию памятников истории и искусств, а также естественнонаучных коллекций и ведущее культурно-просветительную работу. М. Ленина в Москве. Исторический м. в Москве. М. краеведения. Антирациональный м. М. Революции. М. имени искусства имени А. С. Пушкина.

МУЗЕЙНЫЙ, ая, ое. 1. Прил. к музей. Музейное дело. Музейное помещение. 2. Такой, что годится для музея, что можно поместить в музей. Музейная редкость. Вещь музейной ценности.

МУЗИЦИРОВАТЬ, рую, руеть, несов. [нем. musizieren] (устар.). Проводить время, играя на каком-н. инструменте, занимаясь, развлекаясь музыкальной игрой.

МУЗЫКА (м у з ы к а устар.), и, мн. нет, же. [греч. musica]. 1. Искусство, в котором переживанию, настроению, идеи выражаются в сочетаниях ритмически-организованных звуков и тонов. История музыки. Из налаженнейшей жизни одной любви музыка уступает. Пшки. Холми музыка любца и звал соседа мечки слушать. Крлв. | Произведение этого искусства, совокупность таких произведений. Сочинить, написать музыку на слова Пушкина. М. Чайковского. Вспыльная м. Инструментальная м. Дуговая м. (для исполнения на духовых музыкальных инструментах). Дуговая м. (церковная). | Исполнение, звучание произведений этого искусства. Тизил, громкая м. Танцевать под музыку. История с музыкой. 2. Инструментальная музыка, в отличие от вокальной. М. и пение. 3. Оркестр (разг.). В саду перала м. Военная м. Полковая м. | Механический музыкальный инструмент (напр. оркестрон; простореч.). Завести музыку. 4. перен. Всякое организованное звучание с точки зрения его тональности, мелодики (книжн.). М. речи. М. голоса. 5. перен. (преимуществ. со словом «сын»). Какое-н. дело, что-н. зателное, налаженное (простореч. фам.). Испортил мне всю музыку. | Что-н. надоедливое, хлопотное (простореч. фам.). Надоела мне вся эта м. Устанет когда-н. волиться... да сразу и кончим всю музыку. М. Грыкй.

♠ **Благая музыка** — см. бластной. Музыка будущего [перевод нем. Zukunftsmusik] (книжн. ирон.) — о чем-н., предгоним лишь в отдаленном будущем [возникло, как смесь консервативных музыкальных кругов над новаторской музыкой нем. композитора Вагнера]. Музыка сфер (книжн.) — поэтический образ, основанный на представлении шифагорейцев о гармонических звуках, будто бы происходящих от движения небесных светил. Музыка не та или другая музыка (разг. шутл.) — совсем другое дело [от стиха: «Тогда пойдет уж музыка не та» в басне Крылова «Квартет»]. Если бы он мне помогли убедить его, совсем бы другая музыка пошла. Слпв.

МУЗЫКАЛЬНОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, же. 1. Отвлеч. суф. к музыкальный во 2 знач.

ЖЕЛУДОК

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ЖЕСТ

между оранжевым и зеленым цветами; сходный с цветом золота. *Ж. цвет.* || Имеющий окраску этого цвета. *Желтая краска.*

ЖЕЛУДОК, дка, м. Расположенный в верхней части брюшной полости орган пищеварения у человека и животных. *Боли в желудке.*

ЖЕЛЧНЫЙ, ая, ое; -чен, чна, чно. 1. *тк. полн. ф.* Прил. к желчь в 1 знач. (анат. физиол.). *Ж. пузырь. Ж. проток.* 2. *перен.* Раздражительный, злобный. *Ж. человек.*

ЖЕЛЧЬ, и, мн. нет, ж. 1. Желтая или зеленоватая жидкость горького вкуса, вырабатываемая печенью. *Разлитие желчи.* 2. *перен.* Раздражение, злоба. *Он пролил целое море желчи на жандармов.* Гончаров.

ЖЕМА́НСТВО, а, мн. нет, ср. Жеманное поведение, внешняя манерность в обращении. *Она без всякого жеманства призналась мне в сердечной склонности.* Пушкин.

ЖЕ́МЧУГ, а, мн. а́, м. [от старо-тур. *jepcu*]. *тк. ед.* Драгоценное перламутровое вещество, имеющее форму крупных зерен или шариков белого, желтого или черного цвета с разнообразными переливами и оттенками.

ЖЕМЧУ́ЖИНА, ы, ж. Отдельное зерно жемчуга. *Нанизывать на шелковую нитку жемчужины.*

[ЖЕН]. Сокращение, употр. в новых сложных словах со знач.: относящийся к женщинам, женскому населению, напр. женотдел, женкружок.

ЖЕ́НА, ы́, мн. же́ны, ам, ж. За мужняя женщина, супруга (по отношению к своему мужу).

ЖЕ́НАТЫЙ, ая, ое; -нат, а, о. Имеющий жену, состоящий в браке (о мужчине). *Женатые люди.* || *на ком.* Состоящий в браке с кем-н. (о мужчине). *Он женат на моей сестре.* || *тк. мн.* Вступившие в брак, состоящие в браке (о муже и жене). *Они уже давно женаты.*

ЖЕ́НИТЬСЯ, женио́сь, же́нишься, *сов.* и *несов.* Вступить (вступать) в брак (о мужчине). *Я недавно женился. Ж. я ничуть не прочь.* Грибоедов.

ЖЕ́НИХ, а́, м. Мужчина, имеющий невесту, будущий муж.

ЖЕ́НСКИЙ, ая, ое. Прил. к женщина. *Женская обувь.* || Свойственный женщинам. *Женская хитрость.*

ЖЕ́НСТВЕ́ННОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, ж. *Отвлеч. сущ.* к женственный.

ЖЕ́НСТВЕ́ННЫЙ, ая, ое; -вен, венна, венно. Обладающий качествами, свойственными женщине, изящный, нежный. *Женственная натура.*

ЖЕ́НЩИ́НА, ы, ж. 1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу. *Ж.-врач.* 2. Взрослая, в противоп. девочке.

ЖЕ́РТВА, ы, ж. 1. В древних религиях – приносимые в дар божеству предмет или живое существо. 2. Дар, пожертвование на что-н. 3. Добровольный отказ, отречение в пользу кого-чего-н., самопожертвование. 4. *кого-чего.* Человек, подвергшийся чьему-н. насилию, злему умыслу, пострадавший от кого-чего-н. *Виселица со своими жертвами страшно чернела.* Пушкин. 5. *чего.* Человек, пострадавший или погибший от какого-н. несчастья, неудачи. *Пожар с человеческими жертвами.*

ЖЕ́РТВОВА́ТЬ, твую, твуеть, *несов.* (к пожертвовать). 1. *что* и *без доп.* Приносить в дар, делать вклады куда-н.; дарить, давать. *Ж. в пользу бедных.* || Давать, дарить (разг. ирон.). 2. *кем-чем.* Не щадить кого-н., подвергать губительной опасности, губить ради чего-н. *Ж. собой.*

ЖЕ́СТ, а, м. [фр. *geste*]. 1. Телодвижение, особенно движение рукой, сопровождающее речь для усиления ее выразительности или заменяющее ее.

МУЖЕНЁК

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МУЗЫКАНТ

Мужчина в зрелом возрасте (устар., поэт.). *Наконец я слышу речь не мальчика, но мужа*, Пушкин. | Деятель на каком-н. общественном поприще (устар.). *Государственный м. Ученый м.*

МУЖЕНЁК, нькá, м. (разг.). *Ласкат.* к муж, употр. преимущ. иронически. *Жена муженька проводила*, Некрасов.

МУЖЕСТВЕННОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, ж. *Отвлеч. суц.* к мужественный. *М. характера. М. поведения.*

МУЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ, ая, ое; -вен, венна, венно. 1. Стойкий, энергичный, храбрый. *М. характер. Мужественное поведение. М. человек.* 2. Выражающий мужество, силу. *М. жест.*

МУЖЕСТВО, а, мн. нет, ср. Спокойная храбрость, присутствие духа в беде, опасности. *Проявить м.* | Душевная стойкость и смелость. *Иметь м. говорить правду в глаза.*

МУЖИК, á, м. 1. В крестьянском быту – крестьянин. *Орловский мужик не велик ростом, сутуловат, угрюм*, Тургенев. *Я не мужик, я унтер-офицер, отставной капитанармус*, Чехов. 2. Грубый, невоспитанный человек вообще (пренебр.). *М. неотесанный.* 3. Мужчина (прост.). *Мужики и бабы, с граблями и косами на плечах, идут на работу*, Гончаров. 4. Муж. *Вот придет мой м. – задаст тебе!*

МУЖСКОЙ, áя, óе. *Прил.* к мужчина. *М. пол. М. костюм. Мужская компания.* | Характеризующий мужчину, свойственный мужчине. *М. ум. Мужская ловкость.*

МУЖЧИНА, ы, м. 1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу. *Красивый м.* 2. Лицо мужского пола, достигшее зрелого возраста, физической и духовной зрелости. *Настоящий м.*

МУЗЕЙ, я, м. [греч. *museion*, букв. храм муз]. 1. Учреждение,

имеющее целью собирание, хранение и экспозицию памятников истории и искусств, а также естественно-научных коллекций и ведущее культурно-просветительную работу. 2. *перен.* Место, располагающее большим количеством памятников искусств. 3. *Исторический м. в Москве. М. краеведения.*

МУЗЫКА, и, мн. нет, ж. [греч. *musicē*]. 1. Искусство, в котором переживания, настроения, идеи выражаются в сочетаниях ритмически-организованных звуков и тонов. *История музыки. Хозяин музыку любил и звал соседа певчих слушать*, Крылов. | Производство этого искусства, совокупность таких произведений. *Вокальная м. Инструментальная м. Духовная м.* | Исполнение, звучание произведений этого искусства. *Тихая, громкая м. Танцевать под музыку.* 2. Инструментальная музыка, в отличие от вокальной. *М. и пение.*

МУЗЫКАЛЬНОСТЬ, и, мн. нет, ж. 1. *Отвлеч. суц.* к музыкальный во 2 знач. *М. исполнения. М. певца.* 2. Одаренность в отношении музыки. *Отличаться тонкой музыкальностью.*

МУЗЫКАЛЬНЫЙ, ая, ое; -лен, льна, льно. 1. *тк. полн. ф. Прил.* к музыка. *М. инструмент. Музыкальная школа. М. вечер.* | Обслуживающий потребности лиц, занимающихся музыкой. *М. магазин. Музыкальное издательство.* 2. Одаренный способностью тонко воспринимать, чувствовать и исполнять произведения музыки. *М. мальчик. Музыкальная память. Он очень музыкален.* 3. Приятный по звуку, мелодичный (разг.). *М. голос.*

МУЗЫКАНТ, а, м. 1. Человек, специально занимающийся музыкой, как искусством. *Знаменитый м.* 2. Профессионал или любитель, играющий на каком-н. инструменте, а также (устар.)

ЖЕМЧУЖНО-...

ЖЕМЧУЖНО-... Первая часть сложных слов со знач. жемчужный (во 2 знач.), с блестяще-белым оттенком, напр. жемчужно-белый.

ЖЕМЧУЖНЫЙ, -ая, -ое. 1. см. жемчуг. 2. Чисто-белый с блеском, напоминающим жемчуг. Жемчужные зубы. Жемчужная перла. | суц. жемчужность, -и, ж.

