



DISSERTATION | DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel | Title

The Gender in the Genderless Estonian: Gendered Compound
Nouns

verfasst von | submitted by
Riina Roasto B mag.

angestrebter akademischer Grad | in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Wien | Vienna, 2026

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt | Degree
programme code as it appears on the
student record sheet:

UA 792 382

Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt | Field of
study as it appears on the student record
sheet:

Finno-Ugristik

Betreut von | Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Johanna Laakso

Table of Contents

1 Introduction	1
1.2 Gender Ideologies in Androcentric Societies	1
1.3 Women and Men in Estonian Society	6
1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis	12
1.5 Language and Gender	16
1.5.1 Foundational Perspectives	16
1.5.2 Research on Language and Gender in Estonian	21
1.5.3 Gender Expression in Language Structures	24
1.5.4 Gender Expression in Estonian	27
1.5.5 Sexism in Language Structures	33
1.5.5.1 Other Languages	34
Gendered Generics	34
Lexical Gaps	36
Unequal Word Pairs	37
Gender-Emphasised Forms	38
Socially Gender-Biased Nouns	40
1.5.5.2 Estonian	43
Gendered Generics	43
Lexical Gaps	45
Unequal Word Pairs	46
Gender-Emphasised Forms	47
Socially Gender-Biased Nouns	47
1.6 Research Gap and Objectives of the Present Study	48
1.7 Framework and Method	50
2 Gendered Compound Nouns in Estonian	58
2.1 Components of Gendered Compound Nouns	59
2.1.1 Lexical-Gender nouns	59
2.1.2 Other Compound Components	66
2.2 Thematic Fields of Gendered Compound Nouns	67
2.2.1 Presentation Structure	67
2.2.2 Field Analysis	70
2.2.2.1 Power	70
2.2.2.2 Identity	74
Gender or Sexual Identity	74
Age Identity	76
Status Identity	77
Marital Identity	79

Ethnic or Geographic Identity	80
Religious Identity	82
Name Identity	83
Identity as a Whole in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds	84
Identity as a Whole in First-Part-Gendered Compounds	85
2.2.2.3 Quality	86
Character Quality	86
Physical Strength Quality	88
Intellectual Quality	89
Economic Quality	91
Appearance Quality	92
Other Quality	93
Quality as a Whole in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds	95
Quality as a Whole in First-Part-Gendered Compounds	96
2.2.2.4 Relationship	97
2.2.2.5 Activity	101
Construction Activity	101
Transport Activity	104
Combat Activity	107
Research Activity	109
Technological Activity	112
Travel Activity	114
Agricultural Activity	115
Protective Activity	119
Political or Legal Activity	122
Sports Activity	125
Party or Substance Activity	127
Cultural Activity	131
Criminal Activity	147
Religious or Spiritual Activity	149
Educational Activity	152
Sexual Activity	155
Sales or Service Activity	158
Modelling Activity	167
Healthcare Activity	169
Clerical Activity	172
Other Activity	174
Activity as a Whole	176
2.2.2.6 Other Gendered Compounds	178
2.3 Comparison of the 2013 and 2023 Estonian Web Corpora	180
3 Summary and Discussion	184

3.1 Lexical Asymmetries	184
Gendered Generics	184
Lexical Gaps	187
Unequal Word Pairs	190
Gender-Emphasised Nouns	193
3.2 Thematic Asymmetries	195
3.3 Gender Ideologies in Estonian Compound Nouns	205
3.4 Gendered Compound Nouns and Real-Life Data	217
3.5 General Conclusion, Limitations, and Final Reflections	221
Bibliography	227
Appendix	248
Abstract	248
Zusammenfassung	249
Full List of Analysed Compounds (in Estonian)	251

1 Introduction

When I was nine years old, we were visiting my mother's colleague, who lived by the sea. As soon as we arrived with the family and I saw the water, I, passionate about swimming since early childhood, felt an immediate urge to jump in. The colleague looked at us children – my brothers and me – and said: "I'm sure the boys will want to swim." I remember the unsettling feeling that something was amiss with that remark, and with a mix of indignation and an undiminished longing for the water, I was the first to take the plunge. This story becomes relevant throughout this research and will be revisited in the final pages.

This study is grounded in the view that most societies are shaped by androcentric and, in many ways, gender-discriminatory values. One arena in which patriarchal ideas leave their imprint is language. Estonian is a Finno-Ugric language, spoken natively mostly in Estonia by some 1,1 million people. From a gender perspective, Estonian is classified as a genderless language, as it has no grammatical or pronominal categories for the female or male genders. However, this absence does not imply that gender cannot be communicated. Gender in a genderless language is often referred to as a covert category, "expressing itself in various ways sometimes difficult to capture" (Laakso 2005: 117). As research on this topic – particularly in Estonian – remains limited, this study seeks to uncover this covert by examining gender expression embedded in the morphosyntactically genderless structures of Estonian. More specifically, this research focuses on gendered compound nouns – the result of a widely used and productive word-formation process in Estonian that allows for countless combinations with rich nuances of meaning. Drawing on language data from the Estonian Web Corpus, the study aims to compile a large pool of vocabulary referring to women and men across a broad range of thematic fields, and to offer a comprehensive yet precise account of gendered compound nouns in the genderless Estonian language.

1.2 Gender Ideologies in Androcentric Societies

Most societies, both historically and contemporarily, show androcentric attitudes in which culture, knowledge, organisations, and institutions reflect and reinforce male dominance and power, as observed in feminist research (see Bem 1993; Cameron 2007a; Spender 1980;

Walby 1990). This tendency is upheld by the acceptance of hegemonic masculinity – a concept introduced by Connell (1987, 2005b) – which legitimises men’s dominant position in society.

This, of course, does not mean that all men are at the top of the hierarchy. Connell (2005b) distinguished various forms of masculinity, including subordinated and marginalised masculinities. Even so, since hegemonic masculinity represents the culturally ideal way of being a man – where those who embody these standards are regarded as superior and exert dominance not only over women but also over other men with different expressions of masculinity – it remains an ideal that the majority of men strive for. And while only a few fully achieve it, most men still benefit from it, thereby securing their higher position in society (Connell 2015; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Donaldson 1993).¹

Men at the top of the hierarchy – some higher up, others not as high, but still higher than women – are associated with specific traits deemed suitable and characteristic for them. Clearly, these traits may not reflect reality but rather represent societal expectations of how they should behave. Women, positioned on the lower rungs of the hierarchy, are attributed different traits. Needless to say, the traits expected of men and women are merely stereotypes and not tied to biological factors such as hormones or the brain (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 12), as traditionally believed. As Lorber (2018: 17) argues, “It is not the result of sex, procreation, physiology, anatomy, hormones, or genetic predispositions. It is produced and maintained by identifiable social processes and built into the general social structure and individual identities deliberately and purposefully.” These traits, hence, just like hegemonic masculinity, are socially constructed cultural norms (Connell 2005b: 67–86; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005), or instances of “performativity”, as Butler (1990) has famously suggested.

While this performativity, these cultural norms vary across societies, in Western culture, much like in many others, men are traditionally expected to be physically strong, which is linked to violence and aggressiveness (Heilman 2001: 658; Mills 2001; Swain 2005: 220).

¹ Male dominance also extends to individuals of other gender identities (see Connell & Pearse 2015). However, since this research focuses on feminine and masculine forms in the Estonian language, other gender categories fall outside the purview of the study, and a more binary perspective on women and men is adopted.

Doing sports and being athletic are also evaluated, along with being adventurous and active in general (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35; Swain 2005: 224). The expectation of being active encompasses being active sexually (Bem 1993: 16–19), as long as it is in heterosexual relationships, because the Western hegemonic masculinity valorises heteronormativity (Connell 2015: 43; Plummer 2005). “A fundamental element of hegemonic masculinity [...] is that women exist as potential sexual objects for men while men are negated as sexual objects for men” (Donaldson 1993: 645). Homosexual men are labelled as feminine and cast into a lower group of subordinated masculinity (Connell 2005b: 78–79).

Alongside physical strength, an ideal man is also expected to be mentally strong. In the context of hegemonic masculinity, this quality translates into toughness, emotional stoicism, and rigidity. Mental strength also encompasses qualities such as confidence, courage, competitiveness, and risk-taking (Kuurme 2011: 244; Swain 2005: 218). According to gender stereotypes stemming from androcentrism, men are also assumed to be intelligent and rational or clever and creative, capable of generating new ideas and solving problems with ease (Piltre 2014). For example, Walkerdine (1989: 268) demonstrates how school teachers are more prone to explain boys’ academic success as being due to their natural ability, while attributing girls’ success to diligence. A similar tendency has been noted in the Estonian context by Kuurme (2011).

In the social sphere, men are often perceived as entertainers with a good sense of humour, able to make others laugh – traits intertwined with intellectual agility, confidence, and dominance (Finney 1994; Holmes & Marra 2002; Kotthoff 2006; Kuipers 2006: 52). Moreover, charisma is seen as a masculine property that is rarely associated with women. It often manifests in competitive, male-centric social contexts, aligning with male authority, and is another form of hegemonic masculinity (Joosse & Willey 2020).

In order to hold power, economic success is essential, as it enables one to provide for oneself and others. Occupations traditionally considered suitable for men, and which are predominantly held by them also now, are those where the traits associated with hegemonic masculinity can be applied. Additionally, many of those professions reflect their dominance. For instance, according to Eurostat (2025a), men held over 65% of managerial positions in the European Union in 2023, while women accounted for about 35%, illustrating the persistent gender imbalance in leadership roles. Expected to excel in creativity, intelligence,

and rationality, men are believed to be a good fit for occupations that demand an understanding of complex concepts, analytical skills, and innovation (Bourdieu 1998; Connell 2005b: 164–183; Harding 1986; Wajcman 1991). Consequently, they are more frequently employed in technical fields. For example, in 2023, approximately 80% of information and communication technology specialists in the European Union were men, compared to approximately 20% of women (Eurostat 2024b). Men are also more commonly represented in physically demanding professions. In the building sector, for instance, they comprised approximately 98% of the workforce in the third quarter of 2023 (Eurostat 2024a). Since activities typically associated with idealised men tend to be generally valued more highly, the salaries for their roles are also higher. In 2023, for every 1 euro a man earned in the European Union, a woman made just 88 cents (Eurostat 2025b). Men's financial stability and wealth convey independence and freedom, yet another characteristic of the cultural ideal of manhood that goes hand in hand with power.

Somewhat opposite characteristics are deemed to describe women, positioned on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy ladder. While men are encouraged to fulfil active roles, women are traditionally assumed to adopt passive roles (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35; Kuurme 2011), allowing themselves to be guided and controlled by men (Walby 1990). Connell (1987) introduced the term “emphasised femininity”, which underscores compliance, nurturance, and empathy as womanly virtues. Emphasised femininity is culturally and socially the most accepted and esteemed behaviour for a woman, as it legitimates gender hierarchies and ensures men's domination over women (Schippers 2007). Similarly to masculinities, various femininities can be distinguished in society. Women can, by all means, exhibit behaviours that embody traits associated with hegemonic masculinity. Schippers (2007: 95) refers to these as “pariah femininities” – by posing a potential threat to the stability of hegemonic masculinity, these alternative forms of behaviour are culturally stigmatised and considered deviant.

Ideal women, who are assumed to remain passive and subdued in their actions, are, of course, not expected to be physically strong like men. Instead, they are expected to be physically beautiful (see e.g. Bordo 1993; Burgess & Borgida 1999). Women tend to be positioned as objects for men's gaze and are also assumed to conform to the needs and desires of men (Burgess & Borgida 1999; Connell 1987; Schippers 2007; Walby 1990: 109–128). As Bem (1993: 42) lucidly describes, men, looking at women's reality “at the center of the universe

[...] from behind their own eyes and describing what they see from an egocentric – or androcentric – point of view”, come to define everything, including women, as “other”, and, in doing so, have, through centuries, defined woman “in terms of her power to stimulate and satisfy the male’s sexual appetite”. Currier (2013), who analysed emphasised femininity and hegemonic masculinity in America’s hookup culture, found that women often showed a level of sexual compliance, minimising their own sexual pleasure and accommodating men. Similar research was conducted in U.S. colleges. Kincaid et al. (2022) found that, while emphasised femininity could be navigated with some flexibility, women ultimately still legitimised men’s active role in pursuing them, thereby accepting their position as objects.

From hegemonic masculinity ideology, many other stereotypes and expectations for female behaviour and characteristics arise. In contrast to “rational” men, women are often perceived as “emotional”, more expressive, and oriented towards relationships and communication (Bem 1993: 133–138; Eagly & Steffen 1984; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 35). They are assumed to show their feelings – a form of emotionality that, in men, would conversely be seen as a weakness (Connell 2005b). Other mental characteristics commonly associated with women include compassion, softness, patience, modesty, and flexibility, which in a binarist and androcentric society oppose the respected traits expected of men (Kuurme 2011: 243–244).

Wealth, as a key form of capital linked to power, has historically drawn men into the public sphere, where status and authority are earned and maintained (Bourdieu 1998). In contrast to men, who have traditionally worked outside the home in exchange for a wage, women have been relegated to the domestic sphere, where labour is unpaid, and they are expected to care for family members and maintain the home (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 39; Fraser 2013: 28; Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 30–34). As Bem (1993: 42) observes, “Woman in particular has most often been defined in terms of her domestic and reproductive functions within a male-dominated household.” Sometimes, housework is not even considered “work” but simply part of a woman’s role in marriage or as a dimension of child-rearing (Oakley 2018: 2). Moreover, the jobs of women who are employed often mirror these domestic roles. Occupations such as cooking, cleaning, washing, and other service and support roles tend to be more frequently staffed by women (England et al. 2002). For instance, in the third quarter of 2023, women made up approximately 93% of childcare workers and teachers’ aides, 89% of secretaries, 86% of domestic, hotel, and office cleaners and helpers, 87% of nursing and

midwifery professionals, and about 88% of primary and early childhood teachers in the European Union (Eurostat 2024a).

As women in lower hierarchical positions are undervalued, so is their work, resulting in lower wages compared to men and poorer recognition of their skills and contributions (England et al. 2002; Parent-Lamarche & Hallée 2023), as previously discussed. This disparity hinders women's ability to achieve economic freedom and contributes to their continued dependence on men. In this way, lower female wages also function as a mechanism for maintaining male power.

It is also important to emphasise Connell's (2005b) argument that masculinities are not fixed; rather, they shift across social contexts and transform over time. For example, Barrett (2001), in his study of U.S. male Navy officers, found that aviators accentuated masculinity through risk-taking, surface warfare officers through endurance, and supply officers took pride in their technical rationality. The form of masculinity that is hegemonic in one context at a particular moment may differ from that which is hegemonic in another setting or time. The idea of masculinity itself can also change – just as femininities can. As feminist linguist Cameron (2006: 724) observes, “Being cultural, gender can take varying forms in different societies and historical periods: what is considered ‘masculine’ in one time or place may be understood as ‘feminine’ in another, and have no special gendered significance in a third.” The more traditional picture outlined in this section is undoubtedly evolving and being challenged by more egalitarian practices. However, it is still too early to claim that patriarchal attitudes have disappeared from society altogether.

1.3 Women and Men in Estonian Society

The absence of grammatical and pronominal gender in a language does not imply that the society holding that language maintains more equal attitudes towards women and men (see e.g. Aikhenvald 2016). In the global landscape where genderless languages are spoken, exemplified by countries such as Finland, Hungary, Turkey, China, and Japan, none have demonstrated the absence of traces of an androcentric worldview. As highlighted by a Finnish linguist, Ravila (1941: 65), the use of the pronoun *hän* for both “she” and “he” does not imply that Finns are unable to discern between a woman and a man, nor does it suggest that

this distinction is less important for them than for, say, Germans. Similarly, assuming that Estonian society would exhibit greater gender equality is unreasonable. Since language is closely tied to society, it is worth providing a brief historical and contemporary perspective on the status of women and men in Estonia.

Throughout the centuries, Estonia has been under the rule of Germans, Swedes, Danes, and Russians. Its history spans 700 years of slavery, with Estonians predominantly working for German landowners. Both women and men worked for foreign rulers. Although working side-by-side with men could be seen as a sign of gender equality, the reality of working under oppression for others did not foster the kind of egalitarianism observed in neighbouring Scandinavian countries, where women worked alongside men, too, but for their personal wealth and prosperity (Laakso 2005: 45–46).

In the 19th century, the easing of slavery rules coincided with the Enlightenment's influence reaching Estonians. This culminated in the National Awakening movements, which boosted Estonians' self-determination and pride in their culture and language. In nationalist narratives, women, who have historically played a crucial role in raising children and imparting values, language, and customs, are frequently portrayed as symbolic bearers of cultural identity and traditions (Yuval-Davis 1997). Needless to say, this period, characterised by these patriotic tales that further tied women to home and family, was far from fostering women's emancipation. However, during the 19th century, traditional gender roles reflecting patriarchal societies and gender inequality were widespread globally, and the broader women's movement for equal rights was only at its dawn (Offen 2000).

This mindset persisted throughout the First Republic of Estonia era, which commenced in 1918 as a consequence of the October Revolution in Russia and ended with the Soviet occupation in 1940. Despite the constitutional assertion of gender equality, society maintained a conservative and patriarchal character (Laakso 2005: 46). While women gained the right to study at the university in 1915 and saw an increase in educational attainment and, therefore, also in employment opportunities, they were still expected to prioritise domestic responsibilities (Pajumets 2018) – this limited women's opportunities to pursue careers. Many women worked part-time outside the home or became housewives after their children's birth, so the primary breadwinner continued to be the man. Pajumets (2018) vividly describes a typical family scenario from the time: "The breadwinner came home from work to find a

nice, educated, but not overly independent wife ready with a soup tureen on the table, and children in sailor suits quietly waiting until their father sat down at the table, so they could politely report their school achievements to him. The male breadwinner was an authority figure in the family, to be formally addressed, and also served as the disciplinarian for the children (and the wife) if necessary.”²

Moreover, under the family laws in place throughout almost the entire period of the First Republic, any salary earned by married women legally belonged to their husbands. Women were economically dependent on men also lost rights to their own dowries upon marriage (Karro 2022). As expressed by one of the few feminists of the time, Mäelo (1999: 201), “Every male citizen, no matter how little education he has or even if he is an irresponsible drunkard, enjoys far greater rights before the law than the most educated or accomplished woman.”

The feminist movement in the First Republic of Estonia was relatively weak. While female organisations existed, their primary focus was not on equal rights but rather on traditional aspects of women’s roles, such as homemaking (Laakso 2005: 46). In politics, men predominantly held positions, and in parliament, women’s representation was limited (Karro 2022). Even though Estonian women gained their voting rights in 1917, earlier than their sisters in many Western countries, their political responsibilities mainly revolved around their role as mothers (Laakso 2005: 46). Their primary task was to increase the population, impart moral values to the next generation, and ensure the survival of the small Estonian nation.

In the whirlwind of the Second World War, Estonia found itself under the sway of a political force purporting to champion gender equality. The Soviet Union aimed to create a society without classes or states, ensuring that everyone had equal access to resources, opportunities, and benefits regardless of gender. In some ways, it succeeded. Within the Soviet Union, both women and men were expected to equally contribute to the advancement of the “grand Soviet socialist Fatherland” and its ideals. In the eyes of the Soviet Union, women and men were not women and men but “comrades”, united as Soviet humans working towards “overarching Soviet ideals”. While second-wave feminists in Western countries were fighting for women’s rights and advocating equal job opportunities, in the U.S.S.R., female employment

² Here and throughout, all translations from Estonian are the author’s own.

approached near totality (Pankratova & Yankova 1978). Women toiled alongside men in traditionally male-dominated professions, assuming roles as tractor drivers, pilots, cosmonauts, engineers, and soldiers. Notably, the Soviet Union led the world in legalising abortion in 1920, as the socialist support system for mothers and children was believed to obviate the necessity for abortions altogether (Karro 2022).

Even so, Soviet life was multifaceted, and despite the formal equality, the reality painted a different picture. Quoting Pilvre (2002: 155), “What was not present was still present, and what was claimed to be present was not actually there.” For example, the wage disparity endured. Textile factory workers received lower hourly wages compared to steelworkers, and higher professions with higher salaries, along with leadership roles, were predominantly held by men. Moreover, the traditional gender roles still persisted in the everyday lives of Soviet people (Buckley 1989; Lapidus 1978). Underpaid women were burdened with additional unpaid labour, as household duties and childcare responsibilities still disproportionately rested on women’s shoulders, resulting in them working twice as much as men (Karro 2022; Narusk 2000). Fathers were not permitted to accompany their wives during childbirth in maternity homes, as everything related to children was considered only the women’s realm, where a “proper man” should not be involved. In short, within these Soviet controversies, the complexities surrounding gender and a woman’s place in society were intricate and did not align precisely with the official propaganda.

“The land must be filled with children”, goes one of the most renowned songs from the era of the Singing Revolution in Estonia, which unfolded in the late 1980s to regain freedom from the Soviet Union. This slogan aptly captures a societal mindset in the 1990s in newly independent Estonia, where women’s primary duty was once again framed as bearing many new Estonians for the revitalised nation and country (Kivimaa 2000). Needless to say, this did not herald a better future for women. Other factors also played a role in preserving gender inequality in the early years of the restored Estonian nation-state. One significant reason was the prevailing negative attitude towards gender equality, which was officially proclaimed in the Soviet Union (although, as previously noted, this claim was controversial). Since everything associated with the Soviet Union was perceived in a negative light, that intended equality between women and men also fostered disdain at the dawn of independence (Marling 2010). In the urge to distance themselves from everything related to that painful past, including Soviet-style emancipation, the focus shifted towards reinforcing the traditional

gender roles (Kivimaa 2000). Furthermore, throughout the 50 years of Soviet occupation, Estonians with repressed nationalistic sentiments felt nostalgic for the First Republic – the free Estonian country. This idealisation simultaneously led to neotraditional attitudes and a desire to return to the old patriarchal values that were widespread in the 1930s (Pilvre 2014). In paraphrasing Kivimaa (2000: 43), the Soviet era, which practised partial equality under the banner of egalitarianism but was fundamentally patriarchal and “bad”, was exchanged for the First Estonian Republic, which was paternalistic, patriarchal, and featured gender segregation, but the “old good one”.

According to Connell (2005a), colonised people, suppressed and dominated by external powers, have historically been perceived as effeminate. In an androcentric society, this is obviously not a characteristic that people want to be described by, and thus, Estonian society underwent a cultural masculinisation (Pilvre 2013). Walking hand in hand with newly emerged capitalism, success, strength, and tough competition began to be glorified (Pilvre 2014). This transformation gave rise to an elitist society that favoured a class-based structure, dividing people into categories of rich and poor, beautiful and plain, men and women (Pilvre 2002: 149). Echoing earlier points, since policies aimed at equality were associated with the bitter Soviet past, notions of inequality were effectively marketed to the Estonian population not merely as an inevitability but as an allegedly indispensable phenomenon for a brighter future and the country’s prosperity (Annist 2011: 89).

Traditional gender roles that persisted during the Soviet era thus continued into the second Estonian Republic. Women were encouraged to stay at home and assume familial responsibilities in order to contribute to the growth of the Estonian nation (Kivimaa 2000). This was also justified by the desire not to overload women, given their previous burdens of waged employment and unpaid domestic work during the Soviet times (Hansson & Laidmäe 2000; Narusk 2000). Sidelining women from the workforce, on the other hand, simultaneously served the purpose of eliminating them as competitors in early capitalist society, creating more opportunities for men (Kivimaa 2000). The catch, however, was that despite the will to confine women to domestic roles, the economic challenges faced by the re-established Estonian Republic in the early 1990s made it difficult, if not impossible, for families to rely solely on a man’s income (Hansson & Laidmäe 2000). Because of this, the majority of women were still compelled to continue in the workforce, but the “woman-home” ideology was instrumental in keeping women’s wages low, with the idea that, since women

were primarily homemakers, they were less suited for employment and, hence, of lesser value than men (Kivimaa 2000). This mindset continues to impact Estonia today, contributing to its status as the country with the highest gender pay gap in the European Union (Eurostat 2025c).

The feminist ideas that emerged in the 1990s from Western countries also faced significant resistance and were poorly accepted. On the one hand, they appeared alien to post-Soviet individuals whose pasts and backgrounds were markedly different from those of their Western counterparts (Gal & Kligman 2000). Feminism seemed like a foreign import, not authentically Estonian, almost like a form of colonisation (Kivimaa 2000: 45). The rejection of feminism with the explanation that it is an imported concept conflicts with the acceptance of capitalism, which is also imported (see Marling & Koobak 2017). While Western capitalist ideas were welcomed with open arms, feminism continues to be stigmatised and met with defiance. Feminists were, and still are today, often portrayed as unattractive, embittered women with an aversion to men (Kivimaa 2000: 46). This derogatory rhetoric and contemptuous attitude towards feminism seem more like another attempt to marginalise women and maintain male dominance in Estonian society.

The male-centric attitudes prevalent in the 1990s extended across various aspects of life. For example, an interesting detail often referenced in discussions of gender matters in Estonia (see e.g. Karro 2022) concerns the proportion of female and male individuals who have etched their names into the volumes of *Eesti mõttelugu* [*Estonian Intellectual History*]. It debuted in 1995, intending to compile the most valuable Estonian thinkers of all ages. The book series includes entries for 14 female and 170 male individuals. The first volume featuring a woman was published in the series' fifth year, with the second and third not appearing until the eleventh year. The remainder has been published over the last decade. This clearly illustrates how women's contributions to intellectual heritage have been and continue to be overlooked.

In the 21st century, Estonia has made progress towards gender equality, but there is still considerable room for improvement. According to Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia] (2024), the government agency responsible for generating national statistics, women held approximately 40% of managerial roles in 2024. While this is not dramatically lower than the 60% held by men, managerial positions in Estonia continue to be dominated by men. Main

occupational fields also reflect the persistence of traditional gender roles. For example, the association of men with physical or technical domains is evident in the fact that, according to the 2021 census, 89% of workers in construction and 73% in transportation were men, while in the first quarter of 2025, 86% of those working in information technology were male (Statistics Estonia 2022b; Statistics Estonia 2025b). On the other hand, the service sectors are predominantly staffed by female workers, accounting for 73% of the workforce in these areas (Statistics Estonia 2022b).

On a positive note, efforts towards gender balance in Estonia's political leadership are evident. From January 2021 until July 2024, Estonia was led by its first-ever female prime minister, Kaja Kallas – a milestone that reflects increased female participation at the highest level of government. The 2023 elections marked another achievement: women now constitute approximately 29% of seats in the parliament, a record high for Estonia (IPU Parline n.d.). Even so, conservative and traditionalist themes – especially from parties like EKRE – continue to influence public discourse. EKRE, known for its nationalist views and sexist rhetoric, has been criticised for remarks, such as the comment made by one of its members to Prime Minister Kallas: “Dear Kaja, I only have one simple question: How did you, little flower, get here?”³ Although EKRE remained in opposition after the 2023 elections, its significant support reflects enduring androcentric and traditional views within Estonian society.

1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

In the 1970s, power dynamics and inequalities began to be examined through a new lens – language; that is, how unequal power relations, hegemonies, and social identities are shaped by and reflected in language use, or in other words, discourse. This research field became known as critical discourse analysis (CDA).

CDA stands at the crossroads of multiple academic disciplines. Its roots reach into critical theory, which examines the relationship between social structures and forms of domination. Yet, whilst critical theory is interdisciplinary, addressing a broad range of social, cultural, and

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lGSILwfwIhU> (accessed 12 August 2025)

philosophical issues, CDA directs its attention to language and discourse. CDA also includes traces of sociolinguistics, which involves language analysis but focuses less on power dynamics, ideologies, and social inequalities, which are key concerns of CDA.

A name inseparable from CDA is Fairclough, who is considered one of its founders and popularisers. Sculpted by the philosophical ideas of Foucault and the linguistic concepts of Halliday, among others, Fairclough (1989, 1992) delves into questions of discourse and domination. He demonstrates how language and power mutually influence one another and illustrates how, through discourse, the hegemony of dominant social groups can be reinforced while the inferiority of subordinate groups becomes further intensified. Fairclough (1989: 79–83) brings examples of various journalistic texts where women are cast as subjects of verbs that connote emotional or submissive actions, such as “sighing” and “pleading”, and are described with adjectives that indicate their appearance, like “pretty”, pointing out how the lexical choices and sentence structures entrench sexist stereotypes and contribute to patriarchal values. Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) discussion extends to numerous social groups differentiated not only by gender but also by race, class, and other factors. He shows how language contributes to constructing these categories and establishing internal hierarchies within each one, shaping so our perceptions of reality.

While Fairclough critically analyses discourse across a broad spectrum of arenas, another leading figure in CDA, van Dijk (2008a, 2008b), turns his analytical lens towards politics and media, paying particular attention to sociocognitive processes and the mental pictures that discourse creates. While observing power dynamics affecting numerous marginalised groups, he places a special emphasis on racism. Van Dijk (1993a) explores how white majorities exercise power over ethnic minorities, examining discourse about immigrants in various countries, including the Netherlands and the U.S. To exemplify, in one study he dissected a story told by a white U.S. citizen complaining about Mexican drivers (van Dijk 2008a: 196–197). The speaker criticised the immigrants’ English proficiency, claiming that their lack of understanding could lead to more traffic accidents. While it appeared to be a mundane anecdote, van Dijk claims that it reinforces the belief in immigrants’ incompetence and the danger they purportedly provoke. He argues that it is actually a discursive act of othering, stating that discourse about immigrants is often characterised by the Us–Them polarising strategy, which consists of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation through which dominance reproduces itself (2008a: 197).

Equally vital to the field, Wodak (2001) has expanded CDA's reach, emphasising the importance of an interdisciplinary approach and incorporating historical, political, sociological, and psychological dimensions into CDA. Like van Dijk, Wodak (2014) devotes particular attention to racism, examining how discourse can perpetuate discrimination based on ethnicity. Across media and political arenas, Wodak (2014) uncovers xenophobic sentiments encoded in rhetoric, analysing, for instance, the case of a radical right-wing populist party leader in Austria who veiled antisemitic ideologies in his discourse. Referring to Ariel Muzicant, a prominent figure in the Austrian Jewish community, the politician remarked that Muzicant had a lot of "dirty linen" (Wodak 2014: 406) – an expression that, as Wodak shows, functions to criminalise and demean its target while enhancing the speaker's own power position.

Mills (1995, 2008) approaches CDA through a feminist lens, revealing how sexism can be reproduced and naturalised in texts. Her research delves into how language shapes and is shaped by gendered power dynamics, shedding light on the subtle and overt mechanisms through which linguistic choices sustain bias. In her book *Feminist Stylistics*, Mills (1995) investigates how narrative techniques, lexical selection, and stylistic framing can marginalise or privilege specific gender identities. She critiques, for instance, the use of the pronoun "he" as a generic term, which invisibly centres on male experiences and sidelines others (Mills 1995: 87–88). Mills also scrutinises the portrayal of genders in texts and the gender-specific vocabulary in English, noting that terms referring to women often carry more derogatory connotations compared to those referring to men. For example, she points out that the noun "woman" has connotations of low status and sexuality, while the term "man" is associated with being strong, brave, and in control (Mills 1995: 111–112). Through these linguistic asymmetries, Mills exposes how language reinforces patriarchal forms of power and maintains the scaffolding of inequality.

CDA helps shed light on how power relations are created and preserved through language use. Language, besides being a tool in power struggles, simultaneously reflects the power dynamics and mirrors the social and cultural structures surrounding us. If recognised as unequal, language can, on the flip side, also be a tool for challenging and changing societal inequalities. Scholars have offered various frameworks that enable CDA to effect these changes and promote societal equality.

Following their approaches, van Dijk's (1993b) framework is strong in analysing how discourse forges and is forged by social structures and cognitions. In contrast, Wodak's (2001) model is helpful in examining discourse within a historical context. Fairclough's (1989) framework is rooted in a critique of ideology and focuses on the relationship between discourse and social change. Lastly, Mills' model aims to reveal the discursive representation of women and sexism. To illustrate, the frameworks of Fairclough (1989) and Mills (1995) will be introduced.

Fairclough (1989) developed a framework of three interrelated dimensions for critically analysing discourse: text analysis, discursive practice analysis, and social practice analysis.

The first dimension focuses on examining the linguistic features and structures within texts, where researchers observe word choice, grammatical patterns, and other linguistic elements to uncover how language is used to convey meanings and ideologies. For instance, an analyst can examine word choice to identify the ideologies expressed, explore word relationships through the use of synonyms or antonyms, and determine the language's formality. They can also assess whether sentences are structured in active or passive voice, analyse the modes to determine whether a sentence is declarative, imperative, or other, as well as numerous other features.

Discursive practice analysis considers language use within specific social and cultural contexts, that is, the situations where the textual features become real. Researchers examine who produces the discourse, why they produce it, how it is distributed, and who consumes it. For instance, an analyst might observe the discourse between a doctor and a patient or a teacher and a student to understand the power relations between the interlocutors.

The third dimension, social practice analysis, aims to explain the broader social and cultural factors that influence and are influenced by discourse. This involves observing the historical, political, economic, and social structures that shape language use in different discourse practices. For example, it might examine the general policies and social expectations of medical and education institutions to explain how hegemonies and ideologies are reflected in, reinforced by, or possibly altered through discursive practices.

In the same way, Mills' (1995) framework is divided into three levels, with her model including the analysis of words, the analysis of phrases/sentences, and the analysis of discourse. The word level deals with individual words, focusing on the nouns, pronouns, adjectives, address terms, and more used in the text. Special attention is paid to gender-specific nouns and pronouns, with the researcher also accounting for their possible generic usage. The second level shifts the focus from single words to phrases and sentences in which they occur. It observes word order, syntactic roles, and other elements, considering humour, metaphors, inferences, and more to understand what ideas phrases and sentences convey. At the discourse level, the analysis moves from focusing on individual sentences to examining larger-scale discourse. The researcher observes ideologies reflected in broader textual patterns and structures. Content is viewed as the result of negotiating textual elements, codes, and external influences. These factors impact both the construction of the text and its interpretation.

CDA offers valuable insights into the intricate and hidden ways in which language reflects social power dynamics and inequalities. It highlights how language can help maintain the dominance of certain groups while also providing opportunities to challenge and change these unequal dynamics.

1.5 Language and Gender

1.5.1 Foundational Perspectives

Recognising that language and discourse play a key role in maintaining social inequalities, including those related to gender, scholars began to pay more attention to the interplay between language and gender. The rise of this field coincided with the development of CDA and gained momentum during the feminist movement of the 1970s, when researchers started to explore how the structure and use of language both mirror and mould societal perceptions of women and men; in other words, how language both influences and is influenced by the ways in which people perform gender roles and identities.

As highlighted in the previous section, one key figure in this area is Mills (1995, 2008), a linguist who has examined language from a feminist perspective using CDA techniques.

Beyond her contributions, the field of language and gender studies spans a wide landscape of scholars with diverse approaches and research interests. This includes analysing how women and men use language and possible differences in their discourse styles. Additionally, feminist linguists investigate how genders are represented in language, focusing on specific areas such as journalism and literature, or tracing how gender finds expression in linguistic structures.

The earliest research on language and gender focused on the language use of women and men, observing variations in their language production. In 1975, sociolinguist Lakoff introduced the idea that women's language use includes linguistic forms that echo and entrench their lower status in society. In *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff (1975) described how women's speech is often characterised by tag questions, hedges or fillers, empty adjectives, indirect requests, excessively precise grammar and pronunciation. She also reported that women speak less frequently than men and avoid cursing. Furthermore, Lakoff noted that women repeatedly use polite expressions and apologise more compared to men. She delved into the concept of politeness and formulated rules that characterise polite behaviour. Lakoff argues that these rules – giving options to the other person, not imposing, and making the addressee feel liked – are more adhered to by women than by men. Even though Lakoff's analysis has been criticised by many linguists later (e.g. Cameron 1992), the publication of her book *Language and Woman's Place* is considered the cornerstone of the study of language and gender, and the interest in this field also sparked among other researchers.

One linguist who has built upon the ideas introduced by Lakoff is Tannen, who also focuses on differences in communication between women and men. More specifically, her research sheds light on how these variations can lead to misunderstandings. Tannen (1990) argues that, from a young age, girls and boys learn to communicate differently and develop different styles. Girls learn the “rapport-talk”, which is aimed at building connections and relationships, while boys engage in “report-talk”, which concentrates on information exchange. According to her, women's speech seeks to share empathy and support the conversation partner, whereas for men, talking is a tool for gaining power over others. Tannen is known for her more receptive approach to the study of language and gender, striving to comprehend and value women's and men's different communication styles. While her research has been influential in highlighting these differences, it has also been criticised for

supporting and justifying gender inequalities rather than contributing to changing them (e.g. Cameron 1992).

In response to the ideas cultivated by Tannen (1990) and to other essentialist accounts, such as Gray's (1992) fashionable notion that men are from Mars and women from Venus – presented in a popular-science psychology book that topped bestseller lists in the 1990s and 2000s – Cameron (2007a) adopts a far more critical stance. She rejects the claim that women and men are inherently different, arguing instead that such discourse has historically served as a gatekeeping mechanism, excluding women from men's positions of power, a dynamic meticulously illustrated by psychologists such as Bem (1993). Cameron (2007a) underscores the lack of solid empirical evidence supporting the claim that women and men exhibit distinct communication styles, arguing instead that existing research on language and gender often points in the opposite direction. In support of her argument, Cameron (2007b) draws on the psychological study by Hyde (2005), which focuses on gender similarities. Using meta-analysis, a statistical technique which enables the compilation of numerous research findings to draw overall conclusions, Hyde (2005) found that in almost all the studies of verbal abilities and behaviour, the differences between women and men were slight or close to zero. Based on various other studies, Cameron (2007a) also points out the evidence that the differences between women and men are smaller than the differences within each gender group, that is, among women and among men. For instance, a female professor and a female cleaner in the professor's office speak likely more differently than two professors of different sexes (Marling 2011: 209). She calls the idea that women and men differ fundamentally in how they speak a myth – a popular but false belief that is rooted merely in gender stereotypes (Cameron 2007a).

On that note, Cameron (2007b) recounts an anecdote about her father, who was convinced that women were bad drivers. As a teenager, she often endured his running commentary on the driving skills of women in their family car trips. Eventually, she became so annoyed that she began counting counterexamples – women who were driving perfectly well. When she pointed them out, her father appeared genuinely surprised, as if he had never noticed competent female drivers before. Cameron argues that people tend to focus on things that confirm their expectations, while overlooking information that contradicts them. This also means they are more likely to register perceived differences in how women and men speak, while failing to notice the similarities.

Likewise, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995, 2003) advocate the idea that the way one talks or behaves is socially constructed rather than biologically innate – it is created in “communities of practice”. These can include families, sports clubs, religious congregations, choirs, construction workers, shop assistants, and others, each shaped by its own belief system, values, power dynamics, and speaking styles. In this respect, gender-related speaking differences pale in comparison to those shaped within communities of practice. For instance, in their study of students’ speech at a U.S. high school, they found that girls’ and boys’ language use was more strongly influenced by the groups they belonged to: the speech of “jocks” differed markedly from that of “burnouts” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1995). Since gender itself is constructed in and through communities of practice, the speaking styles of women and men are likewise socially shaped by cultural – and androcentric – gender norms. Hence, even when differences appear in certain contexts – for example, men speaking in a more dominant way, or being selectively noticed and interpreted as such in line with expectations as Cameron (2007b) has laid bare – these are not biologically inherent but culturally learned practices that serve as tools for sustaining male power.

Beyond gender-based speaking differences – or similarities –, feminist researchers have also paid much attention to the sexist attitudes hidden in the language, to the linguistic representation of women and men. For instance, as seen earlier, Mills (1995: 110–115) observes how the English vocabulary often casts women in a derogatory light, connoting weakness and lower status, while the vocabulary describing men suggests strength, power, and higher status. Additionally, she highlights that many words and expressions indicate female stupidity, such as “bimbo”, “dumb blonde”, and “doll”, with no masculine equivalents. She also points out another area with the majority of female-specific words, which involves terms referring to appearance, attractiveness, or the lack thereof, for example, “cow”, “pretty”, or “hag”. Mills further analyses gender-specific terms related to sexual activity, noting that words available for women tend to be insulting and degrading, for example, “tart”, “slag”, “whore”, and others. They refer to sexual availability and not to sexual activity only, illustrating how language can treat women as objects for men. On the other hand, terms available for men, such as “lad”, “Casanova”, or “stud”, carry a sense of pride and enhance a man’s reputation rather than diminish it.

One reason for such language use lies in the historical fact that men have predominantly acted as language regulators and norm-makers, those in charge of compiling dictionaries.

This idea has been highlighted by many scholars, including Pauwels (2003), and was powerfully articulated in Spender's (1980) widely cited book *Man Made Language*. Spender argues that language is generally created by men in patriarchal societies. She explains that, historically, men have been the influential philosophers, poets, politicians, linguists, and educators, thereby having access to creating cultural forms, such as language, while women have been excluded from these productions and their voices have been left unheard. Spender contends that language, monopolised by men, therefore works in their favour and helps to preserve their dominance and control over women. Spender (1980: 101) writes: "When they were dividing the world males took for themselves the categories which they could establish as productive. [...] They appropriated strength, reason, logic, objectivity, etc., for themselves and then proceeded to invest these characteristics with positive value while allocating weakness, irrationality, emotion and subjectivity to females, defining them as negative in value." This discourse also contributes to excluding women from the same professional fields that play a significant role in language production, as those occupations are described as suitable for people with those "positive" values believed to be characteristic of men. Moreover, women who do not conform to those characteristics assigned to them and do not obey the patriarchal patterns which treat them as inferior are labelled as "nagging", "hysterical", and "embittered" – terms which have no male equivalents (Spender 1980: 5). Such expressions help to quickly put women in their place, silence them and keep them away from power.

Spender (1980) states that the man made language reflects male experience and is male-centred. The male is considered the norm, and so female characteristics are automatically wrong or negative. The woman is "a minus man", the "other" (Spender 1980: 100). This also explains why feminine forms tend to be marked in languages, and why many feminine words carry negative connotations while masculine words are perceived as positive or neutral. To illustrate this, Spender (1980: 19) references Lakoff's (1975: 30) example regarding the word "professional" in two sentences: "He's a professional" and "She's a professional". She points out that the sentence with a masculine pronoun is plausibly understood as the man being a doctor, lawyer, or similar professional, while the sentence with a feminine pronoun is more likely interpreted as the woman in question being a prostitute. Other well-known examples of androcentric language mirroring a patriarchal worldview that Spender (1980: 147–151) highlights are the word "man" referring to men but also to humans in general, and the masculine personal pronoun "he" when used generically to indicate both

men and women. All in all, Spender believes that language, as a human product, can change and encourages women to break the silence they are expected to keep and actively participate in reshaping language.

Patriarchal traces, however, do not appear to be fading from languages at a significant pace, as noted by newer generations of scholars with similar interests. One such linguist worth mentioning is Baker (2010, 2014), who has critically analysed texts using corpus linguistic techniques. Analysing corpora – vast databases of naturally occurring, digitised language data – makes it possible to identify recurring linguistic patterns and provides quantitative evidence of ideologies and hidden meanings in language. Baker (2010) highlights specifically the androcentrism in English, demonstrated by the frequent reference to males over females in his analysis of British English corpora. In the same research, he found that the term “girl” was more commonly used to refer to adults than “boy”, a clear example of belittling women. Additionally, adjectives like “successful” or “powerful” were more often associated with men, while women were frequently portrayed in demeaning or sexualised ways, exposing a persistent reluctance to challenge entrenched gender stereotypes.

Androcentric language use will be revisited and discussed in more detail in Section 1.5.5, which focuses on sexism in language structures and offers additional insights from later research.

1.5.2 Research on Language and Gender in Estonian

In Estonia, research into language and gender only became visible and possible after the Soviet occupation, in the re-established Estonian Republic in the 1990s. During the Soviet era, which claimed to be already gender-neutral, feminist movements and related academic fields were forbidden. However, in a society where patriarchal values run deep and continue to echo in many communities, feminist research has generally been relatively scarce. Studies on gender in Estonian have primarily concentrated on the representation of women and men in different language environments.