ЖЕНА, -ы, мн. жёны, жён, жёнами, ж. 1. Женщина по отношению к мужчине, с к-рым она состоит в официальном браке (к своему мужу). Брат в жёны (жениться; устар.). 2. То же, что женщина (в 1 знач.) (устар., высок.). Славные жёны отчасти. | уменья-ласк. жёнка, -и, ж. (к 1 знач.) и жёнушка, -и, ж. (к 1 знач.). | прил. жённый, -а, -о (к 1 знач.).

ЖЕНАТИК, -а, м. (прост. шутл.). Женатый человек (обычно о молодёжи).

ЖЕНАТЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -йт. О мужчине, а также (мн.) о муже и жене; состоящий в браке. Женатые люди. Женат на студентке.

ЖЕНИТЬ, жёно, жёнишь; сов. и несов., кого на ком. Содействовать женитьбе, помочь (-огат) или заставить (-влять) жениться. Ж сына. Без меня меня женили (о том, кем распорядился без его ведома; разг. шутл.).

ЖЕНИТЬСЯ, жёнось, жёнишься; сов. и несов. 1. на ком. О мужчине: вступить (-пять) в брак. Сын женится. 2. (од. ч. не употр.). Вступить (-пять) в брак (разг.). Сосед с соседкой женился. | сов. также поженить, -жёнима, -жёнитесь (во 2 знач.). | суц. женитьба, -ы, ж.

ЖЕНИХ, -а, м. Мужчина, вступающий в брак или намеревающийся жениться. Смотреть женихом (перен.: иметь счастливый вид; разг.). Сын уже ж. (достиг брачного возраста). | уменья-унич. женишок, -шка, м. | прил. жениховский, -ая, -ое (разг.). Ж. вид (счастливый, довольный).

ЖЕНИХАТЬСЯ, -аюсь, -аешься; несов. (прост. и обл.). Быть женихом, вести себя как жених.

ЖЕНОЛОБ, -а, м. (устар.). Человек, к-рый любит ухаживать за женщинами.

ЖЕНОЛОБИВЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -ив (устар.). Любящий женщины, любящий ухаживать за ними. | суц. женолобие, -я, ср.

ЖЕНОНЕНАВИСНИК, -а, м. (книжн.). Человек, к-рый ненавидит женщин, избегает их. | прил. женоненавистнический, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕНОНЕНАВИСНИЧЕСТВО, -а, ср. Образ мыслей, поведение женоненавистника. | прил. женоненавистнический, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕНОПОДОБНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -бен, -бна. О мужчине, его внешности: подобный женщине, такой, как у женщины. Женоподобная фигура. Женоподобное лицо. | суц. женоподобность, -и, ж.

ЖЕНОУБИЙСТВО, -а, ср. (книжн.). Убийство своей жены.

ЖЕНОУБИЙЦА, -ы, м. (книжн.). Убийца своей жены.

ЖЕНСКИЙ, -ая, -ое. 1. см. женщина. 2. Такой, как у женщины, характерный для женщины. Ж. характер. Женская ласка. + Женский род — грамматическая категория: 1) у имён (в 6 знач.); класс слов, характеризующийся своими особенностями склонения, согласования и (в части слов, называющих одушевлённые предметы) способностью обозначать отношение к женскому полу, напр. (добрая) жена, (сырая) земля, (тёмная) ночь; 2) у глаголов: формы ед. числа прош. времени и со-

слагательного накл., обозначающие относительность действия к имени (в 6 знач.) такого класса или к лицу женского пола, напр. зима наступила, дождь прошёл (пришла бы). | суц. жёнскость, -и, ж. (спец.).

ЖЕНСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен, -венна. С качествами, свойствами женщины, мягкой, нежной, изысканной. Женственная натура. Женственная внешность. | суц. жёнственность, -и, ж.

ЖЕНЩИНА, -ы, ж. 1. Лицо, противоположное мужчине по полу, та, к-рая рождает детей и кормит их грудью. Ж. равноправна с мужчиной. Ж.-мать. Ницте жёнщину! (говорится как намёк на то, что какое-н. неясное, запутанное дело не обошлось без женского участия; шутл.). 2. Лицо женского пола, вступившее в брачные отношения. Она стала жёнщиной. | прил. жёнской, -ая, -ое, Ж. пол. Жёнские овески. Международной ж. день (8 Марта).

ЖЕНЬШЕНЬ, -я, м. Дальневосточное многолетнее травянистое растение, корень к-рого применяется в медицине как лечебное и тонизирующее средство. Ж. — корень жизни. | прил. жёншеньевый, -ая, -ое. Жёншеньевые плантации.

ЖЕРДИНА, -ы, ж. (разг.). То же, что жердь.

ЖЕРДЬ, -и, мн. -и, -ей, ж. Шест из длинного тонкого ствола дерева. Худой, длинный как ж. кто-н. (очень худой, очень высокий). | уменья. жёрдочка, -и, ж. | прил. жёрдовой, -ая, -ое и жёрдний, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБЕЦ, -бца, м. Самец лошади, достигший половой зрелости. Заводской ж. Волты ж. какой стал! (перен.: о рослом, сильном мужчине; прост.). | уменья. жеребчик, -а, м. | прил. жеребицовый, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБЁНОК, -лка, мн. -бёта, -бёт, м. Детёныш лошади, а также нек-рых других копытных (ослицы, лосихи, верблюдицы). | прил. жеребиный, -ая, -ое. Жеребья радость (перен.: непосредственно и живо выражаемая; разг.).

ЖЕРЕБИТЬСЯ, -блбсь, -блбьшся, 1 и 2 л. не употр., -блбсь; несов. О кобыле и самках нек-рых других копытных (ослицы, лосихи, верблюдицы): рождать детёныша. | сов. ожеребиться (-блбсь, -блбьшся, 1 и 2 л. не употр.), -блбсь.

ЖЕРЕБЬ, -бца, м. (спец.) Шкурка жеребёнка-недоноса, а также жеребёнка-сосунка. | прил. жеребиный, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБЬЁВКА, -и, ж. Решение какого-н. вопроса по жеребю. Назначить жеребьюёвку. | прил. жеребьюёвочный, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕХ, -а, м. Пресноводная хищная рыба сем. карповых с красноватыми нижними плавниками. | прил. жёреховый, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБАЯ, -рёба. О кобыле и самках нек-рых других копытных (ослицы, лосихи, верблюдицы): беременная. | суц. жёрбость, -и, ж.

ЖЕРЛИЦА, -ы и ЖЕРЛИЦА, -ы, ж. Рыболовная снасть для ловли шук и других хищных рыб. Ловить на жерлицу. | прил. жерлиный, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЛО, -а, мн. жёрла, жерл, жёрлам, ср. 1. В артиллерийском орудии: дульное отверстие ствола. Ж. пушки. 2. Входное отверстие в печи. 3. Отверстие глубокого канала, идущего от очага вулкана к кратеру (спец.).

ЖЕРТВА, -ы, ж. 1. В древних религиях: приносимый в дар богу предмет или живое существо (убиваемое), а также приношение этого дара (жертвоприношение). Ж. богам. 2. Добровольный отказ от чего-

чего-н. в чью-н. пользу, самопожертвование (высок.). Принести себя в жертву семье. 3. кого-чего. О ком-н. страдающем от насилия, несчастья, неудачи. Жертвы кораблекрушения. Тварь выбросился на свою жертву. Пожар с человеческими жертвами. Пасты жертвой в борьбе. 4. То же, что пожертвование (стар.). | прил. жёртвенный, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.). Жёртвенная кровь.

ЖЕРТВЕННИК, -а, м. Место, на к-ром приносятся жертвы (в 1 знач.). Воложить на ж.

ЖЕРТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -лен, -льна. 1. см. жертва. 2. Готовый на самопожертвование (высок.). Жёртвенное отношение к искусству. | суц. жёртвенность, -и, ж.

ЖЕРТВОВАТЕЛЬ, -я, м. (устар.). Тот, кто жертвует что-н. (в 1 знач.). | ж. жёртвовательница, -ы.

ЖЕРТВОВАТЬ, -тую, -туешь; несов. 1. что. Приносить в дар, безвозмездно делать вклад куда-н. Ж. деньги, ценности на чью-н. 2. кем-чем. Подвергать опасности; поступиться кем-чем-н. ради кого-чего-н. Ж. собой. Ж. жизнью, здоровьем. Ж. пешку (в шахматной игре). | сов. пожёртовать, -тую, -туешь. | суц. жёртвование, -я, ср. (к 1 знач.) и жёртвование, -я, ср. (к 1 знач.).

ЖЕРТВОПРИНОШЕНИЕ, -я, ср. Обряд принесения жертвы богу. Совершить ж.

ЖЕСТ, -а, м. 1. Движение рукой или другое телодвижение, что-н. выражающее или сопровождающее речь. Решительный, выразительный, энергичный ж. Язык жестов (линейный язык, передающий сообщение посредством жестов). Театр жестов (пантомима). 2. перен. Поступок, рассчитанный на внешний эффект. Его согласие — только благородный ж. | прил. жёстовый, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.; спец.). Жёстовая речь.

ЖЕСТИКУЛИРОВАТЬ, -рую, -руешь; несов. Делать жесты, движения руками. Оживленно ж.

ЖЕСТИКУЛЯЦИЯ, -и, ж. Манера жестикулировать; жесты. Энергичная ж. | прил. жестикуляционный, -ая, -ое и жестикуляторный, -ая, -ое (спец.).

ЖЕСТКОКРЫЛЫЕ, -ых (спец.). То же, что жуки. Отряд жесткокрылых.

ЖЕСТОКИЙ, -ая, -ое; -бк; жёсточе; жёстчайший. 1. Крайне суровый, бесжалостный, беспощадный. Ж. враг. Жёсткие права. Ж. человек. 2. перен. Очень сильный, превосходящий обычное. Ж. мороз. Жёсткая засуха. Жёсткая борьба. Жёсткая необходимость (тягостная и непреодолимая). | суц. жёсткость, -и, ж. **ЖЕСТОКОСЕРДНЫЙ**, -ая, -ое; -ден, -два (высок.) и (устар.) **ЖЕСТОКОСЕРДЫЙ**, -ая, -ое; -ёрд. Жёсткий, бесщедный, лишённый чувства жалости. | суц. жёсткосердие, -я, ср.

ЖЕСТОКОСТЬ, -и, ж. 1. см. жестокий. 2. Жёсткий поступок, обращение. Допустить ж. Жестокости не прощаются.

ЖЕСТЬ, -и, ж. Очень тонкая листовая сталь. | прил. жёстяной, -ая, -ое. Жёстяное ведро.

ЖЕСТЯНКА, -и, род. мн. -нок, ж. 1. Жёстяная коробка, банка, вообще предмет обихода из жести. Ж. из-под консервов. Черпать воду жёстяной. Старая, ржавая ж. 2. Кусочек жести (разг.). | прил. жёстяничный, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.).

ЖЕСТЯНЩИК, -а и **ЖЕСТЯННИК**, -а, м. Мастер, изготовляющий изделия из жести.

ЖЕТОУН, -а, м. Металлический кружок, значок, выдаваемый в память о каком-н.