One of the key scholars who has analysed language and gender in Estonian is Pilvre. Pilvre (2002, 2011, 2013, 2014) focuses predominantly on Estonian media, highlighting how the

androcentric values and sexism are reinforced and reproduced in Estonian newspapers. For instance, Pilvre (2011) looked at profile stories about women and men over a sixteen-year period, and discovered that, on average, 79% of the stories were about men, while only 21% focused on women. Additionally, she found that women, compared to men, were more frequently depicted through the lens of their physical appearance – including body shape, height, weight, attractiveness, hairstyle, and clothing – which shows evidence of persistent control and power exertion over women's bodies. Pilvre also points out that while the stories mentioned the age of both women and men at the start, women were, as a rule, younger than men. As youth is generally associated with beauty, including younger women in the stories highlights the importance for women to look attractive.

On the other hand, older age is related to life experience, intelligence, and, eventually, power, which were considered more essential qualities in men. Pilvre (2011) also observed that stories about women offered glimpses into their private lives. Their partners and family members were often mentioned. The stories about men touched less upon their personal lives and focused on their work, colleagues, and business partners. This illustrates how Estonian media frequently anchor women in the domestic sphere while men are framed through the prism of their professional activities.

More recently, the media portrayal of women and men in leadership positions has drawn the attention of researchers. Marling et al. (2024) conducted a media analysis incorporating CDA through corpus linguistic techniques and interviews with managers, noting that leadership continues to be predominantly perceived as a male domain. For example, corpus data revealed that female leaders are often still viewed as exotic or non-standard, aligning with Pilvre's (2011) findings that women, by default, remain associated with the home rather than climbing the career ladder.

Representation of women and men has also been examined in Estonian literary texts. Annuk has analysed numerous novels and stories from a feminist perspective. As literature allows for painting a richer and more nuanced view of the world, literary works also offer a somewhat more diverse picture of female and male characters. She has focused on works with androgynous characters that blur and destabilise traditional gender binaries. For example, Annuk (1999) examined the novel *Piiririik* [*Border State*] by Emil Tode, which was first published in 1993. In the book, the main character's sex is concealed throughout the first

fifty pages. Annuk observes how the creation of this androgynous character can circumvent gender preconceptions in the reader. Although the sex of the main character is never explicitly specified in the novel, it later becomes discernible that the character is a man. However, this man defies stereotypical masculine qualities – he is portrayed as emotional and passive, concerned with his appearance and clothing. Annuk draws attention to how literature, its language, can question conventional gender stereotypes, play with them and flip them around.

Contrasting adult literature, children's literature, its portrayals of girls and boys often present a much simpler depiction of the world. Given that children's books serve not only as entertainment but also as educational tools in teaching children about the world, the possibility of gender stereotypes within this genre has aroused the interest of several Estonian researchers. Master's theses on this topic have been penned by Kapanen (2010) and Kongot (2014), with additional analysis of children's literature textbooks from a gender perspective by Trull (2002). Kapanen (2010) observed that boys are frequently portrayed as more risk-taking, creative, and willing to try new things, unlike girls, who are described as more modest and playing it safe. Trull (2002) noted a similar trend in schoolchildren's textbooks, where boys are depicted more frequently as active and girls as passive. Kongot (2014) also identified gender stereotypes in children's books. She observed that female characters were more regularly cooking, washing and cleaning, as well as taking care of their appearance, while male characters were often depicted in exciting adventures and playing sports. Additionally, she noted that literary characters always had professions traditionally associated with their gender, with women being school teachers and cooks. At the same time, men were police officers, security guards, bus drivers, and bank directors.

The representation of women and men has also been examined from a more linguistic perspective. Hasselblatt (2015) composed a summary of how gender is expressed in Estonian. Additionally, Hasselblatt (1998) and Raadik (2016) have contributed to the study of language and gender by analysing gender representation in Estonian language dictionary sample sentences. In the same way, Puna (2006) examined gendered terms in Estonian language dictionaries and extended her analysis to include gender expression in journalistic texts. Likewise, Kaukonen (2021, 2022) observed the gendered nouns in Estonian sports news. Later, she expanded her analysis to include other gendered compound types found in the 2021 subcorpus of the Estonian National Corpus (Kaukonen 2023a). Piits (2015) investigated the

collocations of human-referencing words in the Estonian Reference Corpus. Similarly to other studies, their results demonstrate how the Estonian language contributes to the persistence of patriarchal values within society. For example, Hasselblatt (1998) reported that women generally appear in passive roles, while men are portrayed as active. He also found that women are more frequently described with derogatory terms (Hasselblatt 1998). Both Puna (2006) and Raadik (2016) discovered that men are more often represented as having power over others. Women, on the other hand, are oftentimes portrayed as submissive (Raadik 2016). Men were also depicted as more violent and involved in criminal activity, according to the results of Raadik (2016) and Kaukonen (2023a). While men were represented with words indicating that they had a paid job, participated in the public sphere and earned money, women were linguistically anchored to the domestic sphere and its activities, or with lower-paying jobs (Kaukonen 2023a; Piits 2015). Additionally, marital status was more important when describing women than men (Piits 2015; Puna 2006). Moreover, Puna (2006), Piits (2015), and Raadik (2016) found that physical attractiveness was more emphasised in women, while men were more valued for their intelligence and physical strength.

Section 1.5.5.2 will further unpack gender expression in the Estonian language, providing more detail and examples on the topic.

1.5.3 Gender Expression in Language Structures

This section focuses on gender expression in different language structures and explores how women and men are represented across languages. Scholars such as Stahlberg et al. (2007) have observed that all languages worldwide express some aspect of femaleness or maleness, with no language entirely devoid of gender expression. Sex appears to be a fundamental aspect of social organisation, and linguistic expressions related to it are crucial for speech communities. From a typological standpoint, Corbett (1991) distinguishes between languages with gender, languages without gender, and those that mark sex distinctions only in pronouns. While Corbett's approach encompasses broader noun-class systems, later authors (e.g. Hellinger & Bußmann 2001–2003; Stahlberg et al. 2007) have recast this distinction as a sex-correlated three-way typology of grammatical gender languages, natural gender

languages, and genderless languages. The following sections will briefly outline each of these language types.

GRAMMATICAL GENDER LANGUAGES. Grammatical gender occurs across various language families, for instance, Germanic (e.g. German), Romance (e.g. French, Spanish), Slavic (e.g. Russian, Ukrainian), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Hindi, Bengali), Semitic (e.g. Hebrew), and others. While grammatical gender is also discussed with regard to languages in which the gender system is not related to female or male sex (Corbett 2013), in this research the term “grammatical gender language” refers only to languages with sex-based grammatical gender. According to Stahlberg et al. (2007), in languages with sex-based grammatical gender, each noun is assigned a gender, which can be feminine, masculine, or sometimes neuter. While the grammatical gender of non-person nouns, such as book or happiness, does not express sex, the grammatical gender of person nouns, such as student or teacher, corresponds to the sex of the referent in the majority of cases. Dependent forms, such as articles, adjectives, pronouns, and in some languages, like Russian, even verbs, hold gender markers that conform to the noun’s gender. For example, in Spanish, the definite article *la* is used with feminine nouns, while *el* precedes masculine nouns. Adjectives modifying feminine nouns typically terminate with the letter *-a*, and those modifying masculine nouns mostly end with the letter *-o*. For example:

- (1) *La (f) casa (f) roja (f) es bonita (f).*
‘The red house is beautiful.’
- (2) *El (m) nuevo (m) alumno (m) es tonto (m).*
‘The new student is stupid.’

Alongside grammatical gender, which nouns and their agreeing elements carry, grammatical gender languages also include nouns that are gendered lexically. lexical-gender nouns, such as woman, boy, or man, have a gendered meaning inherently; that is, gender is part of their meaning.

NATURAL GENDER LANGUAGES. Natural gender languages, such as English, Swedish, and Danish, do not express gender grammatically, and neither non-person nor person nouns are categorised as feminine, masculine, or neuter. For instance, a person noun “teacher” in English can refer to both a female and a male teacher. These languages describe only the

natural gender of the referent, which becomes evident in personal pronouns (Stahlberg et al. 2007). The examples (3) and (4) serve to illustrate this:

(3) “A doctor was waiting for *her* next patient.”

(4) “A doctor was waiting for *his* next patient.”

While the person nouns “doctor” and “patient” are gender-neutral, the personal pronouns “her” and “his” reveal the sex of the doctor in each sentence. Additionally, lexical-gender nouns are also present in natural gender languages.

GENDERLESS LANGUAGES. Genderless languages exist in multiple regions and language families, such as Uralic (e.g. Estonian, Finnish), Turkic (e.g. Turkish), Iranian (e.g. Persian), Sino-Tibetan (e.g. Chinese), and others. In genderless languages, nouns lack grammatical gender, and personal pronouns are gender-neutral, used to refer to everyone regardless of their sex. As a result, the majority of nouns, all pronouns, and other grammatical forms are interchangeable for both females and males. For instance, in the Estonian example (5), it is unclear whether the neighbour in the sentences is a woman or a man:

(5) *Meie uus naaber on väga tore. Eile kohtasin teda ja tema abikaasat maja ees ning ajasime kaua juttu.*

‘Our new neighbour is very nice. Yesterday, I met her/him and her/his spouse in front of the house, and we talked for a long time.’

However, gender can also be expressed in genderless languages, namely through lexical means. Like languages with grammatical and natural gender, genderless languages, too, have person nouns with a semantic property of femaleness or maleness (e.g. woman, man), serving to indicate gender. Nevertheless, the language structure does not require the use of gender-marked forms, and it is possible to communicate without making any references to people’s sex.

A notable example illustrating this is the Estonian novel *Border State* by Emil Tode, which Annuk analysed in 1999 from a gender perspective, as seen in the previous section. In the story, the protagonist sends letters to a male friend with whom, as it quickly becomes evident,

the protagonist is or has been romantically involved. The context hints that the protagonist is also a man; however, the author purposely leaves this ambiguous, and linguistically, the protagonist's sex remains undisclosed throughout the entire text. *Border State* has been translated into over 15 languages, including English, German, French, and Spanish. While maintaining the secrecy of the protagonist's sex posed challenges in grammatical and natural gender languages (see e.g. Märka 2003), in Estonian, sentences that are grammatically and lexically gender-neutral appear entirely natural.

1.5.4 Gender Expression in Estonian

Although gender need not be expressed in Estonian, there are ways to make gender explicit. The following sections provide a more detailed overview of the linguistic means that allow for gender specification in Estonian.

LEXICAL-GENDER NOUNS. Like in other languages, Estonian too has nouns that inherently express femaleness or maleness. There are words such as *naine* ('woman') and *mees* ('man') for adults, and *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy') for the younger generation. These nouns have numerous synonyms, colloquial and neutral terms. For example, a girl or a young woman can also be called with nouns, such as *neiu*, *neid*, *piiga*, *näitsik*, *plika*, among others, while nouns inherently describing a boy or a young man include *kutt*, *sell*, *nolk*, *tüüp*, etc. For *naine*, synonyms such as *tädi*, *eit*, *daam*, and others can be used, while for *mees* other nouns like *onu*, *onkel*, *taat*, etc. exist.

As additional information, it is also worth noting that *naine* in Estonian is not etymologically related to *mees*, as "woman" is to "man" in English. The noun *mees* cannot be used interchangeably with *inimene* ('human'), as is the case in many other languages: it refers purely and simply to a male individual. Nor is *inimene* etymologically connected with *mees*. On the opposite, in some Finnic languages, such as Ludic or Karelian, as well as in some Finnish dialects, the cognates of the *inimene* indicate a woman.

Many lexical-gender nouns are kinship terms, for instance, *tütar* ('daughter') and *poeg* ('son'), which are etymologically connected to *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy'). Other kinship terms include *ema* ('mother'), *isa* ('father'), *õde* ('sister'), *vend* ('brother'), *tädi* ('aunt'), *onu*

(‘uncle’), *ämm* (‘mother-in-law’), *äi* (‘father-in-law’). There are many additional terms, like *käli* (‘wife’s sister’), *nääl* (‘wife’s brother’), *nadu* (‘husband’s sister’), and *küdi* (‘husband’s brother’), but they are marked as non-standard in Estonian language dictionaries (see Sõnaveeb [WordWeb]).

There are also address terms that inherently refer to women and men, such as *proua* (‘madam’) and *härri* (‘mister’). As in many other languages, there is a term for an unmarried woman, which is *preili* (‘miss’), while the masculine equivalent is absent.

DERIVATION. Some modifying suffixes that add a gendered feature to a noun denoting a person are available in Estonian. However, it is important to note that there are only feminine derivational suffixes, no masculine ones.

One of these suffixes is *-nna*. This suffix was introduced at the beginning of the 19th century as an adoption from the German feminine suffix *-in*. It came into use during the second half of the same century (Hasselblatt 2015: 132). It was earlier used to designate a woman in a higher position (example (6)). Today, the suffix has acquired additional meanings. Derivatives with *-nna* denote a female individual based on her profession (example (7)), nationality (example (8)), or other (Kasik 1996: 128–129; Metslang et al. 2023).

(6) *kuninganna* (‘queen’)

(7) *müüjanna* (‘female seller’)

(8) *inglanna* (‘English woman’)

The suffix *-nna* is appended to a person noun in the genitive case: *sõbra* (‘friend’) → *sõbra/nna* (‘female friend’). With the suffix *-lane*, which indicates a person by origin, the *-nna* suffix forms a compound suffix: *Eesti* (‘Estonia’) → *eest/la/nna* (‘Estonian woman’). This suffix is phonotactically untypical in Estonian, as it moves the main stress away from the first syllable, where it usually falls (Kasik 1996: 128–129).

In parallel with the suffix *-nna*, the less common suffix *-tar* also indicates femaleness. This suffix was taken into use at the beginning of the 20th century as a loan from Finnish. In Finnish, the suffix *-tar/tär* originates from the noun *tytär*, meaning ‘daughter’ (Hasselblatt

2015: 131). The derivatives with *-tar* designate a woman based on her profession or activity (example (9)), nationality (example (10)), or other criteria (example (11)).

(9) *tantsijatar* ('female dancer')

(10) *poolatar* ('Polish woman')

(11) *naabritar* ('female neighbour')

The suffix *-tar* attaches to a noun in the genitive form: *orja* ('slave') → *orja/tar* ('female slave') (Kasik 1996: 130).

Another noteworthy suffix is *-ke*, a diminutive suffix that is sometimes also used to indicate femininity. Like the other suffixes discussed above, *-ke* is added to the genitive form of the noun. Its earlier form, *-ik*, is sometimes believed to have historically denoted feminine gender, among other meanings (see Mägiste 1928–1929; Mänd & Tóth 2025). This can be seen in words like *noorik* ('young woman'), derived from *noor* ('young'), though the noun is now considered archaic. A point worth highlighting is that the *-ke* suffix is sometimes deemed necessary to add to the gender-neutral personal pronoun *tema* ('she/he'). While *tema* already includes the female reference, *temake* ('she') is formed to emphasise that the person in question is a woman, not a man. One example is the film "Her" directed by Spike Jonze, which was translated into Estonian as "Temake". *Temake* can also occasionally be found in some humorous sections of newspapers and tabloid journalism. All in all, it is remarkable that among all possible suffixes, the diminutive suffix has been chosen to create a feminine form.

It is important to note that employing feminine suffixes is always a facultative choice for a language user. These suffixes are not obligatory, and grammatically gender-neutral nouns can be used instead.

COMPOUNDING. Another way to make gender explicit is through compounding, which involves the formation of a single lexical unit from two or more elements, whose combined meaning is often more fixed and integrated (compared with phrases, where the words remain semantically and syntactically independent). Compounding allows for a vast array of word combinations with distinct meanings. Before examining gender expression, it is worthwhile to briefly consider the Estonian compounding system, as compounding is a widely used and productive process in Estonian – as it is in many Finno-Ugric languages – with over 60% of

the vocabulary consisting of compound words (Metslang et al. 2023: 267). The most typical compound word consists of two constituents: the compound head and the compound modifier. While compounding is not restricted to nouns – adjectives, verbs, and adverbs can also be formed this way – the following examples (12) and (13) are nouns, which, alongside adjectives, are the most common compounds (Metslang et al. 2023: 283) and also most relevant to the current topic.

(12) *sünniaasta* ('birth year')

(13) *öölendur* ('night flyer')

These compounds provide an example of determinative compounds, in which the compound head determines the primary meaning of the compound word, whilst the compound modifier specifies the content of the head (Vare 2018: 89–90). The modifier can belong to various parts of speech (examples are provided below among the gendered compound nouns) or remain ambiguous, and it characterises the compound head in terms of an activity, place, instrument, or other semantic relation (Metslang et al. 2023: 284, 347).

The compound constituents in the examples (12) and (13) stand in a mutative relationship, where the meaning of the compound depends on the function of both elements in the construction, which together create a new concept. The constituents can also be in a modifying relationship. In this case, they do not create a new concept; rather, the modifying constituent adds a specifying feature (often evaluative) to the lexical meaning of the other element (example (14)) (Metslang et al. 2023: 292–293).

(14) *suurkirjanik* (lit. 'big writer', 'renowned writer')

Determinative compounds, in which the head carries the main meaning, form the majority of compound nouns in Estonian (Metslang et al. 2023: 284). Alongside these, another, rarer type of compound exists – compounds in which the elements stand in a copulative relationship, with the constituents carrying equal semantic weight and referring to the same referent from different aspects. That is, the compound designation belongs simultaneously to the conceptual category denoted by both constituents, which belong to the same part of speech. For nouns, the first is in the nominative case (Metslang et al. 2023: 283, 367, 374). The following example (15) illustrates a copulative compound.

(15) *veteranpoliitik* (‘veteran politician’)

Before moving on to the gender expression that compounds allow, it is worth underlining that compounding is highly spontaneous in Estonian, which may result in multiple interpretive possibilities. A single compound can refer to different ideas, depending on the context. For instance, *arvutilaps* (‘computer child’) can denote a child who spends a lot of time on the computer or, alternatively, a child figure within a computer. In addition to spontaneously formed words, lexicalised compounds also exist, such as *tänavalaps* (lit. ‘street child’, ‘gamin’). While lexicalised compounds are mostly found in dictionaries, many ad hoc compounds naturally do not appear in dictionary entries (Metslang et al. 2023: 267).

Compounds that express gender can be either determinative or copulative, and either mutative or modifying. They are nouns referring to a person. At least one of the constituents, either the first element or the last, is a lexical-gender noun. The examples (16), (17), and (18) illustrate gender-specific compounds with a lexical-gender noun as the last element:

(16) *baarinaine* (lit. ‘bar woman’, ‘barmaid’)

(17) *põllumees* (lit. ‘field man’, ‘farmer’)

(18) *tantsuneiu* (lit. ‘dance lady’, ‘dancer’)

The nouns *naine* (‘woman’) and *mees* (‘man’) are the most common lexical-gender nouns occurring in final position (examples (16) and (17)). However, all other lexical-gender nouns are possible too (example (18)).

The compound constituents can be monomorphemic simplex words: *kala* (‘fish’), *mees* (‘man’) → *kalamees* (lit. ‘fish man’, ‘fisherman’); and derivatives: *park/la* (‘parking lot’), *mehi/ke* (‘little man’) → *parklamehike* (‘parking lot little man’). The first constituent of the compound can be of different parts of speech but is often a noun in the genitive: *kooli* (‘school’) → *koolitüdruk* (‘schoolgirl’). The genitive case is generally used to indicate a complement of another noun or a possessor. Compounds in which the first element is in the genitive are determinative compounds. In some cases, the noun can also be in the nominative: *kapp* (‘cupboard’) → *kappmees* (lit. ‘cupboard man’, ‘big guy’), resulting in a copulative compound. The first element can also be an adjective: *vana* (‘old’) → *vanamutt* (‘old woman’); and other parts of speech are also possible (Vare 2018: 90). Finally, as

compounding is a recursive process – compounds can be further formed from existing compounds – the last constituent can take a multi-element compound as its first part: *auto* (‘car’), *juhi* (‘driver’) → *autojuhinaine* (‘car driver woman’), where *naine* (‘woman’) is specified by the compound noun *autojuht* (‘car driver’) in the genitive. Compounds with a lexical-gender noun as the last element will be referred to as last-part-gendered compound nouns in this research.

In compounds that expose the referent’s gender, the lexical-gender noun can also occur as the first element. In Estonian, lexical-gender nouns in this position are most commonly *naine* (‘woman’) (with its compound stem variant *nais-*) and *mees* (‘man’), indicating a female or male person, respectively. These compounds are determinative, with a person noun as the head, as they denote human referents. For example:

(19) *naiskirjanik* (‘female writer’)

(20) *meestantsija* (‘male dancer’)

Compounds of this type belong to the modifying determinative compounds, in which the gender of the referent expressed by the head is specified. This marking causes the gender to be emphasised, casting light on it as something unexpected or important to mention in the context – otherwise, such specification would not be necessary. This differs from determinative compounds in which the lexical-gender noun is the head with the modifier simply describing it. Braun (2000: 67–71) illustrates the distinction between these two compound types using the example of two predicates, X and Y. In last-part-gendered compounds, Y is also an X (e.g. “football player woman”), whereas when the lexical-gender noun is in the first position, X is also a Y (e.g. “woman football player”). The first compound denotes “a woman who is a football player”. In the second case, the main information is that the subject is “a football player who is a woman” (Doleschal 2015).

Rarely, the nouns *tüdruk* (‘girl’) and *poiss* (‘boy’) occur as first elements in compounds (examples (21) and (22)). However, this is not a regular means of gender specification in the way that the compound modifiers *nais-* (‘female’) and *mees-* (‘male’) are. According to Metslang et al. (2023: 373–374), such compounds are copulative compounds, in which all elements refer to the same entity from different aspects; hence, a friend who is also a girl (example (21)) and a friend who is also a boy (example (22)). While gender is highlighted in

nais- (‘female’) and *mees-* (‘male’) initial compounds, it is somewhat doubtful in copulative compounds.

(21) *tüdruksober* (‘girlfriend’)

(22) *poiss-sober* (‘boyfriend’)

In compounds where the lexical-gender noun occupies the first position, more than one compound element can be present. For instance, in the compound *meeshambaarst* (lit. ‘male tooth doctor’, ‘male dentist’), the compound head *arst* (‘doctor’) is combined with the noun *hammas* (‘tooth’) in the genitive, creating *hambaarst* (lit. ‘tooth doctor’, ‘dentist’). Additionally, the gender of this person noun has been specified with the modifier *mees*, resulting in *meeshambaarst*. Compounds with a lexical-gender noun as the first element will be referred to as first-part-gendered compound nouns in this research.

1.5.5 Sexism in Language Structures

According to Stahlberg et al. (2007), who have dedicated numerous studies to gender expression in languages, the mere existence of gender distinctions in language does not inherently imply sexism. The question revolves around whether linguistic treatment is equal for women and men, specifically, whether the sexes are represented symmetrically. Achieving symmetry is possible in all language types. In grammatical gender languages, feminine forms could be used for females and masculine forms for males. Similarly, in natural gender languages, feminine pronouns could be employed to refer to females, and masculine pronouns to indicate only males. In genderless languages, gender expression can be ignored altogether. Finally, lexical-gender nouns that are present in all language types can also demonstrate a symmetrical pattern. Nonetheless, linguistic asymmetries are found in all three language types, reflecting and reinforcing androcentric worldviews and societies.

The following sections will illustrate the significant asymmetries in different languages, based on the theories outlined by Stahlberg et al. (2007) and Aikhenvald (2016). Section 1.5.5.2 will delve into the Estonian language, offering a more detailed overview of its unequal linguistic patterns that have been documented to date.

1.5.5.1 Other Languages

Gendered Generics

Gendered generics are feminine or masculine words or word forms that are used generically to denote people of any gender. While some feminine generics exist and have been historically employed, such as “midwife”, “housewife”, and “cleaning lady” in English, most generics are masculine. According to Stahlberg et al. (2007: 169), masculine generics are masculine forms or words that are used “sex-specifically in reference to male persons and generically in reference to mixed groups and to people whose sex is unknown or irrelevant”.

Languages with grammatical gender allow the widest range of possibilities for using masculine generics. Grammatically masculine person nouns, pronouns, and lexically masculine nouns can all be used generically. Examples (19) and (20) illustrate the use of masculine generics in French, a grammatical gender language. In the example (19), the person noun *étudiants* (‘students’) is grammatically masculine but is used to refer to students in general. In the same way, in the sentence (20), the pronoun *chacun* (‘everyone’) is masculine but intends to denote both males and females.

(19) *Les étudiants (m) doivent apporter un livre à la classe demain.*

‘The students have to bring a book to class tomorrow.’

(20) *Chacun (m) doit connaître ses limites.*

‘Everyone has to know their limits.’

The use of masculine generics is also shared across other language types. In natural gender languages, where nouns lack grammatical gender, masculine personal pronouns and lexically masculine nouns can carry a generic meaning. In genderless languages, only lexically masculine nouns can be generically used to refer to both sexes. For instance, in Turkish, a genderless language, the noun *adam* signifies ‘man’ and ‘person’. In fact, a semantic connection between the nouns “man” and “human being” is evident in many languages of different types (e.g. English, French, German, Spanish). Additionally, it has been pointed out that in Finnish, some compound words with a lexically masculine noun *mies* (‘man’) (e.g. *virkamies* (lit. ‘office man’, ‘civil servant’), *lehtimies* (lit. ‘newspaper man’, ‘journalist’), *tiedemies* (lit. ‘science man’, ‘scientist’)) are officially claimed neutral and used for men as

well as for women (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001). However, this information now appears to be largely historical and is no longer widely accepted in Finland (Kujala 2021).

Numerous feminists argue that masculine generics originate from the patriarchal worldview, which sees men as the norm. Silveira (1980) discussed the male = people bias, according to which a man is more likely to be seen generally as a person than a woman. This notion has been supported by empirical studies from other scholars (e.g. Bailey et al. 2020; Hamilton 1991; Stahlberg et al. 2007). Although masculine generics have also been claimed to be truly neutral, as summarised by Martyna (1983), numerous – if not most – scholars assert that masculine generic forms perpetuate an androcentric worldview by rendering women invisible (e.g. Braun et al. 2005; Gygax et al. 2008; Martyna 1983; Silveira 1980; Stahlberg & Sczesny 2001).

Empirical research has been conducted to delve into this aspect. Studies on generics have predominantly focused on grammatical and natural gender languages (e.g. Brauer & Landry 2008 on French; Storme & Storme 2025 on French; Xiao 2023 on French; Braun et al. 1998 on German; Gabriel & Mellenberger 2004 on German; Horvath & Sczesny 2015 on German; Keith et al. 2022 on German; Misersky et al. 2019 on German; Stahlberg et al. 2001 on German; Gastil 1990 on English; Hamilton 1988 on English; MacKay & Fulkerson 1979 on English; Gabriel et al. 2008 on French, German and English; Nissen 2013 on Spanish; Redl et al. 2021 on Dutch). From genderless languages, few empirical studies on masculine generics appear to be available for Finnish (e.g. Engelberg 1993, 1995, 2002).

Typically, an experiment testing the neutrality of masculine generics involves giving participants sentences or text in different versions (masculine generics versus alternatives). Participants are then tasked with activities such as assigning names to the person the sentence or text is referring to (e.g. Engelberg 2002; Hamilton 1988), associating texts with famous personalities (e.g. Brohmer et al. 2024; Keith et al. 2022; Stahlberg et al. 2001), drawing or selecting a picture portraying individuals the given sentences or texts describe (e.g. Brauer & Landry 2008; Engelberg 2002), guessing the gender of people mentioned (e.g. Gastil 1990; Xiao 2023), and describing visualisations of people that the participant imagined while reading the sentences (e.g. Brauer & Landry 2008; Gastil 1990; Hamilton 1988), among other tasks.

While the results vary in degree, most research has found that masculine generics lead people to interpret referents as male (e.g. Brauer & Landry 2008; Brohmer et al. 2024; Gygax et al. 2008; Hamilton 1988; Redl et al. 2021). The use of alternative forms (gender-neutral nouns or feminine-masculine word pairs) increases the cognitive inclusion of women. For example, in their study, Stahlberg et al. (2001) analysed the influence of masculine generics in German. Female and male participants were asked to name their favourite heroes, such as athletes, musicians, and others. These critical questions were mixed with distracting, unrelated inquiries. The questionnaire the participants had to fill in was designed in three language versions: one using masculine generics, other neutral forms undifferentiated for gender, and a third feminine-masculine word pairs. Participants were randomly given one of these language versions. The results revealed that questions including masculine generics led participants to choose more male individuals as their favourites, while the questions with alternative formulations increased the female interpretation.

Engelberg (1993, 1995, 2002) tested the cognitive effects of the Finnish masculine compounds claimed to be gender-neutral, focusing on the noun *virkamies* (lit. ‘office man’, ‘civil servant’). Participants read different text versions: three included the masculine generic term, while two others used the gender-neutral noun *työntekijä* (‘worker’). Participants were tasked with creating a drawing of the mentioned workers and assigning each character a first name. As a result, 80% of the participants described the masculine term *virkamies* as male, while *työntekijä* was more frequently interpreted as female.

Lexical Gaps

Another asymmetry in linguistic gender representation is the absence of a term for one gender while it exists for the other. Stahlberg et al. (2007) illustrate this with the well-known example of the English titles “Miss” and “Mrs”, which indicate a woman’s age and marital status. In contrast, the masculine form “Mr” does not convey any information about age or marital status. A similar linguistic gap can be found in numerous other languages, including German (*Fräulein*, *Frau* versus *Herr*), French (*mademoiselle*, *madame* versus *monsieur*), Spanish (*señorita*, *señora* versus *señor*), and others. This asymmetry exposes the attitude that only women’s romantic availability is essential and in need of definition – another example of

how a male-centred society is reflected in language, and one that clearly mirrors Bem's (1993) notion of women's primary reproductive function.

Similarly, some nouns are used almost exclusively in one gender form, while their opposite-gender counterparts are rare or absent. For instance, words like "midwife" in English or *Kindermädchen* (lit. 'children's girl', 'babysitter') in German traditionally lack corresponding masculine terms (Stahlberg et al. 2007). Since these occupations have historically been considered suitable only for women, masculine terms have been unnecessary. On the flip side, many masculine nouns are used significantly more frequently than their feminine counterparts. For example, in English, certain nouns describing professions or positions historically dominated by men are commonly used in lexically masculine forms, such as "chairman", "fireman", and "headmaster" (Stahlberg et al. 2007). Comparable terms are found in numerous other languages, as illustrated by Romaine (2001) and Stahlberg et al. (2007) and supplemented here with additional examples: German *Kaufmann* (lit. 'buy-man', 'merchant'), *Feuerwehrmann* (lit. 'fire defence man', 'fireman'); French *homme d'affaires* ('businessman'), *homme de lettres* (lit. 'man of letters', 'writer'); Finnish *esimies* ('foreman'), *lakimies* (lit. 'lawman', 'lawyer'); and others. Sometimes, these nouns are still considered neutral by some speakers, and thus function as masculine generics in their own right. However, as the true neutrality of masculine generics is rather doubtful, feminine counterparts have also been created for such masculine nouns, such as "chairwoman" or *Kauffrau* (lit. 'buy-woman'). Nevertheless, not all speech communities have accepted and adopted such feminine terms and prefer using masculine nouns instead (Stahlberg et al. 2007).

Unequal Word Pairs

In a truly gender-neutral language, feminine nouns and their masculine counterparts would describe the same concept, with the only difference being that feminine nouns refer to women and masculine nouns to men. However, numerous languages include feminine and masculine equivalents carrying a noticeably distinct meaning. The feminine term often carries a sexual or derogatory connotation or denotes lower status (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001–2003). Examples include English "mistress" versus "master", "governess" versus "governor" (Hellinger 2001: 109); Spanish *mujer pública* (lit. 'public woman', 'prostitute') versus

hombre público (lit. ‘public man’, ‘man in the public eye’) (Nissen 2002: 260–261); Moroccan Arabic *bnt zznqa* (lit. ‘daughter of the street’, ‘loose girl’, ‘prostitute’) versus *wld zznqa* (lit. ‘son of the street’, ‘street smart guy’) (Hachimi 2001: 40); Danish *tjenestekvinde* (lit. ‘service woman’, ‘female housekeeper’) versus *tjenestemand* (lit. ‘service man’, ‘civil servant’) (Gomard & Kunøe 2003: 69).

Similarly, Sigley and Holmes (2002), who studied several million-word corpora of edited written English, provide quantitative evidence that further confirms asymmetry between female- and male-related vocabulary. They found that “girl” is far more often applied to adult women than “boy” is to adult men, reinforcing the idea that “a female never grows up”. Their corpus analysis also shows that “girl” frequently carries connotations of appearance, youthfulness, dependence, or desirability, thereby positioning women in ways that trivialise or diminish their status, unlike the usage of terms for males.

Asymmetries can be found not only in word pairs but also in broader thematic categories. For example, Mills (1995: 111–112) notes that English vocabulary related to women generally connotes weakness more frequently, whereas terms associated with men imply strength and power. Such asymmetries reflect societal views steeped in androcentrism, where terms for males are typically perceived more positively than those for females, which are often viewed as less valued.

Gender-Emphasised Forms

Another widespread sexist feature in languages is the marking or emphasising of references to one gender, primarily the female, where expressions describing women tend to be more complex than those referring to men (Stahlberg et al. 2007). One illustration of this phenomenon is the additional feminine suffixes, which are added to masculine or neutral forms, while the additional masculine suffixes are not present. For instance, in German, the suffix *-in* is often appended to the masculine form to indicate a female person – for example, *Sänger* (‘singer’) → *Sänger/in* (‘female singer’). Feminine suffixes, such as “-ess”, also exist in English, where most person nouns are gender-neutral – for example, *actor* → *actr/ess*. Adding another layer, in some languages, such as Russian and Italian, such feminine forms

can carry pejorative connotations or lower perceived status (see Doleschal & Schmid 2001; Merkel 2013).

According to Silveira (1980) – whose theory can explain this phenomenon – not only do masculine generics but also neutral terms hold masculine connotations. She called this the people = male bias, which posits that a prototypical human being is male. Hamilton (1991) empirically tested this hypothesis by asking participants to write a short text describing the most typical human being they could imagine and to assign a name to this person. As a result, 18 out of 24 texts described the typical person as male. If a prototypical human being is male, any deviation from this norm, for example, being female, is an exception that requires special marking.

Femaleness is also marked when made explicit more frequently than maleness (Stahlberg et al. 2007), resulting in a flipped pattern with gaps in the male-referring vocabulary. To exemplify, Romaine (2001), who has explored gender expression in English, examined the noun “doctor” appearing with feminine and masculine markers in the British National Corpus. She found 125 instances of “lady doctor”, 20 examples of “woman doctor”, and 10 instances of “female doctor”, while the only masculine term, “male doctor”, appeared merely 14 times in the corpus. This finding suggests that a prototypical doctor is male, so the femaleness must be marked.

Braun (2000), who has predominantly focused on gender expression in German and Turkish, conducted an empirical study on Turkish person nouns. Although they are grammatically gender-neutral, lexical gender marking is possible. The study involved translating a text from English to Turkish that described a traffic accident in which one individual was injured. Different versions of the text presented the individual as a police officer, basketball player, American, child, house helper, or secretary. Gender-neutral terms were used initially; later, a pronominal reference (“she” or “he”, depending on the text) was introduced. Each participant translated one text version into Turkish. The results indicated a higher frequency of gender marking when referring to a female person. For instance, participants often used the term *kız çocuğu* (‘girl child’) for a female child, while a male child was simply denoted as *çocuk* (‘child’).

While highlighting femaleness appears to be a widespread practice in different languages, references to the male gender can also be marked. Romaine (2001), who additionally analysed the noun “nurse” in the British National Corpus, found 20 examples of “male nurse” and only one instance of “female nurse”. This suggests that the profession of nursing is generally expected to be held by a woman, and that a male nurse is considered an exception that needs to be emphasised. The social assumptions underlying noun interpretations will be discussed as follows.

Socially Gender-Biased Nouns

Regardless of language type, person nouns, even when presented in an intentionally neutral form, may not be truly neutral. As “socio-cultural parameters are a powerful force in shaping the semantics of personal reference” (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 10), a noun can still be gendered in people’s minds. The intentionally gender-neutral person nouns can be specified for social gender, that is, be conceptualised as female or male in accordance with stereotypical beliefs about sex roles (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 11). Of course, the overall tendency for person nouns is to exhibit a male interpretation, reflecting the people = male bias discussed by Silveira (1980). However, in fields stereotypically associated with women, the person nouns may also exhibit a female bias, illustrating the pervasive influence of societal beliefs on language.

For instance, Hellinger and Bußmann (2001: 10–11), who have contributed significantly to feminist linguistics analysing different languages, exemplify social gender in English by highlighting the historical tendency to associate higher-status occupational titles such as lawyer, surgeon, or scientist with the pronoun “he”. While this pattern may be gradually shifting, this gender bias continues to manifest in the well-known “surgeon riddle”, in which a father and son are involved in a car accident. The father is killed instantly, and the boy is rushed to the hospital. Upon seeing him, the surgeon exclaims, “I can’t operate, that boy is my son!” Despite the riddle’s simplicity, studies show that many participants still struggle to resolve it by identifying the surgeon as the boy’s mother (see Belle et al. 2021; Morehouse et al. 2022), highlighting the persistence of occupational gender stereotypes. Conversely, stereotypically female-related lower-status occupations like secretary, nurse, or schoolteacher have been traditionally pronominalised with “she” (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 10–11). A

similar tendency echoes through later studies (e.g. Gustafsson Sendén et al. 2020; Kennison & Trofe 2003; Siyanova-Chanturia 2012).

Doleschal (1993: 70–73, 1997) tested the perception of Russian person nouns. Russian, a grammatical gender language, shows a strong tendency to use masculine person nouns for both males and females. Participants in the experiment received a questionnaire containing sentences extracted from a novel, each of which included a masculine person noun. The participants were tasked with providing a name for the individuals mentioned in the sentences in order to determine the gender they perceived. The results revealed that most persons in the texts were interpreted as male, which, of course, is another illustration of the male bias of masculine generics. However, two grammatically masculine person nouns were more frequently perceived as indicating women: *buxgalter* ('bookkeeper') and *vrač* ('doctor'). In Russia, bookkeepers and doctors are professions historically held by women. For example, two-thirds of physicians in the U.S.S.R. were female in 1990 (Doleschal & Schmid 2001: 268). The experiment suggests the prevailing male interpretation of Russian masculine person nouns, which does not occur only in the case when nouns are socially gendered as female.

Braun (2001: 287–289) conducted another study in Turkish, a genderless language, to examine the role of social gender in the perception of grammatically neutral person nouns. Participants received a questionnaire with a list of person nouns, such as *taksi şoförü* ('taxi driver'), *sekreter* ('secretary'), *kuyumcu* ('goldseller'), and others. The nouns described activities that are typically female-related, male-related, and neutral. Participants were instructed to assign the most common address term to each noun. Since many Turkish address terms are gender-specific, participants' responses usually revealed the gender they associated with each person noun. The findings showed that 85% of person nouns describing stereotypically male professions, such as *polis* ('police officer') and *taksi şoförü* ('taxi driver'), were perceived as indicating a male person. Notably, person nouns in the neutral category, like *köylü* ('villager') and *kişi* ('person'), were also interpreted as male more frequently, confirming the people = male bias. Parallely, an average of 85% of person nouns denoting stereotypical female roles in Turkey, like *temizlikçi* ('cleaning person') and *sekreter* ('secretary'), were given a female address term.

More recently, Renström et al. (2022) tested the neutrality of the gender-neutral pronoun for the third person in singular and the noun "person" in Finnish and Turkish. Participants were

presented with a short text about an American citizen, referred to either with a gender-neutral pronoun or as “a person”, depending on the text. Participants were then asked to select a photo from a set of four images (featuring two women and two men) that they believed best represented the person described. The great majority of participants chose a photo of a man as the most suitable subject of the texts. Hence, the study revealed a clear male bias in both the gender-neutral pronoun and noun in Finnish and Turkish.

In conclusion, masculine generic person nouns intended to be gender-inclusive and grammatically neutral forms can carry a hidden gender bias, reflecting underlying social patterns. In most cases, person nouns tend to be perceived as referring to men. However, female interpretations become possible when nouns refer to roles stereotypically associated with women.

In light of various linguistic asymmetries – such as masculine generics, lexical gaps, and others – that reflect an androcentric society, linguists have sought solutions for more gender-fair language use. Two principal strategies are recommended for this purpose: neutralisation and feminisation (Gabriel et al. 2008; Lindqvist et al. 2019; Sczesny et al. 2016). Neutralisation is based on replacing gendered forms (e.g. “policeman”) with neutral terms (e.g. “police officer”), whereas feminisation is achieved by using feminine forms alongside the mostly more prevalent masculine terms (e.g. German *Elektrikerinnen und Elektriker* ‘[female and male] electricians’). The latter aims to explicitly include women to make female referents more visible. Neutralisation has been considered suitable for natural gender languages (see e.g. Hellinger 2001 for English) and genderless languages (see e.g. Engelberg 2002 for Finnish), as it is relatively simple to avoid gender marking. Feminisation has been recommended for grammatical gender languages such as German (see e.g. Bußmann & Hellinger 2003).

Based on the example of the language reform in Swedish in the 2010s, during which the new gender-neutral pronoun *hen* was introduced alongside gendered pronouns, such reforms – like any other change in society – always meet disdain. However, over time, the outcome appears to be rather positive, as described by Gustafsson Sendén et al. (2015), and helps reduce sexism.

1.5.5.2 Estonian

Gendered Generics

Previous research has identified a number of masculine generics in Estonian. Numerous compounds featuring the lexically masculine noun *mees* ('man') in final position (e.g. *võimumees* ('power man'), *ninamees* (lit. 'nose man', 'leader', 'boss'), *ehitusmees* (lit. 'construction man', 'builder')) are considered masculine generics, referring to humans in general (Kasik 2006; Puna 2006: 104). For example, a generic question like *Kes siin ninamees on?* ('Who is the *nose man* [boss] here?') or a phrase like *Kutsume ehitusmehe!* ('Let's call a *construction man* [builder]!') is not rare to hear in Estonia when the sex of the boss or the builder is unknown, or even when referring directly to women; for instance, a sentence like *Ta on siin ninamees* ('She is the *nose man* [boss] here.') does not sound unusual. Many of these nouns describe traditionally male professions, such as *meremees* ('seaman'), *jahimees* ('hunter'), or *metsamees* (lit. 'forest man', 'forester'). However, nouns referring to broader social roles or characterisations, such as *asjamees* (lit. 'thing man', 'key figure'), *vihamees* (lit. 'anger man', 'enemy'), and *võidumees* (lit. 'victory man', 'winner') also exist.

Another example of a masculine generic is the noun *esimees* ('foreman', 'chairman'). Its feminine counterpart, *esinaine* ('forewoman', 'chairwoman'), exists; however, the use of these two nouns appears to lack symmetry. According to the Ametniku soovitusõnastik [Advisory Dictionary of Document Language], the recommendation is to employ *esinaine* exclusively for a woman leading an organisation that consists only of females. In all other contexts, *esimees* is advised for use, irrespective of the chairperson's sex. A phrase illustrating the use of *esimees* provided by the dictionary is *Riigikogu esimees Ene Ergma* ('Ene Ergma, the chairman of the parliament'). Notably, *Ene* is an Estonian female name. On a positive note, in recent years, discussions have emerged about using *esinaine* and suggestions to employ this noun to indicate any female leader, not only those leading organisations consisting exclusively of females (e.g. Kaukonen 2023b). Eesti Keele Instituut [Institute of the Estonian Language] (2022) has also recommended this broader use. Even so, the masculine noun *esimees* still seems to refer to both men and women. Kasik (2006: 8) exemplifies this phenomenon with the noun *naisesimees* ('female foreman', 'female chairman'), which has sometimes been used in Estonian. This construction signals that the

compound head *mees* ('man') in the compound *esimees* is interpreted as "human being" since *naisesimees* clearly does not imply that a man is a woman but that the person in question is female.

In Estonian, the lexical-gender noun *mees* specifically denotes "a man" and does not serve as a generic reference for all individuals, as seen in French, English, Turkish, and many other languages. Piits (2005/2006) analysed collocations with the nouns *inimene* ('human'), *naine* ('woman'), and *mees* ('man') and discovered that *inimene* and *mees* shared twice as many common collocations compared to *inimene* and *naine*. This finding suggests the male = people bias, which may motivate the use of masculine generics in Estonian. Conversely, Piits' research also mirrors the people = male bias, which contributes to another asymmetry in linguistic gender representation: the markedness of female reference, which will be addressed below.

Only one empirical study appears to be available that, among other aspects, touches on the perception of masculine generics in Estonian. Kaukonen et al. (2025) conducted a survey featuring sentences with 36 occupational titles, presented in an imaginary recruitment context. The occupational roles were shown in gender-neutral forms (e.g. *keemik* ('chemist'), *arhitekt* ('architect')) and in gendered forms (e.g. *müügimees* ('salesman'), *perenaine* (lit. 'family woman', 'owner')). Participants were asked to determine whether the companies recruiting for these positions would be more likely to hire a woman, a man, or whether gender would not matter. The results revealed that gender-neutral terms were more frequently associated with the notion that the occupation could be held by both women and men – that gender does not matter. In contrast, gendered forms showed a stronger bias towards the corresponding gender marker, and so did compounds considered masculine generics. They exhibited a stronger bias towards male candidates than their neutral counterparts, aligning with most research conducted in other languages. However, while the study by Kaukonen et al. must be credited as the first on this topic, it is also somewhat limited, as directly asking participants to determine gender may influence their responses more than when perceived gender is revealed in a more implicit or distracting context.

Lexical Gaps

Numerous Estonian gendered nouns lack a corresponding term for the opposite gender, and even when some equivalents can be encountered in language use, they are often not widely accepted or common nouns. A good example to illustrate this is the masculine generics previously discussed. Lexically masculine nouns, such as *ninamees* (lit. ‘nose man’, ‘leader’, ‘boss’), *meremees* (‘seaman’), *metsamees* (lit. ‘forest man’, ‘forester’), *asjamees* (lit. ‘thing man’, ‘key figure’), and many others are frequently used common terms, while their feminine equivalents are unusual. For instance, the Estonian language portal of the Institute of the Estonian Language, Sõnaveeb [WordWeb], lists the masculine terms, while the feminine equivalents are absent. The opposite phenomenon, gaps in the masculine vocabulary, can be exemplified by a few common feminine nouns, such as *ämmaemand* (lit. ‘mother-in-law lady’, ‘midwife’, ‘birth attendant’) and *medõde* (lit. ‘medicine sister’, ‘nurse’), occupations that women have traditionally held. Their masculine equivalents, *ämmaisand* (lit. ‘mother-in-law lord’, ‘birth attendant’) and *medvend* (lit. ‘medicine brother’, ‘nurse’) are occasionally used but remain less common. WordWeb, for example, omits *ämmaisand* and marks *medvend* as informal, whereas the feminine terms appear in the portal as neutral.

The Estonian vocabulary referring to men appears to be overall more numerous and more frequently used compared to words indicating women. Puna (published under the name Olt 2004), who examined vocabulary describing women and men in three Estonian dictionaries, found 2,331 nouns referring to men and 1,587 nouns denoting women. Additionally, Piits (2004), who delved into the journalist texts in the Estonian Standard Language Corpus from Tartu University, found 262 different compounds with the lexical-gender noun *mees* (‘man’) in final position (e.g. *kalamees* (lit. ‘fish man’, ‘fisherman’), *ärimees* (‘businessman’)), which appeared 5,259 times in texts. In contrast, only 35 distinct last-part-gendered compounds with the noun *naine* (‘woman’) were identified, occurring in 210 corpus sentences.

The lexical gaps in Estonian vocabulary can also be detected in the address terms that inherently refer to women and men. As previously noted, two terms, such as *proua* (‘madam’) and *preili* (‘miss’), are available for women to describe a woman’s marital status. For men, there is only one term, *härira* (‘mister’), which does not provide any information about the man’s personal life (WordWeb).

Unequal Word Pairs

Similarly to other languages, in Estonian, some gender-specific word pairs exhibit significant variations in meaning between the feminine and masculine forms. For example, the address terms *proua* (‘madam’) and *härra* (‘mister’) can be considered a word pair, as they both refer to an adult person, a woman and a man, respectively. However, as seen in the previous section, their connotations are different. Firstly, the meaning of *proua* includes her marital status and age, while the masculine noun *härra* does not (WordWeb). Moreover, in WordWeb, the additional definition of the noun *proua* is “a man’s wife”, while other meanings of *härra* include “master” and “lord”. The connotation of “wife” associated with the feminine noun also becomes evident in certain compounds, such as *presidendiproua* (lit. ‘president madam’). This term does not refer to a female president but to the wife of a president. Notably, the genitive case – in which the compound modifier *presidendi* appears – polysemically also denotes the possessor of the entity expressed by the compound head, translating as ‘of the president’. Hence, it refers to the president’s lady. Conversely, the same modifier in the masculine counterpart does not express ownership: the compound *presidendihärra* (lit. ‘president mister’) denotes a male president, not the husband of this figure (Metslang et al. 2023; WordWeb).

Also, other word pairs with similar asymmetries exist, such as *perenaine* (lit. ‘family woman’) and *peremees* (lit. ‘family man’). While both terms refer to an owner or manager of a company, house, or farm, the feminine noun *perenaine* additionally indicates the wife of the masculine counterpart. However, *peremees* does not describe the husband of the feminine equivalent but the head of the family (WordWeb).

Asymmetries between feminine and masculine vocabulary have also been found across broader thematic categories in Estonian, as summarised in Section 1.5.4. To add another example, Kaukonen (2023a) expanded her previous research to include two more compound types containing the lexical-gender nouns *tädi* (lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’) and *onu* (lit. ‘uncle’, ‘man’) in the final position. These types of compounds are more commonly used when talking to children or referring to people in informal contexts. Kaukonen noticed that feminine terms tend to be associated more with customer service, healthcare, and childcare, while masculine compounds describe activities related to law enforcement, construction, and business.

Gender-Emphasised Forms

Similarly to other languages, previous research on Estonian has brought to light the tendency to make femaleness explicit more frequently than maleness. On the derivational level, in Estonian too, only feminine suffixes are present, as discussed in more detail in Section 1.5.4. No corresponding masculine suffixes exist. For instance, the noun *kasvataja* ('educator') is a gender-neutral person noun that refers to both females and males. However, a suffix *-nna* can be appended to the noun, specifying that the educator is female: *kasvataja* ('educator') → *kasvataja/nna* ('female educator'). Another suffix sometimes added to a noun to mark femaleness is *-tar* – for example, *laulja* ('singer') → *laulja/tar* ('female singer').

In alignment with observations by Romaine (2001), Estonian studies focusing on first-part-gendered compounds, where the gender is emphasised (e.g. *naiskirjanik* ('female writer'), *meeskirjanik* ('male writer')), also indicate a higher prevalence of feminine nouns. For example, Puna (2006), who examined compounds formed with lexical-gender nouns *naine* ('woman') and *mees* ('man'), discovered approximately twice as many feminine compounds compared to masculine compounds. Likewise, Kaukonen (2022), who analysed similar compounds in Estonian sports news, found that 60% of the nouns were feminine.

Socially Gender-Biased Nouns

There is little research available on the social gender bias of Estonian nouns with human reference. Only one empirical study on this matter has been conducted by Kaukonen et al. (2025), which was described in more detail in the section on Gendered Generics. Their survey on the suitability of a person (woman, man, or does not matter) for different job positions revealed a stronger tendency to perceive the role as open to both women and men when gender-neutral terms were used, compared to when gender-specific compounds were applied. However, biases stemming from stereotypical information persisted in perceptions of gender-neutral compounds. For example, professions that are predominantly held by one gender in reality were also largely perceived that way. Occupations such as nail technician and kindergarten teacher were mainly regarded as suitable for females, whereas the role of a soldier was seen as more suitable for men. Nevertheless, further empirical research is needed to gain a better understanding of potential social bias in Estonian terms for humans.

1.6 Research Gap and Objectives of the Present Study

A great deal of previous research into language and gender has focused on grammatical and natural gender languages (e.g. Bußmann & Hellinger 2003 on German; Doleschal & Schmid 2001 on Russian; Nissen 2002 on Spanish; Romaine 2001 on English). Fewer studies have investigated gender in genderless languages (e.g. Braun 2001 on Turkish; Engelberg 2002 on Finnish; Vasvári 2015 on Hungarian). The research into Estonian is relatively scarce.

In Estonian, some studies have examined the contextual representation of women and men, such as their depiction in dictionary entries or their collocations in the Estonian Reference Corpus (Hasselblatt 1998; Piits 2015; Raadik 2016). Puna (2006) zoomed in on the gendered vocabulary; however, she concentrated predominantly on lexical-gender nouns and feminine derivatives. Piits (2004), Puna (2006), and, more recently, Kaukonen (2021, 2022) also examined gendered compound nouns but focused primarily on those created with the lexical-gender nouns *naine* ('woman') and *mees* ('man'), which are the most common lexical-gender nouns forming compounds. While Kaukonen (2023) also paid attention to the thematic fields expressed by the compounds with the lexical-gender nouns *tädi* (lit. 'aunt', 'woman') and *onu* (lit. 'uncle', 'man') in the final position, in Estonian, there are dozens of other lexical-gender nouns that can form compounds that have not yet been researched. Moreover, previous research has not yet sought to examine gendered generics, lexical gaps, unequal word pairs, and gender-emphasised compounds in a systematic or comprehensive manner. Such an approach is valuable for mapping gender expression in Estonian and for gaining a clearer insight into how individual nouns contribute to it. Of particular importance is the need to zoom in on the possible masculine generics and to catalogue them, as previous research has shown that they may exhibit a male bias (e.g. Brauer & Landry 2008; Braun et al. 2005; Brohmer et al. 2024; Engelberg 2002; Gygax et al. 2008; Hamilton 1988; Kaukonen et al. 2025; Martyna 1983; Redl et al. 2021; Silveira 1980; Stahlberg & Sczesny 2001).

As for the data collection, with the exception of Kaukonen (2023), who used the 2021 subcorpus of the Estonian National Corpus, which includes a large variety of different text genres, the data in other studies have primarily been gathered from dictionaries and journalistic texts (e.g. Hasselblatt 1998; Kaukonen 2021; Olt 2003; Puna 2006). These sources may offer a somewhat limited view of gendered compounds or reflect a more formal

and controlled use of vocabulary, as opposed to more spontaneous, everyday usage that can be found in other types of Estonian-language material, such as web-based corpora.

The aim of this research is to identify a wide variety of gendered compound nouns present in Estonian across diverse text genres, including specialist journals, newspapers, blogs, and social media, thereby capturing both formal and informal language use. This study seeks to provide an overview of gender expression in Estonian through the analysis of both first- and last-part-gendered compounds. The goal is to catalog and analyse not only the most common compounds formed from lexical-gender nouns like *naine* ('woman') and *mees* ('man'), but also those using their numerous younger and older, colloquial and neutral synonyms, such as *tädi* (lit. 'aunt', 'woman'), *onu* (lit. 'uncle', 'man'), *eit* ('old woman', 'hag'), *taat* ('old man'), *beib* ('girl', 'babe'), *kutt* ('guy', 'dude'), and all others that are found in compound constructions. Given the stylistic variation of these lexical-gender nouns and the productivity of compounding in Estonian, this study aims to compile an extensive set of vocabulary referring to women and men across a broad range of thematic fields and to provide a fine-grained yet comprehensive account of gendered compound nouns as they occur in diverse language contexts.

While exploring the concepts and meanings conveyed by gendered compounds across wider thematic domains, this thesis also aims to zoom in on the individual word level to provide a systematic and comprehensive overview of the lexical asymmetries identified, thereby complementing previous research findings. Focus is placed on four interrelated aspects that may emerge through a detailed examination of the vocabulary:

- Gendered generics
- Lexical gaps
- Unequal word pairs
- Gender-emphasised compounds

It is important to note, however, that given the extensive size of the dataset, this research does not aim to capture *every* single lexical asymmetry encountered during the analysis, but rather to list the most relevant ones, if found. The primary focus remains on the broader thematic categories described by gendered compounds.

The central question of this doctoral thesis is the following:

Which gendered compound nouns can be found in Estonian, and which concepts do they convey?

The four aspects that underpin this study can be encapsulated in one question that specifies the central research inquiry:

Do feminine and masculine compound nouns describe the same concepts with the same frequency, while feminine compound nouns refer to females and masculine compound nouns to males?

More broadly, while addressing these two complementary questions through the analysis of compounds – products of a widely used technique in Estonian that allows for countless word combinations with different connotations – this study aims to enhance the understanding of gender expression in the grammatically and pronominally gender-neutral Estonian language.

1.7 Framework and Method

The research questions are explored through the lens of feminist linguistics and the application of CDA, drawing on the theoretical frameworks developed by Fairclough (1989) and Mills (1995). Since the work zooms in on individual gendered compound nouns, the analysis is anchored in their first dimension and level, observing compounds as word choices that reveal underlying ideologies. Due to the omission of broader discursive and phrasal contexts in which these compounds appear, it is not feasible to apply Fairclough's (1989) second dimension or Mills' (1995) second level of analysis. Consequently, Mills' third level, which involves examining wider discourse patterns, is also unattainable. Despite bypassing Fairclough's second dimension, the study still engages with his third dimension, as it simultaneously seeks to comprehend and shed light on the ideologies the gendered vocabulary reveals.

Corpus linguistic techniques were employed to collect gendered compounds. This method was chosen for its ability to provide access to large volumes of text across a diverse array of

genres, allowing for the observation of gender expression not only in dictionaries and journalistic texts but also in various other text types. According to McEnery and Wilson (2001: 1), the corpus linguistic method permits the examination of language as it naturally occurs and obtains examples from “real-life” language use. Conrad (2002: 78) further states that “corpus linguistics is thus particularly helpful in providing ‘big picture’ perspectives on discourse-determining patterns of language behaviour across many texts, identifying typical and unusual choices by users, and describing the interactions among multiple variables.” Moreover, corpus linguistic techniques have proved to be an efficient method for identifying ways in which language reflects social attitudes and ideologies (see Baker et al. 2008; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon 2010). The corpus linguistic method has been successfully used to analyse gender, and previous research using corpus linguistic techniques has brought to light androcentric attitudes and sexism in language (Baker 2010, 2014; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon 2010; Sigley & Holmes 2002). Thus, the corpus linguistic method was considered suitable for identifying Estonian feminine and masculine compounds that may encode information about power relations.

In corpus linguistics, a distinction is often made between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches (Biber 2015; McEnery et al. 2006; Tognini-Bonelli 2001). The corpus-based approach uses corpora to test, confirm, or illustrate pre-existing theories or hypotheses, whereas corpus-driven research seeks to let the data speak for itself, allowing patterns and categories to emerge inductively. This differentiation has also been argued to be somewhat overstated, as McEnery et al. (2006) note, since in practice the boundary between the two approaches is often blurred. They point out (2006: 10) that a strictly corpus-driven study would presuppose a researcher “has never received any education related to language use and therefore is free from preconceived theory”. While the present study cannot approach language entirely from a blank slate and is grounded in the broader understanding that the world is structured in androcentric ways, its methodological stance nevertheless leans towards the corpus-driven. This is reflected in the decision not to formulate hypotheses in advance, in an attempt to avoid actively “looking” for sexist language and to remain as objective as possible, thereby allowing patterns and categories to emerge from the data.

As a first step, the aim was to collect as many lexical-gender nouns as possible that can function as compound parts. These lexical-gender nouns were primarily identified using the online Sünonüümisõnastik [Dictionary of Synonyms] (Õim 2017), which provides synonyms

used in both written and spoken language, including a selection of older, dialectal, and highly colloquial words or expressions, also contains numerous nouns referring to females and males. The synonym search targeted the nouns *naine* ('woman') and *mees* ('man'), as well as nouns that denote their younger and older counterparts, such as *eit* ('old woman') and *taat* ('old man'), *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy'), and others. Terms that denote kinships, such as *vend* ('brother') and *ema* ('mother'), were excluded from the search because they emphasise relational aspects, thereby reducing the focus on gender itself. An exception is the nouns *tädi* (lit. 'aunt') and *onu* (lit. 'uncle'), which were included among the lexical-gender nouns, as they are commonly used to refer to a woman and a man, respectively.

All gendered compounds were identified from the 260.5 million-word Estonian Web Corpus (etTenTen), specifically the version comprising texts compiled in 2013, which was the most recent version available in 2017, when the gendered compounds were gathered. Also, being smaller in size compared to later versions of the same corpus, it was large enough to capture a wide range of gendered compound nouns, yet still manageable for systematic analysis. The corpus is based on material collected from Estonian websites and contains a wide variety of texts, including specialist journals, newspapers, blogs, forums, social media, academic, and governmental content. Encompassing texts created by internet users, it includes somewhat more spontaneous and less filtered language use and thus opens up possibilities for more unconscious word compounding.

The Sketch Engine corpus tool was used to collect compounds. The base form of lexical-gender nouns was inserted into the simple concordance search using an asterisk, which matches any number of unspecified characters combined with the lexical-gender noun. For identifying compounds with the lexical-gender noun as the last element, the asterisk was positioned at the beginning of the noun, and for finding compounds with the lexical-gender noun as the first element, the asterisk was placed at the end of the lexical-gender noun. The simple concordance search enabled the collection of all gendered compounds in the corpus, regardless of their grammatical number and forms. The data were then exported to Excel files, where the nouns were manually adjusted to the nominative case in singular form, and duplicates were removed.

As mentioned in the section on Gender Expression in Estonian (1.5.4), a compound may consist of more than two elements. For example, the compound noun *majaperenaine* (lit.

‘house family woman’, ‘owner’) consists of the compound head *naine* (‘woman’) and the modifier *pere* (‘family’), resulting in *perenaine* (lit. ‘family woman’, ‘owner’), which, being a common term, has further combined with another modifier *maja* (‘house’). While the combination of the two nouns *maja* and *pere* does not result in a commonly used term (*majapere* (‘house family’)), a compound may be recursively formed from previously existing compounds. For instance, *jalgpallipoiss* (‘football boy’) consists of the compound head *poiss* (‘boy’) and two elements – *jalg* (‘foot’) and *pall* (‘ball’) – which form a compound *jalgpall* (‘football’). Concerning the last-part-gendered compounds, only two noun types were included in the analysis: compounds with two constituents (*pere* + *naine* → *perenaine*) and compounds with three constituents, where the first two form a single compound (*jalg* + *pall* → *jalgpall* + *poiss* → *jalgpallipoiss*). An exception was made for gendered words such as *vanamutt* (‘old woman’, ‘hag’), *vanamees* (‘old man’), *tütarlaps* (‘girl’), and *noormees* (‘young man’, ‘guy’), which were identified during the synonym search for lexical-gender nouns. Although these words are already compounds of two constituents, their strongly lexicalised nature warranted their consideration with an additional front element.

This rule for last-part-gendered compounds was not applied to first-part-gendered compounds. Since lexical-gender nouns frequently occupy the initial position of compound words, limiting the analysis to two-element-compounds only would result in disregarding most first-part-gendered compounds altogether. Therefore, the study includes compounds with two elements (*mees* (‘male’) + *juht* (‘driver’) → *meesjuht* (‘male driver’)), as well as compounds with more than two elements, without restrictions (*mees* (‘male’) + *auto* (‘car’) + *juht* (‘driver’) → *meesautojuht* (‘male car driver’)).

The corpus included various forms of the same nouns, including both orthographic and morphological variations. Firstly, some compounds exhibited spelling errors. For example, *proffesorinaine* (‘professor woman’) incorrectly uses a double *f*, whereas the correct spelling is with a single *f*. Secondly, the compound elements can vary in case. In last-part-gendered compounds, the initial component is mostly a noun in the genitive: *professori* (‘professor’) → *professorihärä* (lit. ‘professor mister, ‘professor’), whereas in copulative compounds, it appears in the nominative case: *professor* → *professorihärä*. When *professorihärä* and *professorihärä* do not show significant differences in meaning, other nouns may exhibit clear distinctions. For instance, *metsamees* with the first part *metsa* (‘forest’) in the genitive

literally translates to ‘forest man’, meaning ‘forester’. Conversely, *metsmees* with the first part *mets* (‘forest’) in the nominative refers to a savage man. Because of those possible differences in meaning, all compound variations were included in the analysis as separate terms.

As the aim of this research is to investigate gendered vocabulary describing women and men, compound words referring to well-known newspapers (e.g. *Postimees* (‘The Postman’)), books (e.g. *Kunksmoor* (‘Old Woman Kunks’)), companies (e.g. *Postipoiss* (‘The Postboy’)), film and literary characters (e.g. *pöialpoiss* (lit. ‘thumb boy’, ‘dwarf’)), personified natural elements (e.g. *lumememm* (lit. ‘snow woman’, ‘snowman’), *tuuletaat* (lit. ‘wind man’, ‘wind’)), and other non-person-specific terms (e.g. *pikkpoiss* (lit. ‘tall boy’, ‘meatloaf’)) were excluded from the analysis. Additionally, most compounds containing nouns referring to animals (e.g. *konnaipoiss* (lit. ‘frog boy’, ‘frog’), *kopraisand* (lit. ‘castor lord’, ‘castor’)) were omitted from the research, as they describe animals, not humans. Exceptions were made for nouns that indicated human beings (e.g. *kalamees* (lit. ‘fish man’, ‘fisherman’), *täkupoiss* (lit. ‘stallion boy’, ‘womaniser’)).

After compiling a list of gendered compounds describing women and men, the frequency of each compound – that is, the number of times each lemma appears in the corpus – was determined. This was done by entering the list of nouns into the wordlist tool in Sketch Engine and conducting a lemma search, which identifies all occurrences of the nouns in their possible forms across the corpus. The same procedure was later repeated with the 1.51 billion-word Estonian Web Corpus, compiled in 2023, to gain insight into potential changes in the usage of gendered vocabulary over ten years.

The quantitative data were then qualitatively analysed. The *International Standard Classification of Occupations* (International Labour Office 2012) served as a reference; however, since the gendered compounds in the corpus encompass a broader spectrum of thematic fields beyond professions, such as identities, qualities, relations, and more, this classification was expanded with additional categories suited to a comprehensive vocabulary description. Techniques provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) were applied, as their thematic analysis focuses on identifying themes that emerge from the data rather than being driven by pre-existing categories, allowing for greater flexibility and researcher reflexivity. Their approach treats thematic analysis as an active process of interpretation, in which researchers

play a key role in identifying, organising, and making sense of patterns of meaning across the dataset. Rather than relying on a fixed coding frame, themes are developed inductively through a recursive process of familiarisation, coding, theme development, and refinement. Thus, through this iterative process of analysing the gendered vocabulary, categories were identified that best represent the data in light of the research questions.

To identify and categorise the compounds, the researcher's linguistic intuition – as a native speaker of Estonian – was relied upon. It should therefore be acknowledged that the results of the analysis are inevitably shaped by a degree of subjectivity, grounded in the individual researcher's life experience and personal worldview. In some cases, interpreting the meaning of the compounds did not pose significant difficulties. For example, it is relatively straightforward that a compound like *tantsuneiu* (lit. 'dance lady') refers to a female dancer and can thus be grouped among compounds describing individuals involved in dancing, while *põllumees* (lit. 'field man') is a commonly used term for a farmer and would therefore be classified among compounds denoting individuals engaged in agricultural activity. That said, the number of difficulties and complexities involved in the classification process should not be underestimated. In fact, this stage proved to be the most challenging part of the research, frequently highlighting the ambiguous nature of compound nouns and leading to the realisation that they can, at times, "refer to everything and nothing".

If necessary, the Estonian language portal of the Institute of the Estonian Language, WordWeb, which compiles lexical information from numerous dictionaries and databases, was used to confirm or clarify the classifications. The definitions provided in WordWeb naturally have their limitations too, and actual corpus contexts may reveal additional insights. "Real-life" language use by spontaneous speakers can carry nuances that are not immediately apparent or reflected in the WordWeb definitions. However, analysing all concordance lines for thousands of gendered compounds would have undoubtedly exceeded the scope of this research. The corpus context – the surrounding text and source – was consulted only for rare compounds coined by individual speakers when heightened uncertainty about their reference arose and they lacked a WordWeb entry. These uncommon compounds typically occurred in only a handful of concordance lines, making them more manageable to analyse. If such a rare compound appeared in a larger number of concordance lines, the analysis of its context was limited to a random sample of 20 examples.

Reliance on the analysis already conducted by the lexicographers whose work underpins the dictionaries and databases drawn together in WordWeb was also placed when identifying gendered generics, which were primarily determined by examining the definitions of gendered compounds. A deeper and more precise clarification of their generic nature would require a separate analysis of corpus sentences and empirical studies. As this falls beyond the scope of the present research, gendered generics are only referred to as possible gendered generics.

The thematic field of numerous compounds extended beyond a single category created for this research. For example, the term *pungitüdruk* ('punk girl') refers to a girl involved in musical activities, placing it in the Musical Activity category identified in the analysis. Additionally, it pertains to aspects of a girl's appearance and behaviour, thereby also fitting into this additional category. In the same way, the noun *paruniproua* (lit. 'baron lady', 'baroness') indicates a woman with a baron title and was therefore grouped among nouns referring to a person's identity. Furthermore, it describes the wife of a baron, placing it also among nouns denoting a specific relationship with other individuals. All nouns whose thematic fields crossed multiple categories outlined in this research were assigned to each of those categories.

Subsequently, the feminine and masculine vocabularies were compared. Both the number and frequency of nouns within each category were analysed to gain deeper insights. To explore how and to what extent gendered compounds in language reflect actual gender distributions across different domains, the results were also compared with the most recent data from Statistics Estonia on the occupational fields of women and men, where available. Where relevant, the vocabulary was further examined in relation to the latest *Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2021* [*Gender Equality Monitoring 2021*], conducted by the Sotsiaalministeerium [Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs] in 2022, which assessed general attitudes towards gender and the division of gender-based responsibilities in everyday life. While Estonian vocabulary may not, and most likely does not, refer exclusively to women and men living and working in Estonia, national statistics on gender dynamics nevertheless provide a sufficiently meaningful basis for relating language to real-life data.

The crooked hinge here is that the real-life data to which the vocabulary was compared were the most recent figures available, while the gendered compounds were drawn from corpus

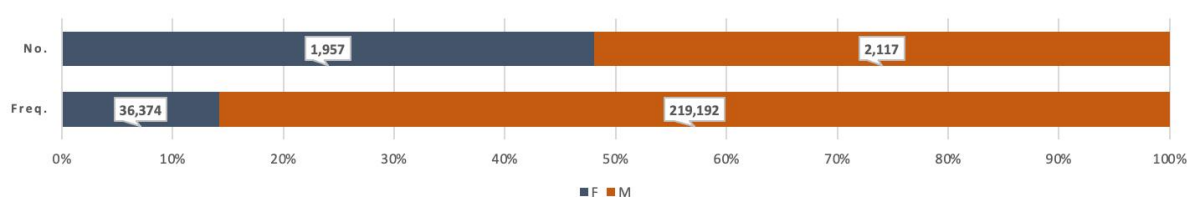
texts compiled in 2013. While this is indeed a slight misalignment, comparing the vocabulary with outdated statistics from 2013 would not have offered a valuable alternative either. This issue was addressed in the final step of the analysis, which involved comparing the gendered vocabulary across different thematic domains in the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus with that in the 2023 Estonian Web Corpus, in order to identify changes over the ten-year period.

During the writing process, the Artificial Intelligence tool ChatGPT was employed to support English language enhancement. All outputs produced by the tool, including language accuracy and stylistic suggestions, were critically reviewed, adapted, and modified by the researcher.

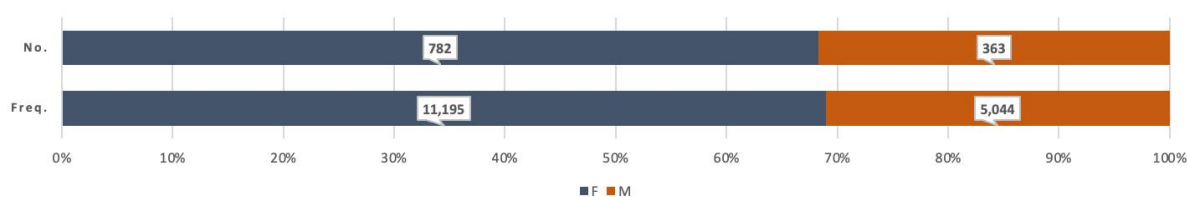
2 Gendered Compound Nouns in Estonian

In the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus, a total of 5,219 gendered compound nouns were found and included in the analysis. Of these, 4,074 are last-part-gendered, with the lexical-gender noun in the final position, and 1,145 are first-part-gendered, with the lexical-gender noun in the initial position. The proportions of feminine (F) and masculine (M) compounds among the last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds are presented in Graphs 1 and 2.

Graph 1. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds



Graph 2. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds



In contrast to earlier observations by Piits (2004), who found that last-part-gendered vocabulary referring to men appears to be overall more numerous, this research – which includes a broader range of compound-forming lexical-gender nouns – reveals a roughly equal number of F and M last-part-gendered compounds: 1,957 F nouns and 2,117 M nouns were detected in the corpus. However, while F nouns occur 36,374 times, M compounds are over 6 times more frequent, with 219,192 occurrences. A distinct pattern emerges with the first-part-gendered compounds. A total of 782 F nouns were identified, which appear 11,195 times in the corpus. By contrast, M nouns are significantly less numerous and less frequently attested, with only 363 different compounds and 5,044 occurrences.

The following sections provide an overview of the components that make up these gendered compound nouns, as well as the thematic fields associated with F and M vocabulary.

2.1 Components of Gendered Compound Nouns

2.1.1 Lexical-Gender nouns

Among last-part-gendered compounds, F lexical-gender nouns exhibit a greater variety. With the help of the Dictionary of Synonyms (Õim 2017), 26 different F lexical-gender nouns were identified in the final position of compounds in the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus, whereas 14 distinct M lexical-gender nouns appeared in the same position. The F and M lexical-gender nouns are listed in Tables 1 and 2. Alongside these nouns, the tables indicate whether each noun is described as colloquial in WordWeb, provide its closest English translation, the number of distinct compounds per lexical-gender noun, and the frequency of these compounds in the corpus.

Table 1. F Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position

F Noun	Register	Translation	No.	Freq.
<i>memm</i>	–	‘old woman’, ‘granny’	43	788
<i>mamma</i>	–	‘old woman’, ‘granny’	25	185
<i>mammi</i>	coll.	‘old woman’, ‘granny’	25	163
<i>moor</i>	coll.	‘old woman’, ‘crone’, ‘hag’	51	1,057
<i>mutt</i>	coll.	‘old woman’, ‘hag’	96	1,249
<i>vanamutt</i>	coll.	‘old woman’, ‘hag’	7	8
<i>eit</i>	coll.	‘old woman’, ‘hag’	30	196
<i>naine</i>	–	‘woman’	379	15,887
<i>tädi</i>	–	lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’, ‘lady’	219	2,196
<i>emand</i>	–	‘madam’, ‘matron’, ‘lady’	50	3,793
<i>proua</i>	–	‘madam’, ‘lady’	140	2,586
<i>preili</i>	–	‘miss’, ‘lady’	73	1,492
<i>daam</i>	–	‘lady’	67	1,015
<i>leedi</i>	–	‘lady’	25	390
<i>neiu</i>	–	‘young lady’, ‘girl’, ‘maid’, ‘maiden’	123	423
<i>neid</i>	–	‘young lady’, ‘girl’, ‘maid’, ‘maiden’	12	95
<i>neidis</i>	–	‘young lady’, ‘girl’, ‘maid’, ‘maiden’	3	3
<i>näitsik</i>	–	‘young lady’, ‘girl’, ‘maid’, ‘maiden’	8	17
<i>piiga</i>	–	‘girl’, ‘lass’	74	315
<i>plika</i>	–	‘girl’, ‘lass’	90	487
<i>tüdruk</i>	–	‘girl’	280	3,745
<i>tütarlaps</i>	–	‘girl’	5	5

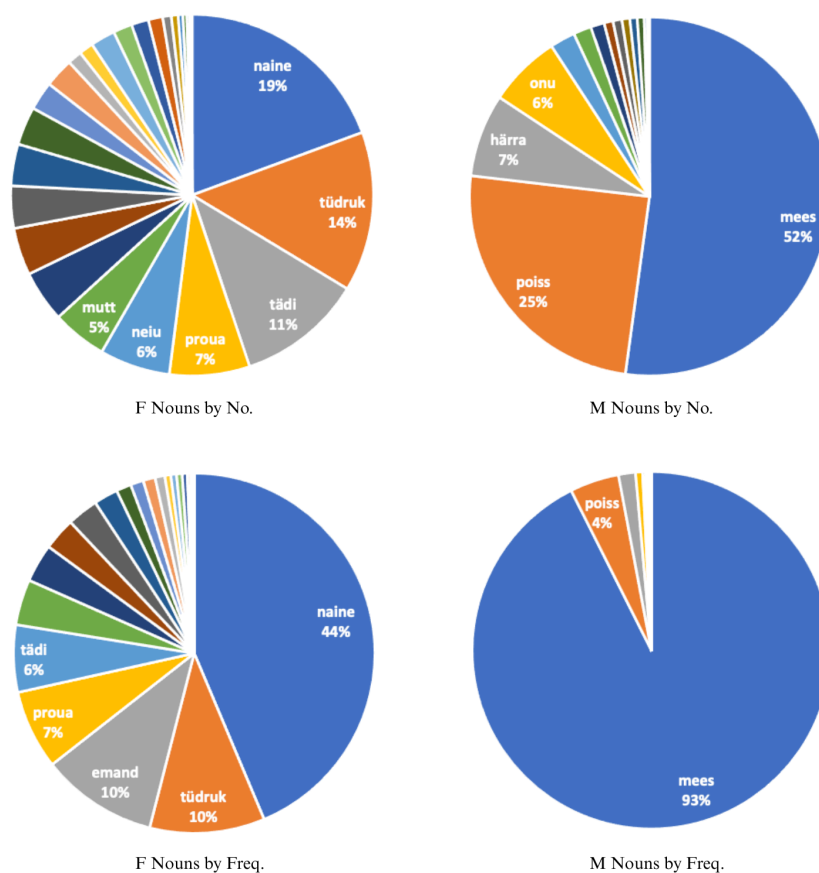
<i>beib</i>	coll.	‘girl’, ‘babe’	33	69
<i>tšikk</i>	coll.	‘girl’, ‘chick’	15	24
<i>tibi</i>	coll.	‘girl’, ‘chick’	83	184
<i>mimm</i>	coll.	‘girl’, ‘chick’	1	2

Table 2. M Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position

M Noun	Register	Translation	No.	Freq.
<i>vanamees</i>	–	‘old man’	13	26
<i>taat</i>	–	‘old man’	15	546
<i>papa</i>	–	‘old man’	17	341
<i>papi</i>	coll.	‘old man’	34	218
<i>mees</i>	–	‘man’, ‘guy’	1,104	203,005
<i>onu</i>	–	lit., ‘uncle’, ‘man’, ‘guy’	138	1,378
<i>onkel</i>	coll.	‘man’, ‘guy’	6	6
<i>härä</i>	–	‘mister’, ‘gentleman’, ‘lord’, ‘man’	158	3,358
<i>isand</i>	–	‘lord’	48	331
<i>noormees</i>	–	‘young man’, ‘guy’	26	39
<i>poiss</i>	–	‘boy’, ‘guy’	523	9,731
<i>nolk</i>	–	‘boy’, ‘guy’	14	20
<i>kutt</i>	coll.	‘guy’, ‘dude’, ‘lad’	17	42
<i>klutt</i>	coll.	‘little boy’	4	151

The accompanying Graph 3 visually depicts the information in the tables, showing the proportions of different lexical-gender nouns in last-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 3. Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position

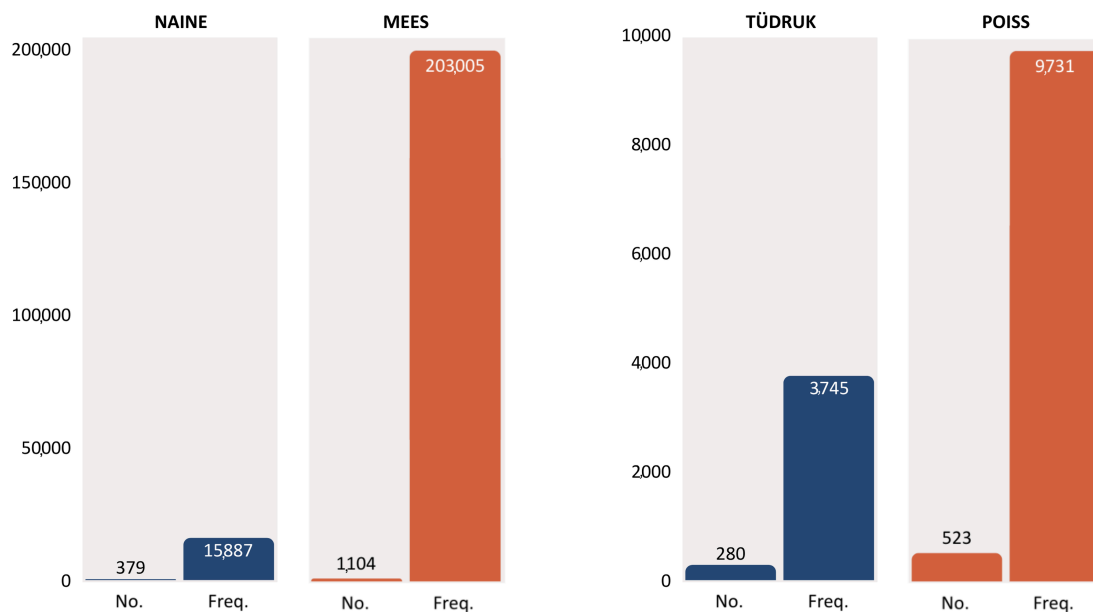


Among the M vocabulary, more than two-thirds of compounds are formed with the lexical-gender noun *mees* ('man') and *poiss* ('boy', 'guy'). In view of the frequency of each word appearing in the corpus, 93% of all occurrences include a compound containing the noun *mees*.

The F counterparts of the lexical-gender nouns *mees* and *poiss* are *naine* ('woman') and *tüdruk* ('girl'), respectively. While a substantial portion of F compounds is indeed formed using these nouns, they constitute approximately one-third of the vocabulary. Notably, other compounds, involving different lexical-gender nouns like *tädi* (lit. 'aunt', 'woman', 'lady'), *proua* ('madam', 'lady') and *neiu* ('young lady', 'maid', 'maiden'), come to the fore, reflecting more stylistic variants in the F vocabulary. In terms of frequency, compounds containing *naine* are more frequent than others in the corpus. However, these compounds make up 44% of all F compound occurrences, meaning that the remaining 56% are formed with alternative lexical-gender nouns.

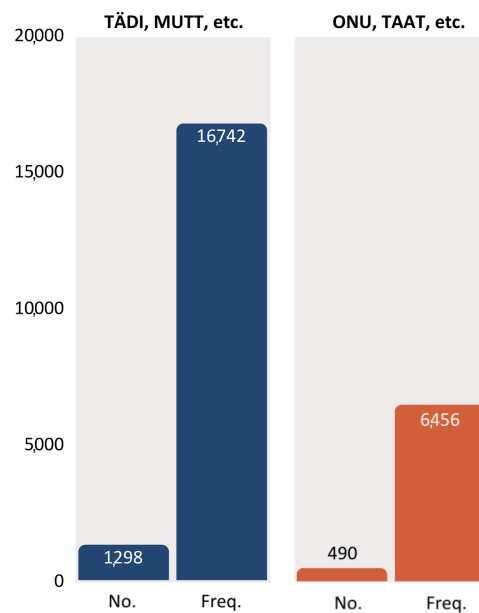
When comparing the compounds formed with the most common F and M lexical-gender nouns – compounds with *naine* (‘woman’) and *mees* (‘man’), and *tüdruk* (‘girl’) and *poiss* (‘boy’) – it is evident that the M compounds significantly surpass their F equivalents in both the number of associated nouns and the frequency of these nouns appearing in the corpus, as shown in Graph 4.

Graph 4. Common Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position



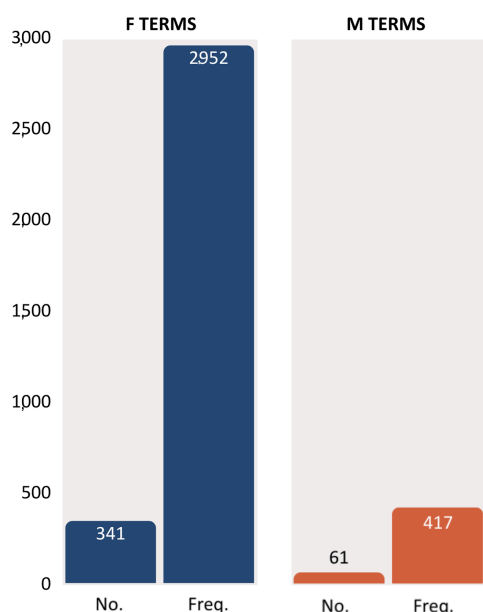
Conversely, when comparing compounds formed with other lexical-gender nouns, such as *tädi* (lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’, ‘lady’), *neiu* (‘young lady’, ‘maid’, ‘maiden’), *mutt* (‘old woman’, ‘hag’), *tibi* (‘girl’, ‘chick’) *onu* (lit. ‘uncle’, ‘man’), *taat* (‘old man’), *härä* (‘mister’, ‘gentleman’, ‘lord’), F compounds outperform the M compounds in the majority of cases, in terms of both number of different words, as well as in frequency these compounds appear in the corpus, as illustrated in Graph 5.

Graph 5. Other Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position

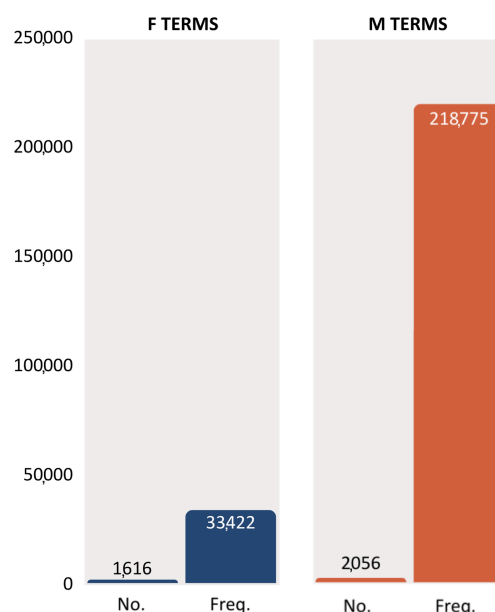


While the lexical-gender nouns *naine* ('woman'), *mees* ('man'), *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy') are unmarked in the Estonian language portal and therefore treated as standard in register, many of the other lexical-gender nouns in final position are labelled as colloquial. The terms that WordWeb describes as colloquial are flagged in Table 1, where the register column indicates colloquialism. Graphs 6 and 7 present the proportions of F and M lexical-gender nouns among colloquial and neutral terms for better comprehension.

Graph 6. Colloquial Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position



Graph 7. Standard Lexical-Gender Nouns in Final Position



As visible in Graph 6, more F compounds are formed with a colloquial lexical-gender noun, and these are also used more frequently. Additionally, some of those nouns hold a somewhat derogatory connotation, such as *eit* ('old woman', 'hag'), *moor* ('old woman', 'crone', 'hag'), *mutt* ('old woman', 'hag'), *plika* ('girl', 'lass'), and *tibi* ('girl', 'chick'). Among the M lexical-gender nouns, none carries a negative connotation. In Graph 7, among the compounds built with a standard lexical-gender noun, the number of F and M words is quite similar. However, M compounds are represented significantly more often in the corpus.