ЖЕТОН

Appendix 6. Original Entry for the Lemma *Man* in the Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by Ozhegov and Shvedova (2006)

МРАЧНЕТЬ

морные плечи. | суш. **мрачность**, -и, ж. (к 3 знач.).
МРАЧНЕТЬ, -ёю, -ёшь; *несов.* Становиться мрачным, мрачно. Небо *мрачнеет*. *Мрачнеет* взор. | *сов.* **помрачить**, -ёю, -ёшь. | *сущ.* **помрачение**, -я, ср.
МРАЧНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -чен, -чий, -чно, -чны и -чна. 1. Темный, погруженный во мрак. *Мрачная* ночь. 2. *перен.* Исполненный печали, нависший грузом, безрадостный, угрюмый. *М. вид*. *Мрачная* мысль. *Мрачные* предчувствия. 3. *перен.* Тяжелый, беспросветный. *Мрачное* времена. | *сущ.* **мрачность**, -и, ж.
МСТИТЕЛЬ, -я, м. Тот, кто мстит, отомстил. *Неудовольные* мстители. | ж. **мстительница**, -и.
МСТИТЕЛЬНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -лен, -льна. Склонный к мести; злопамятный. *М. человек*. | *сущ.* **мстительность**, -и, ж.
МСТИТЬ, мщу, мстишь; *несов.*, *кому*. Совершать акт мести по отношению к кому-н. *М. врагу*. | *сов.* **отомстить**, -мщу, -мстишь; *мстительный* (-и, -ишь) и *отмстить*, -мщу, -мстишь; *мстительный* (-и, -ишь) (устар.). | *сущ.* **мщение**, -я, ср. и **отмщение**, -я, ср. (устар. и выск.).
МУАР, -а, м. Плотная шелковая ткань с волнообразными цветовыми переливами. | *прил.* **муаровый**, -ая, -ое.
МУДРЕЦ, -а, м. Мудрый человек. *На* слова мудреца *довольно* простоты (посл. о том, что и умный может ошибиться, может быть обманут).
МУДРЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -ён, -ёна и -ёна, -ёно и -ёно; *ёнок* (разг.). 1. Загадочный, непонятный. *М. человек*. *Мудрено* или *мудрёно* (нареч.) *написано*: *Мудрено* (нареч.) *совершено* (о совершении непонятно; шутил.). *Не мудрено* (в знач. сказ.), *что он рассердился* (легко понять, что...). 2. Трудный, замысловатый. *Мудрёная* задача. 3. *мудрёно*, в *амж.* *сказ.* Трудно, сложно. *Мудрено* *услышь*. + *Утро* *вечера* *мудрёнее* — посл. о том, что утром легче принять правильное решение. | *сущ.* **мудрёность**, -и, ж.
МУДРИТЬ, -риб, -ришь; *несов.* Действовать с ненужными сложностями, умничать, мудрствовать. | *сов.* **намудрить**, -риб, -ришь и **смудрить**, -риб, -ришь.
МУДРОСТЬ, -и, ж. 1. см. мудрый. 2. Глубокий ум, опирающийся на жизненный опыт. *М. проводник*. *Народная* м. (также о сложившихся в народе изречениях, отражающих его жизненный опыт, знания). + **Зуб мудрости** — третий коренной зуб, появляющийся после 20 лет.
МУДРСТВОВАТЬ, -твую, -твуете; *несов.* Делать что-н., умничая, мудри. *Не мудрствуй* *дука* (просто, без затей; книжн.). | *сущ.* **мудрствование**, -я, ср.
МУДРЫЙ, -ая, -ое; *мудр, мудра, мудро, мудры и мудры; мудрёе*. 1. Обладающий большим умом. *М. старец*. 2. Основательный на больших знаниях, опыте. *Мудрая* политика. *Мудрое* решение. *Мудро* (нареч.) *поступать*. | *сущ.* **мудрость**, -и, ж.
МУЖ, -а, м. 1. (мн. мужья, мужей, мужьям). Мужчина по отношению к женщине, с к-рой он состоит в официальном браке (к своей жене). *Дочный* м. (перен.: о том, на ком лежит много разных повседневных обязанностей по отношению к семье, живущей на даче; разг. шутил.). 2. (мн. мужья, -ей, -ём). Мужчина в зрелом возрасте (устар.), а также деятель в каком-н. общественном поприще (высок.). *Мужи* *надухи*. *Государственный* м. *Слышу* *речь* *не мальчика, но мужа* (одобрение по поводу ра-

зумных, зрелых суждений; книжн.). | *умельц*. **муженёк**, -ный, м. (к 1 знач.). | *прил.* **мужичий**, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.; разг.) и **мужичий**, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.; устар.). *Мужняя* жена (о замужней женщине).
МУЖАТЬ, -аю, -аешь; *несов.* 1. Становиться зрелым, зреею, взрослым, взрослее (книжн.). *Юноша* *мужает*. 2. *перен.* Становиться сильнее, крепче, выносливее, мужественнее (высок.). *Солдаты* *мужают* *в бою*. | *сов.* **возмужать**, -аю, -аешь. | *сущ.* **возмужание**, -я, ср.
МУЖАТЬСЯ, -аюсь, -аешься, употр. преимущественно в пов. *накал*; *несов.* (высок.). Проявлять стойкость, мужество. *Не поддавайся* *отчаянию, мужайся!*
МУЖЕПОДОБНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -бен, -бна. О женщине, её внешности: подобный мужчине, такой, как у мужчины. *Мужеподобная* фигура. *Мужеподобное* лицо. | *сущ.* **мужеподобность**, -и, ж.
МУЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен, -венна. Обладающий мужеством, выражающей мужество. *М. характер*. *М. вид*. | *сущ.* **мужественность**, -и, ж.
МУЖЕСТВО, -а, ср. Храбрость, присутствие духа в опасности. *Проявить* м. и *стойкость*.
МУЖИК, -а, м. 1. Крестьянин (в противопоставлении горожанину) (устар.). 2. То же, что *мужчина* (прост.). *Дельный* м. *Он* м. *ничего*. 3. То же, что *муж* (в 1 знач.) (прост.). 4. Невоспитанный, грубый человек (устар.). | *умельц*. **мужичок**, -чик, м. (к 1 знач.) и **мужичокна**, -и, м. (к 1 и 2 знач.; улич.). + **Мужичок с ноготок**, *музыка* с *ноготок* (разг. шутил.) — маленький мальчик, по виду, оскане похожий на взрослого [по поэме Некрасова «Крестьянские дети»]. | *собира.* **мужичье**, -я, ср. (к 1 и 4 знач.; прост.). | *прил.* **мужичиный**, -ая, -ое (к 1 и 4 знач.) и **мужичий**, -ая, -ое (к 1 знач.).
МУЖИКОВАТЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -ат (разг.). Грубоватый, простоватый. *М. вид*. | *сущ.* **мужиковатость**, -и, ж.
МУЖИНИЙ, **МУЖНИН** см. муж.
МУЖСКО, -й, -ья, -ое. 1. см. мужчина. 2. Такой, как у мужчины, характерный для мужчины. *Мужское* рукопожатие (сильное, крепкое). *Мужская* походка. *По-мужски* (нареч.) *поступить*. *М. характер*. *М. разговор* (деловой). + **Мужской** род — грамматическая категория: 1) у имен (в 6 знач.): класс слов, характеризующийся своими особенностями склонения, согласования и (в части слов, называющих одушевлённые предметы) способностью обозначать относительность к мужскому полу, напр. (*новый*) *дом*, (*сильный*) *кот*, (*спортивный*) *комментатор*; 2) у глаголов: формы ед. числа прош. времени и сослагательного наклонения, обозначающие относительность действия к имени (в 6 знач.) такого класса или к лицу мужского пола, напр. *кто* *приехал* (*приехал бы*), *учитель* *научил* (*научил бы*).
МУЖЧИНА, -ы, м. 1. Лицо, противоположное женщине по полу. *Будь* *мужчиной!* (веди себя так, как подобает мужчине). *Поговорил* *как* м. с *мужчиной* (как подобает мужчинам). 2. Такое взрослое лицо, в отличие от мальчика, юноши. *Сын* *вырос, уже совсем* м. | *умельц*. **мужчи́к**, -и, м. (прост. шутил.). | *прил.* **мужской**, -ий, -ое и **мужичий**, -ая, -ое (прост. шутил.). *Мужской* пол.
МУЖА, -ы, ж. 1. В греческой мифологии: богиня — покровительница искусств и наук. *Деять* *муз* (дочери Зевса, покровительствованные наукам, искусствам).

МУКА

2. *перен.* Источник поэтического вдохновения, а также само вдохновение, творчество (книжн.). *М. Пушкина*.
МУЗЕЕВЕД, -а, м. Специалист по музееведению.
МУЗЕЕВЕДЕНИЕ, -я, ср. Наука об истории музеев, их назначении и организации. | *прил.* **музееведческий**, -ая, -ое.
МУЗЕЙ, -я, м. Учреждение, занимающееся собиранием, изучением, хранением и экспонированием предметов — памятников естественной истории, материальной и духовной культуры, а также просветительской и популяризаторской деятельностью. *Исторический, литературный, краеведческий* м. *М. изобразительных искусств*. *Международный день музеев*. *М. квартира, дом* -м. (квартира, дом писателя, художника, исторического лица, сохранённые после его смерти как музей). | *прил.* **музейный**, -ая, -ое. *Музейное* дело. *Музейная* редкость (о редкой ценной вещи).
МУЗЕЙЩИК, -а, м. (разг.). Работник музея, специалист по музейному делу.
МУЗИЦИРОВАТЬ, -рую, -руешь; *несов.* Играть на музыкальном инструменте, заниматься музыкой. *Любит* м. *кто-н.* м. *по вечерам*. | *сущ.* **музичирование**, -я, ср.
МУЗЫКА, -и, ж. 1. Искусство, отражающее действительность в звуковых художественных образах, а также сами произведения этого искусства. *Классическая* м. *Переложить* (слова, текст) *на музыку* (написать музыкальное произведение к данному тексту). 2. Исполнение таких произведений на инструментах, а также само звучание этих произведений. *М. и пение*. *Слышится, играет, доносится* м. *Колонна* *идёт* *под музыку*. *Международный день музыки*. 3. *перен., чего*. Мелодия какого-н. звучания (книжн.). *М. речи*. *М. голоса*. + **Доля** *музыка* (разг. необход.) — о длительном, тягущемся деле. *Испортить* *всю* *музыку* (разг.) — испортить всё дело, навредить. *Не* *делает* *музыка* *кто* (разг.) — не имеет решающего значения. *Кто* *платит, тот* (и) *заказывает* *музыку* (книжн.) — госслужащий по должности может требовать, диктовать свои условия. *Понимать, так* с *музыкой* (разг. шутил.) — была не была, ничего бояться, надо рисковать. *Близкая* *музыка* (прост.) — ворское арг. | *прил.* **музыкальный**, -ая, -ое (к 1 и 2 знач.). *Музыкальная* форма (строение музыкального произведения).
МУЗЫКАЛЬНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -лен, -льна. 1. см. музыка. 2. Способный к музыке, тонко понимающий, воспринимавший музыку. *М. ребёнок*. *М. слух*. 3. Приятный по звуку, мелодичный. *М. голос*. | *сущ.* **музыкальность**, -и, ж.
МУЗЫКАНТ, -а, м. Артист, играющий на музыкальном инструменте, а также вообще человек, занимающийся такой игрой. *Полководе* *музыканта*. | *прил.* **музыкантский**, -ий, -ая, -ое.
МУЗЫКОВЕД, -а, м. Специалист по музыковедению.
МУЗЫКОВЕДЕНИЕ, -я, ср. Раздел искусствознания, изучающий историю и теорию музыки, музыкальную культуру народов. | *прил.* **музыковедческий**, -ий, -ая, -ое.
МУКА, -и, ж. Сильное физическое или нравственное страдание. *Муки* *голода*. *Муки* *одиночества*. *Муки* *творчества*. *Муки* *слова* (о тяжести писательского труда). *Хожение* *по мукам* (ряд тяжёлых жизненных испытаний). *Не* *жить, а* м. *М. мученическая* (о сильной муке, мучении; разг.).