In the first-part-gendered compounds, only a limited range of lexical-gender nouns is used to indicate gender. The most common lexical-gender nouns forming such compounds are *naine* ('woman') (with its compound stem variant *nais-*) and *mees* ('man'). A few compounds with the nouns *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy') were also found in the corpus. The lexical-gender nouns occurring in initial position are listed in Tables 3 and 4, along with the number of individual words they combine with and the frequency of these compounds in the corpus.

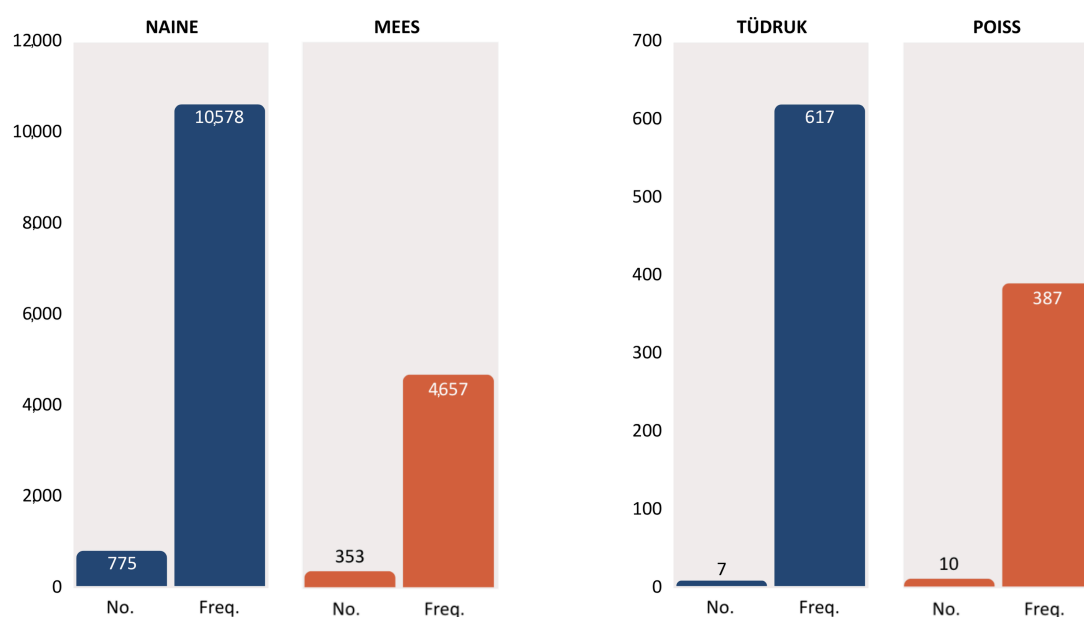
Table 3. F Lexical-Gender Nouns in Initial Position

F Noun	Register	Translation	No.	Freq.
<i>naine</i>	–	‘woman’	775	10,578
<i>tüdruk</i>	–	‘girl’	7	617

Table 4. M Lexical-Gender Nouns in Initial Position

M Noun	Register	Translation	No.	Freq.
<i>mees</i>	–	‘man’	353	4,657
<i>poiss</i>	–	‘boy’	10	387

Graph 8 illustrates the number and frequency of F and M lexical-gender nouns occurring as first parts of compounds.

Graph 8. Lexical-Gender Nouns in Initial Position

Unlike last-part-gendered compounds, first-part-gendered compounds more commonly feature the lexical-gender noun *naine* – twice as often as *mees*. Compounds with *naine* as the first part are also used more than twice as frequently as those with *mees*. The rare compounds with *tüdruk* and *poiss* are similarly few, with only 7 and 10 instances found, respectively. However, terms with the F noun occur somewhat more frequently in the texts than those with the M noun.

2.1.2 Other Compound Components

Over 90% of the last-part-gendered compounds feature a noun as the other constituent – for example, *bänd* ('band') → *bändipoiss* ('band boy'); *korvpall* ('basketball') → *korvpallinaine* ('basketball woman'); *sport* ('sport') → *spordimees* ('sportsman'); *klubi* ('club') → *klubinaine* ('club woman'); *prill* ('glass') → *prillipapa* (lit. 'glass man', 'four-eyed'); *arvuti* ('computer') → *arvutionu* ('computer man'); *postkontor* ('post office') → *postkontoritädi* ('post office lady'); *kool* ('school') → *koolitüdruk* ('school girl'); *kirik* ('church') → *kirikuisand* (lit. 'church lord', 'pastor'). Among the nouns, person nouns are present – for example, *kalur* ('fisher') → *kalurinaine* ('fisher woman'); *ehitaja* ('builder') → *ehitajapoiss* ('builder boy'); *fotograaf* ('photographer') → *fotograafionu* ('photographer man'); *baleriin* ('ballerina') → *baleriinitüdruk* ('ballerina girl'); *valvur* ('guard') → *valvurineiu* ('guard lady'); *nõid* ('witch') → *nõiamoor* (lit. 'witch crone', 'witch'); *naaber* ('neighbour') → *naabrikutt* ('neighbour guy'). Additionally, adjectives were identified as other constituents, some of which can also function as nouns – for example, *must* ('black') → *mustmees* ('black man'); *vana* ('old') → *vanadaam* ('old lady'); *odav* ('cheap') → *odavnaine* ('cheap woman'); *ilus* ('beautiful') → *ilusmees* ('beautiful man'); *mõtlik* ('thoughtful') → *mõtlikmees* ('thoughtful man'). Some last-part-gendered compounds feature numerals as the other constituents – for example, *kolm* ('three') → *kolmemees* (lit. 'three man', 'C student'); *kaks* ('two') → *kahetüdruk* (lit. 'two girl', 'D student'); *miljon* ('million') → *miljonimees* (lit. 'million man', 'millionaire'). Also, other types of constituents were discovered, such as abbreviations – for example, *SOS* ('SOS') → *SOS-tädi* ('SOS woman'); and interjections – for example, *halloo* ('hallo') → *halloomees* ('hallo man'). Some initial compound parts are derivations, such as *õpi-* ('study') → *õpipoiss* ('study boy'), while others can take on different parts of speech depending on the context – for example, *vene* ('Russian', 'of Russia') → *venenaine* ('Russian woman').

In first-part-gendered compounds, which refer to women and men, the other constituent is almost always a person noun: *näitleja* ('actor') → *meesnäitleja* ('male actor'); *režissöör* ('director') → *naisrežissöör* ('female director'); *kirurg* ('surgeon') → *naiskirurg* ('female surgeon'); *vibulaskja* ('archer') → *meesvibulaskja* ('male archer'); *fänn* ('fan') → *meesfänn* ('male fan'); *kangelane* ('hero') → *naiskangelane* ('female hero'). On rare occasions, some nouns cannot be classified as person nouns, yet in combination with the gendered first part,

they still refer to a person – for example, *ollus* (‘creature’) → *naisollus* (‘female creature’). As such, they were included among the gendered compounds.

To sum up, the gendered compounds in this research primarily consist of two or three nouns, one of which – either the first or the last – is a lexical-gender noun. In last-part-gendered compounds, F lexical-gender nouns show greater diversity. While M compounds are more frequently formed of standard terms like *mees* (‘man’) and *poiss* (‘boy’), F compounds, in addition to their counterparts *naine* (‘woman’) and *tüdruk* (‘girl’), frequently feature more colloquial and informal lexical-gender nouns in final position such as *eit* (‘old woman’, ‘hag’), *mutt* (‘old woman’, ‘hag’), and *tädi* (lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’, ‘lady’), which sometimes carry derogatory connotations. In first-part-gendered compounds, F and M terms most commonly have the lexical-gender nouns *naine* and *mees* in initial position, respectively. The thematic fields conveyed by last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

2.2 Thematic Fields of Gendered Compound Nouns

2.2.1 Presentation Structure

The thematic categories vary in the number of associated nouns and their respective frequencies. The following sections introduce these categories, providing a brief description of the nouns along with examples. Estonian compounds are presented with English translations, which are as literal as possible to convey the structure and meaning of the Estonian compounds as accurately as possible. While numerous compounds are uncommon terms in Estonian and also appear unusual in English, many are widely used words. If a more natural or commonly used English term better captures the concept, this is presented alongside the literal translation or later in the text.

While in reality gendered compounds may not exclusively refer to the gender indicated by the lexical-gender noun, the vocabulary is described using simplified wording for a more manageable presentation – treating F compounds as referring to women and M compounds as referring to men. Compounds identified as potential gendered generics, whose referential scope likely extends beyond a single gender, are always indicated separately.

Subsequently, the proportions of F and M compound nouns within each category are presented, followed by an overview of the most frequently used vocabulary in each thematic field. This overview includes a table listing the three most common F and M compounds, each accompanied by its opposite-gender counterpart, if found. To better identify potential asymmetries between the compound pairs and their frequencies, a distinction is made between direct and indirect equivalents. Direct equivalents are F and M compound pairs where the F and M lexical-gender nouns represent F and M versions of a closely related concept, differing in gender while sharing other semantic features such as age or register. In lexical semantics, they can be analysed as complementary antonyms (Cruse 1986; Li 2017). For example, *naine* (‘woman’) is viewed as a direct equivalent of *mees* (‘man’); for a younger generation, *tüdruk* (‘girl’) pairs with *poiss* (‘boy’); and the more playful term *tädi* (lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’) with *onu* (lit. ‘uncle’, ‘man’). Direct equivalents of the F and M lexical-gender nouns are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Direct Equivalents of the F and M Lexical-Gender Nouns

F compound	translation	M compound	translation
<i>memm</i> <i>mamma</i> <i>mammi</i>	‘old woman’	<i>papa</i> <i>papi</i>	‘old man’
<i>eit</i>		<i>taat</i>	
<i>naine</i>	‘woman’	<i>mees</i>	‘man’
<i>tädi</i>	lit. ‘aunt’, ‘woman’	<i>onu</i>	lit. ‘uncle’, ‘man’
<i>emand</i>	‘lady’	<i>isand</i>	‘lord’
<i>proua</i>	‘madam’	<i>härä</i>	‘mister’
<i>preili</i>	‘miss’		
<i>daam</i>	‘lady’		‘gentleman’
<i>neiu</i> <i>neid</i> <i>neidis</i>	‘young lady’	<i>noormees</i>	‘young man’
<i>tüdruk</i>	‘girl’	<i>poiss</i>	‘boy’

Priority is naturally given to direct equivalents. However, when no direct equivalent was found in the corpus, an indirect equivalent – a compound featuring a lexical-gender noun not typically paired with the opposite-gender lexical-gender noun (e.g. *tädi* for *mees*, or *naine* for *poiss*) – is indicated, if present. For a clearer visual presentation in the tables, indirect equivalents are omitted when a direct equivalent is available.

As for the other constituent of the compound, it is typically a noun or adjective (in the nominative or genitive), or another part of speech, used in both the F and M compounds. The table presenting the most frequent vocabulary also provides the literal translation of this compound part. This ensures a more consistent and transparent presentation of the vocabulary, as combining these constituents with lexical-gender nouns can sometimes introduce specific nuances, leading to meaning shifts or asymmetries between F and M vocabulary. Additionally, if these asymmetries result in an opposite-gender counterpart compound that does not fit the concept covered by the category, the compound is shown on a grey background.

If, among the three most common last-part-gendered or first-part-gendered compounds, the compounds share the same other constituent, the less frequent ones are omitted from the table. For example, suppose the two most frequent compounds in the category of Scientific Activity are *teadusemees* (lit. ‘science man’, ‘scientist’) and *teadustaat* (lit. ‘science old man’, ‘scientist’). In this case, only the more frequent of the two is presented to avoid listing close synonyms in the table and offer a broader and more informative overview of the vocabulary.

The presentation of the three most frequent F and M compounds in each category does not, of course, provide a complete picture of the compounds within that category. However, given that the research includes over 5,000 gendered compounds spanning a wide range of thematic fields, limiting the selection to three F and three M compounds, along with their opposite-gender equivalents, appears reasonable and provides sufficient vocabulary to identify potential gendered generics, unequal word pairs, and other asymmetries. Moreover, as the most common compounds occur more frequently in the corpus, they have a significant impact on overall category frequency and play a key role in shaping the category’s gender bias.

In fact, the significant impact of widespread terms on category frequency can sometimes paint a somewhat misleading picture. One or a few very commonly – and often generically – used terms may be the primary reason an entire category skews towards a particular gender. To ensure that less frequent vocabulary is also considered, categories containing compounds with over 1,000 corpus occurrences are also examined without these widespread terms, offering an alternative perspective on the category. Reducing the dominant influence of a few

ubiquitous Estonian terms allows for a clearer view of the frequencies of other vocabulary within the category.

One thing is what the vocabulary reflects and the suggestions it makes, and another is the reality. Therefore, the most recent statistics at the time of writing on the real-life distribution of women and men in similar fields, where available, are also presented to assess how – or whether – the vocabulary reflects the actual societal structure and the role it plays in broader power dynamics.

2.2.2 Field Analysis

Altogether, 51 different thematic fields were distinguished, encompassing both broader domains and narrower subcategories. For a more comprehensive overview, all gendered compounds can be grouped into six major categories, many of which include further subdivisions:

- 1) nouns denoting an individual's position of power;
- 2) nouns denoting an individual's identity (i.e. who the person is);
- 3) nouns denoting an individual's quality (i.e. what the person is like);
- 4) nouns denoting an individual's relationship (i.e. who the person is to someone else);
- 5) nouns denoting an individual's activity (i.e. what the person does);
- 6) nouns denoting an individual's other feature that does not fit into any of the categories above.

The following sections provide a more detailed overview of the gendered vocabulary describing these aspects.

2.2.2.1 Power

The Power category includes vocabulary that indicates a person in a leading position or possessing authority over others (e.g. *direktoriproua* ('director lady'), *majaisand* (lit. 'house lord', 'master'), *naisvalitseja* ('female ruler')). The proportions of F and M

last-part-gendered compounds are presented in Graph 9, along with the most frequent compounds describing a person with power listed in Table 6.

Graph 9. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Power

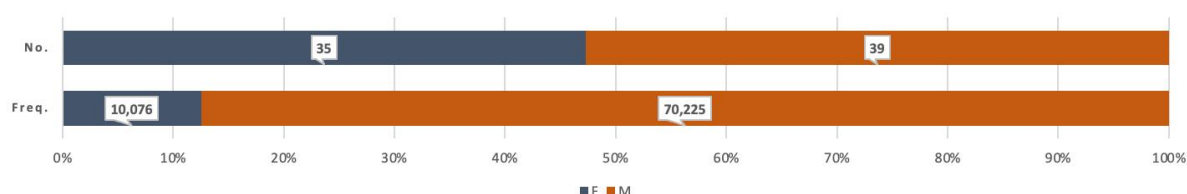


Table 6. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Power

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>perenaine</i>	8,021	<i>peremees</i>	15,607			‘family’
<i>esinaine</i>	1,722	<i>esimees</i>	52,832			‘fore-’
<i>mõisaproua</i>	209	<i>mõisahärä</i>	500			‘manor’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>esimees</i>	52,832	<i>esinaine</i>	1,722			‘fore-’
<i>peremees</i>	15,607	<i>perenaine</i>	8,021			‘family’
<i>mõisahärä</i>	500	<i>mõisaproua</i>	209			‘manor’

While the number of F and M last-part-gendered compounds is roughly equal, the M nouns are close to 7 times more frequently used than the F words. This is also reflected in the most common vocabulary enumerated in Table 6, where all M nouns describing a person with power have significantly more occurrences in the corpus than their F counterparts.

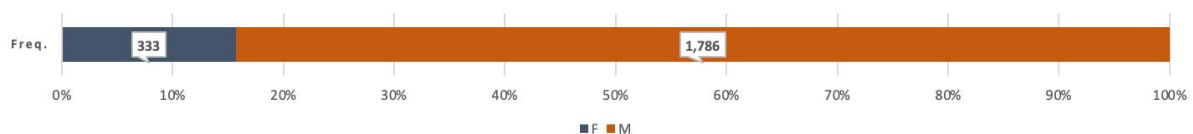
The nouns *esinaine* (‘forewoman’, ‘chairwoman’) and *esimees* (‘foreman’, ‘chairman’) have been analysed in previous research (Kaukonen 2023). As discussed earlier, *esimees* has often been considered a masculine generic word in Estonian. To exemplify, WordWeb describes *esinaine* explicitly as “female leader of a company, institution, or organisation”, while *esimees* is defined the same way but without specifying gender, simply as “leader of a company, institution, or organisation”. However, there has been a shift towards more gender-equal usage, as prompted by the Institute of the Estonian Language (2022). In their latest language use recommendations, they encourage the use of F nouns instead of M terms for female leaders and emphasise the choice of gender-neutral terms, such as *juht* (‘leader’) or *esiisik* (‘foreperson’, ‘chairperson’).

The same asymmetry is observed with the terms *perenaine* and *peremees*, which were briefly discussed in Section 1.5.5.2. These terms, which literally translate to ‘family woman’ and ‘family man’, are used to denote an owner or leader of a company, house, or similar entity. While the WordWeb specifically defines *perenaine* as “a female owner and/or leader”, *peremees* is described without gender specification, simply as “an owner and/or leader”, hinting at possible generic use for both males and females. Also, other asymmetries surface in the use of these F and M terms, as mentioned in Section 1.5.5.2. The additional meanings offered by WordWeb describe *perenaine* as the wife of an owner and as a woman responsible for cooking, cleaning and other domestic duties. In contrast, *peremees* is not described as a husband or as a man accountable for household chores, but as the head of the family, “a sovereign ruler or a decision-maker”.

Similar asymmetries appear between the nouns *mõisaproua* (lit. ‘manor lady’) and *mõisahärria* (lit. ‘manor lord’). While both terms refer to a manor owner, the F noun additionally implies the wife of the manor owner. On the other hand, *mõisahärria* does not suggest a marital role, but simply denotes the head of the manor (WordWeb).

Since the top two most common F and M nouns appear over 1,000 times in the texts and significantly affect the frequency of this category, it is worth examining the proportions of F and M power-related vocabulary occurrences, excluding these nouns. This allows for the observation of less frequent nouns within the category, thereby enhancing the understanding of their contribution to overall frequency. As visible in Graph 10, other M nouns describing a person with power are used more frequently than the F nouns:

Graph 10. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Power (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



While the M nouns surpass their F counterparts in number and frequency among the last-part-gendered compounds, the first-part-gendered compounds present a contrasting picture. Graph 11 shows the proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds in the category of Power. The most common compounds are listed in Table 7.

Graph 11. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Power



Table 7. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Power

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisjuht</i>	308	<i>meesjuht</i>	96			‘leader’
<i>naispresident</i>	74	<i>meespresident</i>	3			‘president’
<i>naisülemus</i>	66	<i>meesülemus</i>	31			‘boss’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesjuht</i>	96	<i>naisjuht</i>	308			‘leader’
<i>meesülemus</i>	31	<i>naisülemus</i>	66			‘boss’
<i>meesdirektor</i>	12	<i>naisdirektor</i>	8			‘director’

In the corpus, over twice as many F first-part-gendered compound nouns refer to a person with power compared to M nouns. Furthermore, the frequency of F nouns exceeds that of M words by more than 5-fold. This pattern is supported by Table 7, where the most common F nouns are significantly more frequently used compared to their M counterparts. The only exception in the table is the noun *meesdirektor* (‘male director’), which has a slightly higher number of occurrences in the corpus than *naisdirektor* (‘female director’). The prevalence of F first-part-gendered compounds referring to an authority suggests that women are generally not perceived as occupying positions of power. Therefore, these instances need to be highlighted.

As for real-life data, according to Statistics Estonia (2024), men held approximately 60% of managerial roles in 2024 – a domain that perhaps most closely lends itself to comparing the power-related vocabulary with reality. Additionally, Hämmal et al. (2022), in the *Gender Equality Monitoring 2021*, surveyed Estonians’ attitudes by asking them to evaluate the leadership abilities of women and men. While 27% of respondents agreed with the statement that men make better leaders, 60% disagreed or somewhat disagreed. Thus, although power and leadership appear to be more strongly associated with men in real life, the fact that 40%

of managerial positions in Estonia are held by women remains significantly higher than what the vocabulary reflects.

2.2.2.2 Identity

The Identity category includes nouns that refer to various aspects of an individual's social and personal identity, such as ethnicity or race, sexual orientation or gender identity, title, rank, or class, religion, and marital status. In other words, the nouns in this category express the idea of “being someone”. Examples include *saksapreili* (‘German lady’), *külapapi* (‘village man’), *beduiinaine* (‘Bedouin woman’), *meeskristlane* (‘male Christian’), along with some more unusual or humorous terms like *naishomo* (‘female homo’), *naissoomlane* (‘female Finn’) or *meeslaps* (‘male child’, ‘man-baby’). In the corpus, various nouns indicate the age of an individual (e.g. *pensionärimammi* (‘pensioner woman’), *naisvanur* (‘female elderly person’)). While age-referring nouns could also be viewed as describing a certain quality of a person, the nouns encountered in the corpus primarily seem to denote a person's age group rather than merely representing a quality, such as being old or young. Because of this, these age-descriptive nouns are also considered a type of identity.

The corpus contains 552 last-part-gendered compounds that describe specific identities, which allows for examination in thematic subcategories in subsequent sections. Only 31 identity-indicating words were detected among first-part-gendered compounds. Given their limited number, the first-part-gendered compounds will be analysed collectively at the end of this section, without subdivision into subcategories.

Gender or Sexual Identity

The category of Gender or Sexual Identity includes nouns that indicate a person's identity based on their sexual orientation and gender perception, such as *pedetädi* (‘fag woman’), *transapoiss* (‘trans boy’), *pepupoiss* (lit. ‘butt boy’, ‘gay’), as well as some more humorous compounds like *lesbimoor* (‘lesbian crone’, ‘lesbian granny’). Graph 12 depicts the number and frequency of the last-part-gendered compounds in this category. Table 8 lists the most frequent nouns with their opposite-gender equivalents if they were found.

Graph 12. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Gender or Sexual Identity

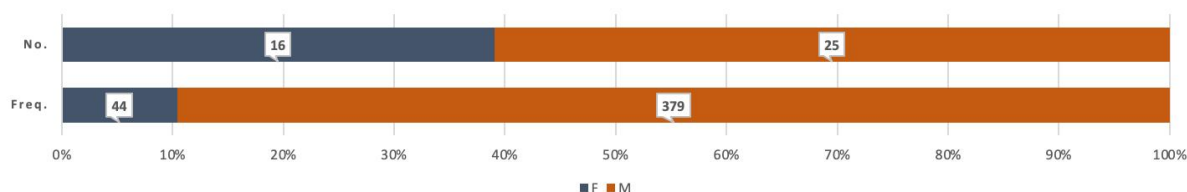


Table 8. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Gender or Sexual Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>heteronaine</i>	14	<i>heteromees</i>	134			‘hetero’
<i>lesbinaine</i>	5					‘lesbian’
<i>bi-naine</i>	5	<i>bi-meess</i>	3			‘bi’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>heteromees</i>	134	<i>heteronaine</i>	14			‘hetero’
<i>geimees</i>	79					‘gay’
<i>transamees</i>	58	<i>transnaine</i>	3			‘trans’

Graph 12 demonstrates that the corpus contains more M nouns referring to gender or sexual identity compared to F compounds. Furthermore, the usage frequency of M nouns is significantly higher than that of F compounds. The most frequent compounds in Table 8 aptly reflect the values of hegemonic masculinity, which imposes heterosexuality on men and, in turn, reinforces the importance of men’s sexual orientation. The most common M nouns have a noticeably greater number of instances in the corpus than their F equivalents, if they exist. For example, *hetero* (‘hetero’) appears significantly more often combined with the M noun than with the F noun – *heteromees* (‘hetero man’) is used in the corpus over 9 times more frequently than *heteronaine* (‘hetero woman’). Another noun describing sexual orientation, *gei* (‘gay’), appears 79 times when combined with *mees* (‘man’), while *geinaine* (‘gay woman’) was not found in the corpus. In fact, even when used independently, the person noun *gei* often refers to men rather than women, as also confirmed by WordWeb.

On the other hand, no M equivalent was detected for the noun *lesbinaine* (‘lesbian woman’). This stands to reason since *lesbi* refers explicitly to a homosexual woman, and a term like *lesbimees* (‘lesbian man’) would be conflicting. However, *lesbinaine*, which appears only 5

times in the corpus, is still used significantly less frequently compared to *geimees*, which occurs over 15 times as often.

Age Identity

The category of Age Identity encompasses nouns that indicate the age group to which an individual belongs (e.g. *penskarmoor* ('pensioner hag'), *puberteetmees* ('puberty man'), *väikepoiss* ('little boy')). The proportions of F and M compounds describing a person's age and the most common nouns are visible in Graph 13 and Table 9.

Graph 13. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Age Identity

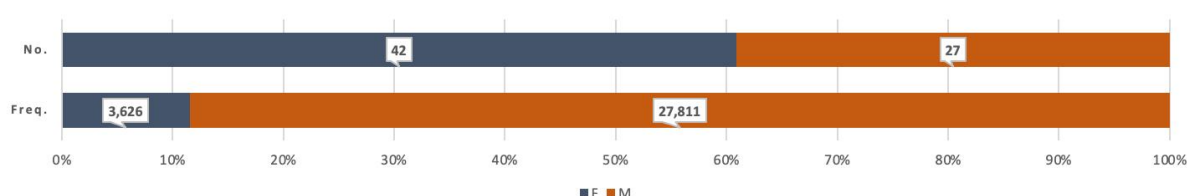


Table 9. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Age Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>vanaproua</i>	1,142	<i>vanahärä</i>	1,086			'old'
<i>pisipiiga</i>	72			<i>pisipoiss</i>	102	'little'
<i>beebitüdruk</i>	16	<i>beebipoiss</i>	25			'baby'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>noormees</i>	21,006	<i>noornaine</i>	3			'young'
<i>vanamees</i>	4,909	<i>vananaine</i>	60			'old'
<i>poisiklutt</i>	146			<i>poisstüdruk</i>	3	'boy'

Many of the nouns in this category are lexicalised compound words and widely used standard terms, such as *vanaproua* ('old lady'), *vanamees* ('old man'), or *noormees* ('young man'). In fact, some of them, such as *noormees* and *vanamees*, also occur in final positions in other compounds in this research (see Tables 1 and 2).

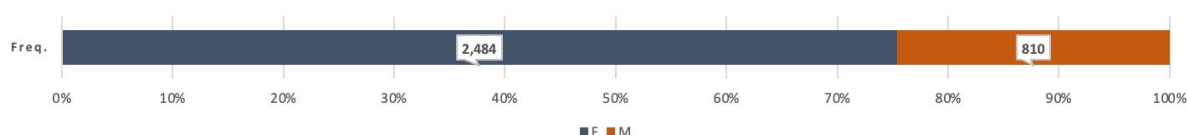
More F nouns refer to a person's age than M nouns, but the M nouns appear significantly more frequently in the corpus. For instance, there is a striking contrast in frequency between the nouns *noormees* and its direct equivalent *noornaine* ('young woman'). While *noormees* is

a lexicalised and commonly used term, *noornaine* is very uncommon. In fact, *noormees* often pairs with the noun *neiu* (‘young lady’) instead, which, as a lexical-gender noun, is separately not included in the analysis. For comparison, *neiu* occurs 12,103 times in the corpus, which is still considerably lower than the 21,006 instances of *noormees*.

Poisiklutt is another lexicalised noun used to describe a young boy, with both copulative components – *poiss* and *klutt* – meaning ‘boy’. As a structural equivalent, the F term *poisstüdruk* (lit. ‘boy girl’) was also found in the corpus with 3 occurrences. However, this combination of an M and an F lexical-gender noun does clearly not refer to a young girl. Instead, it connotes “a boyish girl” and is therefore included in the category of Quality (Section 2.2.2.4).

As some compounds that indicate a person’s age are widespread lexicalised terms and significantly contribute to the overall frequency of the category, it is insightful to observe this category excluding the compounds that appear over 1,000 times in the corpus. Graph 14 provides a snapshot of the proportions of other F and M compounds describing a person’s age.

Graph 14. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Age Identity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Interestingly, among other words that appear less than 1,000 times in the texts, the F compounds describing a person’s age are used more frequently. Therefore, the overall prevalence of M compounds in the category of Age Identity is primarily attributed to a handful of commonly used terms in the Estonian language.

Status Identity

The category of Status Identity encompasses nouns indicating a person’s title, rank, or class, in other words, their social position (e.g. *kuningamees* (‘king man’), *maahärja* (lit. ‘land

lord’, ‘feudal lord’), *aadlineiu* (‘noble lady’)). Graph 15 and Table 10 present the number and frequency of F and M nouns in this category, as well as the most common nouns.

Graph 15. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Status Identity



Table 10. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Status Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>õuedaam</i>	58					‘courtyard’
<i>aadlipreili</i>	40			<i>aadlimees</i>	126	‘noble’
<i>paruniproua</i>	22	<i>parunihärä</i>	45			‘baron’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>vabahärä</i>	185					‘free’
<i>aadlimees</i>	126	<i>aadlinaine</i>	5			‘noble’
<i>maaisand</i>	110					‘land’

The most frequently used nouns in Table 10 all denote individuals of higher status, as do most other compounds in this category. While there is nearly an equal number of F and M nouns describing a person’s title, rank, or class, the usage of M nouns is roughly twice as frequent. Thus, the most common M nouns, *vabahärä* (lit. ‘free lord’, ‘baron’), *aadlimees* (‘nobleman’), and *maaisand* (lit. ‘land lord’, ‘feudal lord’) occur more often in the corpus than their F equivalents. In fact, no F counterparts were found for *vabahärä* and *maaisand*.

The term *parunihärä* (‘baron lord’, ‘baron’) is largely synonymous with *vabahärä* and is also more commonly used than *paruniproua* (‘baron lady’, ‘baroness’). What’s more, *paruniproua* also indicates a baron’s wife, whereas *parunihärä* does not imply marital status. A similar asymmetry unfolds between *aadlipreili* (‘noble lady’) and its indirect M counterpart, *aadlimees*. While the latter is defined as “a privileged man belonging to a higher status”, in WordWeb, *aadlipreili* is described as “single (young) woman of noble origin”, alluding to her marital status.

Among the most common F compounds, no M equivalent was found for *õuedaam* (lit. ‘courtyard lady’, ‘lady-in-waiting’), a noun referring to a noblewoman who historically served at court and provided companionship to higher-ranking ladies. The absence of a corresponding M noun reflects the traditionally female nature of this role.

Marital Identity

The category of Marital Identity contains nouns that indicate whether an individual is married, single, divorced, or widowed (e.g. *leseproua* (‘widow lady’), *abielumees* (‘married man’), *vanapoiss* (lit. ‘old boy’, ‘bachelor’)). Despite only 23 nouns being found, this category is interesting to examine from a gender perspective. The number and frequency of the F and M compounds describing a person’s marital status, and the most common nouns are introduced in Graph 16 and Table 11.

Graph 16. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Marital Identity



Table 11. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Marital Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>abielunaine</i>	527	<i>abielumees</i>	590			‘marriage’
<i>vanatüdruk</i>	507	<i>vanapoiss</i>	455			‘old’
<i>lesknaine</i>	413	<i>leskmees</i>	38			‘widower’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>abielumees</i>	590	<i>abielunaine</i>	527			‘marriage’
<i>poissmees</i>	562	<i>poissnaine</i>	10			‘boy’
<i>vanapoiss</i>	455	<i>vanatüdruk</i>	507			‘old’

While more F compounds describe marital identity, F and M nouns have almost equal frequencies in the corpus. For instance, the nouns *abielunaine* (‘married woman’) and *abielumees* (‘married man’) occur with comparable frequency. This is also true for nouns denoting an unmarried person: *vanatüdruk* (lit. ‘old girl’, ‘spinster’) and *vanapoiss* (lit. ‘old

boy’, ‘bachelor’) occur in similar numbers. However, *lesknaine* (‘widow woman’) appears approximately 10 times more often in the corpus than its M equivalent.

Another noun of particular interest is *poissmees* (lit. ‘boy man’), which is a widely used term for an unmarried man, a bachelor. Structurally, the F equivalent would be *poissnaine* (lit. ‘boy woman’). Nevertheless, *poissnaine* is not employed to indicate an unmarried woman; instead, it refers to a boyish woman and is thus categorised under Quality (Section 2.2.2.3). The closest semantic equivalent for *poissmees* would be *vanatüdruk* – terms that are also used with similar frequency. However, it is important to note that *poissmees*, along with its synonymous term *vanapoiss*, convey a positive connotation. *Vanapoiss*, referring to a single man, is also a friendly address term, and *poissmees* represents a man who has chosen not to marry, prioritising other aspects of life (WordWeb). *Vanatüdruk*, on the other hand, carries a pejorative tone, implying a woman who is single because no one has chosen to marry her. According to WordWeb, *vanatüdruk* may be used mockingly. The example sentence provided by the language portal illustrates this well: *Ilmus lagedale grupp vanatüdrukuid, kes nimetasid end feministideks.* (‘A group of spinsters emerged, calling themselves feminists.’). This sentence clearly conveys irony and a condescending attitude towards the referents, and feminists.

Ethnic or Geographic Identity

The category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity encompasses nouns that refer to a person’s ethnicity, cultural group or a country, city, village or another geographical place an individual is connected to (e.g. *indiaaniplika* (‘Indian lass’), *iisraelimees* (‘Israeli man’), *mustlasmoor* (‘Gipsy hag’, ‘Gipsy woman’)). As some racial designations derive from geographical locations (e.g. *Aasia* (‘Asia’) → *asiaat* (‘Asian’)), nouns describing an individual’s race are also included in this category (e.g. *asiaadipreili* (‘Asian lady’), *mustmees* (‘black man’)). The compound proportions and frequent examples are presented in Graph 17 and Table 12.

Graph 17. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity



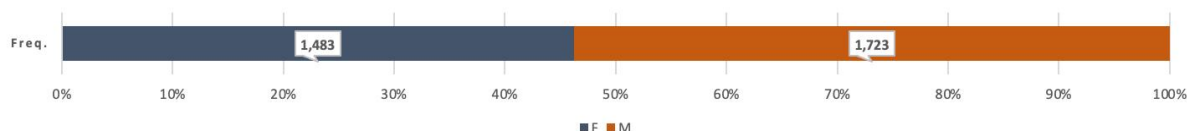
Table 12. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>linnapreili</i>	1,124			<i>linnamees</i>	520	‘city’
<i>külanaine</i>	178	<i>külamees</i>	1,212			‘village’
<i>mustlasnaine</i>	47	<i>mustlamees</i>	13			‘Gipsy’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>külamees</i>	1,212	<i>külanaine</i>	178			‘village’
<i>linnamees</i>	520	<i>linnanaine</i>	38			‘city’
<i>neegriipoiss</i>	62	<i>neegritüdruk</i>	8			‘Negro’

As shown in Graph 17, there are more F words; however, the M nouns are used slightly more frequently. This tendency remains unchanged when leaving out nouns that appear over 1,000 times in the corpus, namely, *linnapreili* (‘city lady’) and *külamees* (‘village man’), as shown in Graph 18.

Graph 18. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



The most common M nouns, such as *külamees*, *linnamees* (‘city man’), and *neegriipoiss* (‘Negro boy’), listed in Table 12, appear noticeably more often in the corpus than their direct F equivalents. However, the most frequent F compound, *linnapreili* – an indirect equivalent of *linnamees* – has twice as many occurrences as its M counterpart. This compound, *linnapreili*, however, does not merely denote a young woman living in a city. According to WordWeb, *linnapreili* designates an unmarried city woman with a refined yet somewhat

haughty demeanour. None of the M nouns denoting a man living in a city carry such connotations, and the most frequent counterpart, *linnamees*, is a neutral term.

Another noteworthy detail is the higher frequency of *mustlasnaine* ('Gipsy woman') compared to *mustlasmeees* ('Gipsy man'). Roma women, often portrayed as mystical, exotic, or even dangerous figures, have traditionally been more involved in public-facing and street-oriented activities than men, making them more visible within everyday social life. This greater cultural visibility, together with the stereotypical imagery associated with Roma women, may partly account for the higher frequency of the F compound.

Religious Identity

The category of Religious Identity comprises nouns that indicate an individual's faith or affiliation with a particular religious group (e.g. *mormoonipoiss* ('Mormon boy'), *islaminaine* ('Islam woman')). Similarly to the category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity, it also encompasses nouns referring to the cultural group to which a person belongs. However, given the differences in the proportions of F and M compounds, it merits separate attention. The gendered compounds in this category are summarised in Graph 19 and Table 13.

Graph 19. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious Identity



Table 13. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>mosleminaire</i>	199	<i>moslemimees</i>	45			'Muslim'
<i>islaminaine</i>	10	<i>islamimees</i>	5			'Islam'
<i>juudimutt</i>	4			<i>juudipoiss</i>	47	'Jew'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>juudipoiss</i>	47	<i>juuditüdruk</i>	3			'Jew'
<i>moslemimees</i>	45	<i>mosleminaire</i>	199			'Muslim'

Among the 32 compounds describing a person’s religion, F compounds surpass M terms in both number and frequency. Interestingly, in the corpus, women are more frequently described as Muslims, while males, specifically boys, are more often described as Jews than females. The prevalence of *mosleminaine* (‘Muslim woman’) over *moslemimees* (‘Muslim man’) and *islaminaine* (‘Islam woman’) over *islamimees* (‘Islam man’) may reflect a particular focus on women due to their distinctive clothing, such as the burka that some Muslim women wear. The higher frequency of the noun *juudipoiss* (‘Jewish boy’) could, of course, also be attributed to distinctive features like the traditional hats worn by some Jewish men. However, the specific reference to a young boy might also suggest additional factors contributing to this noun’s frequency. Further qualitative research would be valuable to clarify the underlying reasons for these patterns.

Name Identity

In the corpus, various last-part-gendered compounds feature a name in the first position. These terms, exemplified by compounds such as *karlpoiss* (‘Karl-boy’), *lauranaine* (‘Laura-woman’), and *hillarpoiss* (‘Hillar-boy’), are also included in the category of Identity. Graph 20 and Table 14 summarise these compounds.

Graph 20. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Name Identity

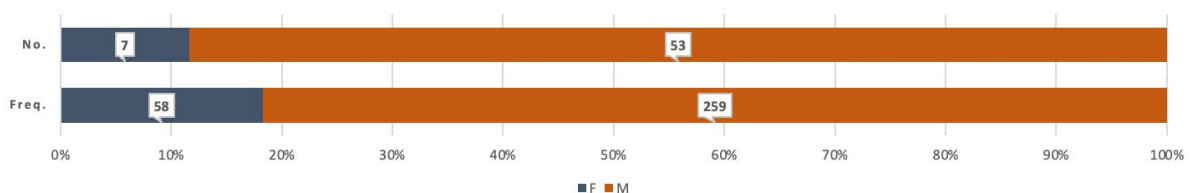


Table 14. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Name Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>katitüdruk</i>	51					‘Kati’
<i>reedutädi</i>	2					‘Reet’
<i>eveliinaproua</i>	1					‘Eveliina’

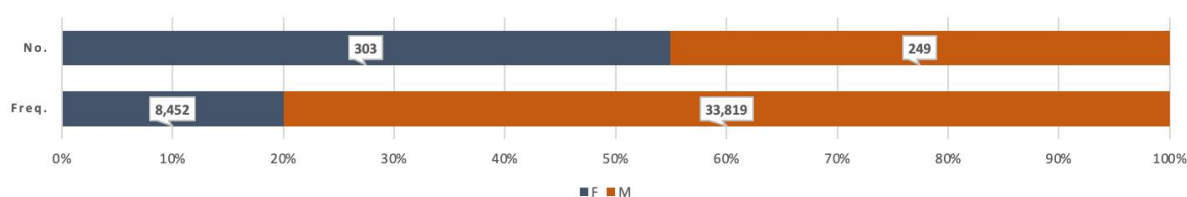
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>peetrionu</i>	97					‘Peeter’
<i>ahtipoiss</i>	67					‘Ahti’
<i>mihkelpoiss</i>	8					‘Mihkel’

More compounds refer to a male by their name and are also used more frequently. The most prevalent F and M compounds, such as *katitüdruk* (‘Kati-girl’), *peetrionu* (‘Peeter-guy’), and *ahtipoiss* (‘Ahti-boy’), do not have opposite-gender equivalents – an expected outcome, as the names are normally specific to one gender. However, it bears mentioning that while both women and men have names, men are mentioned and discussed more frequently in this context.

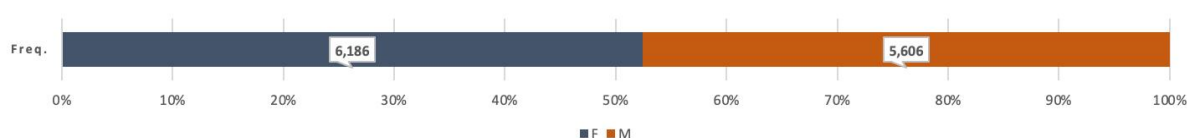
Identity as a Whole in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds

For a comprehensive overview and to facilitate the comparison of last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds, Graph 21 depicts the number and frequency of all the last-part-gendered compounds previously examined in subcategories. Additionally, Graph 22 outlines the frequency of identity-referring vocabulary, excluding nouns that appear more than 1,000 times in the data.

Graph 21. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Identity



Graph 22. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Identity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



The corpus contains more F nouns describing an individual’s identity. While a person’s gender or sexual identity is expressed through a larger number of M compounds, and status

identity is indicated by roughly equal amounts of F and M nouns, other aspects, such as marital status, ethno-geographic identity, religion, and age, are described by more F words.

The frequency of M compounds referring to a person's identity is significantly higher. This imbalance stems from a small set of commonly used M nouns. When excluding compounds that appear more than 1,000 times in the corpus and considering only the less frequent ones, the F nouns have slightly more occurrences than the M nouns, but the difference is relatively minor. This outcome results from contrasting differences within smaller domains. While a person's marital and ethno-geographic identity are described by the F and M compounds with similar frequency, among compounds referring to an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, and status identity, M nouns are used more often. Conversely, in vocabulary describing a person's religion, F terms show noticeably higher frequency in the dataset. M compounds describe age more often than F compounds, primarily due to the presence of a few highly frequent nouns. Yet among other age-related compounds, F terms occur more frequently across the material analysed.

Identity as a Whole in First-Part-Gendered Compounds

A total of 31 first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual's age, marital identity, title, rank, class, sexual orientation, religion, or other aspects of identity were found in the corpus. Graph 23 illustrates the number and frequency of F and M compounds referring to a person's identity, while the most common compounds are listed in Table 15.

Graph 23. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Identity



Table 15. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Identity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisseenior</i>	15	<i>meesseenior</i>	17			‘senior’
<i>naisohvitser</i>	6					‘officer’

<i>naisvaarao</i>	6					‘pharaoh’
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesseenior</i>	17	<i>naisseenior</i>	15			‘senior’
<i>meeshomo</i>	6	<i>naishomo</i>	1			‘homo’
<i>meeshomoseksuaal</i>	5	<i>naishomoseksuaal</i>	1			‘homosexual’

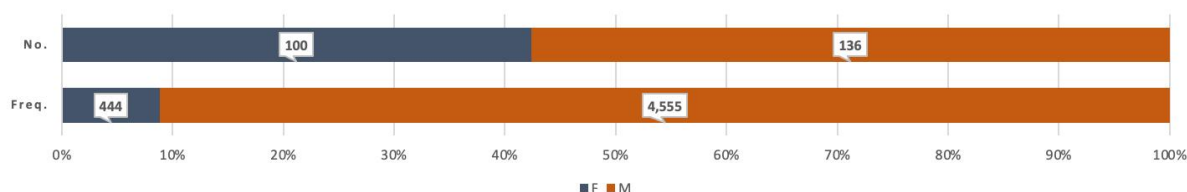
The number and frequency of both F and M compounds are roughly equal in the corpus. No M equivalents were found for the nouns *naisohvitser* (‘female officer’) and *naisvaarao* (‘female pharaoh’), perhaps due to officers and pharaohs being historically male-dominated roles. However, both *naisohvitser* and *naisvaarao* were attested only 6 times in the corpus, thus their frequency is not particularly noteworthy. Overall, the limited variety and occurrence of first-part-gendered compounds describing a person’s identity prevent drawing any significant conclusions.

2.2.2.3 Quality

The category of Quality encompasses nouns that denote a person’s character or behaviour, appearance, strength, intelligence, wealth or poverty, or other qualities that somehow describe or assess an individual and their nature. In other words, the nouns in this category indicate not *who* the person is, as seen in the Identity category, but rather *how* the person is – what the person is like. Examples include *kuribeib* (‘angry babe’), *julgemees* (‘courageous man’), *rätipoiss* (‘kerchief boy’), *imelikmees* (‘weird man’), *naismats* (‘female boor’), *meesjubedik* (‘male fugly’). A total of 502 last-part-gendered compounds were identified in this category, which will be explored in the following subcategories. Only 50 first-part-gendered compounds were detected, which will be analysed together at the end of this section.

Character Quality

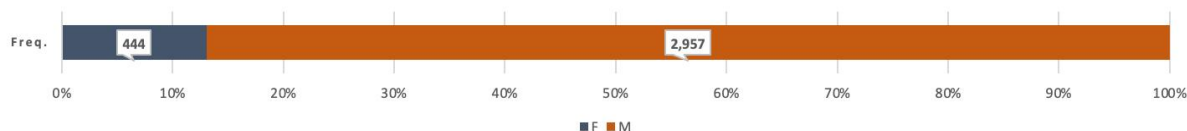
The category of Character Quality includes nouns that indicate an individual’s personality, traits, attitude, or conduct (e.g. *hipitüdruk* (‘hippie girl’), *elumees* (lit. ‘life man’, ‘bon vivant’, ‘life of the party’), *hambamees* (lit. ‘tooth man’, ‘raconteur’), *pahaplika* (‘bad lass’), *kaagutajaleedi* (‘nagging lady’)). In Graph 24, the number of F and M nouns is presented along with their frequencies. In Table 16, the most prevalent F and M compounds are listed.

Graph 24. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Character Quality**Table 16.** The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Character Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>seltskonnadaam</i>	64					‘company’
<i>matsiplika</i>	46			<i>matsipoiss</i>	5	‘boor’
<i>meesnaine</i>	38					‘man’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>härrasmees</i>	1598					‘mister’
<i>naljamees</i>	570			<i>naljatiudruk</i>	1	‘joke’
<i>jutumees</i>	261			<i>jutumoor</i>	8	‘story’

In the corpus, more M nouns describe a person’s character or behaviour. Also, the M nouns appear significantly more frequently in the texts. The most common M compound, *härrasmees* (lit. ‘mister man’), which is a widely used lexicalised term for a polite man with refined manners, a gentleman, lacks a corresponding F counterpart. The absence of such a form may stem from structural constraints: since the initial part derives from the M lexical-gender noun *här*ra (‘mister’), its combination with an F lexical-gender noun would lead to a certain contradiction. *Härrasmees* is also the only compound in this category with more than 1,000 occurrences in the corpus. Examining only the less frequent compounds, however, does not alter the overall noun frequency patterns, as shown in Graph 25.

Graph 25. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Character Quality (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)

Compounds formed from an M and F lexical-gender noun are, however, not impossible. For instance, the term *meesnaine* (lit. ‘man woman’), which refers to a woman with manly behaviour, is one of the most frequently used F nouns in this category. No structural

equivalent was found for *meesnaine*, which is understandable, as compounds like *meesmees* ('man man') would likely be seen as tautological or unnecessary repetition.

Other frequent M compounds include *naljamees* ('joke man'), a common term conveying a positive portrayal of a man with a great sense of humour, a joker, and *jutumees* ('story man'), which describes a man with good communication skills, a raconteur. In fact, whether these terms only refer to men is questionable. WordWeb defines both terms as "a human" with their corresponding skills, suggesting a possible generic use of these nouns. Concerning the F counterparts, direct equivalents, *naljanaine* ('joke woman') and *jutunaine* ('story woman'), do not exist in the corpus. Instead, *naljatüdruk* ('joke girl') and *jutumoor* ('story hag') were found as the closest counterparts to those M compounds. Interestingly, while *jutumees* carries a positive connotation, *jutumoor* is clearly negative, suggesting an unreliable woman who talks too much – a chatterbox or gossipmonger (WordWeb).

On the other hand, no M equivalent was found for the most frequent F compound noun *seltskonnadaam* (lit. 'company lady'), a common term used to describe a well-mannered, sociable woman, comparable in connotation to the M noun *härrasmees*. Likewise, *matsiplika* ('boor lass', 'boor girl') is more frequently used than its M equivalent. The lexical-gender noun *plika* ('lass'), which appears to carry a slightly dismissive connotation in Estonian, imparts a derogatory tone to the person noun *mats* ('boor'), suggesting a particular dislike towards a girl with poor manners.

Physical Strength Quality

The category of Physical Strength Quality encompasses nouns that refer to an individual having physical force or strength (e.g. *hiidnaine* ('giant woman', 'Amazon'), *musklimees* ('muscleman'), *kangemees* ('strongman')). Only 28 compounds were found in this category. However, given that some nouns are used very frequently, it remains a meaningful category to examine from a gender perspective. In Graph 26, the number of F and M compounds is shown alongside their occurrences in the corpus. Table 17 lists the most commonly used vocabulary.

Graph 26. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Physical Strength Quality

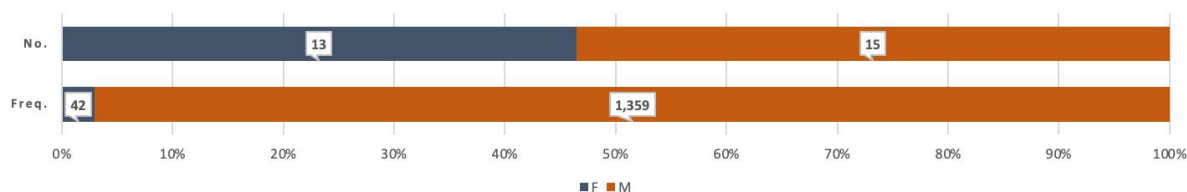


Table 17. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Physical Strength Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>hiidnaine</i>	10	<i>hiidmees</i>	1			‘giant’
<i>rammunaine</i>	5	<i>rammumees</i>	480			‘force’
<i>jõunaine</i>	5	<i>jõumees</i>	252			‘force’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>rammumees</i>	480	<i>rammunaine</i>	5			‘force’
<i>jõumees</i>	252	<i>jõunaine</i>	5			‘force’
<i>raudmees</i>	227			<i>raudleedi</i>	5	‘iron’

While the number of nouns describing a strong woman and a strong man is nearly equal, the M compounds are used approximately 30 times more frequently than the F compounds. Also, all the frequent M nouns – *rammumees* (‘strongman’), *jõumees* (‘strongman’), and *raudmees* (‘ironman’) – exhibit a noticeably higher frequency of usage than their F counterparts. The only F compound that has more occurrences in the corpus is *hiidnaine* (‘giant woman’, ‘Amazon’). The low frequency of *hiidmees* (‘giant man’) is remarkable. One possible explanation is that the person noun *hiid* (‘giant’) is often used for folkloric Estonian heroes, most of whom are men. Since *hiid* already commonly denotes male giants, *hiidmees* may not have gained widespread usage.

Intellectual Quality

The category of Intellectual Quality includes nouns that refer to an individual who is intelligent, clever, or engaged in thinking (e.g. *mõtlejane* (‘thinker woman’), *ideemees* (‘idea man’), *tarkpoiss* (‘smart boy’)). This category, too, includes very few nouns. However, since some of them are relatively common and this subject is generally interesting to observe from a gender perspective, this category has been incorporated into the research. Graph 27

presents the number and frequency of the last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 18 provides a list of the most frequently used words in this category.

Graph 27. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Intellectual Quality

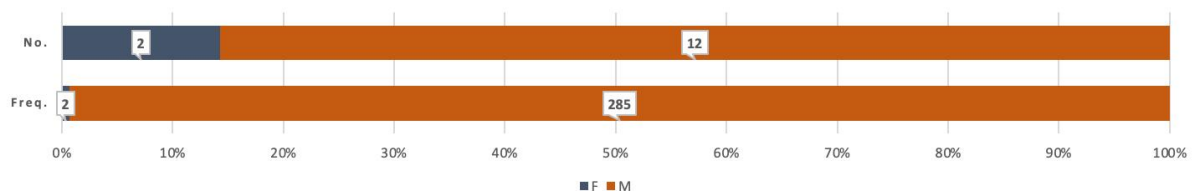


Table 18. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Intellectual Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>mõtleanaine</i>	1					‘thinker’
<i>nutitibi</i>	1					‘head’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>arvajamees</i>	133					‘opinion giver’
<i>nupumees</i>	114					‘head’
<i>ajumees</i>	8					‘brain’

As visible in the graph and table, only 2 F nouns – *mõtleanaine* (‘thinker woman’) and *nutitibi* (‘smart chick’) – were found in this category, and both of these nouns appear solely once in the corpus. The 12 M compounds outnumber the F nouns and occur significantly more often, especially the 2 most frequent ones, *arvajamees* (‘opinion man’) and *nupumees* (‘clever man’, ‘brainiac’), which each appear over 100 times in the data. The third most frequent compound, *ajumees* (‘brain man’, ‘brainiac’), occurs only 8 times in the corpus, yet no F equivalent was attested for it, just as for *arvajamees* and *nupumees*. In fact, the word *nupumees* is recognised as a common term and is included in WordWeb, where it is defined as “a person” who is clever, not specifically “a man”, despite the M lexical-gender noun in final position. Thus, *nupumees* may serve as another example of a masculine generic noun in Estonian.

Economic Quality

The category of Economic Quality encompasses compounds that indicate whether a person is rich or poor (e.g. *dollarimees* ('dollar man'), *rikkuriproua* ('rich lady'), *vaesemees* ('poor man')). Graph 28 and Table 19 summarise the gendered compounds in this category.

Graph 28. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Economic Quality

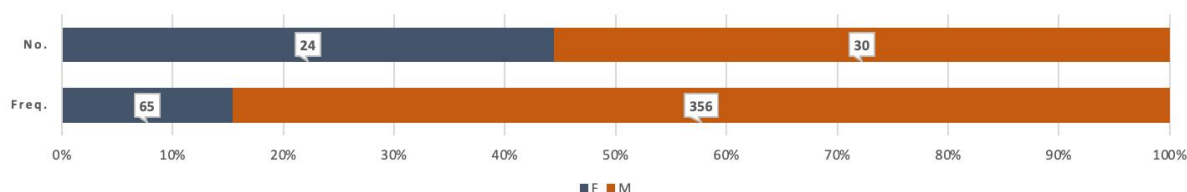


Table 19. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Economic Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>miljonäriproua</i>	15	<i>miljonärihärä</i>	2			'millionaire'
<i>kerjusnaine</i>	13			<i>kerjuspoiss</i>	4	'beggar'
<i>rikkurmamma</i>	2			<i>rikkurmees</i>	1	'rich person'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>rahamees</i>	222			<i>rahapreili</i>	1	'money'
<i>vaesemees</i>	31			<i>vaenenaine</i>	1	'poor'
<i>rikasmees</i>	5					'rich'

The number of F and M nouns describing a person's wealth or poverty is nearly equal. Although some F compounds, such as *miljonäriproua* ('millionaire lady') and *kerjusnaine* ('beggar woman'), occur more frequently in the corpus, M compounds are, overall, 5 times more common. For instance, the term *rahamees* ('money man') appears over 200 times in the texts and is defined as "a rich person" in WordWeb, allowing for a possible masculine generic interpretation. In contrast, the only F equivalent found for this noun is *rahapreili* ('money lady'), which has no entry in WordWeb and appears only once in the corpus. Also, *vaesemees* ('poor man') is more frequent than its F equivalent. No F counterpart was found for *rikasmees* ('rich man').

Appearance Quality

The category of Appearance Quality includes nouns that describe the physical look of a person or an assessment of physical attributes (e.g. *punapeaeit* (‘redhead hag’), *kontnaine* (lit. ‘bone woman’, ‘skinny woman’), *lipsumees* (‘tie man’), *stiilimees* (‘style man’)). Graph 29 and Table 20 offer an overview of the gendered compounds in this category.

Graph 29. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Appearance Quality



Table 20. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Appearance Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>hipitüdruk</i>	32	<i>hipipoiss</i>	1			‘hippie’
<i>rannapiiga</i>	28			<i>rannamees</i>	66	‘beach’
<i>megabeib</i>	14			<i>megamees</i>	1	‘mega’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>prillipapa</i>	37					‘glass’
<i>iluspoiss</i>	27	<i>ilustüdruk</i>	3			‘beautiful’
<i>kontmees</i>	13	<i>kontaine</i>	1			‘bone’

Contrary to previous research, which has highlighted that women are more often described by appearance (Piits 2015; Puna 2006; Raadik 2016), the number and frequency of F and M compound nouns describing a person’s appearance in the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus are roughly equal. However, considering that M terms are more frequently used across all other subdomains describing a certain quality, the relatively equal frequency of F and M nouns referring to appearance stands out as noteworthy. Compared to other subcategories, this is the only one where there is an increase in the use of F nouns, or a decrease in the use of M nouns.

The most common F noun, *hipitüdruk* (‘hippie girl’), which refers not only to a girl’s appearance but also to her behaviour, exhibits a higher number of instances in the corpus compared to its M equivalent. The same is true for *megabeib* (‘mega babe’). However, while

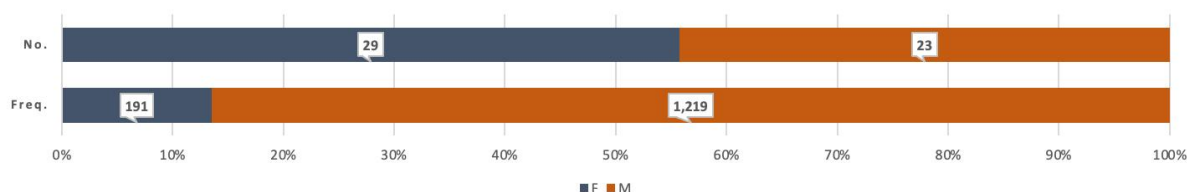
megabeib describes an eye-catching woman paying much attention to her appearance (WordWeb), thereby implying beauty, its indirect M equivalent, *megamees* ('mega man'), carries an entirely different nuance. *Megamees* generally implies a positive assessment of a man in various aspects of life, but not appearance, and is therefore not included in this category.

On the other hand, the noun *rannamees* ('beach man') appears with double the frequency of *rannapiiga* ('beach girl'). It is important to note that while *rannapiiga* is a common term denoting the most beautiful girl at the beach (WordWeb), *rannamees* does not seem to describe a man's appearance but simply refers to a man at a beach. Hence, the noun *rannamees* also does not fall within the category of Appearance Quality.

All three of the most frequent M nouns – *prillipapa* (lit. 'glass man', 'four-eyed'), *iluspoiss* ('beautiful boy'), and *kontmees* (lit. 'bone man', 'skinny man') – are used more frequently than their F equivalents. No F counterpart was found for the noun *prillipapa*. This M term is, in fact, used to denote both men and women. According to WordWeb, *prillipapa* refers to a person – not specifically a man – who wears glasses to improve vision. The example sentence provided by WordWeb after the noun definition is worth noting. It reads: *Olen kõverjalg ja prillipapa ning lootsin vanema mehega abielludes viltuvaatamisest pääseda*. ('I am a bowleg and glass man [four-eyed], and I hoped that by marrying an older man, I would escape being looked at askew.'). While a male reference is possible, it is more likely that the "I" refers to a woman who was hoping to marry an older man. Hence, *prillipapa* is another noun that can be considered a masculine generic.

Other Quality

Among the vocabulary indicating a quality, some compounds describe or assess an individual in ways that do not specifically refer to their appearance, intelligence, strength, character, or other aspects discussed above. Examples include *pimeonu* ('blind man'), *odavnaine* ('cheap woman'), *haigemees* ('sick man'), *parimnaine* ('best woman'). The gendered vocabulary describing other qualities is summarised in Graph 30 and Table 21.

Graph 30. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Quality**Table 21.** The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>ürgnaine</i>	42	<i>ürgmees</i>	103			‘primaeval’
<i>ideaalnaine</i>	40	<i>ideaalmees</i>	51			‘ideal’
<i>lemmiknaine</i>	39	<i>lemmikmees</i>	19			‘favourite’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>suurmees</i>	934	<i>suurnaine</i>	6			‘great’
<i>uuspoiss</i>	135					‘new’
<i>ideaalmees</i>	51	<i>ideaalnaine</i>	40			‘ideal’

While the number of F and M compounds referring to another quality of a person is nearly equal, the M compounds are again used more frequently. This tendency is driven primarily by the noun *suurmees* (‘great man’), which describes an influential man who has achieved significant accomplishments or holds considerable esteem in society. In fact, whether *suurmees* is employed to refer only to men is questionable. For example, WordWeb uses the word “a person” in their definition, not “a man”. The F equivalent, *suurnaine* (‘great woman’), appears a few times in the corpus and is not a common term, nor does it have an entry in WordWeb.

Similarly, the most frequent F compound in the table, *ürgnaine* (‘primaeval woman’, ‘cavewoman’), is in fact a relatively rare term and does not appear in WordWeb. It seems to evoke a woman with instinctive or untamed traits or manners, embodying a sense of primal connection to nature. A corpus example may illustrate this: *Ja mida kõvem kütt on ürgmees, seda vägevamas mammutinahas kenitleb ürgnaine.* (‘And the tougher a hunter the caveman is, the more impressive the mammoth hide in which the cavewoman flaunts herself.’) (Horsemarket n.d.). The M equivalent, *ürgmees* (‘primaeval man’, ‘caveman’), also describes a man with wild manners but also carries the sense of raw physicality and brute strength, as

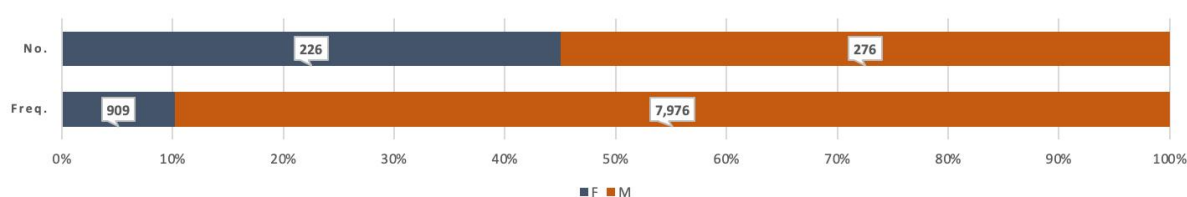
indicated in WordWeb, which is why it is included in the category of Physical Strength Quality.

The noticeable frequency of *uuspoiss* ('new boy') in the corpus is puzzling. It is not a common term, nor is it defined in WordWeb. All 20 randomly selected concordance lines originate from a geocaching website, and the term appears to be the username of a single commentator. On an additional note, this may also apply to other words: some compounds may have arisen from usernames created by commentators on blogs, forums, or other platforms that form part of the corpus. While they may not be common terms in Estonian, they still reflect actual language use. Moreover, blogs and forums – where usernames tend to appear – constitute only one of the different text types in the corpus, so overall, these user-generated compounds are likely marginal within the gendered vocabulary.

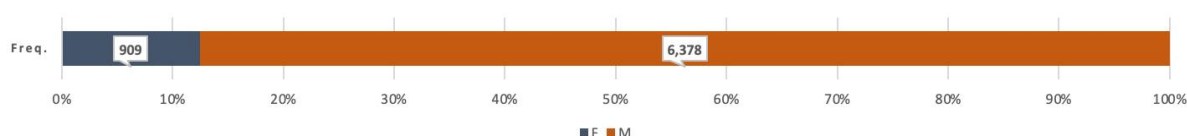
Quality as a Whole in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds

To offer a comprehensive overview and enable comparison of last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds, Graph 31 illustrates the total and frequency of all last-part-gendered compounds categorised under Quality. Graph 32 outlays the frequency of the nouns, excluding *härrasmees* ('gentleman'), which appears more than 1,000 times in the corpus.

Graph 31. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Quality



Graph 32. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Quality (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



The number of F and M compounds describing an individual's quality is nearly equal, both overall and within smaller domains. The only exception is the nouns referring to a person's intellectual quality, where M compounds are more numerous.

The M nouns indicating an individual's quality are used significantly more often. This tendency persists even when considering nouns that appear fewer than 1,000 times in the corpus. The only domain where F compounds are not in the minority is Appearance Quality – both F and M compounds describe a person's appearance with similar frequency. However, other aspects, such as character, intelligence, strength, and economic situation, are more frequently described by M compounds.

Quality as a Whole in First-Part-Gendered Compounds

In the corpus, a total of 50 first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual's character, behaviour, appearance, strength, and other qualities were found. Graph 33 presents the proportions of F and M compounds. In Table 22, the most common nouns are listed.

Graph 33. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Quality



Table 22. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Quality

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisiludus</i>	7	<i>meesiludus</i>	21			'beauty'
<i>naisvägilane</i>	7					'giant'
<i>naisintellektuaal</i>	4					'intellectual'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesiludus</i>	21	<i>naisiludus</i>	7			'beauty'
<i>meesüksik</i>	11					'loner'
<i>meesbeib</i>	2					'babe'

Both the number and frequency of F vocabulary denoting a quality are somewhat higher than those of M nouns. Two of the most frequent F compounds are *naisvāgilane* (‘female giant’), which describes a mythological woman with great physical strength, and *naisintellektuaal* (‘female intellectual’). As they lack M equivalents, only the femaleness of someone powerful or intelligent has been deemed noteworthy. Nevertheless, these F terms remain rare in the corpus.

Although other compounds are used rarely in the corpus, one compound merits attention: the noun *meesiludus* (‘male beauty’) appears 3 times more often in the corpus than *naisiludus* (‘female beauty’). This suggests that since the noun *iludus* (‘beauty’) is already associated with women, female specification is less necessary. Another interesting compound is *meesbeib* (‘male babe’), with no F equivalent. Since the noun *beib* (‘babe’) itself refers to a woman, a compound like *naisbeib* (‘female babe’) might indeed be superfluous. Moreover, *beib* is not a neutral term but indicates a woman who pays excellent attention to her appearance and behaves in a traditionally feminine manner. Since such behaviour is not expected from a man, it must be emphasised. Nevertheless, with only 2 occurrences, this term remains rarely used.

All in all, although the low number of corpus occurrences does not allow for a firm conclusion, this outcome still hints that women are often not expected to be strong or intelligent, while men are not expected to care about their appearance or to be beautiful. This partly aligns with the pattern observed in last-part-gendered compounds, where M terms were more frequently used to describe a strong and intelligent person. While F and M last-part-gendered compounds referring to appearance occur with similar frequency, F compounds still show an increase in usage in this domain compared to others.

2.2.2.4 Relationship

The category of Relationship includes nouns that denote connections to other individuals, expressing the idea of “being someone to somebody”. The category encompasses words that describe familial ties, romantic partnerships, friendships, and other forms of social connections (e.g. *sõbrapoiss* (‘friend boy’), *eksmees* (‘ex-man’, ‘ex-husband’), *liignaine* (lit. ‘extra woman’, ‘concubine’), *naisarmuke* (‘female lover’)). Graph 34 presents the number

and the frequency of the F and M last-part-gendered compound nouns describing a specific relationship. Table 23 displays the most frequently occurring nouns in this category.

Graph 34. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Relationship



Table 23. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Relationship

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>perenaine</i>	8,021	<i>peremees</i>	15,607			‘family’
<i>naabrinaine</i>	1,132	<i>naabrimees</i>	2,213			‘neighbour’
<i>presidendiproua</i>	618	<i>presidendihärä</i>	12			‘president’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>naabrimees</i>	2,213	<i>naabrinaine</i>	1,132			‘neighbour’
<i>peigmees</i>	1,444					‘groom’
<i>õemees</i>	350			<i>õeplika</i>	2	‘sister’

Among the last-part-gendered nouns denoting connections to other individuals, the F compounds are approximately twice as numerous and are used twice as frequently as their M counterparts.

The most frequent F compound *perenaine* (lit. ‘family woman’), which was previously discussed, is a term used to denote an owner or leader, but also the owner’s wife. Since *peremees* (lit. ‘family man’, ‘owner’, ‘leader’) does not carry the additional connotation of being the husband, it is not included in the Relationship category. Similarly, *presidendiproua* (‘president madam’) does not refer to a female president but unequivocally to the wife of the president, first lady, as described in WordWeb. By contrast, *presidendihärä* (‘president mister’) is a term for a male president and is not used to denote the president’s husband. Therefore, *presidendihärä* is not classified within the Relationship category but within the category of Political or Legal Activity.

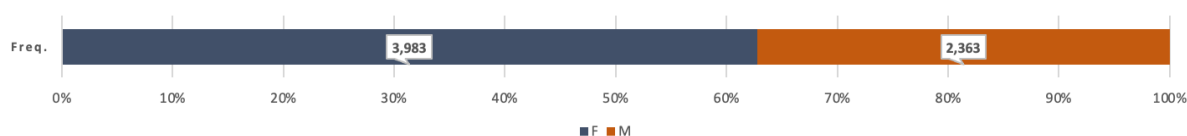
Among the most frequent M compounds, it is notable that *peigmees* (‘groom man’, ‘groom’), the second most common noun, does not have an F counterpart. This absence is due to structural reasons. The equivalent term is *pruut* (‘bride’), which is not a compound with an F lexical-gender noun in the final position, and thus falls outside the scope of this study. As an interesting aside, *pruut* is used 3,400 times in the corpus, which is roughly twice as often as *peigmees*.

Additionally, *ðemees* (‘sister’s man’) appears noticeably more frequently than its indirect F equivalent *ðeplika* (‘sister lass’). This difference is understandable, as *ðemees* is a common term for “brother-in-law”, while *ðeplika* is a rare alternative for *ðde* (‘sister’), carrying a mildly demeaning connotation.

Lastly, it bears mentioning that the M term for “neighbour”, *naabrimees* (‘neighbour man’), appears approximately twice as often in the corpus as *naabrinaine* (‘neighbour woman’). It is interesting that, as one might assume, in reality, neighbours include both women and men, with neither gender significantly outnumbering the other.

Given that the category of Relationship includes some highly frequently used terms, such as *perenaine* and *naabrimees*, among others, it is worthwhile to examine this category excluding these nouns, to observe differences in the proportions of the remaining F and M compounds. Nevertheless, as visible in Graph 35, also less common F last-part-gendered compounds describing connections to other individuals are used more frequently than their M counterparts.

Graph 35. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Relationship (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



The number and frequency of first-part-gendered compounds are presented in Graph 36, followed by the most common nouns in Table 24.

Graph 36. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Relationship



Table 24. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Relationship

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>tüdruksõber</i>	610	<i>poiss-sõber</i>	362			‘friend’
<i>naiskolleeg</i>	146	<i>meeskolleeg</i>	162			‘colleague’
<i>naistuttav</i>	136	<i>meestuttav</i>	107			‘acquaintance’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>poiss-sõber</i>	362	<i>tüdruksõber</i>	610			‘friend’
<i>meeskolleeg</i>	162	<i>naiskolleeg</i>	146			‘colleague’
<i>meestuttav</i>	107	<i>naistuttav</i>	136			‘acquaintance’

In fact, in the domain of relationships, gender explicitation can even be considered meaningful, as in some situations the gender of partners, acquaintances, friends, or other companions may be relevant – for instance, when the relationship carries the potential for romantic involvement. The overall equal proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds may therefore be understandable.

F and M versions of the nouns *sõber* (‘friend’), *kolleeg* (‘colleague’), and *tuttav* (‘acquaintance’) are the most frequent first-part-gendered compounds referring to a relationship. While *naiskolleeg* (‘female colleague’) and *naistuttav* (‘female acquaintance’) appear in the corpus roughly the same number of times as their M counterparts, *tüdruksõber* (‘girlfriend’) is used twice as frequently as *poiss-sõber* (‘boyfriend’). The similar frequencies of the F and M forms of *kolleeg* and *tuttav* seem comprehensible, as people generally have both female and male colleagues and acquaintances. However, the higher frequency of *tüdruksõber* compared to *poiss-sõber* is striking, as one might also expect a similar number of romantically involved women and men in society. Assuming that *tüdruksõber* predominantly refers to a man’s girlfriend in most cases, one possible reason for its higher frequency may simply be that M nouns are generally more frequent in the corpus, increasing the likelihood of associated nouns being referenced as well. In other words, the more often men are

discussed, the greater the likelihood that their partners will also be mentioned. However, a more detailed analysis of the corpus concordance lines is needed to confirm this.

2.2.2.5 Activity

This category comprises compounds that refer to an individual involved in a specific activity or occupation, such as constructing, cooking, singing, playing a musical instrument, driving, doing sports, and many others. In other words, while the Power category includes compounds that express having authority, the Relationship category consists of those that express the idea of being someone to someone, the Quality category comprises those that indicate what the person is like, and the Identity category those that indicate who the person is; the Activity category includes compounds that denote what the person *does*. Examples include *ehitusmees* ('construction man', 'builder'), *kokaonu* ('chef man'), *naiskoorilaulja* ('female choir singer'), *trummitšikk* ('drum chick'), *naisrekkajuht* ('female truck driver'), *kossupoiss* ('hoops boy'), *naisostja* ('female buyer'), and *meespeksja* ('male beater'), along with some more humorous compounds such as *õgardipoiss* ('glutton boy'). In this category, 2,744 last-part-gendered and 960 first-part-gendered compound nouns were found. The following sections will analyse the diverse array of activities these compounds describe.

Construction Activity

The Construction Activity category encompasses nouns that refer to a person involved in building or repair work (e.g. *ehitajaonu* ('builder man'), *küprokimees* ('drywall man'), *seakaatrimees* ('sawmill man'), *naissiseviimistleja* ('female interior decorator')). Graph 37 represents the number and frequency of the F and M last-part-gendered compounds in this category. The most common nouns are listed in Table 25.

Graph 37. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Construction Activity

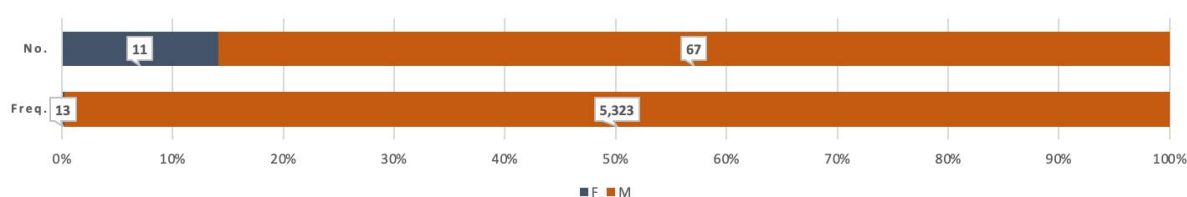


Table 25. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Construction Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>remondinaine</i>	2	<i>remondimees</i>	511			‘repair’
<i>saenaine</i>	2	<i>saemees</i>	223			‘saw’
<i>ehitajaneiu</i>	1			<i>ehitajamees</i>	2	‘builder’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>töömees</i>	3163	<i>töönaine</i>	6			‘work’
<i>ehitusmees</i>	581					‘construction’
<i>remondimees</i>	511	<i>remondinaine</i>	2			‘repair’

Approximately 85% of the last-part-gendered compound nouns that describe a person involved in building are masculine. Moreover, M compounds occur over 400 times more frequently. Only a handful of F compound nouns were found in the corpus, each occurring only once or twice.

Almost all the M compounds listed in the table – *töömees* (‘workman’), *ehitusmees* (‘construction man’, ‘builder’), *remondimees* (‘repairman’), *saemees* (‘saw man’, ‘sawyer’) – are standard terms indicating a man engaged in constructing or repairing something. Some of those nouns might also be used generically to refer not only to men but also to women. For instance, in WordWeb, the terms *ehitusmees*, *saemees*, and *remondimees* are described as referring to a person involved in their respective activities, not specifically a man.

No F equivalent was found for *ehitusmees*. A similar compound, *ehitajaneiu* (‘builder lady’), appears once in the corpus alongside its indirect M equivalent, *ehitajamees* (‘builder man’). The latter is also attested only a few times, possibly because the term *ehitusmees* is more commonly used instead.

The most frequent M compound in the corpus, with over 3,000 occurrences, is *töömees*. While its F counterpart, *töönaine* (‘work woman’), is also present, it is essential to note that it does not seem to refer to a woman active in construction work but to a woman engaged in work in general. For instance, in WordWeb, *töönaine* is defined simply as “a working woman”. For this reason, *töönaine* is not included in this category.

Given that *töömees* significantly contributes to the overall frequency of M compounds in this category, it is worth examining the frequency of other nouns, excluding *töömees*, to shed more light on less common terms. As shown in Graph 38, other M compounds referring to a person involved in construction or repair work are also noticeably more commonly used compared to the F compounds.

Graph 38. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Construction Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Concerning the first-part-gendered compounds, only 11 words were detected in this category. Graph 39 illustrates the proportions of the F and M vocabulary. Six examples of the building-related first-part-gendered compounds are listed in Table 26.

Graph 39. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Construction Activity

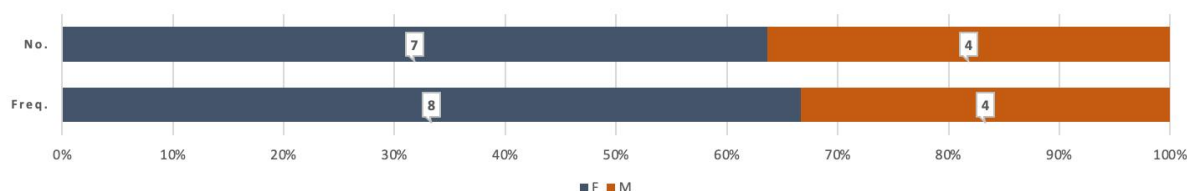


Table 26. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Construction Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naismaaler</i>	2					‘painter’
<i>naiskeevitaja</i>	1					‘welder’
<i>naismüüriladuja</i>	1	<i>meesmüüriladuja</i>	1			‘bricklayer’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesehitaja</i>	1					‘builder’
<i>meesmähkija</i>	1					‘winder’
<i>meesmüüriladuja</i>	1	<i>naismüüriladuja</i>	1			‘bricklayer’

The number and frequency of compounds with the F noun surpass those with the M noun, but the overall total of relevant nouns and occurrences in the corpus is minimal. The compounds

listed in the table – *naismaaler* (‘female house painter’), *naiskeevitaja* (‘female welder’), *naisremontija* (‘female repairer’), *meesehitaja* (‘male builder’), *meesmüüriladuja* (‘male bricklayer’), and *meesmähkija* (‘male coil winder’) – only appear once or twice, and it is far from possible to draw any firm conclusions.

All in all, the vocabulary appears consistent with real-life data available in the field of construction. In the first quarter of 2025, there were over 8,000 male builders compared to only 85 female builders (Statistics Estonia 2025b). According to the *Gender Equality Monitoring 2021* (Hämmal et al. 2022), 81% of men believed they were responsible for home repairs, whereas only 10% of women identified themselves with these tasks.

Transport Activity

The category of Transport Activity encompasses nouns that refer to an individual involved in driving or having a specific connection to vehicles, such as *lendurpoiss* (‘pilot boy’), *laevamees* (‘ship man’), *sõidumees* (‘ride man’), *naisjalgrattur* (‘female cyclist’), and *meestrammijuht* (‘male tram driver’). In Graph 40, the proportions of compounds with F and M lexical-gender nouns are presented. The most frequently occurring last-part-gendered compounds are listed in Table 27.

Graph 40. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Transport Activity

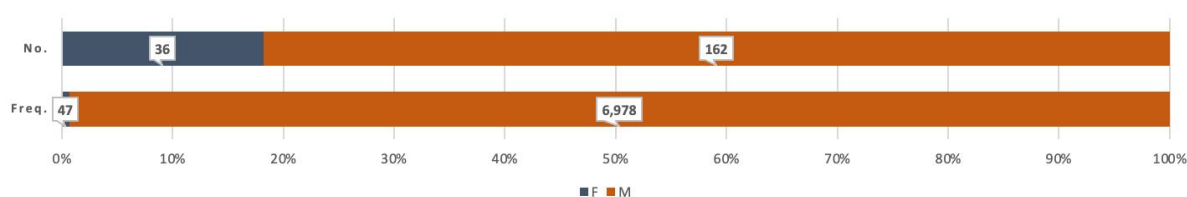


Table 27. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Transport Activity

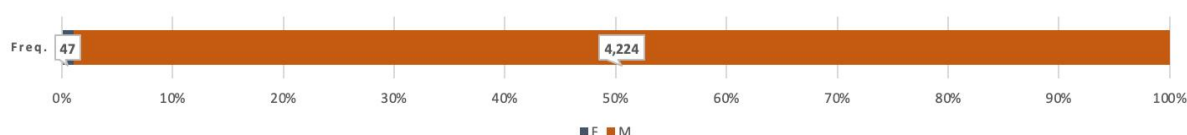
F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>paadipiiga</i>	5			<i>paadimees</i>	467	‘boat’
<i>motonaine</i>	3	<i>motomees</i>	383			‘moto’
<i>tsiklinaine</i>	2	<i>tsiklimees</i>	247			‘motorcycle’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>meremees</i>	2754	<i>merenaine</i>	12			‘sea’

<i>paadimees</i>	467	<i>paadinaine</i>	1		‘boat’
<i>tüürimees</i>	416				‘helm’

Among last-part-gendered compounds describing a person involved in transport, M compounds outnumber F ones and are also used significantly more frequently. All the M compounds listed in the table – *paadimees* (‘boatman’), *motomees* (‘moto man’, ‘biker’), *tsiklimees* (‘motorcycle man’, ‘biker’), *meremees* (‘seaman’), and *tüürimees* (‘helmsman’) – have noticeably higher frequencies in the corpus than their F counterparts, if such exist. The proportions remain consistent even when leaving out the most frequent compounds, which are recorded over 1,000 times in the corpus:

Graph 41. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Transport Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



While the most frequent compound *meremees* is a common term in Estonian, the same cannot be said for *merenaine* (‘sea woman’). It is an unusual noun, as evidenced by its limited occurrence in the corpus. Furthermore, *merenaine* does not appear to refer to a woman working on a ship, a sailor. In light of the few corpus sentences such as *Kas ka need merenaised seal rannal?* (‘Also the sea women on the beach?’) or *Seepärast ilmuvadki merenaised veepinnale vaid öösel või tormise merega.* (‘That is why the sea women appear on the water surface only at night or during a stormy sea.’), it becomes clear that *merenaine* is rather used to describe a woman by the seaside or, poetically, a female figure living in the sea (Poogen n.d.). *Merenaine* is therefore not classified in the category of Transport Activity.

All the most frequent M compounds listed in Table 27 have an entry in WordWeb, while none of the F terms are defined in the Estonian language portal. What’s more, aside from *paadimees*, all other M compounds are defined as “a person” involved in their respective activities, not as “a man”. Hence, a generic use for both genders might be possible.

Regarding first-part-gendered compounds, 57 words describing an individual involved in transport were found. Graph 42 presents the total number of F and M compound nouns alongside their frequencies in the corpus. Table 28 lists the most frequent compounds.

Graph 42. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Transport Activity



Table 28. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Transport Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisautojuht</i>	80	<i>meesautojuht</i>	21			‘car driver’
<i>naisrattur</i>	45	<i>meesrattur</i>	11			‘cyclist’
<i>naissõudja</i>	35	<i>meessõudja</i>	11			‘rower’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesautojuht</i>	21	<i>naisautojuht</i>	80			‘car driver’
<i>meesrattur</i>	11	<i>naisrattur</i>	45			‘cyclist’
<i>meessõudja</i>	11	<i>naissõudja</i>	35			‘rower’

Among the first-part-gendered compounds, F nouns outnumber M nouns by more than 3-fold. Additionally, words that indicate a woman’s involvement in transport are used approximately 6 times more frequently than M nouns. All the F compounds in Table 28 – *naisautojuht* (‘female car driver’), *naisrattur* (‘female cyclist’), and *naissõudja* (‘female rower’) – have more occurrences in the corpus compared to their M counterparts. With female references more often explicitly marked, it hence appears that individuals in transport-related jobs are typically perceived as male.

Statistics Estonia (2025b) offers insights into the demographics of different types of transport drivers, such as ship captains, bus and tram drivers, and car and taxi drivers. In the first quarter of 2025, the number of men working as drivers was approximately 7 to 20 times higher than that of women, depending on the specific occupation. For instance, there were 3,081 male car drivers compared to 168 female drivers, and 417 male ship captains, whereas

the number of female ship captains was fewer than 20. Thus, the corpus vocabulary seems to mirror the actual demographic situation in this field.

Combat Activity

The nouns falling under the category of Combat Activity refer to involvement in armed conflict or other military-related activities (e.g. *armeemees* ('army man'), *kahurimees* ('cannon man'), *sõjanaine* ('war woman'), *naisväejuht* ('female military commander')). The number and frequency proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, along with frequent vocabulary examples, are presented in Graph 43 and Table 29.

Graph 43. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Combat Activity

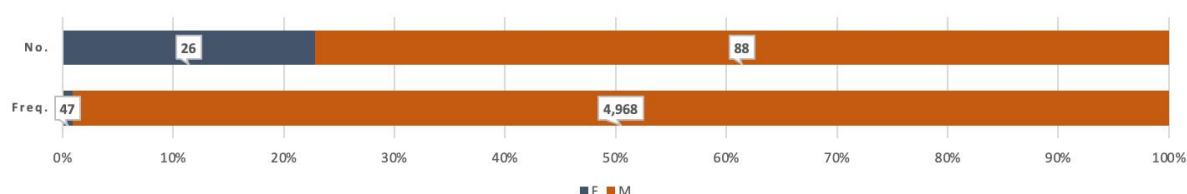


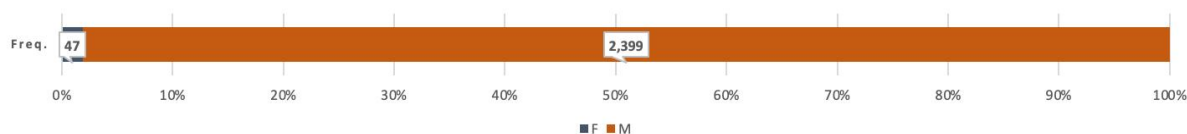
Table 29. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Combat Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>sõdurinaine</i>	7			<i>sõdurpoiss</i>	234	'soldier'
<i>viikinginaine</i>	7	<i>viikingimees</i>	2			'Viking'
<i>vibutüdruk</i>	4	<i>vibupoiss</i>	1			'bow'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>sõjamees</i>	2569	<i>sõjanaine</i>	1			'war'
<i>soomepoiss</i>	570	<i>soometüdruk</i>	1			'Finnish'
<i>reamees</i>	540					'row'

In the category of Combat Activity, a domain typically associated with men, M last-part-gendered compounds describing an individual involved in war-related activities are more numerous and occur approximately 100 times more frequently than their F counterparts. Even when excluding the most prevalent noun *sõjamees* ('war man', 'soldier') to focus on the less frequent compounds, the M vocabulary remains more commonly used:

Graph 44. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Combat Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



In line with the overall pattern, almost all the M last-part-gendered compounds listed in the table – such as *sõjamees*, *sõdurpoiss* (‘soldier boy’), and *reamees* (lit. ‘row man’, ‘private’) – occur significantly more often in the corpus than their F equivalents, which appear only a few times in the texts, if at all. The exceptions are *viikinginaine* (‘Viking woman’) and *vibutüdruk* (‘bow girl’), which have slightly more occurrences than their M counterparts. However, the number of instances of these F and M compounds is scant.

The term *soomepoiss* (lit. ‘Finnish boy’), which appears over 500 times in the corpus, is a common designation for an Estonian soldier who fought in the Winter War in Finland during World War II. As most volunteers in that war were men, the F compound *soometüdruk* (‘Finnish girl’), with only 1 instance in the corpus, does not refer to a female soldier but literally to a girl from Finland. More specifically, the only sentence in which the compound appears refers to a Finnish athlete. As a result, *soometüdruk* is not included in this category.