лем женской эманципации, не в обширном смысле так называемого женского вопроса вообще, который тогда еще не поступал, в нынешнем его значении и объеме, на очередь, а просто только в вопросе о любви. Гонч. Зам. о личн. Белинского. ...радикальное разрешение рабочего и женского вопроса... невозможно при существовании капиталистического строя; однако мы боремся за рабочее законодательство, за расширение гражданских прав женщин и т. д. Ленин, т. 15, с. 174. **Жёнский пол** и (устар.) **женск пол.** То же, что женщины. *Женский пол также велел: одни долгу корою, другие топил печь.* Решети. Кумушка Мврониха. В прежнее время «лекарь» лечил всех и от всего. Лечил и старых, и малых, и дворян, и меньшую братию, и мужеск, и женск пол. Салт. За рубежом. До женского пола он был шибко надок и кровь имел горькую. Шпик. Им. Пугачев. **Жёнский рид.** Спец. Грамматическая категория, находящая свое выражение в морфологических и синтаксических свойствах некоторых частей речи. *Москва женского рода, а Петербург мужеского.* Гог. Петерб. зам.

Жёнськ, нареч. *Звук его голоса... шумил меня. В нем не только не слышалось ничего дряхлого, — он был удивительно сладок, молод и почти женски-нежен.* Тург. Касьян с Крас. Мечи. Хороши были у него глаза, когда он смеялся, — какие-то женски ласковые и нежно мягкие. М. Горький, А. П. Чехов. **По-жёнски**, нареч. *Бабушка, по-женски, проникла в секрет их взаимных отношений.* Гонч. Обрыв. То, что дожда он добавить, могло прозвучать так по-женски восторженно, что он устыдился и не сказал ничего. Лидин, Хирург.

— Средневеков.: жёнськми; Полнларов, Лето. 1794: жёнськый, жёнски, по жёнськи.

Женсовёт, а. м. Общественная организация, объединяющая преимущественно жен работников предприятия или учреждения и занимающаяся улучшением труда и быта рабочих и служащих. *О женсовете я думал и, кажется, уже доказал жене свой любимый тезис. Женсовету придется много заниматься бытом, особенно бытом одиночек.* Ажабд, Далеко от Москвы.

Жёнственность, и, жс. Совокупность признаков, свойств, присущих женщине в отличие от мужчины. *В Лизе женственность выражается в робости, в стремлении подчинить чужесму авторитету свою мысль и волю.* Ицхар. Перв. литер. опыты. Вся ее фигура дышала женственностью, и это было тем привлекательнее, что она с необыкновенной простотой носила свою красоту. Салт. Потех. старина. Она приносила с собой благоухание женственности, по которой тосковали одинокие сердца бойцов. Казаков. Звезда. — Даль, Слов.: жёнственностъ.

Жёнственный, а, о; в е; в е; и, н, а, о. Свойственный женщине; обладающий признаками, присущими женщине. *Секлетел была много жёнственный Палам: она и ростом была ниже, и черты лица у нее мягче, и голос ласуче.* Златовр. Золот. сердца. — Я объявил мужу [о любви к Вронскому], — ли-

сала она, и долго сидела, не в силах будучи писать далее. Это было так грубо, так не женственно. Л. Толст. Анна Карен. «Жёнственное, ого, ср., в знач. суф. Красота для него была святыней, а женственность святыней сузубо. Салт. Потех. старина. В Галамте — Россого было чрезвычайно много женственного — в словах, движениях, выражении глаза. Бруштейн, Страницы прошлого. [Король] видел мягкое страдальческое выражение, которое было так разумно и проницательно, и вся она казалась ему стройной, женственной, простой. Чех. Случай из праву. Женственная застенчивость и задор переплетались во всех ее движениях. Н. Остр. Рожд. бурей.

Жёнственно, нареч. *Эти красивые руки стали заблестеть об одиноком человеке так женственно, незаметно — пришить пуговицу, починить белье.* Щенк.-Кулерник, Театр в моей жизни. — В словец. *Луньков, как я говорил уже, имел молоджавое и женственно-смазливое личико.* Медьш. В мире отверж. Коновалов перерожденная. Все то простое, женственно-мягкое, что так шло к его голубым добрым глазам, — исчезло куда-то. М. Горький, Коновалов.

— Полнларов, Лето. 1794: жёнственнъ; Даль, Слов.: жёнственныя.

Жёнущка, и, род. и тит. мн. жс и ж, жс. Разг. Ласк. и сл. жсна (в 1-м знач.). [Утошительный:] *Как поживаете? Как мажчесь на свете? Есть жёнущка, детки?* Гог. Игроки. *Как ты меня искужала, моя милая, недобрая жёнущка.* Куур. Морск. болельщ. В пьесе «У врат царства» Комиссар-женская играла жёму-полудевочку, маленькую жёму, жёнущку. Бруштейн, Страницы прошлого.

— Слов. Акад. 1790: жёнущка.

Жёнщина, и, жс. Липо, противопологаемое по полу мужчине. *Жёнщина в СССР предоставляются равные права с мужчиной во всех областях хозяйственной, государственной, культурной и общественно-политической жизни.* Конституция СССР, ст. 122. *В любви она так нежна; во всем ее отношении ко всем столько мягкости, ласкового внимания — словом, она жёнщина!* Гонч. Обломов. *У костра сидели двое — мужчина и жёнщина. Жёнщина подобрала ноги под юбку, засунула кисти рук в рукава драгого пальто.* А. Н. Толст. Хмур. утро. [Взрослая, вышедшая из состояния подростка. [Лизе] было тогда семнадцать лет. И, между тем, в тот самый вечер, при мне, началось в ней то внутреннее, тихое брожение, которое предвещает превращение ребенка в женщину.] Тург. Дн. лишнего чел. *Как медленно развиваются ты в жёнщину! Перед вами свобода, жизнь, любовь, счастье — а ты разбираешь тон, манеры! Где жс человек, где жёнщина в вас?* Гонч. Обрыв. [Состоящая или состоявшая в браке. Противопол.: девица. [Глафира:] *Полонесит мне? Ты меня видишь деулякой, посмотри жёнщиной, чтоб на меня выйдет.* А. Остр. Волки и овцы.

— Средневеков.: жёнщина, Росс. Целларуе 1771, с. 166: жёнщина.

2. Спец. Служащий для оплодотворения; имеющий органы, клетки, служащие для оплодотворения. О растениях. Мужской папоротник. = Мужские растения [конопли] получили особое народное название — посконь. Тимир. Жизнь раст. Мужские цветы орешника лишены околоцветника. А. В. Кожевн. Весна и осень в жизни раст.

По-мужский, нареч. Как мужичья, как у мужчины. — Я люблю тебя, — ответила она с почти торжественной важностью и крепко, по-мужски, пожала ему руку. Тург. Дым. Она была одета по-мужски, в серых брюках и высоких сапогах. Верес. На япон. войне. Жесткость проступала во всем его крепком, уже по-мужски сложившемся теле. Он был несмысл, даже приземист, из тех людей, которых зовут квадратными. Федян. Перв. радости.

— Срезневский: мужсьоник; Нордстет, Слов. 1780: мужской; Слов. Акад. 1847: мужский; Даль, Слов.: мужской.

Мужчина, м. 1. Лицо, противопоставляемое по полу женщине. Кто же родился мужчиной, тому Радиться в юбку странно и напрасно. Пушкин. Домик в Коломне. В направлении к Невскому шли смуглая дама и бледноватый мужчина с плохой рыжею бородою. Черныш. Пролог. Женщин в отряде было всего две. Все остальные — мужчины в возрасте от 18 до 25 лет. Ленин. Война в тылу врага. || Лицо этого пола, отличающееся твердостью, мужеством. Но к чему же эта злоба, эти дрожащие губы, этот ад в глазах? Или, может быть, иначе нельзя? Нельзя быть мужчиной, бойцом, и остаться кротким и мягким? Тург. Накануне. — Тяжело мне, доктор. Гадко мне, — ответил тихо Бобров. — Пустяки, пустяки, идем! Будьте мужчиной, плытьте! Купр. Молох.

2. Взрослый человек, вышедший из состояния мальчика-подростка. Пете было весело оттого, что, уехав из дома мальчиком, он вернулся.. молодцом-мужчиной. Л. Толст. Война и мир.

— С ливым (устар.) напис.: муцйна. — Росс. Целларкус 1771, с. 321: муцйна; Слов. Акад. 1793: мужчина; Даль, Слов.: мужчина. муцйна; Ушак. Толк. слов. 1938: муцйна.

Мужчи́нище, а, м. Разг. Увелич. к мужчина. Оба они здоровые грубые мужчи́нищи. Черныш. О «Бригадире» Фой-Визина. — Здоровенный мужчи́нище, грудастый, плечистый, а нервы, как у институтки. Купр. Корь.

Мужчи́нка, в, род. мн. вок, м. Простореч. Уменьш.-ласк. к мужчина (с оттенком уничижения, фамильярности). «Я» купила у одной соседней госпожи двух маленьких карлов.. Мужчинка называется Николай, а карлица Марья Леск Стар.

Захудал. род. — У-у, срамницы!.. Ишь вырядились в мужичинское. Виданное ли дело... Сераф. Сватовство. — Тебе бы, тетя, дотей родить, а ты на мужичинском деле. Шолох. Тех. Дон.

По-мужчьи́ски, нареч. Простореч. То же, что по-мужски. — Я поступлю не по-бабьему, а по-мужчьи́ски. Мам.-Сиб. Без особ. прав. — Слов. Акад. 1847: мужчьи́ский.

Муз... Первая часть сложных слов, соответствующая по значению слову музыкальный; напр.: музкомедия, музкружок и т. п.

— Ушак. Толк. слов. 1938: муз.

Му́за, ы, ж. 1. В греческой мифологии — одна из девяти богинь, покровительниц искусств и наук. Древние (говорил он) изображали в храме Гименеевом не только Венеру, но и муз с грациями. Карамз. Нов. Мармонтелевы пов. В широких сенях нашли мы кумиры девяти муз; у дверей стояли два кентавра. Пушкин. Цесарь путешествовал. — Ах вот другая муза — муза рисования — как бишь ее звали? повабил... будет ко мне благосклоннее. Тург. Дворян. гнездо. || Перен. Творческое вдохновение; источник поэтического вдохновения (олицетворяемый в образе женщины). Весной, при кликах лебединых, Вливал, сиявший в тишине, Являться муза стала мне. Пушкин. Е. О.

2. Еб. Перен. О чем-либо творчестве, искусстве. Гейне, его мироощущение, его капризная и шаловливая муза знакомы и милы всем истинно размышляющим людям нашего времени. Писар. Библи. зам. Я теперь наводнил произведениями своей музы несчастную Москву. Это ни дель, ираются мои вещи. Чайков. Письмо А. И. Давыдовой, 22 февр. 1877. В «Грузинской ночи», последнем дарз зрибодовской музы, тайные бухи производят всякие сомнительные поступки. Леон. Судьба поэта. — Нордстет, Слов. 1780: муза. — Греч. Мюза.

Му́зга, я, ж. Обл. Впадина на поверхности земли, часто заливаемая водой. Стень спускалась длинной отлогой горой, потом тянулось займище с озерами, музгами. Сераф. Ночи. рассвет. От высыхающей степной музги.. вылетывает белокрылый чабис. Шолох. Тех. Дон.