While none of the F terms have an entry in WordWeb, four M terms – *sõdurpoiss*, *reamees*, *soomepoiss* and *sõjamees* – are included in the Estonian language portal. The first two are described using gender-neutral terms, such as “a soldier”. So, despite being lexically masculine, the male reference is not explicitly specified.

As for first-part-gendered compounds, 37 words referring to a person involved in war-related activities were identified in the corpus. Graph 45 lays out the proportions of these F and M compounds. Table 30 presents the compounds with the highest frequencies in the data.

Graph 45. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Combat Activity



Table 30. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Combat Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naissõdalane</i>	35	<i>meessõdalane</i>	2			‘warrior’
<i>naissõdur</i>	28	<i>meessõdur</i>	6			‘soldier’
<i>naislaskur</i>	21	<i>meeslaskur</i>	11			‘shooter’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meeslaskur</i>	11	<i>naislaskur</i>	21			‘shooter’
<i>meessõdur</i>	6	<i>naissõdur</i>	28			‘soldier’
<i>meessõdalane</i>	2	<i>naissõdalane</i>	35			‘warrior’

Consistent with the pattern observed in last-part-gendered compounds, female references are marked more frequently in nouns denoting an individual engaged in war-related activities. There are more F first-part-gendered compounds in the corpus, which also have more corpus occurrences. All the F terms in the table – *naissõdalane* (‘female warrior’), *naissõdur* (‘female soldier’), and *naislaskur* (‘female shooter’) – appear more frequently in the corpus than their M counterparts.

Research Activity

The category of Research Activity includes a total of only 29 nouns describing a person involved in research or science. However, the frequent use of some gendered compounds makes this an interesting category to observe from a gender perspective. Of course, research or scientific work spans all sectors of life and could also intersect with other activities described by the compounds in this study. Without additional context, however, it is impossible to determine the connection to research or science for nouns unless clearly indicated. Therefore, only nouns that explicitly express an activity such as research, analysis, or related endeavours are included (e.g. *analüütikutädi* (‘analyst woman’), *teadusenaine* (‘science woman’, ‘research woman’), *meesteadlane* (‘male scientist’, ‘male researcher’)).

A summary of last-part-gendered compound proportions is presented in Graph 46. The most frequent last-part-gendered compound nouns are shown in Table 31.

Graph 46. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Research Activity**Table 31.** The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Research Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>teadusenaine</i>	2	<i>teadusemees</i>	823			‘science’
<i>uurijatädi</i>	2			<i>uurijahärä</i>	1	‘investigator’
<i>teadlaseproua</i>	2	<i>teadlasehärä</i>	1			‘scientist’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>teadusemees</i>	823	<i>teadusenaine</i>	2			‘science’
<i>teadlasehärä</i>	1	<i>teadlaseproua</i>	2			‘scientist’
<i>analüütikuhärä</i>	1			<i>analüütikutädi</i>	1	‘analyst’

Within the corpus, a total of 7 F and 10 M last-part-gendered compounds were found. All the F compounds – *teadusenaine* (‘science woman’, ‘research woman’), *uurijatädi* (‘investigator woman’), *teadlaseproua* (‘scientist lady’, ‘researcher lady’), and *analüütikutädi* (‘analyst woman’) – are used only on a few occasions in the corpus. Most M compounds, such as *uurijahärä* (‘investigator man’), *teadlasehärä* (‘scientist man’, ‘researcher man’), and *analüütikuhärä* (‘analyst man’), are also rare terms referring to an investigator, scientist or researcher, and analyst, respectively, appearing only once or twice in the corpus. However, different M compounds with the noun *teadus* (‘science’, ‘research’) in the nominative and genitive – *teadusemees*, *teadustaat*, and *teadusmees* –, all of which can be translated as ‘science man’ or ‘research man’, each occur more than 100 times in the corpus. The most frequent compound, *teadusemees*, is attested over 800 times and is the only compound listed in the table as the most frequent representative of compounds sharing the same initial element.

In accordance with the picture drawn by last-part-gendered compounds, first-part-gendered compounds present a contrasting picture. Graph 47 and Table 32 display the first-part-gendered compounds referring to a person involved in research or science.

Graph 47. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Research Activity

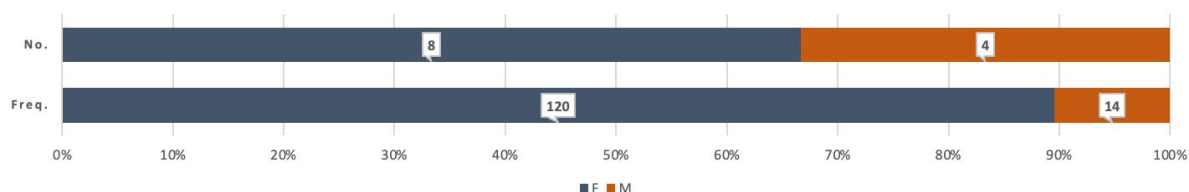


Table 32. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Research Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisteadlane</i>	74	<i>meesteadlane</i>	4			‘scientist’
<i>naisuuriija</i>	16	<i>meesuuriija</i>	5			‘researcher’
<i>naisõpetlane</i>	12	<i>meesõpetlane</i>	3			‘scholar’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesuuriija</i>	5	<i>naisuuriija</i>	16			‘researcher’
<i>meesteadlane</i>	4	<i>naisteadlane</i>	74			‘scientist’
<i>meesõpetlane</i>	3	<i>naisõpetlane</i>	12			‘scholar’

While the 8 F and 4 M first-part-gendered compounds provide limited data, the F compounds occur 120 times, in contrast to only 14 occurrences of the M compounds. Accordingly, all singular F compounds listed in the table, such as *naisteadlane* (‘female scientist’, ‘female researcher’), *naisuuriija* (‘female investigator’) and *naisõpetlane* (‘female scholar’), are more frequently used than their M counterparts, supporting the notion that a scientist or a researcher is expected to be male, and when that is not the case, the femaleness needs to be emphasised.

In contrast to the language use that suggests a higher involvement of men in science or research, data from Statistics Estonia (2025b) point to a nearly equal distribution of female and male scholars across various fields, based on information from the first quarter of 2025. In fact, female scholars constitute a slightly larger proportion, representing about 54% of all researchers. It should be noted, however, that these statistics sometimes group researchers together with related professionals in the same field – for instance, linguists with translators – which may distort the overall figures.

Technological Activity

The category of Technological Activity encompasses nouns that describe an individual engaged in engineering, operating machinery, or working with technological components (e.g. *mäkimees* ('Mac man'), *tehnikanaine* ('technology woman'), *naisprogrammeerija* ('female programmer')). The proportions of the F and M last-part-gendered compounds, along with the most common nouns, are provided below:

Graph 48. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Technological Activity

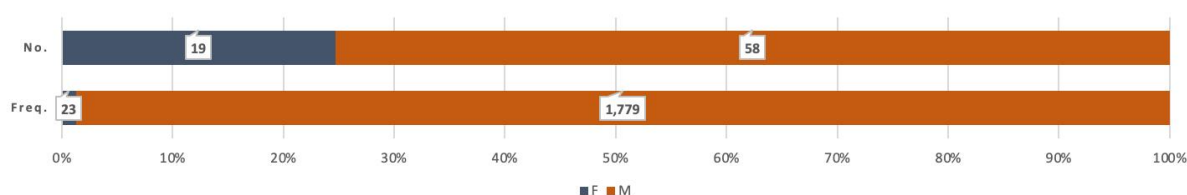


Table 33. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Technological Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>masinapreili</i>	4			<i>masinamees</i>	59	'machine'
<i>netitüdruk</i>	2	<i>netipoiss</i>	1			'net'
<i>arvutineiu</i>	1			<i>arvutimees</i>	46	'computer'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kaameramees</i>	416	<i>kaameranaine</i>	1			'camera'
<i>helimees</i>	357					'sound'
<i>IT-meess</i>	271	<i>itinaine</i>	1			'IT'

Both the number and frequency of F last-part-gendered compounds are significantly lower than those of M compounds. Except for the rare compound *netipoiss* ('internet boy'), which has 1 occurrence fewer than *netitüdruk* ('internet girl'), all other M compounds in the table – *masinamees* ('machine man', 'machinist'), *arvutimees* ('computer guy'), *kaameramees* ('cameraman'), *helimees* ('sound man'), and *IT-meess* ('IT guy') – occur more frequently in the corpus than their F equivalents, if they exist. The difference in frequency is striking in some compound pairs, such as *kaameramees*, which appears over 400 times in the data, compared to *kaameranaine* ('camerawoman'), which is attested only once. The same pattern is seen with the frequent compound *helimees*, which has no F counterpart, and *IT-meess*,

whose equivalent *itinaine* ('IT woman') is found only once in the corpus. Additionally, in WordWeb, *masinamees*, *kaameramees*, and *helimees* are described with gender-neutral terms, suggesting that these nouns may also be used in reference to females.

As for the first-part-gendered compounds, only 8 F compounds were found in the corpus, and no M compounds were identified. Graph 49 and Table 34 encapsulate the first-part-gendered compounds in this category.

Graph 49. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Technological Activity

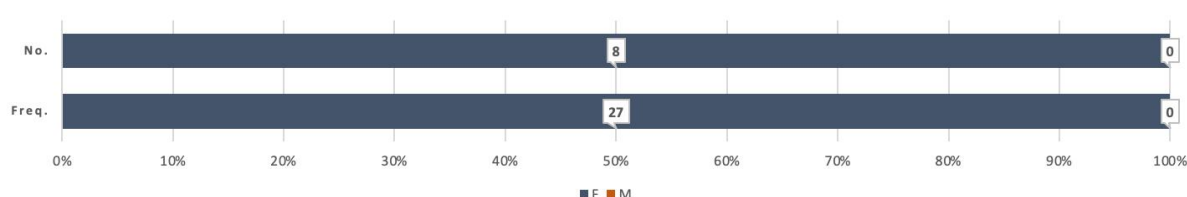


Table 34. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Technological Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naismehhanisaator</i>	11					'mechaniser'
<i>naisinsener</i>	4					'engineer'
<i>naismehaanik</i>	3					'mechanic'

The F compounds *naismehhanisaator* ('female mechaniser'), *naisinsener* ('female engineer'), and *naismehaanik* ('female mechanic') are the most frequently occurring compounds in this category. Although their frequency is not particularly high, it is still greater than that of their M counterparts, which are absent from the corpus.

While no summarising data is available for individuals active in the broader technology field, Statistics Estonia (2025b) provides figures for IT technicians, camera operators, and sound engineers. In the first quarter of 2025, there were over 8,000 male IT technicians, 6 times as many as the approximately 1,300 female IT technicians. Similarly, there were 5 times more male camera operators and sound engineers, with over 500 men in these roles compared to about 100 women. Although the technology field is indeed male-dominated, the presence of 1,300 female IT technicians and 100 women working as audiovisual and broadcasting technicians finds little resonance in the Estonian vocabulary.

Travel Activity

The category of Travel Activity, which includes a limited number of nouns, encompasses words that signify a person on a journey, hiking, or trekking (e.g. *rändurpoiss* (‘wanderer boy’), *matkanaine* (‘hike woman’), *naisturist* (‘female tourist’)). Graph 50 displays the count and frequency of last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 35 lists the most common ones along with their opposite-gender counterparts.

Graph 50. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Travel Activity

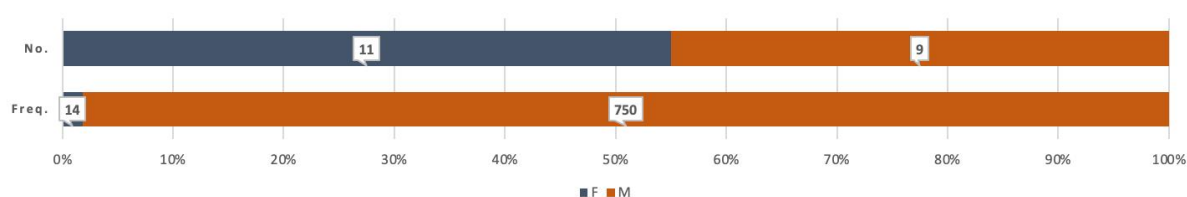


Table 35. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Travel Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>reisimutt</i>	4			<i>reisimees</i>	113	‘travel’
<i>matkanaine</i>	1	<i>matkamees</i>	121			‘hike’
<i>rändurmutt</i>	1			<i>rändurmees</i>	7	‘wanderer’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>rännumees</i>	478	<i>rännunaine</i>	1			‘wander’
<i>matkamees</i>	121	<i>matkanaine</i>	1			‘hike’
<i>reisimees</i>	113			<i>reisimutt</i>	4	‘travel’

Among the only 20 compounds in this category, there is almost an equal number of F and M compounds. However, while F compounds are found 14 times in the data – with the rare terms *reisimutt* (‘travel hag’, ‘travel woman’) and *rändurmutt* (‘wanderer hag’, ‘wanderer woman’) being slightly derogatory due to the lexical-gender noun *mutt* (‘hag’) in the final position – the M terms occur 750 times in total. The compounds *rännumees* (‘journey man’), *matkamees* (‘hike man’), and *reisimees* (‘travel man’) are commonly used neutral terms denoting a traveller or hiker in general, and the generic use of these terms is highly probable. Notably, WordWeb does not specify that any of these terms refer exclusively to a man. For example, *rännumees* is described as “a person who is on a trip, who goes from one place to another; a person who loves to move around, travelling”.

Only 8 first-part-gendered compounds referring to a person travelling were found in the corpus. Graph 51 presents the proportions of F and M compounds, and Table 36 brings together those with the highest frequencies.

Graph 51. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Travel Activity



Table 36. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Travel Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisturist</i>	22	<i>meesturist</i>	10			‘tourist’
<i>naisreisija</i>	16	<i>meesreisija</i>	4			‘traveller’
<i>naismatkaja</i>	3					‘hiker’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesturist</i>	10	<i>naisturist</i>	22			‘tourist’
<i>meesreisija</i>	4	<i>naisreisija</i>	16			‘traveller’
<i>meesrändur</i>	3	<i>naisrändur</i>	1			‘hiker’

Female references are more frequently marked among the nouns referring to travellers or hikers. Most F compounds, such as *naisturist* (‘female tourist’) and *naisreisija* (‘female traveller’), appear more often in the corpus, suggesting that, by default, travellers or hikers are expected to be men. However, more data is necessary to draw more solid conclusions.

Agricultural Activity

The category of Agricultural Activity encompasses nouns that refer to an individual cultivating land, raising or catching animals, producing goods to sustain life, and other related activities. Examples include *kalurinaine* (‘fisherwoman’), *tallitüdruk* (‘stable girl’), *traktorimees* (‘tractor man’), *naisfarmer* (‘female farmer’), along with some more colourful compounds such as *künnimamma* (‘plough granny’) or *lüksieit* (‘milking hag’). The last-part-gendered compounds in this category are summarised in Graph 52 and Table 37.

Graph 52. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Agricultural Activity

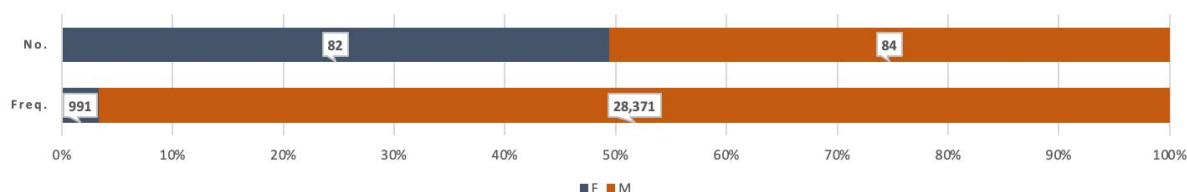


Table 37. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Agricultural Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>maanaine</i>	409	<i>maamees</i>	1336			‘country’
<i>talunaine</i>	111	<i>talumees</i>	2361			‘farm’
<i>karjatüdruk</i>	70	<i>karjapoiss</i>	417			‘herd’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>põllumees</i>	8943	<i>põllunaine</i>	6			‘field’
<i>jahimees</i>	7620	<i>jahinaine</i>	6			‘hunt’
<i>kalamees</i>	4422	<i>kalanaine</i>	14			‘fish’

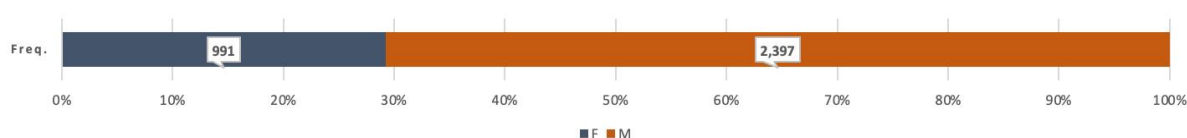
While the number of different F and M last-part-gendered compounds is almost equal, the M terms appear nearly 30 times more frequently in the texts. The M vocabulary includes some widespread, standard terms. The M compounds *maamees* (‘countryman’), *talumees* (‘farm man’, ‘farmer’), *karjapoiss* (lit. ‘herd boy’, ‘shepherd’), *põllumees* (‘field man’, ‘fieldworker’), *jahimees* (‘hunter’), and *kalamees* (‘fish man’, ‘fisherman’) are all used significantly more frequently than their F equivalents.

In present-day Estonia, men make up 70% of the agricultural workforce, according to the 2021 census (Statistics Estonia 2022b). While it is true that more men work in this field, the 30% of women still represents a slightly greater presence than is reflected in the vocabulary. Suppose the higher frequency of the words *põllumees*, *jahimees*, *karjapoiss*, and *kalamees* stems from real-life patterns and is likely reinforced by the fact that fieldworkers, hunters, shepherds, and fishers have traditionally been men. In that case, the dominance of the M terms *maamees* and *talumees* over their F counterparts *maanaine* (‘countrywoman’) and *talunaine* (‘farm woman’, ‘female farmer’) remains nonetheless intriguing. These terms refer to individuals engaged in agricultural work in a broader sense, managing a farm and living in the countryside. It may reasonably be assumed that both women and men live and work in

rural areas, particularly since, at least historically, farming was a family occupation involving women, men, and children.

When filtering out the prevalent terms, which appear more than 1,000 times in the corpus – *maamees*, *talumees*, *põllumees*, *jahimees*, and *kalamees*, along with the fourth most frequent M noun, *metsamees* (‘forest man’, ‘forester’) with 1,292 occurrences – it becomes evident that even the less frequent M vocabulary appears more often in the corpus than F words, although an increase in the proportion of F terms is visible (see Graph 53).

Graph 53. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Agricultural Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Another noteworthy compound is *kalanaine* (‘fish woman’) – the F equivalent of *kalamees*. This compound pair exhibits asymmetries in meaning. The M compound, *kalamees*, is a standard term commonly used to refer to a fisher, which accounts for its higher frequency. By contrast, *kalanaine* is a rare term that is not immediately associated only with fishing but also hints at involvement in other fish-related activities. For example, according to WordWeb, *kalanaine* can indicate a female fisher, but it may also refer to a woman who sells fish.

Lastly, it is worth noting that WordWeb describes the terms *põllumees* and *kalamees* as “a person” involved in their respective activities, which implies that they may be used to refer to both men and women, despite being lexically masculine. *Jahimees* is also defined as “a person”, but with an additional note that this person is “usually” a man, which further suggests that, therefore, *jahimees* can then, sometimes, also refer to women. Additionally, previous research has generally classified this compound as masculine generic (e.g. Kasik 2006), as seen earlier in this study. As for the F terms, *põllunaine* (‘field woman’) does not have an entry in WordWeb. By contrast, *jahinaine* (‘huntswoman’) and *kalanaine* are defined, with both of these F terms explicitly described as “a woman” engaged in their respective activities.

The first-part-gendered compounds offer a contrasting picture. Graph 54 presents the number and frequency of F and M terms, while Table 38 lists the most common first-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 54. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Agricultural Activity

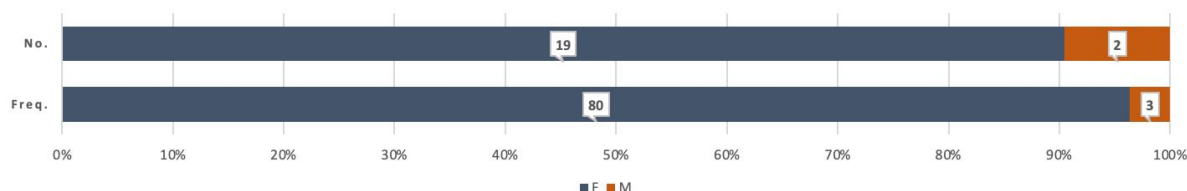


Table 38. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Agricultural Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naistraktorist</i>	33	<i>meestraktorist</i>	2			‘tractor driver’
<i>naiskütt</i>	11					‘hunter’
<i>naisjahimees</i>	7					‘hunterman’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meestraktorist</i>	2	<i>naistraktorist</i>	33			‘tractor driver’
<i>meesaednik</i>	1					‘gardener’

A total of 21 first-part-gendered compounds were identified in the category of Agricultural Activity. Of these, only 2 are masculine – *meestraktorist* (‘male tractor driver’) and *meesaednik* (‘male gardener’) – with corpus frequencies of just 1 or 2 occurrences. While most of the 19 F nouns also appear only once or twice, certain nouns, such as *naistraktorist* (‘female tractor driver’), *naiskütt* (‘female hunter’), and *naisjahimees* (‘female hunterman’), show up more frequently in the corpus.

An intriguing phenomenon is the compound *naisjahimees*, formed from the F modifier *nais-* (‘female’) and the lexically M compound *jahimees* (‘hunterman’). This combination also supports the notion that *jahimees* functions as a masculine generic noun, simply referring to a hunter, given that the term *naisjahimees* clearly does not suggest that a male hunter is a woman but rather indicates that the hunter in question is female.

Protective Activity

The Protective Activity category includes nouns denoting involvement in guarding and safeguarding occupations, such as police, fire, and other security services (e.g. *võmmionu* (‘cop man’), *miilitsaonu* (‘militiaman’), *mundrimees* (lit. ‘uniform man’, ‘policeman’), and *naiskorravalvur* (lit. ‘female disciplinarian’, ‘female police officer’)). Compounds that indicate engagement in military-related activities, which could be considered part of protective services, are examined separately in the section on Combat Activity.

Graph 55 presents the number and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds. The most frequent vocabulary is listed in Table 39.

Graph 55. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Protective Activity

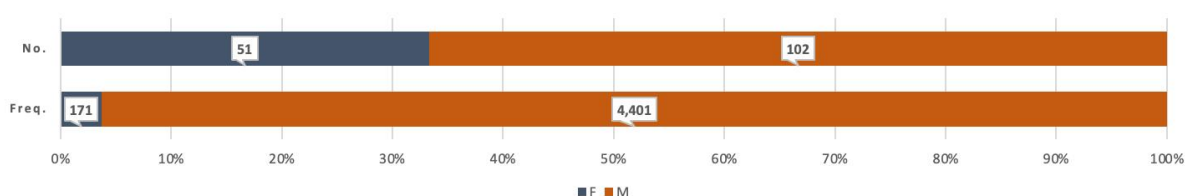


Table 39. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Protective Activity

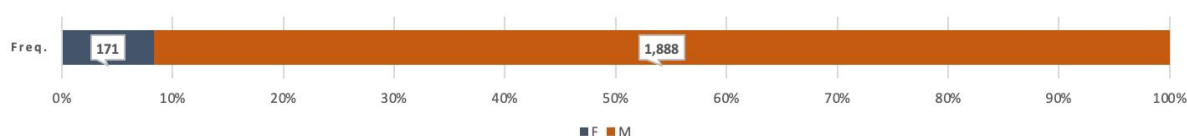
F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>turvanaine</i>	45	<i>turvamees</i>	2513			‘security’
<i>valvuritädi</i>	29	<i>valvurionu</i>	3			‘guard’
<i>valvelauatädi</i>	6					‘front desk’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>turvamees</i>	2513	<i>turvanaine</i>	45			‘security’
<i>pritsimees</i>	414					‘fire hose’
<i>püssimees</i>	272	<i>püssinaine</i>	1			‘gun’

In the category of Protective Activity, more M compounds describe individuals in these roles, and these terms are also used noticeably more often. Although the F terms *valvuritädi* (‘guard lady’), a relatively common colloquial term for an older female guard in schools, museums, and student residences, and *valvelauatädi* (‘front desk lady’) occur more frequently in the corpus than their M counterparts, if existent, the most common M compounds, *turvamees* (‘security guy’), *pritsimees* (lit. ‘fire hose man’, ‘fireman’), and *püssimees* (‘gunman’),

appear with significantly higher frequency and exceed their F equivalents, if the latter are present in the corpus. The prevalence of M compounds remains even when the most frequent noun, *turvamees*, is excluded from the vocabulary, as shown in Graph 56.

Graph 56. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Protective Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Regarding WordWeb definitions, *turvamees* is described as “an employee who protects premises or people, ensures order at events, oversees security systems, or performs other similar tasks”. Its F equivalent, *turvanaine* (‘security woman’), which is noticeably less frequently used, also has an entry in WordWeb. It bears mentioning that while *turvamees* is described simply as “an employee” responsible for security, *turvanaine* is specifically defined as “a female security worker”. In the same way, *priksimees* is defined using a gender-neutral term, while no F equivalent was found in either the Estonian language portal or the corpus.

First-part-gendered compounds present a contrasting picture. Graph 57 illustrates the number and frequency of these compounds, while Table 40 details the most frequently used nouns within this category.

Graph 57. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Protective Activity

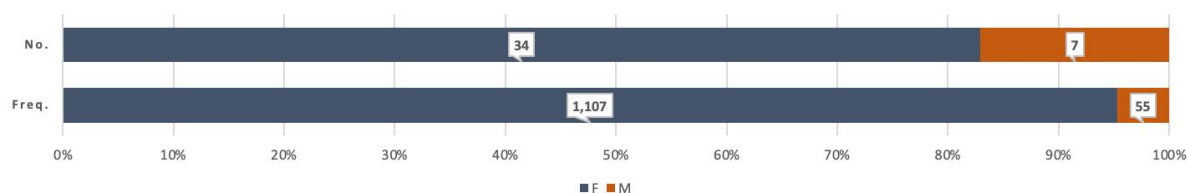


Table 40. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Protective Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naiskodukaitsja</i>	784					‘home defender’
<i>naispolitseinik</i>	179	<i>meespolitseinik</i>	36			‘police officer’
<i>naisvalvur</i>	8					‘guard’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meespolitseinik</i>	36	<i>naispolitseinik</i>	179			‘police officer’
<i>meespolitseiametnik</i>	2	<i>naispolitseiametnik</i>	8			‘police officer’
<i>meesdetektiiv</i>	1	<i>naisdetektiiv</i>	2			‘detective’

Among the nouns describing an individual involved in protective work, female reference is more frequently marked, with F first-part-gendered compounds showing higher counts and frequencies compared to the M nouns. Also, all the F terms listed in Table 40, such as *naispolitseinik* (‘female police officer’) and *naiskodukaitsja* (lit. ‘female home defender’), referring to a female member of the Estonian defence organisation, have more occurrences in the corpus than their M counterparts, if they are present.

It is worth noting that the person noun *valvur* (‘guard’) is again present in the table, also more frequently used with an F modifier. However, *naisvalvur* conveys a slightly different nuance than the similar last-part-gendered compound *valvuritädi*. In WordWeb, *valvur* is defined as “a person responsible for overseeing order, safety, prisoners, or similar matters”. This meaning is supported by sentences found in concordance lines, such as *Aknast avaneb vaade kõrvalruumi, mille diskreetses hämaruses naisvalvur lühiajalisele kohtamisele lubatud vangidel silma peal hoiab* (‘A window offers a view into the adjacent room, where, in discreet dimness, a female guard keeps an eye on prisoners allowed a short visit’) (24tundi n.d.), or a more striking example: *Umbes nädalapäevad niiviisi logelnud ja alasti päevitavaid naisvalvureid vahtinud, käsutati meid ühel õhtupoolikul viie kaupa kolonni ja viidi Molotovski sadamasse*. (‘After lounging around like that for about a week and staring at the female guards sunbathing naked, we were one afternoon ordered into a column, five at a time, and taken to the Port of Molotovsk.’) (Kallas 2002). *Naisvalvur*, therefore, clearly differs from the school, museum, or student residence personnel denoted by the last-part-gendered compound *valvuritädi*.

According to statistics, which are available for security workers and various types of guards, in the first quarter of 2025, there were roughly 2 to 3 times more male workers than female workers (Statistics Estonia 2025b), thus not deviating too far from what the vocabulary reflects.

Political or Legal Activity

The category of Political or Legal Activity encompasses nouns that denote a person engaged in activities related to governance, legislation, political ideology, and similar topics. Examples include *juristipoiss* ('lawyer boy'), *seadusemees* ('lawman'), *feministitädi* ('feminist lady'), *parteiproua* ('political party lady'), *naisdiplomaat* ('female diplomat'), along with some more colourful compounds such as *poliitikatibi* ('politics chick'). Graph 58 demonstrates the proportions of the F and M last-part-gendered compounds within this category. Table 41 lists the most commonly occurring nouns.

Graph 58. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Political or Legal Activity

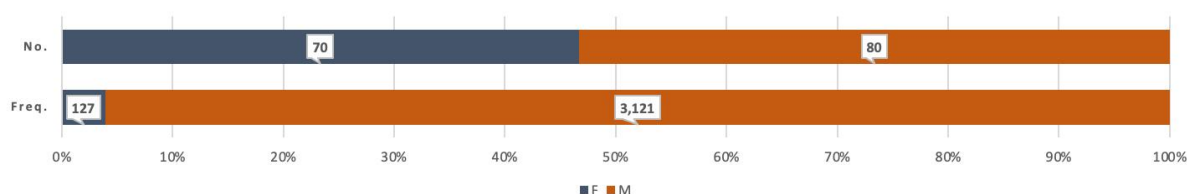


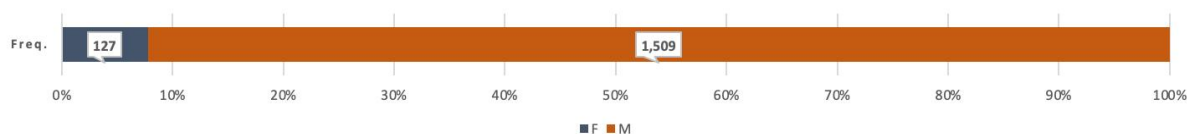
Table 41. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Political or Legal Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kvoodinaine</i>	17	<i>kvoodimees</i>	4			'quota'
<i>riiginaine</i>	6	<i>riigimees</i>	1612			'state'
<i>poliitikatädi</i>	4	<i>poliitikamees</i>	19			'politics'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>riigimees</i>	1612	<i>riiginaine</i>	6			'state'
<i>valijamees</i>	640					'elector'
<i>raehärä</i>	287					'city council'

While the category of Political or Legal Activity features nearly equal numbers of F and M compound nouns, the latter are notably more commonly used. This pattern persists even when excluding the most frequent noun, *riigimees* ('statesman'), which appears over 1,000 times in the corpus, as presented in Graph 59.

Graph 59. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Political or Legal Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Only one F term, *kwoodinaine* (‘quota woman’), has a higher frequency in the corpus than its M equivalent. It refers to a woman selected (typically in a political or organisational context) to fulfil a gender representation quota. The term carries a pejorative connotation, implying that she was chosen not for her personal qualifications or abilities, but solely to represent her gender. All other M words listed in the table, such as *poliitikamees* (‘politics man’, ‘politician’) or *riigimees*, occur more frequently than their F counterparts, echoing a historical reality where politics was firmly entrenched as a man’s territory.

No F equivalent was found for the widespread M terms *valijamees* (‘elector man’, ‘elector’) and *raehärä* (‘councilman’, ‘alderman’). Moreover, in WordWeb, the lexically M nouns *riigimees*, *valijamees*, and *raehärä* are all described using gender-neutral terms, such as “head of state” and “senior civil servant” for *riigimees*, and “member of city council” for *raehärä*. Except perhaps for *raehärä*, which is primarily a historical term, the generic use of the other nouns remains possible in present-day Estonia.

As might be expected, the first-part-gendered compounds paint a different picture. The F and M first-part-gendered compounds are presented in Graph 60 and Table 42.

Graph 60. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Political or Legal Activity

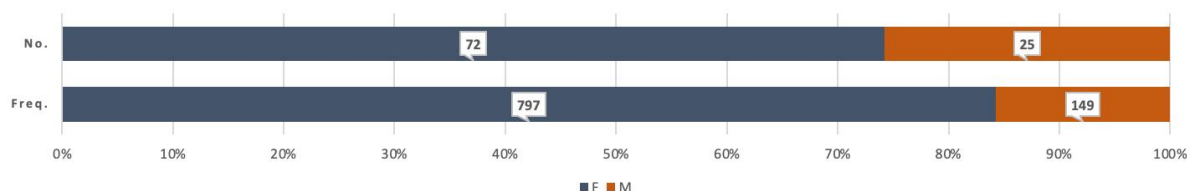


Table 42. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Political or Legal Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naispoliitik</i>	226	<i>meespoliitik</i>	60			‘politician’
<i>naisminister</i>	98	<i>meesminister</i>	15			‘minister’
<i>naiskohtunik</i>	39	<i>meeskohtunik</i>	26			‘judge’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meespoliitik</i>	60	<i>naispoliitik</i>	226			‘politician’
<i>meeskohtunik</i>	26	<i>naiskohtunik</i>	39			‘judge’
<i>meesminister</i>	15	<i>naisminister</i>	98			‘minister’

The first-part-gendered vocabulary predominantly consists of F compounds. In contrast to last-part-gendered words, among first-part-gendered compounds, F terms describing an individual engaged in politics or legal issues are used significantly more frequently than M nouns. This is reflected in the most frequent words listed in the table. All the F compounds – *naispoliitik* (‘female politician’), *naisminister* (‘female minister’), and *naiskohtunik* (‘female judge’) – have more occurrences in the corpus compared to their M counterparts.

Statistics Estonia (2025b) provides data on gender demographics only within the legal sector. In the first quarter of 2025, there were 49 male judges – nearly half the number compared to 75 female judges. Additionally, among lawyers, prosecutors, and court jurists, there were 485 male employees and 712 female employees. Although women outnumber men in this sector, the vocabulary does not fully reflect this gender distribution. For instance, the female reference of the noun *kohtunik* (‘judge’) is marked more frequently than the male reference, though the difference is not substantial.

Women’s involvement in Estonian politics, however, continues to be comparatively low. On a brighter note, the 2023 elections saw a historic increase in female representation in parliament, with a record number of women elected. Nevertheless, the 30 women who were elected still constitute a minority compared to their 71 male colleagues (Riigikogu Kantselei 2023). Additionally, according to the *Gender Equality Monitoring 2021* (Hämmal et al. 2022), 71% of respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that women’s participation in politics is essential for better representation of diverse interests. Hence, the gender equality in Estonian politics might be moving in a positive direction.

Sports Activity

The category of Sports Activity includes nouns describing an individual involved in physical exertion, competing, winning or losing, and other similar activities (e.g. *jooksjanaine* (‘runner woman’), *jõusaalitsikk* (‘gym chick’), *rulamees* (‘skateboard man’), *meesuisutaja* (‘male skater’), *naisvõistleja* (‘female competitor’)). Graph 61 illustrates the distribution of F and M last-part-gendered compound nouns in this category, with the most frequent nouns presented in the accompanying Table 43.

Graph 61. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sports Activity

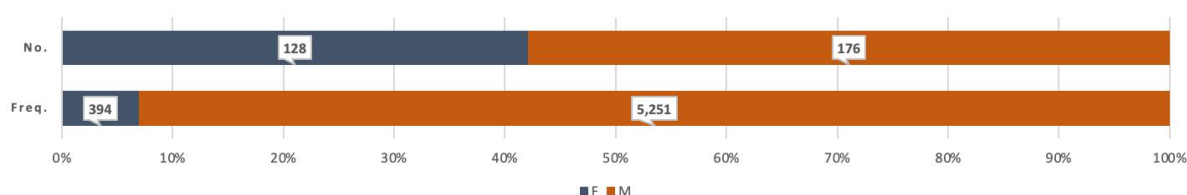


Table 43. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sports Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>sporditüdruk</i>	45	<i>spordipoiss</i>	169			‘sport’
<i>ankrunaine</i>	34	<i>ankrumees</i>	169			‘anchor’
<i>rekordinaine</i>	24	<i>rekordimees</i>	96			‘record’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>mängumees</i>	948	<i>mängunaine</i>	1			‘game’
<i>spordimees</i>	531	<i>spordinaine</i>	5			‘sport’
<i>varumees</i>	253	<i>varunaine</i>	2			‘reserve’

Regarding word count, somewhat more M last-part-gendered compounds were detected. As for frequency, the M nouns are used over 10 times more often than the F nouns, which is also reflected in the common vocabulary in the table. All M compounds – *spordimees* (‘sportsman’), *spordipoiss* (‘sports boy’, ‘athlete’), *ankrumees* (‘anchorman’), *rekordimees* (‘record man’, ‘record holder’), *mängumees* (‘game man’, ‘player’), and *varumees* (‘reserve man’, ‘reserve player’) – occur considerably more often in the data than their F equivalents. Additionally, except for *spordimees* and *spordipoiss*, which are specified respectively as “a man” and “a boy” in WordWeb, the definitions of the other lexically M terms include only gender-neutral nouns, allowing for a possible generic interpretation. The three F compounds

with entries in WordWeb – *sporditüdruk* (‘sports girl’), *ankrunaine* (‘anchorwoman’), and *rekordinaine* (‘record woman’) – are all explicitly defined as “a woman” in their corresponding roles.

Semantic asymmetries exist between F and M compound pairs. Namely, while *varumees* (‘reserve man’, ‘reserve player’) is a common term in the sports context with a definition in the Estonian language portal, *varunaine* (‘reserve woman’) is an uncommon noun, as reflected in its usage frequency. Upon examining the 2 corpus sentences where *varunaine* appears, it becomes clear that this noun is not exclusively associated with sports. In one instance, *varunaine* is indeed used to describe a sports girl on a reserve bench. However, the other example originates from a pornographic magazine, where it refers to a woman reserved for sexual purposes. For comparison, in a random selection of 20 concordance lines in which *varumees* appears, none originated from a periodical with pornographic content, and only the sports connotation was evident.

Whether gendered vocabulary truthfully mirrors the real-life situation of women and men active in sports is a somewhat complex question. Among professional athletes, there are officially 229 men and fewer than 20 women (Statistics Estonia 2025b). However, the gender gap is much smaller in hobby schools, for which Statistics Estonia (2025a) also provides data. In 2024, there were approximately 47,000 male students and almost 36,000 female students engaged in sports. In other words, about 57% of Estonians participating in sports during their leisure time were male, compared to 43% female. While these statistics point to a higher involvement of men in sports overall, women’s participation – particularly in leisure activities – is also far from marginal.

Graph 62 and Table 44 summarise the first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual engaged in sports activities.

Graph 62. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sports Activity

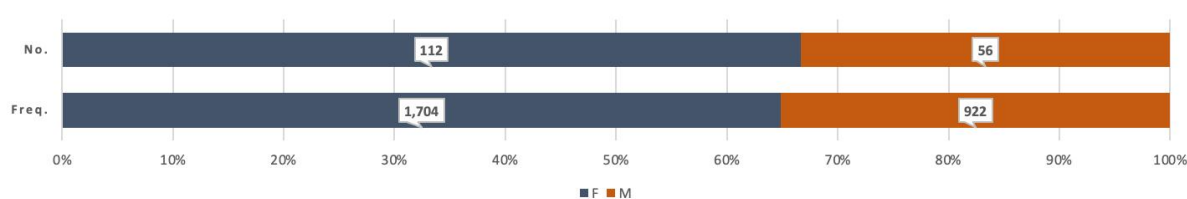


Table 44. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sports Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naissportlane</i>	325	<i>meessportlane</i>	208			‘athlete’
<i>naismängija</i>	183	<i>meesmängija</i>	62			‘player’
<i>naistennisist</i>	110	<i>meestennisist</i>	51			‘tennis player’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meessportlane</i>	208	<i>naissportlane</i>	325			‘athlete’
<i>meesmängija</i>	62	<i>naismängija</i>	183			‘player’
<i>meestennisist</i>	51	<i>naistennisist</i>	110			‘tennis player’

Among the first-part-gendered compounds, the F terms exhibit both twice the number and twice the frequency of the M compound nouns. Additionally, the most frequently used F compounds in this category – *naissportlane* (‘female athlete’), *naismängija* (‘female player’), and *naistennisist* (‘female tennis player’) – are more prevalent in the corpus than their M equivalents.

In fact, the Sports Activity category is one of the few where explicit gender specification via first-part-gendered compounds makes sense, perhaps, because women and men compete in separate categories. However, given that the number of female and male athletes does not appear to vary greatly in real life (at least in hobby schools), the count and frequency of F and M terms ought to be relatively equal. Yet, this is not the case, and the gender-neutral nouns such as *sportlane* (‘athlete’), *mängija* (‘player’), and *tennisist* (‘tennis player’) still appear to carry a male bias.

Party or Substance Activity

The category of Party or Substance Activity includes compounds referring to a person participating in social gatherings, parties, having fun, consuming drugs, or being involved in similar types of activities (e.g. *jotaplika* (‘drunkard lass’), *klubinaine* (‘club woman’), *õllemees* (‘beer man’), *naispiduline* (‘female partier’)). Graph 63 and Table 45 summarise the last-part-gendered vocabulary in this category.

Graph 63. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Party or Substance Activity

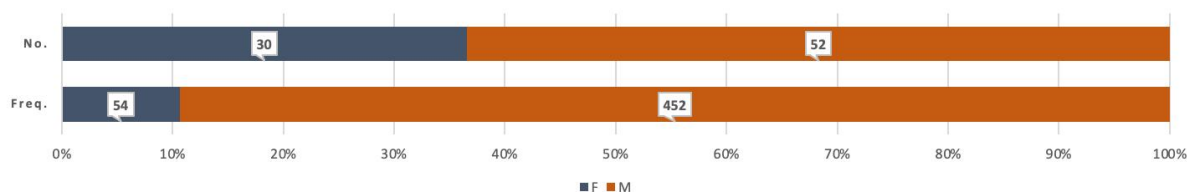


Table 45. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Party or Substance Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>peotüdruk</i>	8	<i>peopoiss</i>	1			‘party’
<i>joodiknaine</i>	8	<i>joodikmees</i>	7			‘drunkard’
<i>tequilatüdruk</i>	4					‘tequila’

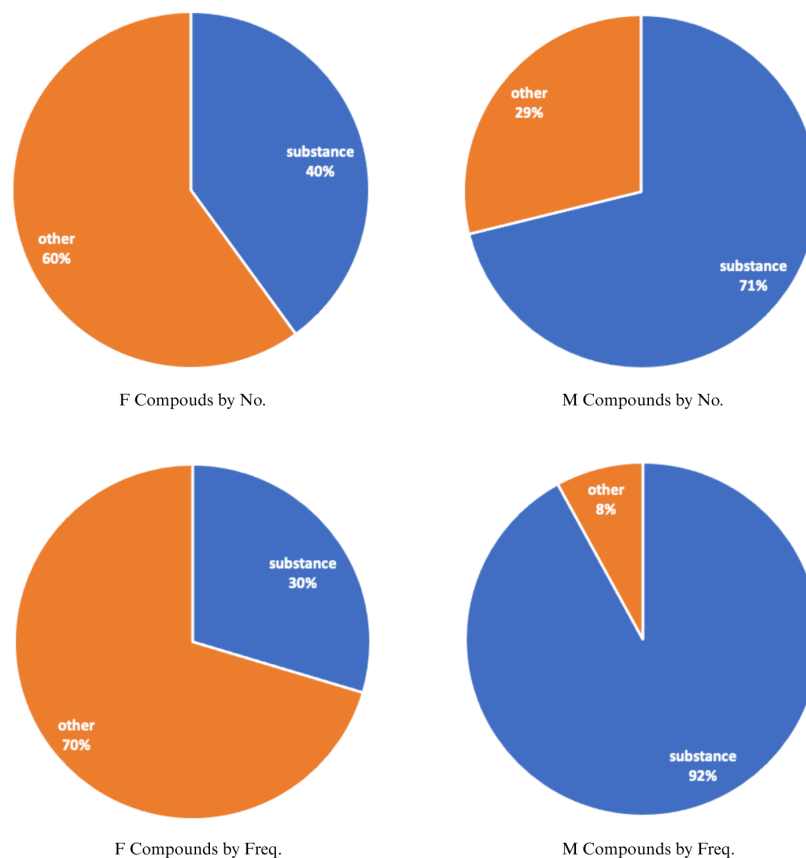
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>suitsumees</i>	218	<i>suitsunaine</i>	1			‘cigarette’
<i>napsumees</i>	45	<i>napsunaine</i>	1			‘drink’
<i>viinamees</i>	33					‘vodka’

The most common F compounds that appear a handful of times in the corpus – *peotüdruk* (‘party girl’), *joodiknaine* (‘drunkard woman’), and *tequilatüdruk* (‘tequila girl’) – marginally surpass their M equivalents in terms of frequency when present. However, when considering the entire vocabulary describing a person engaged in party or substance activity, the number and frequency of M compounds outweigh those of the F compounds, as depicted in the graph. The most frequent M compounds – *suitsumees* (‘cigarette man’, ‘smoker’), *napsumees* (‘drink man’, ‘boozehound’), and *viinamees* (‘vodka man’, ‘boozehound’) – are common terms for a smoker or a drinker with a possible generic use. WordWeb defines all these M words with gender-neutral expressions. This cannot be said for their rare F equivalents found for the first two terms, *suitsunaine* (‘cigarette woman’) and *napsunaine* (‘drink woman’), which have no entry at all.