Музеевѣд, а, м. Специалист по музееведению. Подлинность ее [вазы] удостоверилась сертификатом брата Скутаревского, Федора Андреича, музееведа. Леон. Скутаревский.

— Ушак. Толк. слов. 1938: музеевѣд.

Музеевѣдение, ье, я, ср. Прикладная наука об организации и деятельности музеев. Требовались познания в истории искусства, прикладных искусствах и отчасти в музееведении, знакомство с театром, литературой — русской и иностранной. Гартман

же верхом совершенства. Л. Толстой, Крейцера соната.

ЖЕНКА, -и, род. мн. -нок, дат. -нкам, ж. 1. Прост. То же, что жена (в 1 знач.). *Помолясь, он опять жене молвил: — Отвори-ка, женка, ты окошко.* Пушкин, Яко Маринич.

2. Устар. и обл. Женщина. *Ходила тут к Настеньке из ближней деревни крестьянская женка, грибы к столу носила.* Мельников-Печерский, Бабушкины рассказы. *Было это среди бела дня — Михаил с женками молотил хлеб на нижней молотилке, и вдруг — гром и грохот за старой смолакурней.* Абрамов, Два змыа в три лета.

ЖЕНОЛЮБ, -а, м. Мужчина, слишком любящий ухаживать за женщинами; волохита'. *Божко был холостяк и женолюб. Ни умом, ни красотой он не блистал, но пользовался успехом.* Крон, Дом и корабль.

ЖЕНОЛЮБИВЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -быв. Слишком любящий женщин, любящий ухаживать за ними. *[Инок] пошел к дамам. — Женолюбия, — подумал Клим.* М. Горький, Жизнь Клема Самгина.

ЖЕНОЛЮБИЕ, -я, ср. Чрезмерная любовь к женщинам.

ЖЕНООНАВИСТНИК, -а, м. Тот, кто избегает, ненавидит женщин. *Это был уже страстный, убежденный женоненавистник.* Чехов, Архив.

ЖЕНООНАВИСТНИЧЕСКИЙ, -ая, -ое. Исполненный женоненавистничества. *Девочка продолжала смотреть на него своим открытым взглядом, сразу завоевавшим его женоненавистическое сердце.* Короленко, Славой музыкант.

ЖЕНООНАВИСТНИЧЕСТВО, -а, ср. Ненависть, отвращение к женщинам.

ЖЕНОПОДОБНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -бен, -биа, -био. Похожий чем-л. на женщину, такой, как у женщины; женственный. *Женоподобный мужчина.* □ *Руки его были хороши, но женоподобны.* Пасемский, Божрица. *Что-то привлекательное в этом безусом, немножко женоподобном широком лице, в этих непорочных, золотившихся --- волосах.* Серфимович, Город в степи.

ЖЕНОУБИЙСТВО, -а, ср. Убийство мужем жены.

ЖЕНОУБИЙЦА, -ы, м. Убийца жены.

ЖЕНСКИЙ, -ая, -ое. 1. Прил. к женщине. *Женская рука.* □ *Вся женская родня прочла его [Райского] в военную службу, мужская — в гражданскую.* И. Гончаров, Обрыв. || *Предназначенный для женщины, девочек.* *Женская одежда.* *Женское отделение*

ков, отличающих женщину от мужчины, самку от самца и т. п.; 2) собир. (прост.) женщины. *Иван Петрович вел жизнь самую умеренную, избегал всякого рода излишеств; --- к женскому же полу имел он великую склонность.* Пушкин, Повести Белкина. *Женская рифма (лит.)* — рифма с ударением на предпоследнем слоге стиха. *Женский род* см. род.

ЖЕНСТВЕННО. Нареч. к женственный. *Эти красивые руки стали заботиться об одиноком человеке — так женственно, незаметно — пришить пуговицу, починить белье.* Шенкина-Куперник, Театр в моей жизни.

ЖЕНСТВЕННОСТЬ, -и, ж. Свойство по знач. прил. женственный. *Женственность и грация, которые г. Гончаров умел вкладывать в ее слова и движения, составляли неотъемлемую принадлежность ее природы и потому особенно обаятельно действуют на читателя.* Писарев, Обломов. Роман И. А. Гончарова. *[Разбитной:] Есть в ней, знаете, эта простота, эта мягкость манер, эта женственность.* Салтыков-Щадрин, Губерние очерки.

ЖЕНСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен, -вена, -венно. Обладающий признаками, качествами, присущими женщине; мягкий, нежный. *Женственная натура.* □ — *Она — такая добрая, женственная, бесконечно милая.* Куркин, Поездик. *Еще милее, женственнее стал ее смех, и Рогов смеялся с нею.* Федин, Похищение Европы.

ЖЕНУШКА, -и, род. мн. -шек, дат. -шкам, ж. Разг. Ласк. к жена (в 1 знач.).

ЖЕНЩИНА, -ы, ж. Лицо, противоположное по полу мужчине. *Молодая женщина.* *Замужняя женщина.* *Женщина средних лет.* □ *Женщина и мужчина имеют в СССР равные права.* Конституция СССР. || *Лицо женского пола как воплощение определенных свойств, качеств.* — *Как медленно развивается вы в женщину! Перед вами свобода, жизнь, любовь, счастье — а вы разбираете тон, манеры! Где же человек, где женщина в вас?* И. Гончаров, Обрыв. *Уже проснувшаяся в ней женщина подсказывала ей самые красивые движения и ту неуловимую форму кокетства, к которой --- она прибегала из желания нравиться.* Н. Островский, Рожденные бурей. || *Лицо женского пола, состоящее или состоявшее в браке.* *[Глафира:] Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри женщиной, что из меня выдет.* А. Островский, Волки и овцы.

ЖЕНЬШЕНЬ, -я, м. Дальневосточное травянистое растение сем. аралиевых, корень которого используется в медицине. *Вот*

репо.

ЖЕРДОЧКА, -и, род. мн. -чек, дат. -чкам, ж. 1. Уменьш. к жердь.

2. *Перекладина в птичьей клетке; насест.* *[Птица] быстро и деловито поворачивалась в клетке, вспархивала на жердочку, потом снова слетала вниз.* Катерин, Стожаровы.

ЖЕРДЬ, -и, род. мн. -ей, ж. Длинный тонкий ствол срубленного дерева, очищенный от веток. *Андрейка возвращался из осиновой рощи, таща за собою в санках связку жердей для шалаша.* Костылев, Иван Грозный.

ЖЕРДЯНОЙ, -ья, -ое. Сделанный из жердей. *На вторые сутки блуждала по болотам они наткнулась на жердяную изгородь.* Б. Полевой, Золото.

ЖЕРЕБАЯ, -рѣба. Беременная (о кобыле, ослице, верблюдице). *В денниках, обшитых тесом не более как на полтора аршина от полу, стояли жеребые кобылы и матки с голенастыми сосунками.* Эртель, Гарденины.

ЖЕРЕБЕНОК, -нка, мн. -бѣта, -бѣт, м. Детеныш лошади.

ЖЕРЕБЕЦ, -бѣц, м. Самец лошади. *Здоровенный кучер едва сдерживал горячих лошадей.* *Застоявшийся красавец-жеребец нетерпеливо бил копытом о бетон.* Н. Островский, Рожденные бурей.

ЖЕРЕБИЙ, -бѣя, м. 1. Устар. и прост. То же, что жребий. *Сперва с Овсеч сняли шерсть, А там, по жеребью, с них шкурки поветели.* И. Крылов, Овцы и Собаки. — *Мы бросим жеребий, кому первую стрелять.* Лермонтов, Княжна Мери. *Узнали мы поляну, где вчера Нас жеребий войны постиг жестокий.* А. К. Толстой, Дворян.

2. Устар. Кусочек свинца или другого металла, употреблявшийся вместо пули или дроби. *Волк был необыкновенно велик и сыт; в одной его ноге нашла два железных жеребья, давно заросшие в теле.* С. Аксаков, Рассказы и воспоминания охотника. *Вобьет [мужик] в дуло не пулю, а самодельный кой-как сколоченный жеребий.* Тургенев, Записки ружейного охотника Оренбургской губернии С. А. ва.

ЖЕРЕБИТЬСЯ, -бѣйтсѣя; несог. (сог. ожеребиться). Рожать жеребенка (о кобыле, ослице, верблюдице).

ЖЕРЕБКОВЫЙ, -ая, -ое. Прил. к жеребок. || *Сделанный из жеребка.*

ЖЕРЕБОК, -бѣк, м. Шкурка жеребенка-недояска с низким волосатым покровом. *Куртка из жеребка.*

ЖЕРЕБОСТЬ, -я, ж. Физиологическое состояние жеребой кобылы, ослицы, верблюдицы.

машине мужского пола. Чехов, В усадьбе. Как бы высоко ни оценивали вас, всегда имейте мужество сказать себе: я невежда. И. П. Павлов. Письмо к молодежи.

МУЖЕУБИЙСТВО, -а, ср. Убийство женой своего мужа.

МУЖЕУБИЙЦА, -ы, ж. Женщина, убившая своего мужа.

МУЖИК, -а, м. 1. Устар. Крестьянин. Раз я видел, сюда мужики подошли, Деревенские русские люди. Н. Некрасов, Размышляя у парадного подъезда. В овчинных тулупах, в кожаных шапках. С оловом и с правой и с левой руки, В лаптях и омуцах, в больших рукавицах Крлятя, пожимаюсь, идут мужики. И. Никитин, Нищий извозчик. || Прост. устар. бран. О грубом, невежественном человеке. [Попов:] Вы мужик! Грубый медведь! Чехов, Медведь.

2. Прост. Мужчина. Семья-то большая, да два человека всего мужиков-то: отец мой да я. Н. Некрасов, Крестьянские дети. — Смотри, Михаил, один мужик в доме отпихивал. Береги баб-то, — полумутливо, язвительно говорил отцу. Б. Полевой, Гвардия расовой. || Достигший зрелости, преимущественно женатый мужчина. Мои потешные мальчишки были уже мужиками, а сидели некогда на полу для посылок дочкинки замужними бабами. Пушкин, История села Горюхино. Я, конечно, знал, что большие парни и даже мужики влюбляются. М. Горький, В людях.

3. Прост. Муж, супруг. Жена Барабанова — была во всех делах советчицей и помощницей своего мужика. Залорнов, Амур-башонка. — Я бы на твоём месте до конца строительства не уезжал. Видела, какие у нас женихи ходят: молодые, красивые... — У меня мужик есть, — спокойно сказала бригадирша. С. Антонов, Дожди.

4. с определителем. Устар. Работник, выполняющий грязную, грубую работу по дому. Кухонный мужик. □ Заботами другого лакея, экономки и буфетного мужика — в столовой на чистой, каемчатно-белой скатерти уже блестел и кипел — самовар. Э. Толстой, Нет в мире виноватых (II зар.).

МУЖИКОВАТОСТЬ, -и, ж. Разг. Свойство по знач. прил. мужиковатый. Мужиковатость манер. Мужиковатость лица. Мужиковатость фигуры.

МУЖИКОВАТЫЙ, -а я, -о с; -в а т, -а, -о, разг. Наружностью, манерами похожий на мужика (в I знач.), грубоватый, простоватый. У балетки ожидали — барон Беркенгольм — — мужиковатый, громадный, слабойно-насмешливый граф Пилер. А. Н. Толстой, Петр

павл мужиком, той берсом... сила криволинейный мужичина и самым нахальным образом уклонялся от работы. Салтыков-Щедрин, Повесть о том, как один мужик двух генералов прокормил. Варвара ахнула: — Ну, какой ты мужичина стал! — Растем! — отшутился он. Абрамов, Две зимы и три лета.

МУЖИЧЬШКА, -и, род. мн. -шек, дат. -шек а м, м. Разг. Уничиж. к мужик. — Сиротный мужичишка, даром что лапотник... Гладков, Энергия. [Михаил Кузьмич] был неказистый с виду мужичишка: низенький, сухонький. Крутилин, За козогором.

МУЖИЧЬЩЕ, -а, м. Прост. То же, что мужичина.

МУЖИЧКА, -и, род. мн. -чек, дат. -чек а м, ж. Устар. преимбр. Женщина из простого народа, крестьянка. Вернула он ее на село — Знай-де место свое ты, мужичка! Взвывая девушка — крутенько пришло: Белоручка, вишь ты, белолица! Н. Некрасов, В дороге. — [Катерина] в лесу росла, мужичкой росла, все меж бурлаков да заводчиков. Достоевский, Хозяйка || Прост. устар. бран. О грубой, невежественной женщине.

МУЖИЧОК, -чк а, м. Разг. Уменьш.-ласк. к мужик (в I и 2 знач.).

МУЖИЧОНКА, -и, м. Разг. Уничиж. к мужик (в I и 2 знач.). Гладких-отец был скромный сильный мужичонка, которого била и староста, и собственная жена. Фадеев, Последний из уланов.

МУЖИЧЬЕ, -я, ср., собир. Прост. устар., преимбр. Мужья, крестьяне. К мужичью он [пан Лохманович] питал нескрываемое презрение. Короленко, История моего современника.

МУЖЛАН, -а, м. Прост. Грубый, невежественный человек. — Вломится, этак, какой-нибудь грязный мужлан да и развалится и валятицает, а Юрка ему водки подножит, лебезит перед ним. Эргель, Записки степника. || Упогребляется как бранное слово. — Девича чай его пить зовет, а он нас на сторону... Мужлан ты сиволытый! Метельков-Печерский, В лесу.

МУЖНИЙ, -ая, -е с. Прост. Прил. к муж (в I знач.). [Василиса:] Одна краса у них, что растолстела Копна-копной — от вечного лежания Да от питья змеяного влехома-ку. Под страхом мужней плети. А. Островский, Василиса Мелентьева. Мужняя смерть опростила Анну Тимофееву. Федин, Аня Тимофеева.

○ Мужняя жена (прост.) — замужняя женщина (обычно всецело зависящая от мужа). Жены мужские — молодюшки К коробейникам идут. Н. Некрасов, Коробейники.

сердце. Пушкин, Пир во время чумы. Одно только могло в ней не нравиться, это — ее большие мужские руки. Чехов, В овраге. [Никанорова] широким мужским шагом, прямо по снежной целине зашагала туда, откуда доносился голос. С. Антонов, Пославец явра.

2. Относящийся к особям мужского пола, характеризующий этот пол (см. мужской пол). Мужские половые клетки. Мужской напоротник.

○ Мужской пол — 1) совокупность анатомо-физиологических признаков, отличающих мужчину от женщины, самаца от самки и т. п.; 2) собир. (прост.) мужчины. Члены семьи мужского пола (у гилков) равны между собой. Чехов, Остров Сахалин. Мужская рифма (лит.) — рифма с ударением на последнем слоге. Мужской род см. род.

МУЖЧИНА, -ы, м. Лицо, противоположное по полу женщине. [Руз:] На балае, говорят, как солнце вы блистали. Мужчины ахали, красавицы шептали. Пушкин, Борис Годунов. В направлении к Невскому шёл смуглая дама и бледноватый мужчина с плохой рыжею бороною. Чернышевский, Пролог. || Взрослый человек этого пола в отличие от юноши, мальчика. [Я] не мог надвинуться, как три или четыре года могли преобразить бадрога мужчину в хилого старика. Пушкин, Станционный смотритель. Давно ли то было? А дети росли. И вот они, вправду, мужичина. У самого края советской земли Ведут боевые машины. Твардовский, Союз кулака. || Лицо мужского пола, отличающееся мужеством, твердостью. — Тяжело мне, доктор. Гадко мне, — ответил тихо Бобров... — Пустяки, пустяки, идем! Будьте мужичиной, пьюйте. Куприн, Мохох.

МУЖЧИНСКИЙ, -а я; -о с. Прост. Прил. к мужчина; мужской. — Ведь это, Прокофьевна, голос у меня такой мужчинский, а на самом деле, знаешь, баба я как есть самая обыкновенная. Бурюков, Чайка.

МУЗ. Первая составная часть сложных слов, соответствующая по значению слову музыкальный, например: музыковед, музыкрук.

МУЗА, -ы, ж. 1. Каждая из девяти богинь, покровительниц наук и искусств в древнегреческой мифологии.

2. перен. Траг.-поэт. Творческое вдохновение, источник его, олицетворяемое обычно в образе женщины, богини. О муза пламенной сатиры! Приди на мой призывный клич! Пушкин, О муза... || члв или какол. Кюрок. Творчество поэта, художника, музыканта и т. д. с его особенностями. Муза Пушкина. □ Личность Гейне, его мирозерцание, его

Appendix 11. Original Entry for the Lemma *Woman* in the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language (Kuznetsov, 2000)

вращение к женщинам. *проявлять, обнаруживать ж.* Не мог понять такого *женоненавистничества*. < *Женоненавистнический*, -ая, -ое. *Женоненавистнически*, нареч.

ЖЕНОПОДОБНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -бен, -бна, -бно. Похожий чем-л. на женщину; такой, как у женщины (о мужчинах). *Ж. мужчины. Безусое ж-ое лицо. Прекрасные, но несколько ж-ые руки. Мягкий ж. подбородок.* < *Женоподобно*, нареч. *Ж. красив.*

ЖЕНОУБИЙСТВО, -а; ср. Убийство мужья. *Совершить ж.*

ЖЕНОУБИЙЦА, -ы; м. Убийца жены. *Судили женоубийцу.*

ЖЕНОФÓБ, -а; м. [от сл. жена и греч. φόβος — страх, боязнь]. Тот, кто избегает, боится женщин.

ЖЕНСКИЙ, -ая, -ое. 1. к Женщина. *Ж-ие органы. Ж-ая рука. Ж-ая одежда. Ж-ое отделение больницы. Ж-ое искусство. Ж-ое любопытство* (чрезмерное, неудержимое). 2. Относящийся к особям женского пола (2.П.). *Ж-ая половая клетка. Ж-ие цветки у растений.* ◊ *Мед. Женские болезни.* Специфические для женщин заболевания, связанные с особенностями женского организма. *Женский вопрос.* Вопрос о положении женщины в обществе; о равноправии женщины с мужчинами. *Женская логика. Шутл., ирон.* О суждениях, лишённых строгой последовательности, логичности, основанных на чувстве, а не на доводах рассудка. *Женский пол.* 1. Совокупность анатомо-физиологических признаков, отличающих женщину от мужчин, самку от самца. 2. *Соблр.* Разг. Женщины. *Женская рифма.* Рифма с ударением на предпоследнем слоге. *Женский род.* Лигтв. Один из классов грамматической категории рода.

ЖЕНСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен и -венен, -венна, -венно. Обладающий признаками, качествами, присущими женщине; мягкий, нежный, изящный. *Ж-ая натура. Нежный ж. смех. Она похудела и стала ещё женственней. Обаятельна и на редкость женственна.* < *Женственно*, нареч. *Она выглядит особенно ж. в вечернем платье. Женственность*, -и; ж. *Ж. и грация присущи ей от природы. Очарование женственности.*

ЖЕНУШКА см. Жена.

ЖЕНЩИНА, -ы; ж. Лицо, противоположное по полу мужчине. *Молодая ж. Ж. средних лет. Замужняя ж.* || Лицо женского пола как воплощение определённых свойств, качеств. *Превращение ребёнка в женщину. Выросла и превратилась в красивую женщину. В невольных движениях девочки всё-таки угадывается будущая ж.* || Лицо женского пола, состоящее или состоявшее в браке. *Стать женщиной. Она девушка или уже ж.?*

ЖЕНЬШЭНЬ, -я; м. [китайск.]. Дальневосточное многолетнее травянистое растение сем. аралиевых, корень которого используется в медицине. *Выращивание, разведение женьшеня. Пластины женьшеня.* *Ж. называют кормом жизни.* < *Женьшеневый*, -ая, -ое. *Ж. корень. Ж-ая настойка. Ж. крем* (приготовленный на вытяжке из женьшеня).

ЖЕРЕБЁЦ, -бца; м. Самец лошади. *Донской ж. Ж. азиатской породы. Скакать на галопе жеребца.* *Ж. легко перематывает через все преграды. Гоготать, ржать, как ж.* (разг.-сниж.: смеяться до неприличия громко). || Разг.-сниж. О молодом мужчине (обычно рослом и сильном). *Вон какой ж. стал! Ну и жеребцы у тебя ребята!* || Разг.-сниж. О мужчине, до неприличия откровенно проявляющем свои физиологические наклонности. *Ну и жеребцы, от баб не отходят, смотреть тошно!* < *Жеребчик*, -а; м. Разг. Уменьш.-ласк. *Жеребцовый*, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБИЙ, -бья; м. Устар. = Жербий.

ЖЕРЕБИТЬСЯ, -бьтса; мсв. (св. ожеребиться). Рожать жеребёнка (о кобыле, ослице, верблюдице). *В клетке жеребится кобыла.*

ЖЕРЕБÓК, -бка; м. Назковорсная шкура жеребёнка-недооска. *Куртка, шапка из жеребка.* < *Жеребковый*, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБÓСТЬ, -и; ж. Состояние жеребой кобылы, ослицы, верблюдицы.

ЖЕРЕБЦÓВЫЙ см. Жеребёц.

ЖЕРЕБЧИК см. Жеребёц.

ЖЕРЕБЬЁВКА, -и; мн. род. -вок, дат. -вкам; ж. Метание, бросание и т.п. жребия. *Провести жеребьёвку. Объявить результаты жеребьёвки. В результате жеребьёвки конкурсант выиграл первый номер. Согласно жеребьёвке большим иерат чемпионом мира.* < *Жеребьёвый*, -ая, -ое.

ЖЕРЕБЬЁВЩИК, -а; м. Участник жеребьёвки.

ЖЕРЕБЬЁВЫЙ см. Жеребьёвка.

ЖЕРЕБЬЯТИНА, -ы; ж. Разг. Мясо жеребёнка; конское мясо. *Свежая, молодая ж.* || Кушанье из такого мяса. *Попробовать жеребятины. Озотники устроили жеребятиной.*

ЖЕРЕБЬЯЧИЙ, -ья, -ье. 1. к Жеребёнок. *Ж-ье ржанье.* 2. Разг. Буйный, безудержно весёлый; не в меру шумный, громкий. *Ж. гогот, смех. Ж. восторг. Ж-ья радость. Ж-ье веселье* (проявляемое слишком непосредственно и буйно). < По-жеребьячи, нареч. *Ржать по-жеребьячи.*

ЖЕРЁХ, -а; м. Хищная промысловая рыба сем. карповых. *У жерёза нижние плавники красноватые. Ж. похож на язя, но более узкий и серебристый.*

ЖЕРЛИЦА; **ЖЕРЛИЦА** -ы; ж. Рыболовная снасть для ловли хищной рыбы. *Жерлицы ставятся на щук. Поставить жерлицу в заводи. Ловить на жерлицу.* < *Жерличный; Жерличный*, -ая, -ое. *Ж. крючок.*

ЖЕРЛО, -а; мн. жёрла, жерл; ср. 1. чего. Узкое, глубокое отверстие. *Ж. трубы. Ж. тоннеля. Ж. подземной дороги. Ж. вулкана* (отверстие в вулканической горе, кратере вулкана). || Входное отверстие печи. *Раскалённые жерла доменных печей. Огнедышащее ж. печи.* | О самой горячей точке, месте, самом пекле чего-л. *Танки шли на запад, а самое ж. войны.* 2. Дуло, переднее отверстие ствола артиллерийского орудия. *Орудийные жерла. Жерла кобыльиных пушек.*

◊ *Пасть жертвы чего.* Погибнуть от чего-л. или ради, во имя чего-л. Принести, предать, обречь и т.п. *кого-что в жертву кому-чему.* Отдавать во власть кому-, чему-л., делать полностью зависимым от кого-, чего-л. < *Жертвенный* (см.).