The first elements of the most frequent M compounds in the table – *suits* (‘cigarette’), *naps* (‘drink’), and *viin* (‘vodka’) – all point to alcohol or tobacco. In fact, among the M vocabulary, most compounds are formed with a noun indicating a specific substance, while this is not the case with the F vocabulary (see Graph 64). Those M compounds are also significantly more frequently used than the M compounds with other constituents. Among the

F compounds, however, those with a substance-related noun in the first position are less frequently used compared to other F compounds. The vocabulary thus suggests that activities such as alcohol consumption, smoking, and drug use are more commonly associated with men than with women. Socially, these activities also tend to be more tolerated when performed by men (Connell 2005b; Room 1996).

Graph 64. Substance-Related Initial Constituents in F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Party or Substance Activity



While no overarching statistics covering both partying and substance use were found, Tervise Arengu Instituut [National Institute for Health Development] (2025) provides data on alcohol consumption and smoking habits among Estonians. In 2024, 46% of men of all ages consumed alcohol at least once a week, compared to 26% of women. Additionally, 18% of men declared themselves as daily smokers, while approximately 10% of women reported smoking daily. Although these statistics can be compared to only one portion of the vocabulary in this category, the significantly higher frequency of the M compounds *suitsumees*, *napsumees*, and *viinamees* – compared to their F equivalents, which are used only

once or are absent altogether – is nonetheless notable, given that, in reality, women, though to a lesser extent, also drink and smoke in considerable numbers. Of course, since *suitsumees*, *napsumees*, and *viinamees* may function as masculine generics and thus refer to women as well, this cannot, all in all, be considered a convincing reflection of real-life gender distribution in language.

While the number of first-part-gendered compounds referring to a person partying, drinking, smoking, or engaging in similar activities is very limited, they still present a distinct picture. Graph 65 and Table 46 display the proportions of the compounds, along with the most common nouns detected in the corpus.

Graph 65. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Party or Substance Activity



Table 46. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Party or Substance Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisjoodik</i>	6					‘drunkard’
<i>naissuitsetaja</i>	6	<i>meessuitsetaja</i>	5			‘smoker’
<i>naisalkohoolik</i>	5	<i>meesalkohoolik</i>	5			‘alcoholic’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesalkohoolik</i>	5	<i>naisalkohoolik</i>	5			‘alcoholic’
<i>meessuitsetaja</i>	5	<i>naissuitsetaja</i>	6			‘smoker’
<i>meesparm</i>	1	<i>naisparm</i>	3			‘bum’

The most common F and M compounds in the table show a similar number of occurrences in the corpus. However, due to the greater variety of nouns in this category, F compounds are more frequently used overall. It is important to note, however, that the small pool of words does not provide sufficient evidence to draw firm conclusions.

Cultural Activity

The Cultural Activity category includes 533 compounds referring to an individual's involvement in art, literature, music, journalism, film, and other related subfields (e.g. *lauljanaine* ('singer woman'), *filmionu* ('film man'), *džässitüdruk* ('jazz girl'), *meespoet* ('male poet'), *kunstnikupoiss* ('artist boy')). Different domains will be analysed separately in the following sections.

FILM OR THEATRE ACTIVITY. The category of Film or Theatre Activity encompasses compounds referring to a person involved in dramatic or cinematographic production, stage performance, acting, and other similar activities (e.g. *dokfilminaine* ('doc film woman'), *meesnäitleja* ('male actor'), *lavastajaproua* ('director woman')). Graph 66 shows the proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, followed by the most common nouns in this category, listed in Table 47.

Graph 66. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Film or Theatre Activity

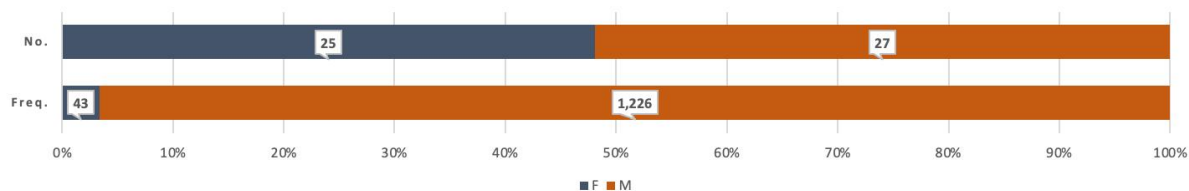


Table 47. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Film or Theatre Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>tsirkusemoor</i>	5			<i>tsirkusemees</i>	9	'circus'
<i>filminaine</i>	2	<i>filmimees</i>	635			'film'
<i>klounitüdi</i>	2			<i>klounipoiss</i>	1	'clown'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>filmimees</i>	635	<i>filminaine</i>	2			'film'
<i>trikimees</i>	155					'trick'
<i>teatrimees</i>	152	<i>teatrinaire</i>	1			'theatre'

While the number of different F and M last-part-gendered compounds is nearly equal, M compounds are used considerably more frequently. Almost all the M nouns in the table, such

as *filmimees* ('film man'), *teatrimees* ('theatre man'), and *trikimees* ('trick man'), show a significantly higher frequency in the corpus than their F equivalents. The compound *filmimees* is a common term used to indicate a film director or camera operator. The rare F counterpart *filminaine* ('film woman') refers to an actress in both concordance lines. *Teatrimees* is another standard compound denoting a theatre director or actor. The F counterpart *teatrinaine* ('theatre woman') is an uncommon noun that also refers to an actress in the single example found in the corpus. It is important to note that, for actors, another term, the person noun *näitleja* ('actor') is commonly used, sometimes alongside its suffixed F form *näitlejanna* ('actress'), which, not being compound words, are not included in this research.

Lastly, *trikimees* is a common compound that describes a skilled performer of tricks in a circus or similar setting – a magician. No F counterpart for this term was found in the corpus. All in all, whether these standard M terms – *filmimees*, *teatrimees*, and *trikimees* – refer only to men is also questionable. WordWeb defines them using gender-neutral nouns without specifying maleness. None of the F terms in the table have entries in the Estonian language portal.

According to statistics on gender distribution in the Estonian entertainment industry, in the first quarter of 2025, there were 134 female and 155 male actors (Statistics Estonia 2025b). The number of female and male film and theatre directors was also relatively similar, with 231 women and 308 men working in this field. Hence, the noticeable prevalence of M compounds in this category does not align with real-life data, nor does it justify the significantly higher frequency of *teatrimees* and *filmimees*. In fact, as discussed in the section on Technological Activity, the camera crew in Estonia is predominantly male (Statistics Estonia 2025b). The higher frequency of the M noun *filmimees*, referring not only to an actor but also to a camera operator, may therefore be attributed to its broader meaning. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that at least 365 women are involved in film and theatre in Estonia, the fact that *teatrinaine* and *filminaine* occur only once or twice is notable. This raises the possibility that alternative terms are used to refer to female actors – perhaps including masculine generics – or that women are simply not talked about as frequently.

The following graph illustrates the first-part-gendered compounds in this category. The most common nouns are listed in Table 48.

Graph 67. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Film or Theatre Activity



Table 48. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Film or Theatre Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisnäitleja</i>	188	<i>meesnäitleja</i>	185			‘actor’
<i>naispeategelane</i>	71	<i>meespeategelane</i>	26			‘protagonist’
<i>naispeaosatäitja</i>	34	<i>meespeaosatäitja</i>	22			‘protagonist’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesnäitleja</i>	185	<i>naisnäitleja</i>	188			‘actor’
<i>meesosatäitja</i>	42	<i>naisosatäitja</i>	33			‘actor’
<i>meespeategelane</i>	26	<i>naispeategelane</i>	71			‘protagonist’

There are more first-part-gendered compounds that describe a woman involved in film or theatre, and these F nouns also appear more frequently in the corpus. However, M compounds are also quite commonly used. The most frequently occurring compounds referring specifically to actors appear with similar frequency. In fact, as in sports, women and men are evaluated in separate categories in film and theatre awards, which sometimes justifies gender-explicit marking, as well as their similar frequency. However, this does not account for the higher frequency of F terms referring to a protagonist, such as *naispeategelane* (‘female protagonist’), which appears more than twice as often in the corpus as *meespeategelane* (‘male protagonist’). Although the number of female and male actors in Estonia is similar, the female reference is still more frequently marked when discussing a protagonist.

LITERARY ACTIVITY. The category of Literary Activity includes nouns indicating a person involved in writing (e.g. *kirjandustädi* (‘literature lady’), *meesprosaist* (‘male novelist’)). Graph 68 displays the count and frequency of the F and M last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 49 showcases the most commonly used vocabulary.

Graph 68. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Literary Activity

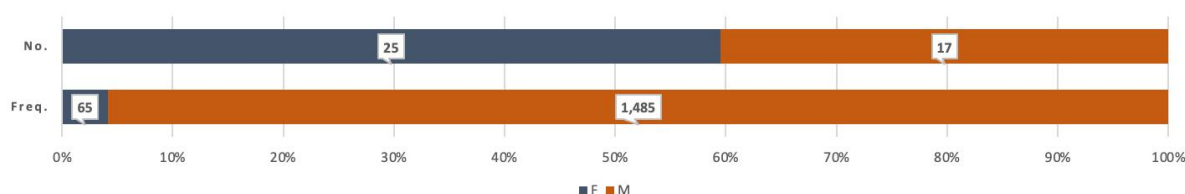


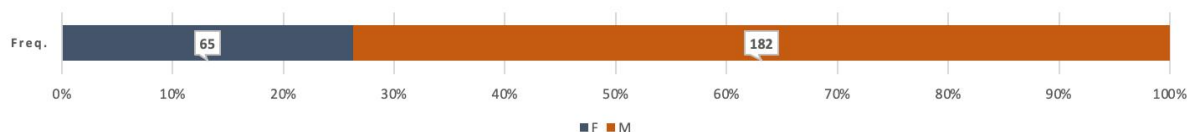
Table 49. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Literary Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kirjanikuproua</i>	19	<i>kirjanikuhärä</i>	91			‘writer’
<i>kirjanaine</i>	9	<i>kirjamees</i>	1303			‘letter’
<i>luuleneiu</i>	2			<i>luulemees</i>	6	‘poetry’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kirjamees</i>	1303	<i>kirjanaine</i>	9			‘letter’
<i>kirjanikuhärä</i>	91	<i>kirjanikuproua</i>	19			‘writer’
<i>sulemees</i>	62					‘pen’

Regarding the number of nouns, more compounds refer to a woman involved in literature. However, the M compounds are used significantly more frequently. This discrepancy can mainly be ascribed to the noun *kirjamees* (‘letter man’, ‘writing man’), which appears over 1,000 times in the corpus, demonstrating dozens more occurrences than its rare F counterpart *kirjanaine* (‘letter woman’, ‘writing woman’). The noun *kirjamees* is a common term used to denote a writer, and like many other such standard lexically M terms, *kirjamees* can possibly be used generically to refer to both male and female writers. For instance, WordWeb defines *kirjamees* using gender-neutral terms, just as it does for the compound *sulemees* (‘pen man’, ‘writer’). Additionally, most other M compounds in this category, such as *kirjanikuhärä* (‘writer man’) and *luulemees* (‘poetry man’), have more instances in the data compared to their F equivalents. The prevalence of M terms persists when considering only those compounds with usage frequency of no more than 1,000 occurrences in the corpus, as shown in Graph 69.

Graph 69. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Literary Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Among first-part-gendered compounds, only 17 words describing an individual engaged in writing were detected. Graph 70 illustrates the proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds, while Table 50 presents the most frequently used vocabulary in this category.

Graph 70. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Literary Activity

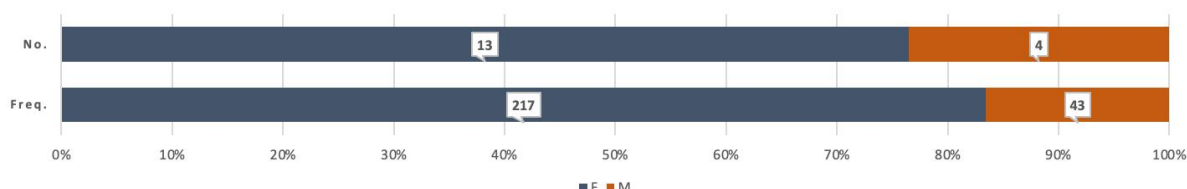


Table 50. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Literary Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naiskirjanik</i>	159	<i>meeskirjanik</i>	31			‘writer’
<i>naishuuletaja</i>	33	<i>meeshuuletaja</i>	8			‘poet’
<i>naiskirjutaja</i>	7					‘writer’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meeskirjanik</i>	31	<i>naiskirjanik</i>	159			‘writer’
<i>meeshuuletaja</i>	8	<i>naishuuletaja</i>	33			‘poet’
<i>meespoeet</i>	2	<i>naispoeet</i>	2			‘poet’

Female references are marked more frequently among nouns referring to a person engaged in literature – the corpus contains 13 F and 4 M first-part-gendered compounds. The F compounds, including the majority of the most common ones in Table 50, are also used more often in the data. For instance, while *naiskirjanik* (‘female writer’) appears 159 times, *meeskirjanik* (‘male writer’) is used only 31 times.

Contrary to the vocabulary suggesting male dominance in literature, data from Statistics Estonia (2025b) reveal that in the first quarter of 2025, there were approximately twice as many female writers as male writers – 188 women and 78 men. Notwithstanding this, M

last-part-gendered compounds referring to a writer are significantly more prevalent and widespread, and the female gender of a writer is marked more frequently, as if a woman being a writer is still somehow surprising or noteworthy.

MUSICAL ACTIVITY. The category of Musical Activity includes nouns describing a person playing a musical instrument, singing or creating music (e.g. *kitarrimees* ('guitar man'), *rockineiu* ('rock lady'), *naishelilooja* ('female composer')). The F and M last-part-gendered compounds are summarised in Graph 71 and Table 51.

Graph 71. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity

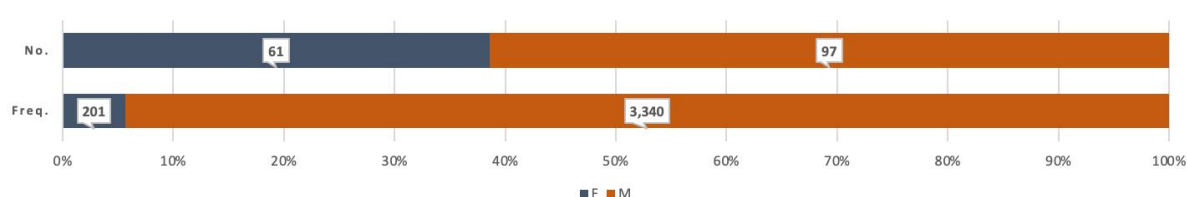


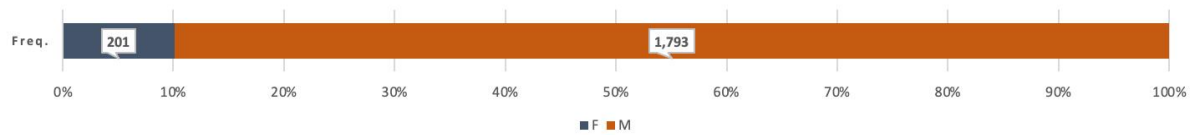
Table 51. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>laulunaine</i>	28	<i>laulumees</i>	307			'song'
<i>pillipiiga</i>	17			<i>pillimees</i>	1547	'instrument'
<i>trummitüdruk</i>	16	<i>trummipoiss</i>	5			'drum'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>pillimees</i>	1547	<i>pillinaine</i>	4			'instrument'
<i>laulumees</i>	307	<i>laulunaine</i>	28			'song'
<i>bassimees</i>	224	<i>bassinaine</i>	1			'bass'

The M compounds exceed the F ones both in number and frequency. The M nouns describing a person engaged with music have significantly more occurrences in the corpus, also when excluding the most frequent noun *pillimees* ('musical instrument man', 'musician'), which appears over 1,000 times in the texts:

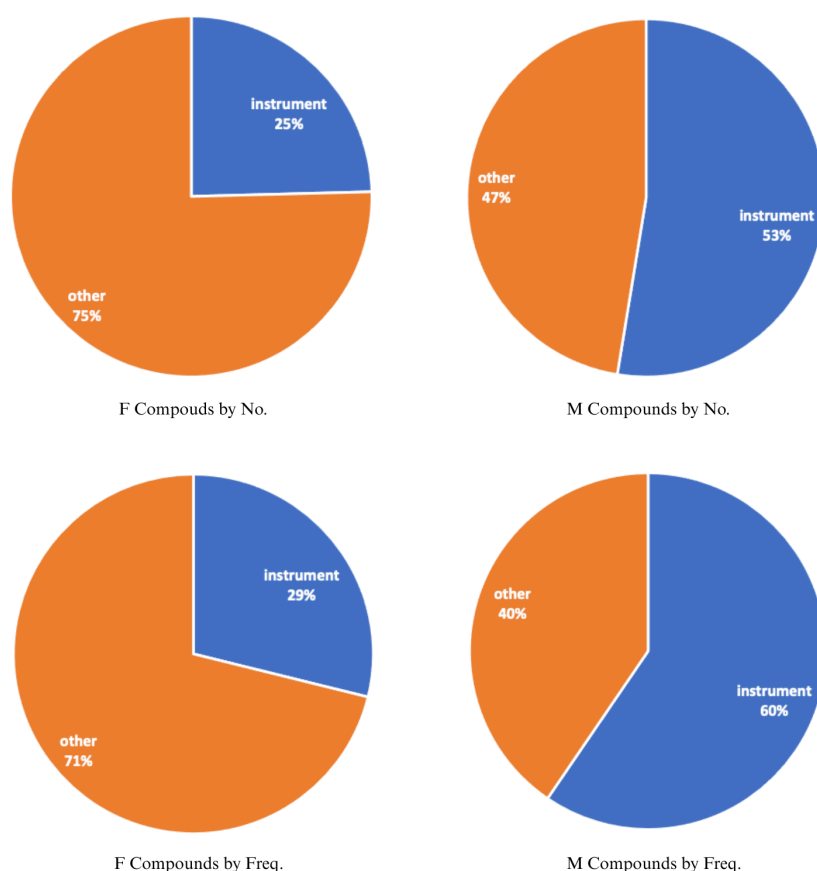
Graph 72. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



All the most frequent M compounds in the table, such as *pillimees*, *laulumees* (‘song man’, ‘singer’), and *bassimees* (‘bass man’, ‘bassist’), appear significantly more often in the data than their direct or indirect F equivalents. The only exception is *trummitüdruk* (‘drum girl’), which shows up more frequently than its direct M equivalent *trummipoiss* (‘drum boy’). Notably, *trummitüdruk* is the only F compound in the table with a definition in WordWeb, where it is described as “a girl drummer”; in contrast, *trummipoiss* lacks an entry. Except for this term, all other M compounds listed in the table are included in the language portal. Maleness is explicitly noted in the term *laulumees*, whereas *pillimees* and *bassimees* are described using gender-neutral wording.

Another interesting tendency is that among the M last-part-gendered vocabulary, more compounds are formed with a noun indicating a musical instrument compared to F words. These M compounds featuring an instrument as the first part are also more often used than M compounds with other constituents. By contrast, among the F terms, fewer compounds are composed of a noun referring to a musical instrument, and they are also used considerably less frequently than other F compounds, as shown in Graph 73.

Graph 73. Instrument-Related Initial Constituents in F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity



Given that the vocabulary suggests a stronger association between musical activity and men than with women, it is worthwhile to examine real-life data. In the first quarter of 2025, there were 545 male musicians, slightly fewer than the 550 female musicians, according to Statistics Estonia (2025b). Thus, the numbers of male and female musicians in Estonia are nearly equal, indicating that the picture painted by the vocabulary does not accord with reality. Furthermore, in hobby schools, female participation in music and art significantly exceeds that of males, with 27,898 females and 10,274 males involved in these activities in 2024 (Statistics Estonia 2025a). However, it should be noted that the hobby school statistics encompass both music and art, with music representing only one component of these activities.

The association of males with music-making is also evident when observing the first-part-gendered compounds presented in Graph 74. The most common first-part-gendered compounds are listed in Table 52.

Graph 74. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity



Table 52. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Musical Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naislaulja</i>	94	<i>meeslaulja</i>	74			‘singer’
<i>naishelilooja</i>	29	<i>meeshelilooja</i>	1			‘composer’
<i>naissolist</i>	17	<i>meessolist</i>	25			‘soloist’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meeslaulja</i>	74	<i>naislaulja</i>	94			‘singer’
<i>meessolist</i>	25	<i>naissolist</i>	17			‘soloist’
<i>poiss-sopran</i>	17					‘soprano’

The corpus contains more compounds with an F lexical-gender noun in the initial position. As for the most common vocabulary, the M compounds *meessolist* (‘male soloist’) and *poiss-sopran* (‘boy soprano’) have more instances in the corpus than their F equivalents. In fact, no F counterpart was detected for *poiss-sopran*, which makes sense since *sopran* (‘soprano’) typically implies a female voice, making an additional gender marking redundant. On the other hand, the F terms – *naislaulja* (‘female singer’) and *naishelilooja* (‘female composer’) – have more occurrences in the data than their M equivalents, although the frequency difference between *naislaulja* and *meeslaulja* is relatively minor. In fact, in some singing contests and music awards, women and men are evaluated in separate categories due to differences in vocal range; hence, the explicit gender marking with similar frequency seems to be comprehensible in this context. Nevertheless, overall, first-part-gendered compounds describing a woman involved in music remain more frequent, so even though the number of female and male musicians is nearly equal in reality, references to female musicians continue to be marked more often.

JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITY. The Journalistic Activity category encompasses nouns referring to an individual involved in news gathering, reporting, and other media industry roles (e.g. *ajakirjandusmees* (‘journalism man’), *saatetibi* (‘program chick’),

naisintervjueerija ('female interviewer')). Graph 75 visually presents the proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds in this category. The most frequent vocabulary is listed in Table 53.

Graph 75. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Journalistic Activity



Table 53. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Journalistic Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>ilmatüdruk</i>	90	<i>ilmapoiss</i>	7			'weather'
<i>ajakirjanikuneiu</i>	5			<i>ajakirjanikuhärä</i>	14	'journalist'
<i>teledaam</i>	4			<i>telemees</i>	202	'TV'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>telemees</i>	202	<i>telenaine</i>	3			'TV'
<i>leHEMEES</i>	91			<i>lehepiiga</i>	1	'newspaper'
<i>raadiomees</i>	74	<i>raadionaine</i>	2			'radio'

While the difference in number between F and M last-part-gendered compounds is relatively small, more of them refer to a woman involved in journalism. However, the M compounds appear more frequently in the corpus, driven by terms such as *telemees* ('TV man', 'TV reporter'), *leHEMEES* ('newspaper man', 'journalist'), and *raadiomees* ('radio man', 'radio reporter'), all of which may have a generic use, as can be inferred from the definitions provided by WordWeb. These M compounds are standard terms for news reporters and journalists, whereas their rare F counterparts do not enjoy the same status.

In contrast to the common M compounds, the most frequent F term, *ilmatüdruk* ('weather girl'), carries a more playful and informal connotation. Weather reporting can generally be considered as less severe than news reporting, and the lexical-gender noun *tüdruk* ('girl') in the final position further implies less expertise due to youth. The same holds for its direct equivalent *ilmapoiss* ('weather boy'); however, the F term is used significantly more frequently than its M counterpart. This sense of informality and youth is not present in the

most common M terms for news reporters, all of which use *mees* (‘man’) in the final position – a term that is not age-specific and does not imply youth. Moreover, the second most common F term, *ajakirjanikuneiu* (‘journalist lady’), likewise denotes a young journalist, suggesting less competence.

A total of 21 first-part-gendered compounds were identified in this category. Graph 76 illustrates the number and frequency of F and M first-part-gendered compounds. The most frequent vocabulary is presented in Table 54.

Graph 76. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Journalistic Activity



Table 54. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Journalistic Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisajakirjanik</i>	90	<i>meesajakirjanik</i>	12			‘journalist’
<i>naissaatejuht</i>	64	<i>meessaatejuht</i>	36			‘anchor’
<i>naisreporter</i>	17	<i>meesreporter</i>	1			‘reporter’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meessaatejuht</i>	36	<i>naissaatejuht</i>	64			‘anchor’
<i>meesajakirjanik</i>	12	<i>naisajakirjanik</i>	90			‘journalist’
<i>meeskommentaator</i>	5	<i>naiskommentaator</i>	7			‘commentator’

The gender of person nouns denoting roles in the media industry, such as *ajakirjanik* (‘journalist’), *saatejuht* (‘anchor’), and *reporter* (‘reporter’), is more frequently emphasised when referring to a woman. The 13 different F first-part-gendered compounds appear in 3 times as many instances in the data as the 8 M compounds.

Despite the vocabulary tending to present a journalist as more likely male than female, data from Statistics Estonia (2025b) show that in the first quarter of 2025, there were 733 female journalists in Estonia – almost twice as many as the 497 male journalists. Thus, journalism-related compound nouns present a somewhat distorted picture of reality.

DANCE ACTIVITY. The category of Dance Activity includes nouns such as *tantsuneiu* ('dance lady'), *limbomees* ('limbo man'), and *jenkamees* ('Jenka man'), among others. This category comprises only 32 words and, as a potential type of stage performance, could be grouped together with compounds describing an individual involved in film or theatre. However, since the compounds describing dancing paint a picture that stands in contrast to other categories observed so far, it is worthwhile to analyse them separately. The proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, as well as the most common vocabulary, are presented in Graph 77 and Table 55.

Graph 77. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Dance Activity

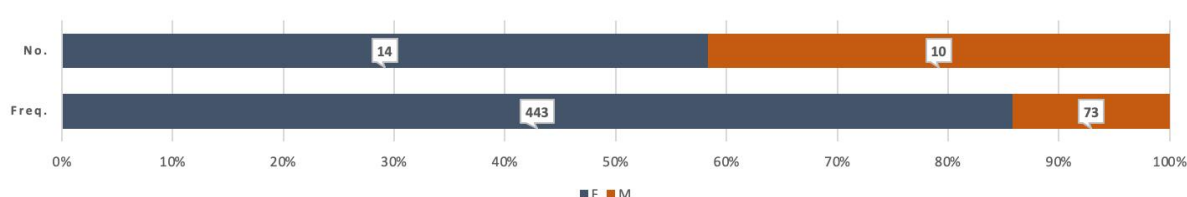


Table 55. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Dance Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>tantsutüdruk</i>	371	<i>tantsupoiss</i>	32			'dance'
<i>flamenkotüdruk</i>	5					'flamenco'
<i>rahvatantsumemm</i>	3					'folk dance'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>tantsupoiss</i>	32	<i>tantsutüdruk</i>	371			'dance'
<i>balletipoiss</i>	1					'ballet'
<i>breigipoiss</i>	1					'break'

Among the words describing a dancing person, there are more F last-part-gendered compounds, which are also more frequently used. In fact, Dance Activity is the only subcategory of Cultural Activity where the frequency of F last-part-gendered compounds significantly exceeds that of M last-part-gendered compounds. While some rare M terms, such as *balletipoiss* ('ballet boy') and *breigipoiss* ('breakdance boy'), lack F equivalents, and some rare F terms, like *flamenkotüdruk* ('flamenco girl') and *rahvatantsumemm* ('folk dance granny'), have no M counterpart, the primary reason for the overall frequency of F terms is the compound *tantsutüdruk* ('dance girl'), referring to a young female dancer, which appears roughly 10 times more in the corpus than *tantsupoiss* ('dance boy').

Although there are only 8 first-part-gendered compounds describing a dancing individual, it is worthwhile to examine them for comparison. Graph 78 and Table 56 summarise these first-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 78. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Dance Activity

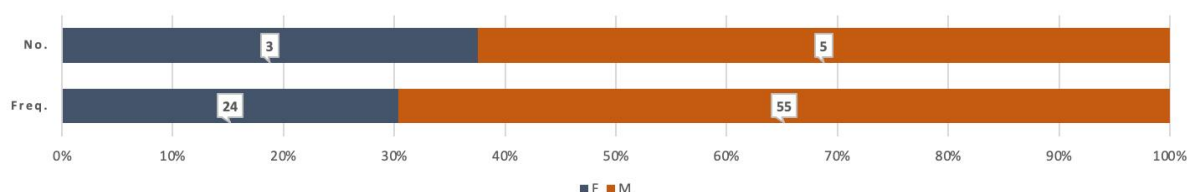


Table 56. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Dance Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naistantsija</i>	21	<i>meestantsija</i>	44			‘dancer’
<i>naisrahvatantsija</i>	2	<i>meesrahvatantsija</i>	1			‘folk dancer’
<i>naisbaleriin</i>	1	<i>meesbaleriin</i>	6			‘ballet dancer’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meestantsija</i>	44	<i>naistantsija</i>	21			‘dancer’
<i>meesbaleriin</i>	6	<i>naisbaleriin</i>	1			‘ballet dancer’
<i>meeskõhutantsija</i>	2					‘belly dancer’

The male gender is made explicit more frequently when referring to a dancer. In fact, this is the first category observed in this study in which maleness – and not femaleness – is emphasised more often through first-part-gendered compounds. The 3 F compounds are attested in 24 instances, while the 5 M compounds appear 55 times in the corpus. Interestingly, *meestantsija* (‘male dancer’) is documented twice as often as *naistantsija* (‘female dancer’), possibly reflecting an underlying assumption that dancers are typically female.

This vocabulary pattern, which associates dancing more with women, also appears to align with real-life statistics. According to Statistics Estonia (2025b), which provides data on dancers and choreographers, 65 men were earning income in this field, half as many as the 124 women working in the same professions.

OTHER CULTURAL ACTIVITY. Among the nouns describing an individual involved in culture, some words do not fall under any specific category treated earlier or cannot be grouped, but still refer to some type of cultural activity (e.g. *kunstnikuproua* (‘artist lady’), *kultuuramees* (‘culture man’), *kuraatorihärä* (‘curator man’), *naissürrealist* (‘female surrealist’)). Graph 79 and Table 57 provide an overview of last-part-gendered compound nouns that describe other culture-related activities.

Graph 79. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Cultural Activity



Table 57. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Cultural Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>raamatukogutädi</i>	37			<i>raamatukogumees</i>	1	‘library’
<i>muuseumitädi</i>	13	<i>muuseumionu</i>	1			‘museum’
<i>keelenaine</i>	10	<i>keelemees</i>	222			‘language’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>keelemees</i>	222	<i>keelenaine</i>	10			‘language’
<i>fotomees</i>	55					‘photo’
<i>kunstipoiss</i>	30			<i>kunstidaam</i>	1	‘art’

Among other last-part-gendered compounds referring to a person active in a cultural field, F compounds are more numerous. While some F compounds, such as *raamatukogutädi* (‘library lady’) and *muuseumitädi* (‘museum lady’), which colloquially refer to female librarians or museum workers, have more occurrences in the corpus than their M counterparts, M terms are on the whole more frequently used.

The most prevalent M compound in this category is *keelemees* (‘language man’), a commonly used term for a language researcher or linguist. As an aside, it is worth revisiting the compounds referring to individuals engaged in unspecified research, as M compounds also appear more frequently in these contexts. While this supports the overall findings on

gendered compounds referring to scholars, *keelemees* notably adds to the higher frequency of M last-part-gendered compounds denoting a cultural activity. Additionally, in WordWeb, where *keelemees* also has an entry, it is defined using gender-neutral terms, pointing to a possible generic interpretation. The same may apply to another common noun, *fotomees* ('photo man'), which is defined in WordWeb simply as "a photographer", without gender specification. No F equivalent was found for this M term.

The third most frequent M compound is *kunstipoiss* ('art boy'), referring to a young artist. While this M noun appears 30 times in the corpus, its direct equivalent, which would be *kunstitudruk* ('art girl'), is absent. The closest counterpart found is *kunstidaam* ('art lady'), which is used only once in the corpus.

The first-part-gendered compounds describing a person involved in other types of cultural activities are overviewed in Graph 80 and Table 58.

Graph 80. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Cultural Activity

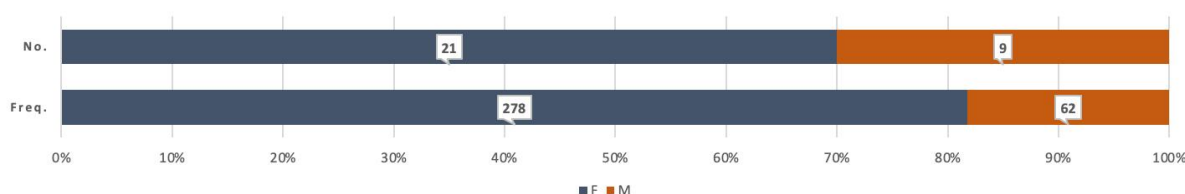


Table 58. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Cultural Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naiskunstnik</i>	88	<i>meeskunstnik</i>	14			'artist'
<i>naisautor</i>	69	<i>meesautor</i>	25			'author'
<i>naisarhitekt</i>	25	<i>meesarhitekt</i>	3			'architect'

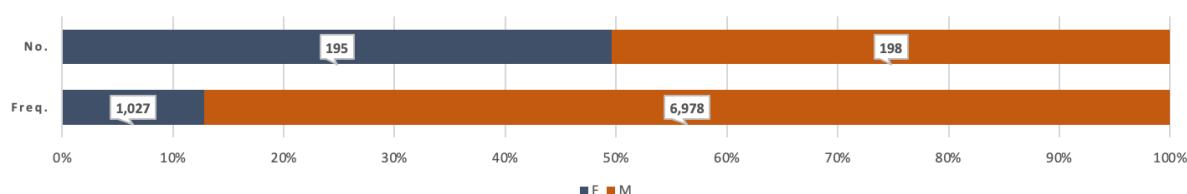
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesautor</i>	25	<i>naisautor</i>	69			'author'
<i>meeskunstnik</i>	14	<i>naiskunstnik</i>	88			'artist'
<i>meesstaar</i>	8	<i>naisstaar</i>	13			'star'

Among the first-part-gendered compounds, F compounds are more numerous and frequently used. The higher frequency is exemplified by the most prevalent F first-part-gendered

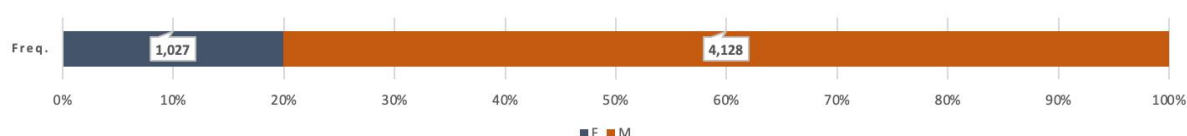
compounds in the table. Compounds like *naiskunstnik* ('female artist'), *naisautor* ('female author'), *naisarhitekt* ('female architect'), and *naisstaar* ('female star') appear more frequently in the corpus than their M counterparts.

CULTURAL ACTIVITY AS A WHOLE. To obtain a comprehensive overview of the Cultural Activity category, the following graphs summarise all gendered compounds describing an individual involved in different fields of culture, such as literature, theatre, art, music, and others. Graph 81 summarises the number and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds. Graph 82 presents the same proportions, leaving out compounds that appear more than 1,000 times in the corpus. Graph 83 illustrates all first-part-gendered compounds in the category of Cultural Activity.

Graph 81. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cultural Activity



Graph 82. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cultural Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Graph 83. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cultural Activity



Roughly an equal number of F and M last-part-gendered compounds describe an individual in the cultural sphere. However, M compounds dominate in terms of frequency, even when focusing only on vocabulary that occurs fewer than 1,000 times in the corpus. This pattern shifts when examining first-part-gendered compounds, where F compounds not only

outnumber M compounds but are also used more frequently overall. Thus, the female gender is more often made explicit in nouns referring to a person active in the cultural realm.

Criminal Activity

The category of Criminal Activity includes nouns that describe an individual involved in illicit actions or actions that may violate laws or social norms. Examples include *sulipoiss* (‘fraudster boy’), *maffiatüdruk* (‘mafia girl’), *rusikamees* (lit. ‘fist man’, ‘brawler’), *naisröövel* (‘female robber’), along with some more humorous examples, such as *mõrtsukmoor* (‘killer granny’, ‘murderer hag’) or *killertšikk* (‘killer chick’). Graph 84 illustrates the proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds in this category, while Table 59 presents the most prevalent last-part-gendered vocabulary.

Graph 84. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Criminal Activity

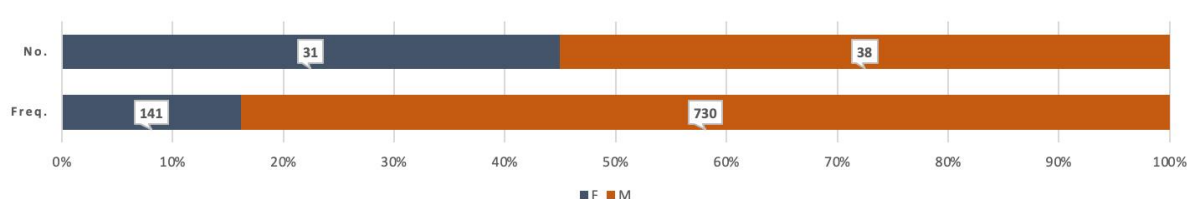


Table 59. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Criminal Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>vargaplika</i>	75			<i>vargapoiss</i>	131	‘thief’
<i>pätipliika</i>	9			<i>pätipoiss</i>	65	‘thug’
<i>röövlipliika</i>	8			<i>röövlionu</i>	3	‘robber’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>pikanäpumees</i>	161	<i>pikanäpunaine</i>	1			‘long finger’
<i>vargapoiss</i>	131	<i>vargatüdruk</i>	3			‘thief’
<i>kurikamees</i>	77					‘bat’

Although there are no significant differences in the number of F and M compounds in this category, M compounds appear more often in the corpus. Most of the M compounds in the table, such as *pikanäpumees* (lit. ‘long-fingered man’, ‘pickpocket’), *vargapoiss* (‘thief boy’), and *pätipoiss* (‘thug boy’), are standard terms used to denote delinquents. While *pätipoiss* is explicitly defined as “a lawbreaking boy” in WordWeb, both *pikanäpumees* and *vargapoiss*

are represented using gender-neutral terms, indicating a possible generic use for these nouns. Their direct and indirect F equivalents are also present in the corpus, though they appear less frequently. Additionally, the most frequent F terms carry a somewhat colloquial and derogatory connotation due to the lexical-gender noun *plika* (‘lass’) in the final position, a tone not present in the M terms, which are more neutral. Of the F terms listed in the table, only *vargaplika* (‘thief lass’) has made its way into the language portal. The compound is explicitly defined as “a female thief”, which offers an interesting comparison to its indirect M equivalent, *vargapoiss*, defined simply as “a thief”.

No F counterpart could be identified for the term *kurikamees* (lit. ‘bat man’), which appears over 70 times in the corpus. Notably, *kurikamees* is not a common noun used to denote an offender, nor is it defined in WordWeb. The term became infamous in Estonia following a 2009 case in which a male criminal attacked women with a bat in Tallinn. Many of the concordance lines appear to refer to this infamous figure. For instance, one sentence from the corpus reads: *Endine politseijuht [...] teab, miks Eesti politsei kurikameest kätte ei saa.* (‘Former police chief [...] knows why the Estonian police can’t catch the *bat man* [criminal].’) (Eesti Ekspress 2010). The absence of a female equivalent likely stems from the fact that no comparable female criminal has been reported to date.

A contrasting picture emerges when casting an eye on the first-part-gendered compounds. Graph 85 presents the proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds, along with the most prevalent vocabulary in Table 60.

Graph 85. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Criminal Activity

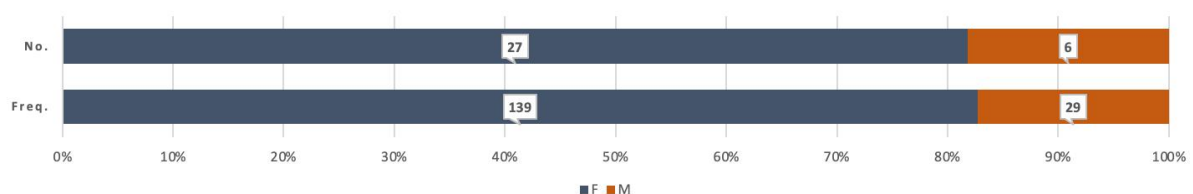


Table 60. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Criminal Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisvang</i>	63	<i>meesvang</i>	20			‘prisoner’
<i>naisterrorist</i>	19					‘terrorist’

<i>naiskurjategija</i>	19	<i>meeskurjategija</i>	5			‘criminal’
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesvang</i>	20	<i>naisvang</i>	63			‘prisoner’
<i>meeskurjategija</i>	5	<i>naiskurjategija</i>	19			‘criminal’
<i>meespeksja</i>	1					‘beater’

Among the nouns describing a person involved in illicit actions, female references are marked more often. These F first-part-gendered terms also occur more frequently in the corpus. For instance, F compounds such as *naisvang* (‘female prisoner’), *naisterrorist* (‘female terrorist’), and *naiskurjategija* (‘female criminal’) have higher frequencies than their M equivalents.

Although no statistical data were found on Estonians who have broken the law, the World Prison Brief (n.d.) provides information on the gender distribution of prisoners in Estonian prisons. As of August 2025, approximately 95% of prisoners in Estonia were men – an imbalance that aligns accurately with the higher frequency of M last-part-gendered compounds and the predominance of F first-part-gendered compounds in this category. However, compounds referring to prisoners constitute only a part of the vocabulary grouped under this category.

Religious or Spiritual Activity

The category of Religious or Spiritual Activity includes compounds that denote an individual involved in practices associated with the supernatural, superpowers, deities, and related activities (e.g. *kirikuhärja* (lit. ‘church mister’, ‘pastor’), *palvemees* (‘prayer man’), *naismaag* (‘female mage’)). It excludes nouns which refer to a person belonging to a specific religious group, such as *mosleminaine* (‘Muslim woman’), which are categorised under vocabulary that describes a person’s identity (Section 2.2.2.2).

The number and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds are presented in Graph 86. The most common last-part-gendered compounds are listed in Table 61.