ЖЕРТВЕННИК, -а; м. 1. Особый стол или очаг, на котором приносились жертвы божеству. *Возложиться на ж.* *Окропить ж. кровью жертвы.* 2. В православной церкви: стол в левой стороне алтаря, на котором хранятся священные сосуды и где совершается первая часть христианской литургии, аллегорически изображающая события Рождества Христова.

ЖЕРТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен и -венен, -венна, -венно. 1. Устар. к Жертва (1 зн.). *Ж-ое животное. Ж-ые обряды. Зажечь ж. огонь.* 2. Готовый на самопожертвование, самоотверженный. *Ж. подвиг. Ж-ая любовь. Ж-ое служение искусству.* < *Жертвенность*, -и; ж. (2 зн.). *Подлинная любовь граничит с жертвенностью. Жертвенно*, нареч. (2 зн.). *Ж. служить добру.*

ЖЕРТВОВАНИЕ см. Жертвовать.

ЖЕРТВОВАТЕЛЬ, -я; м. Тот, кто приносит в дар, добровольно отдаёт что-л. в пользу кого-, чего-л. *Помощь от добровольных жертвователей. Имена жертвователей станут известны обществу.* < *Жертвовательница*, -ы; ж.

ЖЕРТВОВАТЬ, -вую, -вуешь; мсв. (св. пожертвовать). 1. (что). Добровольно отдавать, приносить в дар. *Ж. деньги в пользу бедных. Ж. свою коллекцию картин родному городу. Ж. свои сбережения на строительство больницы.* 2. кем-чем. Не шадить кого-, чего-л., подвергать губительной опасности ради чего-л. *Ж. жизнью. Ж. собой.* || кем, что. Отказываться от чего-л., пренебрегать чем-л. ради кого-, чего-л. *Ж. собственными интересами ради общего дела. Жертвоу ладью, шахматист рассчитывал на ничейный исход партии.* < *Жертвоваться*, -твуетса; страд. *Жертвование*, -я; ср.

ЖЕРТВОПРИНОШЕНИЕ, -я; ср. Обряд принесения жертвы (1 зн.). *Совершить ж.*

ЖЕСТ, -а; м. 1. Телодвижение, преимущественно движение рукой, сопровождающее речь для усиления её выразительности или имеющее значение какого-л. сигнала, знака и т.п. *Знакомый ж. Нетерпеливый, отчаянный, странный, решительный ж. Жестом пригласить войти в дом. Привычным жестом откинул со лба волосы. Глухою разговаривают на языке жестов. Пантомима — искусство жеста.* 2. *кого-чего или с опр.* О поступке, совершаемом с каким-л. умыслом или в знак чего-л. *Благородный ж. Сделать ж. по отношению к кому-л.* (совершить поступок, который будет замечен, отмечен окружающими). *Ваша похвала — не более чем красивый ж. Этот богатый дар — широкий ж. скользящего мезената.* < *Жестик*, -а; м. Разг. Уменьш.-ласк. (1 зн.).

ЖЕСТЕР; **ЖОСТЕР**, -а; м. Кустарник или небольшое дерево сем. крушиновых (плоды применяются в медицине как слабительное средство).

Appendix 12. Original Entry for the Lemma *Man* in the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language (Kuznetsov, 2000)

зрелом возрасте. *Наконец я слышу речь не мальчика, но мужа* (Пушкин). 3. мн.: мужи, -жбй. Деятель на каком-л. общественном поприще. *Учёный м. По-надобился опыт государственного мужа. Президент состоит из мужей науки.* < Муженёк, -нйка; м. Ласк. (1 зн.). *Встретить муженька.* Мужний, -ья, -ея (1 зн.). *М. инструмент. М-яя походка. М-яя жена* (разг.; о замужней женщине, всецело зависящей от мужа). Мужник, -а, -о (1 зн.). *М. пиджак. Мужника привычка.*
МУЖАТЬ, -аю, -аешь; нсв. 1. (св. возмужать). Достигать полного физического развития; делаться взрослым. *Юноша мужаа, ставовица мужичной. Подростки мужали. Быстро м. 2. Высок. Накапливать опыт, силы; крепнуть. Государство мужало. Коллектив завода мужаа. * Мужаа в баян маш светлый город* (Чуркин). < Мужание, -я; ср. М. юноши. М. таланта.
МУЖАТЬСЯ, -аюсь, -аешься; нсв. Проявлять мужество, стойкость в опасности, в беде и т.п.; крепиться. *М. в беде, в несчастье. Мужайтесь, друзья!*
МУЖЕЛОЖСТВО, -а; ср. Книжн. = Педерастия.
МУЖЕНЁК см. Муж.
МУЖЕНАВИСТИЧКА, -и; жс. Женщина, избегающая мужчин, ненавидящая их. *Быть муженавистницей.*
МУЖЕНАВИСТНИЧЕСТВО, -а; ср. Отвращение, ненависть к мужчинам. *Проявить м.*
МУЖЕПОДОБНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -бен, -бна, -бно. Похожий на мужчину; такой, как у мужчины. *М-ая женщина. М-ая наружность. М-ое лицо. М. вид.* < Мужеподобность, -и; жс.
МУЖЕСКИЙ, -ая, -ое. Устар. = Мужской. *Особа мужеского пола.*
МУЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -вен, -венна, -венно. Обладающий мужеством; стойкий. *М. человек, спортсмен. М. характер. М-ая позиция. М-ое сердце.* || Выражающий мужество, силу. *М. голос. М-ое лицо. М. взгляд.* < Мужественно, нареч. *М. перекосить невзгоды. М. звучать слова присяги. М. встречать противника. Мужественность, -и; жс. М. воин. М. поступка. М. характера.*
МУЖЕСТВО, -а; ср. Присутствие духа в опасности, в беде и т.п.; храбрость, бесстрашие. *Беззвестное м. Проявить м. Воспитание мужества. М. не покидало юго-а.* || Душевная стойкость, смелость. *Иметь м. признаться в чём-а.*
МУЖЕУБИЙСТВО, -а; ср. Убийство женой своего мужа. *Осудить за м.*
МУЖЕУБИЙЦА, -ы; жс. Женщина, убившая своего мужа.
МУЖИК, -а; м. 1. Трал.-нар. Деревенский (обычно женатый) мужчина, крестьянин. *М. падал поле. Собрались молодые ребята и мужики. Сверстники кого-а уже мужики.* * *Раз я видел, сюда мужики подошли, Деревенские русские люди* (Некрасов). 2. Разг.-сниж. О любом мужчине. *Сильный м. М.*

Быть по происхождению мужичкой. 2. Разг.-сниж. О грубой, невежественной женщине.
МУЖИЧОК; МУЖИЧОНКА см. Мужик.
МУЖИЧЬЕ, -я; ср. собир. Разг.-сниж. О мужчинах, мужиках. *Собралось одно м.*
МУЖЛАН, -а; м. Разг.-сниж. Грубый, невежественный человек. *Кто-а. показался мужланом кому-а.*
МУЖНИЙ; МУЖНИК см. Муж.
МУЖСКОЙ, -ая, -бе. 1. к Мужчйна. *М-ое население. М-ая компания. М-ая одежда. М-ое пальто. М-ая профессия. М-ие руки.* 2. Такой, как у мужчины, среди мужчин; характеризующийся суровостью, твёрдостью, честностью и т.п. *У неё был м. характер. Начать м. разговор. Отличаться м. походкой. Крепкое м-ое рукопожатие. Нужна м-ая физическая сила.* 3. Относящийся к особям мужского пола, характеризующий этот пол (2.П.). *М-ие половые клетки. М. папоротник. М-ие озученные цветы.* ◊ Мужской пол. 1. Совокупность генетических и анатомо-физиологических признаков, отличающих мужчину от женщины, самца от самки. 2. собир. Разг. Мужчины. Мужская рифма. Рифма с ударением на последнем слоге. Мужской род. Лягив. Один из классов грамматической категории рода. < По-мужский, нареч. (2 зн.). *Разговаривать с кем-а. по-мужски. По-мужски пожимать руку. По-мужски сурово молчать.*
МУЖЧИНА, -ы; жс. 1. Лицо, противоположное по полу женщине. *Высокий, красивый, молодой м. Преклонные лет. Беседа мужичи. Находиться среди мужичи. Кокетничать с мужичами.* || Взрослый человек этого пола в отличие от юноши, мальчика. *Стать мужичкой. Мужчины и юноши по-здравиют женщину. Вернуться после службы в армии мужичиной.* 2. Лицо мужского пола как воплощение определённых свойств, качеств (суровости, твёрдости, честности и т.п.). *Настоящий м. Будьте мужичиной. Из него не получится м. Вести себя, как м. < Мужичинский, -ая, -ое. Нар.-разг. и шутил. М. голос. М. характер.*
МУЗ... *Первая часть сложных слов.* Вносит зн. сл.: музыкальный. *Музкомедия, музкружок.*
МУЗА, -ы; жс. [греч. Μουσα]. 1. Каждая из девяти богинь, покровительниц наук и искусств в древнегреческой мифологии. *М. комедии Талия. 2. Трал.-позт. О творческом вдохновении, олицетворяемом в образе женщины, богини. Поэта посетила м. * О муза пылающей сатиры! Приди на мой призывный клич!* (Пушкин). || *чья иди с отр. Книжн. О творчестве поэта, художника, музыканта и т.п. с его особенностями. М. Размашинова. Трагическая м. Азатовой.*
МУЗЕЕВЭД, -а; м. Специалист по музееведению. *Консультация у музееведа.*
МУЗЕЕВЕДЕНИЕ, -я; ср. Наука об устройстве и работе музеев. *Работа по музееведению.* < Музееведческий, -ая, -ое. М-ие изыскания.

ственных образах. *Инструментальная, вокальная, симфоническая м. Теория музыки. Учиться музыке.* || Произведение или совокупность произведений этого искусства. *М. Чайковского. Сочинять музыку. Слушать музыку в консерватории. Положить, класть текст стихотворения на текст стихотворения.* 2. Инструментальная разновидность этого искусства в отличие от вокальной. *М. и пение. М. к драме Лермонтова «Масорада». Записать музыку на магнитофон.* || Исполнение, звучание инструментальных произведений. *Раздался звуки музыки. Подбирать на баян музыку к словам. Ходить под музыку. Звучит м. баласа.* 3. Гармоническое, приятное для слушания звучание чего-л. *М. речи, голоса. Говная м. мотора самолёта. Слушать музыку журчащей воды.* || Совокупность каких-л. звуков, издаваемых где-л. множеством чего-л. *М. гулущи пчёла. Прислушиваться к музыке леса. Спеть и песни слышны в стройную музыку.* 4. Книжн. О стройном сочетании, взаимном соответствии, гармонии чего-л. *М. жизни. М. труда.* 5. Разг. Об оркестре или о каком-л. музыкальном инструменте. *М. заиграла марши. Прийти со своей музыкой (с каким-л. музыкальным инструментом). Вынуть музыку из футляра. * Музыка будет покаяная* (Пушкин). 6. Разг. О деле, процессе и т.п., вызывающем у кого-л. чувство удовлетворения, довольства и т.п. или беспокойства, озабоченности и т.п. *Испортить всю музыку. Вот такая м. (=вот такие дела). Начинать сначала всю музыку (заново что-л. делать). Разводить музыку (разг.-сниж.; медлить с чем-л., задерживать что-л.).* ◊ Блатная музыка. Жаргон блатного мира. Музыка не та; Другая музыка. Шутил. Совсем другое дело (из басня И. А. Крылова «Квартет»: теперь пойдёт уж музыка не та).
МУЗЫКАЛЬНЫЙ, -ая, -ое; -лен, -льна, -льно. 1. только полн. к Музыка (1-2 зн.). *М-ая школа. М. вечер. М-ое издательство. М. образ. М. инструмент. М-ое воспитание. М-ая комедия* (оперётта). 2. Одарённый способностью к музыке; тонко понимающий музыку, точно воспроизводящий её. *М. человек. М. слух.* 3. Приятный для слуха; благозвучный; мелодичный. *М. голос. М-ые стихи. М. шум леса.* < Музыкально, нареч. (2-3 зн.). *М. образованный человек. М. смеяться.* Музыкальность, -и; жс. (2-3 зн.). *М. напева, стага. Проверить м. ребёнка. М. речи.*
МУЗЫКАНТ, -а; м. 1. Профессионал или любитель, играющий на музыкальных инструментах. *Известный м. Работать музыкантом в оркестре. Конкурс музыкантов. Стать музыкантом. М. играл на скрипке.* || О профессиях композитора, дирижёра, певца и т.п. *Шостакович — один из величайших музыкантов нашего века.* 2. Книжн. О ком-л., способном издать мелодичные звуки. *Пернатый м. (о птице). Шмель-музыкант.* < Музыкантский, -ая, -ое. М-ие ноты. *М-ая профессия.*

ки блестят жемчужбм. А. А. Блок. Двенадцать.

| прил. жемчужный, -ая, -ое (не жемчужный).

ЖЕНА́, -ы; мн. жёны; жен. 1. Замужняя женщина (по отношению к своему мужу). Например: — Вы свободны, — продолжал Дубровский, обращаясь к бледной княгине. — Нет, — ответила она. — Поздно — я обвенчана, я жена князя Верейского. А. С. Пушкин. Дубровский. Марья Генриховна была женой полкового доктора, молодая, хорошенькая немка... Л. Н. Толстой. Война и мир. Я сказал ей, что я люблю её на всю жизнь, что она должна быть моей женой. В. М. Гаршин. Надежда Николаевна. 2. Устарелое — то же, что женщина. Например: Здесь люди вольны, небо ясно // И жёны славятся красой. А. С. Пушкин. Цыганы. [Княгиня Ольга] мудрым правлением доказала, что слабая жена может иногда равняться с великими мужами. Н. М. Карамзин. История государства Российского. С своей пылающей душой, // С своими бурными страстями, // О жёны Севера, меж вами // Она является порой. А. С. Пушкин. Портрет.

| прил. жёнин, -а, -о.

Не смешивать с СУПРУ́ГА (с м.).

ЖЕНА́ТЫЙ, -ого. Состоящий в браке, имеющий жену. Например: жёнатый человек; жёнат на сироте. — Я жёнат, — продолжал Бурмин, — я жёнат уже четвертый год и не знаю, кто моя жена... А. С. Пушкин. Метель. [Сосипатра:] Да, убиваются об этих миллионах не только холостые, но и жёнатые. А. Н. Островский. Красавец-мужчина. Вилларский был жёнатым, семейный человек, занятый и делами имени жены, и службой, и семьёй. Л. Н. Толстой. Война и мир. Был он уже жёнат, но детей у него ещё не было. В. Г. Короленко. Без языка.

Слово жёнатый применяется только по отношению к мужчине или (во мн. числе) — к мужчине и женщине вместе. Например: он жёнат на своей школьной подруге; они жёнаты уже пять лет. Ошибочно поэтому: она — жёнатый человек (н адо: она замужняя или она замужем, она замужняя женщина).

Не смешивать со словом ЗАМУ́ЖНЯЯ (с м.).

ЖЕНИ́ТЬБА, -ы, жен. Вступление мужчины в брак; брачный союз мужчины и женщины. Например: Жёнитьба его ничуть не переменяла, тем более что жена скоро отправилась на тот свет. Н. В. Гоголь. Мёртвые души. Мысль о том, чтобы сделать из жёнитьбы средство поправления своих дел, была отвратительна ему. Л. Н. Толстой. Дьявол. — И, вообрази себе, эта мысль о жёнитьбе несколько не испугала меня тогда. И. С. Тургенев. Фауст.

Не смешивать с ЗАМУ́ЖЕСТВО (с м.).

ЖЁНСТВЕ́ННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; кр. ф. жёнствен и допустимо — жёнственен. Обладающий свойствами женщины — с её мягкостью, нежностью, изяществом и т. п. Например: жёнственная натура; жёнственное обаяние. Это было так грубо, так не жёнственно. Л. Н. Толстой. Анна Каренина. И вся она казалась ему стройной, жёнственной, простой. А. П. Чехов. Случай из практики. Ещё милее, жёнственнее стал её смех, и Рогов смеялся с нею. К. А. Федин. Похищение Европы.

| нареч. ЖЁНСТВЕ́ННО.

ЖЁНЩИ́НА, -ы, жен. Лицо женского пола — взрослая, вышедшая из состояния подростка; состоящая (или состоявшая) в браке. Например: Пусть мужчины себе дерутся и кричат о политике; жёнщины на войну не ходят, и им дела нет до Бонапарта. — Глаза её засверкали. — Стыдись, — сказала она, — разве жёнщины не имеют отечества? разве нет у них отцов, братьев, мужьёв? Разве кровь русская для нас чужда? А. С. Пушкин. Рославлев. ...Началось в ней [Лизе] то внутреннее, тихое брожение, которое предшествует превращению ребёнка в жёнщину. И. С. Тургенев. Дневник лишнего человека. — Поможешь мне? Ты меня видишь девушкой, посмотри жёнщиной, что из меня выйдет. А. Н. Островский. Волки и овцы.

Не рекомендуется употреблять слово жёнщина в качестве обращения. Ошибочно, например: — Жёнщина! Как пройти на рынок? Жёнщина, вы что-то уронили. Ошибка возникает в сниженной разговорно-обиходной речи под влиянием южнорусского городского просторечия. В обращении к незнакомой жёнщине в литературном языке используют

коллега, когда от вас мудрёное слово услышит, то у меня спрашивает, что оно значит? М. Горький. Дети солнца. Сюда, конечно, с бурями // Не забрела война. // Для нас «траншеи», «надолбы» — мудрёные слова. А. Я. Яшин. Алёва Фомина.

[нареч. мудрёно и мудрёно́.]

МУЖ, -а, муж. 1. Мужчина по отношению к женщине, состоящей с ним в браке; женатый мужчина. Например: Дети спят, хозяйка дремлет, // На полатах муж лежит. А. С. Пушкин. Утопленник. — Я замужем... Мой муж — прелестный муж, вот он сейчас войдёт. А. С. Грибоедов. Горе от ума. Она на мужа посмотрела — // И бросила ему в лицо // Своё венчальное кольцо. М. Ю. Лермонтов. Тамбовская казначейша. Помню, пророчил я Саше моей // Доброго мужа, румяных детей. Н. А. Некрасов. Саша.

В этом значении слово муж имеет следующие формы мн. числа: мужья́; род. — мужей (в прост. — мужья́); дат. — мужья́м; творит. — мужья́ми; предл. — о мужья́х. Например: [Гневышев:] Я вам повторяю, что вы не годитесь в мужья Валентине Васильевне. А. Н. Островский. Богатая невеста. [Чацкий:] Муж-мальчик, муж-слуга из женских пажей, // Высокий идеал московских всех мужей. А. С. Грибоедов. Горе от ума. Мокрая, скользкая гавань. Женщины и дети бегут провожать сыновей, мужей, отцов. В. В. Вишневский. Мы из Кронштадта.

Примеры просторечного употребления в стилизованной художественной речи: Служанки со всего двора // Про барышень своих гадали // И им сулили каждый год // Мужья в военных и поход. А. С. Пушкин. Евгений Онегин. — Как мужья в угнали на войну, пришлось, дурам, взяться за мужицкую работу. А. Н. Толстой. Хмурое утро. 2. **Высок**. Мужчина в зрелом возрасте, а также деятель на каком-н. общественном или научном поприще. Например: Я слышу речь не мальчика, но мужа. // С тобою, князь, она меня мирит. А. С. Пушкин. Борис Годунов. Три чрезвычайно почтенных мужа сидели в комфортной и даже роскошно убранной комнате. Ф. М. Достоевский. Скверный анекдот. Но вот пришёл учёный муж, // Искатель редкостных растений. // Заметя чудный тот цветок, // Сорвал его без сожалений. И. З. Суриков. Цветы.

В этом значении слово муж имеет следующие формы мн. числа: мужи́; род. п. — мужей́; дат. — мужья́м; творит. — мужья́ми; предл. — о мужа́х. Например: Тут были даже государственные люди, дипломаты, тузы с европейскими именами, мужи́ совета и разума. И. С. Тургенев. Дым. У многих из них [архиереев] есть слабость воображать себя государственными мужа́ми. А. П. Чехов. Дуэль.

[прил. мужни́н, -а, -о, устарелое — мужни́й, -яя, -ее (к 1-му знач.).]

См. также СУПРУ́Г.

МУ́ЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ, -ая, -ое; кр. ф. мужествен (и допустимо — мужественен). Книжн. **Высок**. Обладающий мужеством, стойкий. Например: мужественный поступок; мужественное лицо; в этом деле он был мужествен (и мужественен). Обитатели Горюхина большей частью росту среднего, сложения крепкого и мужественного. А. С. Пушкин. История села Горюхина. — Серьёзные же, так сказать, мужественные увлечения начались у меня с университета. А. П. Чехов. На пути. В нём есть что-то мужественное, крепкое и в то же время нежное. А. И. Куприн. Прапорщик армейский. Когда-то он был силен, как буйвол, и мужествен, как верхолаз. В. А. Лебедев. Дом без привидений. Этот суровый, грозный год покажет, кто из вас действительно трудолюбив, стоек и мужественен. А. П. Гайдар. В добрый путь!

МУЖЧИ́НА, -ы, муж. Лицо мужского пола — взрослый, вышедший из состояния подростка, юноши; состоящий (или состоявший) в браке. Например: будь мужчиной!; поговорим как мужчина с мужчиной (т.е. всерьёз, по-мужски). Кто ж родился мужчиной, тому // Рядиться в юбку странно и напрасно. А. С. Пушкин. Домик в Коломне. Пете было весело оттого, что, уехав из дома мальчиком, он вернулся ... молодцом-мужчиной. Л. Н. Толстой. Война и мир. Давно ли то было? А дети росли, // И вот они, вправду, мужчины. А. Т. Твардовский. Семья кузнеца.

Не рекомендуется употреблять слово мужчина в качестве обращения. Ошибочно, например: — Мужчина, вы будете выходить на следующей остановке? — Мужчи́-