Graph 86. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious or Spiritual Activity

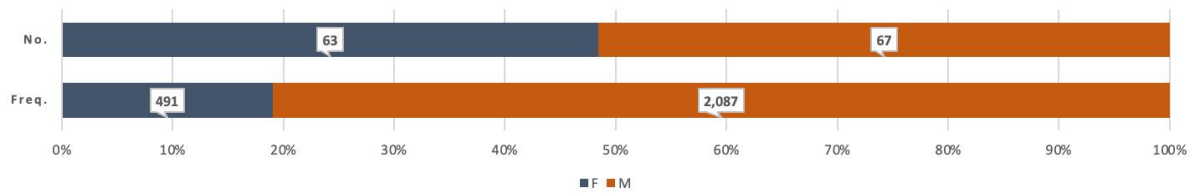


Table 61. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious or Spiritual Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>nõiamoor</i>	123			<i>nõiapees</i>	2	‘witch’
<i>kaardimoor</i>	115			<i>kaardimees</i>	5	‘card’, ‘map’
<i>teadjanaine</i>	89	<i>teadjamees</i>	297			‘knower’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>teadjamees</i>	297	<i>teadjanaine</i>	89			‘knower’
<i>usumees</i>	286			<i>usutädi</i>	1	‘faith’
<i>pühamees</i>	280	<i>pühanaine</i>	1			‘holy’

While the number of F and M last-part-gendered compounds is nearly equal, M vocabulary occurs 4 times more frequently in the data. The most frequent M terms – *teadjamees* (lit. ‘knower man’, ‘shaman’), *usumees* (lit. ‘faith man’, ‘cleric’), and *pühamees* (‘holy man’, ‘saint’) – are attested significantly more often in the corpus than their F equivalents. These are familiar words defined in WordWeb using gender-neutral expressions. While *usutädi* (‘faith woman’) and *pühanaine* (‘holy woman’) are too infrequent to warrant language portal entries, *teadjanaine* (lit. ‘knower woman’, ‘shaman’) is a relatively common term and also has an entry in WordWeb. Interestingly again, while *teadjamees* is defined simply as “a shaman”, *teadjanaine* is described as “a female shaman”.

Compared to the most common M vocabulary, in which two compounds, *usumees* and *pühamees*, refer to involvement in official or institutional religion, the most frequent F compounds denote a woman engaged in non-institutional or esoteric practices. The compounds *nõiamoor* (‘witch crone’) and *kaardimoor* (‘card crone’) are commonly used to refer to a witch and a fortune teller who predicts the future using cards, respectively. The lexical-gender noun *moor* (‘crone’, ‘hag’) in the final position lends these terms a somewhat negative, even derogatory, tone. In WordWeb, for example, both the primary and additional

definitions of *nōiamoor* describe the term as referring to a woman or an older woman who is evil, ugly, and spiteful. Negative connotations are not discernible in their M counterparts. Moreover, the indirect M equivalent of *kaardimoor* does not denote a male fortune teller. The compound modifier *kaart* is used for both card and map, and the 5 instances found in the corpus originate from a car magazine and a rally racing forum, where *kaardimees* clearly refers to a map reader in car races, and thus literally translates as ‘map man’). Consequently, *kaardimees* is not classified under the category of Religious or Spiritual Activity.

An opposing picture emerges when observing the first-part-gendered compounds. Graph 87 illustrates the number and frequency of F and M first-part-gendered compounds referring to an individual involved with religion or spirituality. Table 62 provides an overview of the most frequent first-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 87. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious or Spiritual Activity

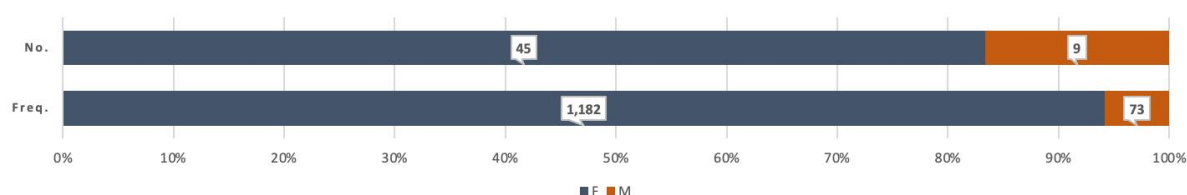


Table 62. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Religious or Spiritual Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisvaimulik</i>	344	<i>meesvaimulik</i>	37			‘cleric’
<i>naispiiskop</i>	261	<i>meespiiskop</i>	10			‘bishop’
<i>naisteoloog</i>	139					‘theologian’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesvaimulik</i>	37	<i>naisvaimulik</i>	344			‘cleric’
<i>meespastor</i>	10	<i>naispastor</i>	111			‘pastor’
<i>meespiiskop</i>	10	<i>naispiiskop</i>	261			‘bishop’

There are more F first-part-gendered compounds than M nouns, and the F word stock is also noticeably more frequently used. All the F compounds listed in the table – *naisvaimulik* (‘female cleric’), *naispiiskop* (‘female bishop’), *naisteoloog* (‘female theologian’), and

naispastor ('female pastor') – appear considerably more often in texts than their M equivalents, if they are present in the corpus.

In contrast to last-part-gendered compounds, most of the vocabulary in the table refers to an individual engaged in institutional religion – a finding that reflects the prevailing male bias within church-related professions, which can be attributed to the historical and ongoing exclusion of women from these roles (Woodhead 2007). Estonia, known for its high level of secularism, has the Evangelical Lutheran Church as its most prominent denomination, where both women and men can hold positions, but women still remain in the minority (Aleknaitė et al. 2024; Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik n.d.). According to data collected by Statistics Estonia (2025b), in the first quarter of 2025, 44 women and 185 men were employed as religious field specialists, responsible for conducting sacred practices and leading religious services and rituals. No data is available on non-institutional or esoteric activities.

Educational Activity

The category of Educational Activity encompasses all nouns that refer to a person engaged in studying, educating or teaching (e.g. *gümnaasiumineiu* ('high school girl'), *kolledžiplika* ('college lass'), *meestudeng* ('male student'), *meesõpetaja* ('male teacher')). Graph 88 presents the proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 63 displays the most prevalent F and M last-part-gendered nouns within this category.

Graph 88. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Educational Activity

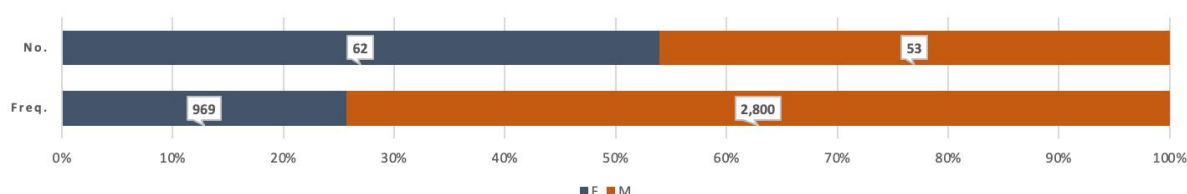


Table 63. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Educational Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>koolitüdruk</i>	480	<i>koolipoiss</i>	1716			‘school’
<i>tudengineiu</i>	87	<i>tudenginoormees</i>	1			‘student’
<i>keskkoolitüdruk</i>	26	<i>keskkoolipoiss</i>	39			‘high school’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>koolipoiss</i>	1716	<i>koolitüdruk</i>	480			‘school’
<i>õpipoiss</i>	533	<i>õpitudruk</i>	6			‘apprentice’
<i>kahemees</i>	64					‘two’

While slightly more words refer to a female involved in education, the M compounds are more commonly used. Almost all the M compounds in the table, such as *koolipoiss* (‘schoolboy’), *keskkoolipoiss* (‘high school boy’), *õpipoiss* (‘study boy’, ‘apprentice’), and *kahemees* (lit. ‘two-man’, ‘D student’), have more occurrences in the corpus than their F equivalents. Additionally, in WordWeb, *õpipoiss* and *kahemees* are described using gender-neutral terms, hinting at a possible generic use of these M nouns. In the table, the only F compound that appears more frequently in the corpus texts than its direct M equivalent is *tudengineiu* (‘student girl’), with its direct counterpart *tudenginoormees* (‘student guy’) showing up only once. An indirect M equivalent, *tudengimees* (‘student man’), is also attested in the corpus; however, its 18 occurrences still fall notably short of the 87 instances of *tudengineiu*.

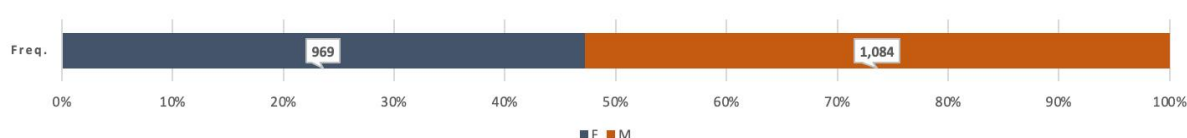
While *tudengineiu* refers to a university student, the more frequent M compounds *koolipoiss*, *keskkoolipoiss*, and *kahemees* denote a school student. Given that basic education is compulsory for both boys and girls in Estonia, it is notable that, for instance, *koolipoiss* appears over 3 times as often as *koolitüdruk*. The nearly equal school participation of boys and girls can be confirmed statistically: according to the World Bank (2020), the gender parity index for school enrolment in Estonia is approximately 1.00 for primary education and 1.05 for secondary education, indicating a balanced participation of girls and boys.

Real-life statistics are also available for higher education. According to the 2021 census, in the 25–64 age group, approximately 53% of women and 34% of men hold a university degree (Statistics Estonia 2022a), which may be reflected in the more frequent usage of *tudengineiu*.

However, since university studies presuppose high school education, the apparent association of school students with boys rather than girls is even more puzzling.

Since the most prevalent M compound, *koolipoiss*, appears over 1,000 times in the data and is the primary contributor to the overall higher frequency of M terms in this category, it is worthwhile to consider the less common compounds. As shown in Graph 89, when *koolipoiss* is removed, the frequency of F and M terms becomes nearly equal, more closely mirroring the real-life situation.

Graph 89. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Educational Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Graph 90 illustrates the proportions of first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual involved in education. Table 64 lists the most prevalent F and M first-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 90. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Educational Activity



Table 64. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Educational Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisõpetaja</i>	258	<i>meesõpetaja</i>	372			‘teacher’
<i>naisüliõpilane</i>	147	<i>meesüliõpilane</i>	35			‘student’
<i>naistudeng</i>	87	<i>meestudeng</i>	45			‘student’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesõpetaja</i>	372	<i>naisõpetaja</i>	258			‘teacher’
<i>meestudeng</i>	45	<i>naistudeng</i>	87			‘student’
<i>meesüliõpilane</i>	35	<i>naisüliõpilane</i>	147			‘student’

Both the number and frequency of F and M first-part-gendered compounds are roughly equal. The table reveals that male reference is made explicit somewhat more frequently when pointing to a teacher, with *meesõpetaja* (‘male teacher’) appearing more often in the corpus than its F equivalent, possibly reflecting an underlying assumption that school teachers – the noun *õpetaja* (‘teacher’) is primarily used for school teachers – are typically female. Statistics indeed support this idea, but in reality, the gender imbalance among school teachers in Estonia is even more pronounced than this compound pair suggests. In the first quarter of 2025, approximately 14,000 female and 2,800 male teachers were working in elementary, secondary, and high schools (Statistics Estonia 2025b).

Interestingly, the female reference is highlighted more often when denoting a university student, with both *naistudeng* (‘female student’) and *naisüliõpilane* (‘female student’) appearing more frequently in the corpus texts. Even though women outnumber men among university degree holders, according to Statistics Estonia (2022a), this could instead prompt a closer association of women with university life; however, femaleness is still emphasised more often than maleness in this context.

Sexual Activity

The category of Sexual Activity comprises compounds denoting an individual engaged in activities related to romantic or intimate life. Examples include *hooranaine* (‘whore woman’), *naisliputaja* (‘female flasher’), along with numerous colloquial or subtly humorous terms like *haaremiisand* (‘harem lord’), *pornotädi* (‘porn lady’), *naispervar* (‘female perv’), or *kepimees* (‘fuck man’). Graph 91 and Table 65 provide an overview of the last-part-gendered vocabulary within this category.

Graph 91. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sexual Activity

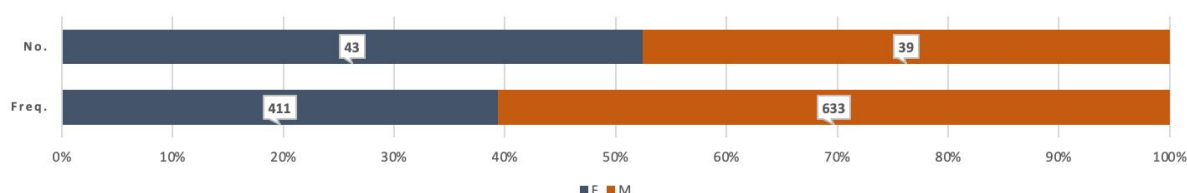


Table 65. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sexual Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>lõbutüdruk</i>	153	<i>lõbupoiss</i>	12			‘fun’
<i>kosjamoor</i>	27					‘courtship’
<i>eskorttüdruk</i>	19					‘escort’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>naistemees</i>	236					‘women’
<i>kommionu</i>	182					‘candy’
<i>täkupoiss</i>	67					‘stallion’

Among nouns describing sexual activity, the number of F and M last-part-gendered compounds is nearly equal. While M compounds have more occurrences in the corpus, F terms are also frequently used. It is remarkable, however, that when examining the most common nouns in Table 65, distinct semantic differences emerge between F and M terms.

Two of the most common F compounds, *lõbutüdruk* (lit. ‘fun girl’, ‘prostitute’) and *eskorttüdruk* (‘escort girl’), refer to a woman providing romantic services for money. The term *kosjamoor* (‘matchmaking crone’), somewhat pejorative due to the lexical-gender noun *moor* (‘crone’, ‘hag’) in the final position, refers to an older woman involved in arranging matches or facilitating relationships. None of the most common M nouns carry such connotations. That is, they also describe a man engaged in sexual activities, but not in exchange for money or for matchmaking. The M nouns *naistemees* (lit. ‘women man’, ‘womaniser’) and *täkupoiss* (lit. ‘stallion boy’, ‘womaniser’) refer to a man having multiple (non-serious) sexual relationships. *Kommionu* (lit. ‘candy man’), on the other hand, is a common term for a person who lures children for sexual purposes, a paedophile. Hence, the most frequent M terms all imply a man initiating or attempting to initiate sexual relationships with others, whereas F terms such as *lõbutüdruk* and *eskorttüdruk*, which denote sexual activity for financial gain, rather portray women as pleasers who conform to the needs and desires of others.

Except for *lõbutüdruk*, no M counterparts were found for the most prevalent F terms, and no F equivalents were detected for M compounds in the table. Hence, the most frequent F and M compounds referring to sexual activity appear to be specifically related to only one gender.

A smaller number of first-part-gendered compounds describing a person involved in sexual activity was identified in the corpus. Graph 92 presents the count and frequency of F and M first-part-gendered compounds in this category, while Table 66 provides a list of the most frequently used vocabulary.

Graph 92. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sexual Activity

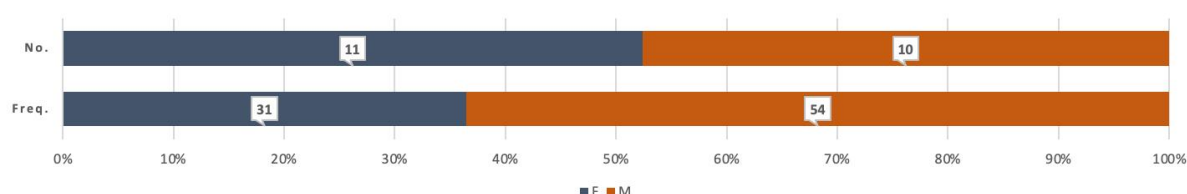


Table 66. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sexual Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisprostituut</i>	7	<i>meesprostituut</i>	25			‘prostitute’
<i>naispedofiil</i>	6	<i>meespedofiil</i>	2			‘paedophile’
<i>naisvågistaja</i>	3					‘rapist’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesprostituut</i>	25	<i>naisprostituut</i>	7			‘prostitute’
<i>meesstriipar</i>	13					‘stripper’
<i>meeshoor</i>	4					‘whore’

The first-part-gendered compounds present a similar pattern to the last-part-gendered compounds. While there is a roughly equal number of F and M first-part-gendered compounds, the M vocabulary is more frequently used. This is mainly due to the most frequent M terms – *meesprostituut* (‘male prostitute’), *meesstriipar* (‘male stripper’), and *meeshoor* (‘male whore’) – which all have more instances in the corpus than their F equivalents, where they exist. All these M terms refer to occupations involving the provision of sexual services for money, and the explicit male reference in such roles matches the higher frequency of the most prevalent F last-part-gendered compounds, such as *lõbutüdruk* (‘prostitute’). On the other hand, the most frequent F compounds, such as *naispedofiil* (‘female paedophile’) and *naisvågistaja* (‘female rapist’), which refer to activities typically associated with men, occur slightly more often than their M equivalents, though they remain rare. Taken together, first-part-gendered compounds appear to support the picture painted by last-part-gendered compounds.

Sales or Service Activity

The category of Sales or Service Activity includes compound nouns that refer to an individual who sells goods or provides services to others, such as cooking, cleaning, waiting tables, and other similar tasks. Examples include *pesumees* ('laundryman'), *kassadaam* ('cashier lady'), *naisklienditeenindaja* ('female customer service agent'), as well as more colourful terms such as *kakumamma* ('bun granny') and *pontšikuemand* ('doughnut madam'). A total of 443 last-part-gendered compounds were identified, allowing for further differentiation into subcategories such as Cleaning Activity, Food Service Activity, Sales Activity, and others. These subcategories will be examined separately in the following sections. The 38 first-part-gendered compounds describing a person involved in sales or service will be collectively analysed at the end of this section.

SALES ACTIVITY. The category of Sales Activity includes nouns that describe an individual engaged in commercial activities, specifically exchanging goods for money (e.g. *poemüijamees* ('shop assistant man'), *letitädi* ('shop counter lady')). Graph 93 and Table 67 provide an overview of the last-part-gendered vocabulary in this category.

Graph 93. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales Activity

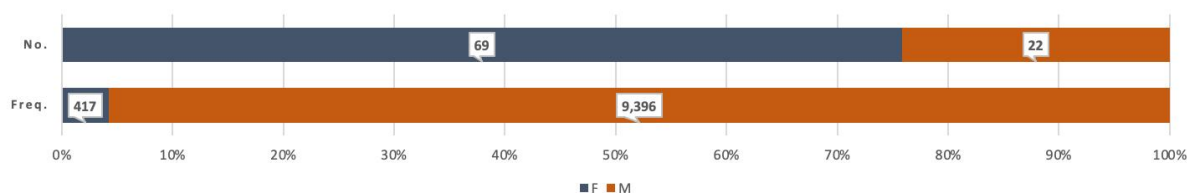


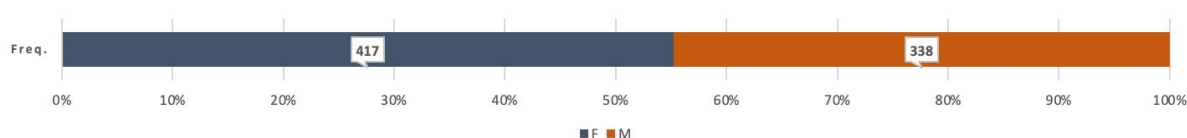
Table 67. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>turumutt</i>	51					'market'
<i>lilleneiu</i>	29			<i>lillepoiss</i>	11	'flower'
<i>müüjatädi</i>	20			<i>müüjapoiss</i>	2	'seller'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kaupmees</i>	6582	<i>kaupnaine</i>	2			'goods'
<i>müügimees</i>	2476	<i>müüginaine</i>	15			'sale'
<i>piimamees</i>	161	<i>piimanaine</i>	18			'milk'

Although the number of F compounds is noticeably higher than that of M compounds denoting a seller, the M compounds are used significantly more frequently. This higher frequency of M terms is primarily due to the prevalence of the most common M compounds listed in the table: *kaupmees* (lit. ‘goods man’, ‘merchant’), *müügimees* (‘salesman’), and *piimamees* (‘milkman’). These are standard terms in Estonian with a possible generic interpretation – WordWeb describes them using gender-neutral definitions. Beyond mere involvement in selling, *kaupmees* and *müügimees* are also closely tied to the notion of earning money, implying a certain participation in business or profit-making. If these widespread standard terms are excluded, bringing focus to the less frequent compounds in this category, the picture shifts significantly, as illustrated by Graph 94.

Graph 94. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Regarding less common compounds describing an individual involved in selling, F compounds are used somewhat more frequently. Among those, the most prevalent F terms listed in the table – *turumutt* (‘market hag’, ‘market vendor’), *lilleneiu* (‘flower girl’, ‘flower seller’), and *müüjatädi* (‘seller woman’) – have more occurrences in the corpus than their M equivalents. It is also worth noting the derogatory tone of the compound *turumutt*, which implies an elderly, coarse woman who tends to engage in excessive talk, as also indicated by WordWeb. Additionally, while *turumutt* and *müüjatädi* refer to a woman selling goods in general, *lilleneiu* specifically denotes a young lady selling flowers. This compound serves as a clear example of the traditional association between flowers and femininity. Flowers, which symbolise beauty, delicacy, and softness, are stereotypically linked to women, who, in an androcentric society, are admired for their visual appeal and expected to embody these same qualities.

In terms of proportional spread, the number of distinct F and M compounds appears to align more closely with the real-life data than their frequency pattern does. The high frequency of M compounds is at odds with the actual gender distribution in this domain. In the first quarter of 2025, the number of female employees in various selling roles, such as ticket sellers,

cashiers, shop assistants, kiosk attendants, and market sellers, was over 4 times higher than that of male workers (Statistics Estonia 2025b). For example, there were 3,548 female cashiers and ticket sellers, 7 times the total of male employees, amounting to only 487.

CLEANING ACTIVITY. The category of Cleaning Activity includes nouns denoting an individual involved in cleaning tasks or services (e.g. *pesupoiss* ('laundry boy'), *koristajana* ('cleaner woman')). Graph 95 illustrates the count and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 68 presents the most commonly used vocabulary.

Graph 95. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cleaning Activity

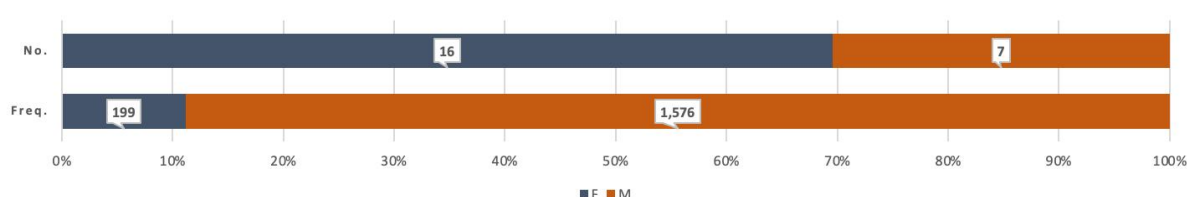


Table 68. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cleaning Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>koristajatädi</i>	73	<i>koristajaonu</i>	2			'cleaner'
<i>pesunaine</i>	61	<i>pesumees</i>	3			'laundry'
<i>kojanaine</i>	22	<i>kojamees</i>	1,566			'hall'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kojamees</i>	1,566	<i>kojanaine</i>	22			'hall'
<i>pesumees</i>	3	<i>pesunaine</i>	61			'laundry'
<i>koristajaonu</i>	2	<i>koristajatädi</i>	73			'cleaner'

Although more last-part-gendered compounds refer to a cleaning woman than to a cleaning man, the M compounds appear considerably more frequently in the corpus. The only reason for this is the noun *kojamees* (lit. 'hall man'), a standard term for a housekeeper in charge of cleaning the building and its surroundings – a janitor. A generic interpretation of the term *kojamees* is very plausible. Besides WordWeb describing it as “a person”, not “a man”, it also provides an example, which is noteworthy: *Kui Anette tööle jõudis, olid teised kojamehed juba koristamas.* ('When Anette arrived at work, the other *hall men* [janitors] were already working.') Since Anette is a female name, this language portal sentence is a clear example of how the M term is used not only for men but also for women.

One important detail needs to be pointed out: besides ‘janitor’, *kojamees* also translates to ‘windshield wiper’. Of course, other gendered compounds may also, in thousands of texts in the Estonian Web Corpus produced by countless spontaneous language users, occasionally convey different concepts. However, since this additional meaning of *kojamees* is a ubiquitous term, a further search was conducted on the sources from which the compound originates. Notably, 11 out of 211 sources were car-related magazines, and in those, *kojamees* appeared 413 times. This makes it highly likely that in those contexts the term refers not to a janitor, but to a windshield wiper. However, even if 413 instances are subtracted from the total frequency of *kojamees*, the overall frequency proportions are affected by only about 3%.

The frequency proportions of F and M compounds change more noticeably, however, when the noun *kojamees* is excluded altogether, as it appears over 1,000 times in the corpus texts. Graph 96 illustrates the less frequent compounds in this category.

Graph 96. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Cleaning Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Almost all the other compounds describing cleaners are feminine, and they also appear more frequently in the corpus. For example, among the most prevalent nouns in the table, F terms such as *koristajatädi* (‘cleaning lady’) and *pesunaine* (‘laundrywoman’) have significantly higher frequencies compared to the few occurrences of their M counterparts.

The vocabulary aligns more closely with the real-life picture only when the most frequent M noun – the masculine generic *kojamees* – is excluded. According to findings from *Gender Equality Monitoring 2021* (Hämmal et al. 2022), 57% of women regard themselves as primarily responsible for home cleaning, while only 11% of men consider it their duty. Additionally, Statistics Estonia (2025b) reports that among workers performing various cleaning tasks in offices, hotels, and similar institutions, there were approximately 18,000 women compared to 4,000 men in the first quarter of 2025 – that is, over 4 times as many women were employed in these positions as men.

CULINARY ACTIVITY. The category of Culinary Activity includes nouns denoting a person involved in cooking (e.g. *pagarinaine* (‘baker woman’), *kondiitripiiga* (‘confectioner girl’), *kokaonu* (‘cook man’)). Graph 97 shows the number and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 69 lists the most frequently used vocabulary.

Graph 97. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Culinary Activity

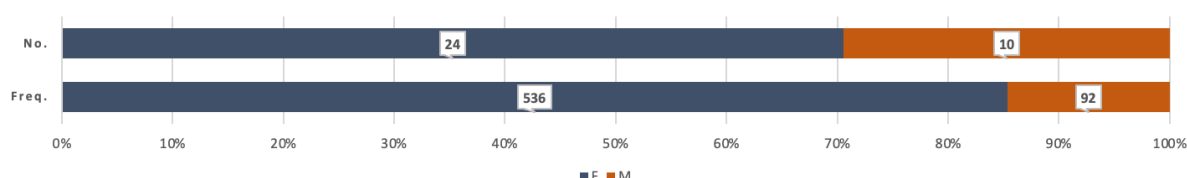


Table 69. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Culinary Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kokatädi</i>	169	<i>kokaonu</i>	1			‘cook’
<i>köögitüdruk</i>	140	<i>köögipoiss</i>	2			‘kitchen’
<i>söögitädi</i>	132			<i>söögimees</i>	1	‘food’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kokapoiss</i>	80	<i>kokatüdruk</i>	3			‘cook’
<i>köögimees</i>	3	<i>kööginaine</i>	5			‘kitchen’
<i>sööklaonu</i>	1	<i>sööklataädi</i>	23			‘canteen’

Last-part-gendered compounds that describe a woman involved in cooking outnumber M compounds. The F terms also occur more frequently in the corpus. The most prevalent F vocabulary – *kokatädi* (‘cook lady’), *köögitüdruk* (‘kitchen maid’), and *söögitädi* (‘food woman’, ‘lunch lady’) – are attested considerably more often than their direct and indirect M equivalents. Compounds describing a male engaged in cooking appear only a few times in the corpus, except for *kokapoiss* (‘cook boy’), which is a fairly common term and more frequent than *kokatüdruk* (‘cook girl’). However, its indirect F equivalent, *kokatädi*, surfaces twice as often in the data.

The vocabulary seems to echo a traditional worldview where women are frequently associated with domestic roles, particularly cooking and food preparation. According to data from *Gender Equality Monitoring 2021* (Hämmal et al. 2022), 66% of women believe they bear the primary responsibility for cooking at home, compared to only 16% of men who see

meal preparation as their duty. Furthermore, data from Statistics Estonia (2025b) indicate that in the first quarter of 2025, there were approximately 5,600 female cooks compared to 2,300 male cooks in Estonia.

FOOD SERVICE ACTIVITY. The category of Food Service Activity includes nouns referring to an individual involved in waiting work in restaurants, bars, or similar establishments (e.g. *ettekandjapreili* (‘server lady’, ‘waitress’), *kohvikudaam* (‘cafeteria lady’)). The vocabulary in this category is summarised in Graph 98 and Table 70.

Graph 98. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Food Service Activity



Table 70. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Food Service Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>baaridaam</i>	268			<i>baarimees</i>	88	‘bar’
<i>kõrtsiemand</i>	29	<i>kõrtsiisand</i>	3			‘inn’
<i>ettekandjaneiu</i>	6			<i>ettekandjapoiss</i>	1	‘server’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kõrtsimees</i>	137	<i>kõrtsinaine</i>	10			‘inn’
<i>baarimees</i>	88	<i>baarinaine</i>	3			‘bar’
<i>kelneripoiss</i>	4			<i>kelneritädi</i>	1	‘server’

More last-part-gendered compounds describe a woman working as a customer server than those depicting a man in similar roles. Additionally, the overall frequency of F terms is higher, mainly due to the compound *baaridaam* (‘barmaid’), which appears more frequently in the corpus than its closest M counterpart *baarimees* (‘barman’). However, the M compound *kõrtsimees* (‘inn man’, ‘innkeeper’) is more prevalent than both its direct and indirect F equivalents, *kõrtsinaine* (‘inn woman’, ‘innkeeper’) and *kõrtsiemand* (‘inn lady’).

The two most frequent M compounds, *kõrtsimees* and *baarimees*, are both defined in WordWeb using gender-neutral terms. By contrast, their F counterparts, *kõrtsinaine* and *baaridaam*, are also included in the language portal but are overtly described as “a woman” engaged in their respective activities. To exemplify, the definition for *kõrtsinaine* is as follows: *naissoost kõrtsipidaja või kõrtsmiku naine* (‘female innkeeper or wife of the innkeeper’); *kõrtsimees*, on the other hand, is defined as *kõrtsmik* (‘innkeeper’) and *kõrtsi omanik* (‘owner of the inn’) – definitions that not only imply that the gender-neutral *kõrtsmik* (‘innkeeper’) likely refers to a man, but also associate women with familial roles rather than professional occupations.

Data from Statistics Estonia support the greater number and overall higher frequency of F terms in this category. In early 2025, nearly 2,700 women were employed as waitresses, compared to just over 700 men working as waiters across various establishments.

OTHER SALES OR SERVICE ACTIVITY. Among the vocabulary referring to an individual involved in sales or service, other nouns were also found that could not be placed within the more specific categories previously discussed (e.g. *liftipoiss* (‘lift boy’), *garderoobitädi* (‘cloak room lady’), *tanklamees* (‘gas station man’)). Graph 99 presents the number and frequency of the F and M last-part-gendered compounds. The most prevalent F and M nouns are listed in Table 71.

Graph 99. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Sales or Service Activity

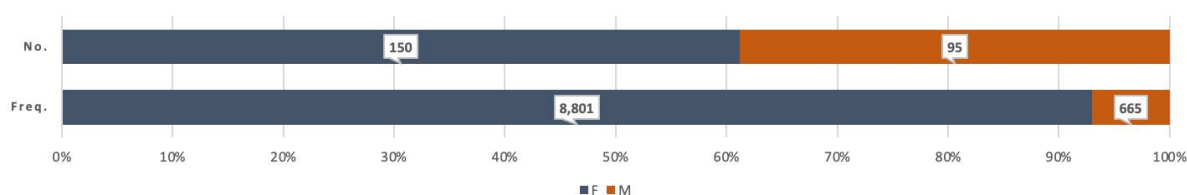


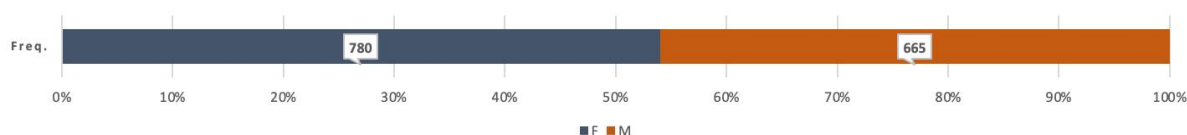
Table 71. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Sales or Service Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>perenaine</i>	8,021	<i>peremees</i>	15,607			‘family’
<i>teenijatüdruk</i>	154	<i>teenijapoiss</i>	1			‘servant’
<i>toatüdruk</i>	125	<i>toapoiss</i>	186			‘room’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>toapoiss</i>	186	<i>toatüdruk</i>	125			‘room’
<i>jooksupoiss</i>	171	<i>jooksutüdruk</i>	5			‘run’
<i>postipapa</i>	44			<i>postitädi</i>	7	‘post’

More vocabulary describing a woman involved in uncategorised sales or service was found, with F compounds being significantly more frequently used. The overall high frequency of F terms can largely be attributed to the compound *perenaine* (lit. ‘family woman’), which has already been discussed in the categories of Power (Section 2.2.2.1) and Relationship (Section 2.2.2.4). This term refers to a female owner or leader, an owner’s or leader’s wife, and also to a woman responsible for cooking and other domestic duties (WordWeb). In contrast, *peremees* (lit. ‘family man’, ‘owner’, ‘leader’) lacks a domestic connotation and is, therefore, not included in the category of Sales or Service Activity. If the frequent term *perenaine* is excluded to highlight other compounds in this category better, the F and M compounds are used with similar frequency, as shown in Graph 100.

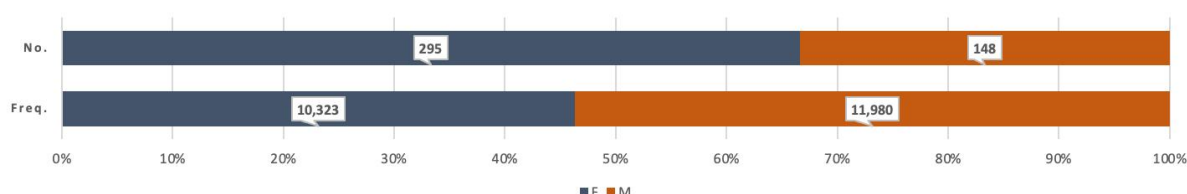
Graph 100. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Sales or Service Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



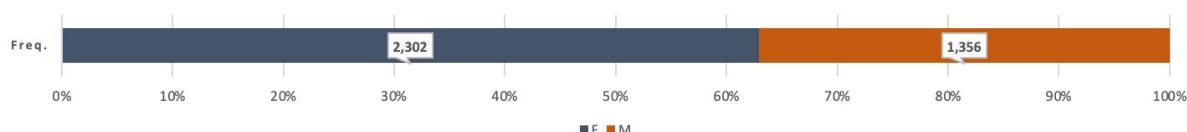
The overall equilibrium in the frequency of other nouns is evident in the most prevalent vocabulary. The F term *teenijatüdruk* (‘servant girl’, ‘maid’) appears significantly more frequently, with 154 instances, compared to its M counterpart, *teenijapoiss* (‘servant boy’), which is used only once. Conversely, *toapoiss* (lit. ‘room boy’, ‘valet’) and *postipapa* (‘post man’) are more prevalent than *toatüdruk* (lit. ‘room girl’, ‘maid’) and *postitädi* (‘post woman’). *Jooksupoiss* (lit. ‘run boy’, ‘errand boy’) is another common M term. The F equivalent *jooksutüdruk* (‘run girl’) is not included in this category, as in the 5 examples in the corpus, it does not refer to a female messenger but instead literally describes a girl who runs.

SALES OR SERVICE ACTIVITY AS A WHOLE IN FIRST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS. To facilitate a more precise comparison between the proportions of F and M last-part-gendered compounds and first-part-gendered compounds, Graph 101 summarises all last-part-gendered compounds describing an individual involved in sales or service. Graph 102 provides an overview of the frequency of the last-part-gendered compounds, leaving out those with more than 1,000 occurrences in the corpus.

Graph 101. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales or Service Activity



Graph 102. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales or Service Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



While more F last-part-gendered compound nouns describe a person involved in sales or service, the usage frequency of F and M compounds is nearly equal. However, suppose the widespread term *perenaine* (‘owner’, ‘owner’s wife’, ‘housekeeper’) is excluded from the F vocabulary, along with the potentially masculine generic terms *kaupmees* (‘merchant’), *müügimees* (‘salesman’) and *kojamees* (‘janitor’). In that case, the category of Sales or Service Activity stands out as one of the few domains in this research where F last-part-gendered compounds exhibit a higher number of occurrences in the corpus compared to M vocabulary.

SALES OR SERVICE ACTIVITY AS A WHOLE IN FIRST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS. A total of 38 first-part-gendered compounds describing a person engaged in sales or service were identified. Graph 103 illustrates the proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds in this category, followed by the most common vocabulary in Table 72.

Graph 103. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales or Service Activity

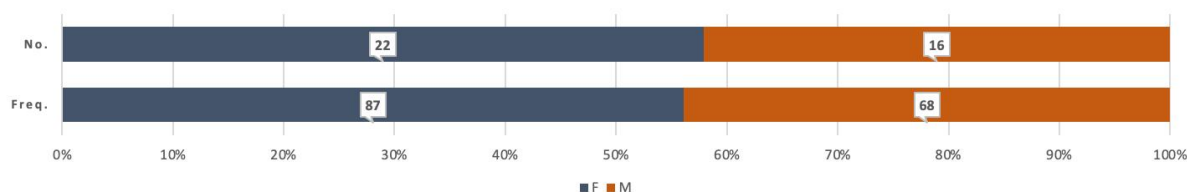


Table 72. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Sales or Service Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naismüüja</i>	18	<i>meesmüüja</i>	22			‘seller’
<i>naiskokk</i>	13	<i>meeskokk</i>	6			‘cook’
<i>naisteenindaja</i>	8	<i>meesteenindaja</i>	9			‘attendant’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesmüüja</i>	22	<i>naismüüja</i>	18			‘seller’
<i>meesjuuksur</i>	11	<i>naisjuuksur</i>	2			‘hairdresser’
<i>meesteenindaja</i>	9	<i>naisteenindaja</i>	8			‘attendant’

Although the 22 F first-part-gendered compounds surpass the total of 16 M compounds, the difference in the number of distinct compounds is not very significant. The F terms are also somewhat more frequent; however, the differences in compound frequencies are relatively minor. For instance, the F term *naiskokk* (‘female cook’) is attested in slightly more instances than its M counterpart *meeskokk* (‘male cook’). On the other hand, the M compounds, *meesmüüja* (‘male seller’), *meesteenindaja* (‘male attendant’), and *meesjuuksur* (‘male hairdresser’), show marginally higher frequencies than their F equivalents in the corpus.

Modelling Activity

The category of Modelling Activity encompasses compound nouns which refer to a person posing for photos or showcasing clothing, accessories, or other designs in the domain of fashion (e.g. *modellipiiga* (‘model girl’), *meesmodell* (‘male model’)). It includes only 9 last-part-gendered and 7 first-part-gendered compounds. However, as these compounds offer a somewhat distinctive pattern compared to most other categories, it is worth observing these compounds from a gender perspective. Graph 104 shows the number and frequency of the F

and M last-part-gendered compounds. In Table 73, the most commonly used vocabulary is listed.

Graph 104. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Modelling Activity



Table 73. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Modelling Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kaanetüdruk</i>	75	<i>kaanepoiss</i>	32			‘front page’
<i>posteritüdruk</i>	4	<i>postriipoiss</i>	5			‘poster’
<i>esikaanetüdruk</i>	3	<i>esikaanepoiss</i>	4			‘front page’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>kaanepoiss</i>	32	<i>kaanetüdruk</i>	75			‘front page’
<i>postriipoiss</i>	5	<i>posteritüdruk</i>	4			‘poster’
<i>esikaanepoiss</i>	4	<i>esikaanetüdruk</i>	3			‘front page’

A total of 5 F and 4 M last-part-gendered compounds describing an individual modelling were found. Despite the similar number of compounds, the overall frequency of the F compounds is higher than that of the M compounds. While the terms *posteritüdruk* (‘poster girl’) and *postriipoiss* (‘poster boy’), as well as *esikaanetüdruk* (‘front page girl’) and *esikaanepoiss* (‘front page boy’), surface with close frequency in the corpus, the F compound *kaanetüdruk* – a shorter version of *esikaanetüdruk*, which also translates as ‘front page girl’ – appears more than twice as often in the corpus as its M equivalent. This noun is the primary cause for the overall higher frequency of the F terms.

Real-life data collected by Statistics Estonia (2025b) reveals that in the first quarter of 2025, the number of both female and male models was below 20. While the exact figures are not provided in the database, the proportions appear to be similar. In the context of fashion, female models are typically required to promote clothing tailored for women, and male models for men, not only due to differences in fashion styles but also because of physical differences between male and female bodies. It therefore seems reasonable that the number of

female and male models would be relatively balanced, unless female fashion receives significantly more public attention or is produced more frequently, which is also plausible.

Graph 105 and Table 74 summarise the limited number of F and M first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual modelling.

Graph 105. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Modelling Activity

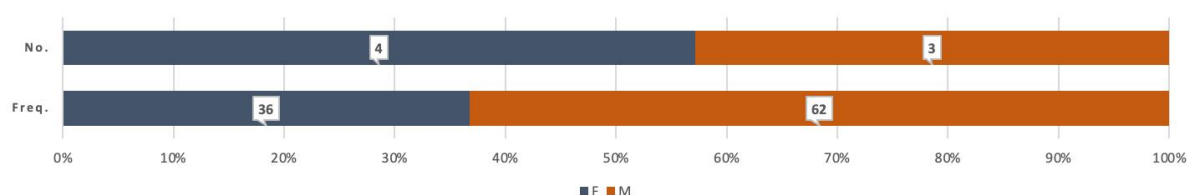


Table 74. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Modelling Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naismodell</i>	28	<i>meesmodell</i>	58			‘model’
<i>naismannekeen</i>	6	<i>meesmannekeen</i>	3			‘model’
<i>naissupermodell</i>	1					‘supermodel’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesmodell</i>	58	<i>naismodell</i>	28			‘model’
<i>meesmannekeen</i>	3	<i>naismannekeen</i>	6			‘model’

Although both F and M first-part-gendered compounds are few in number, the M compounds appear more often in the corpus. The higher frequency of M terms is primarily driven by the compound *meesmodell* (‘male model’), which appears twice as often as its F counterpart, *naismodell* (‘female model’) – a remarkable pattern that does not align with real-world data. This discrepancy seems to reflect an implicit assumption that in the beauty-driven fashion industry, a model is typically expected to be a woman.

Healthcare Activity

The category of Healthcare Activity includes compounds that refer to an individual taking care of other people’s health (e.g. *tohtrikutt* (‘doctor lad’), *põetajaneiu* (‘nurse lady’), *naishambaarst* (‘female dentist’)). Graph 106 shows the proportions of F and M

last-part-gendered compounds within this category. Additionally, Table 75 presents the most frequently used vocabulary.

Graph 106. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Healthcare Activity

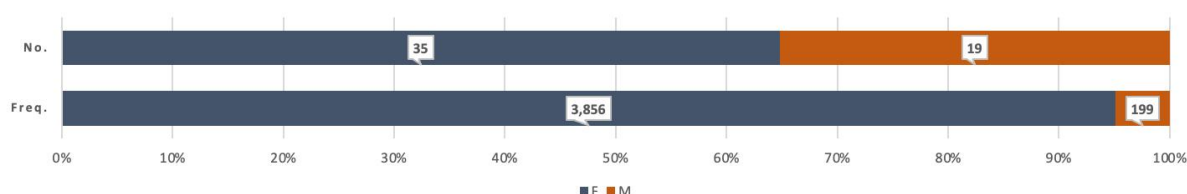


Table 75. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Healthcare Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>ämmaemand</i>	3617	<i>ämmaisand</i>	5			‘mother-in-law’
<i>arstitädi</i>	163	<i>arstionu</i>	69			‘doctor’
<i>tohtriproua</i>	14	<i>tohtrihärä</i>	50			‘doctor’

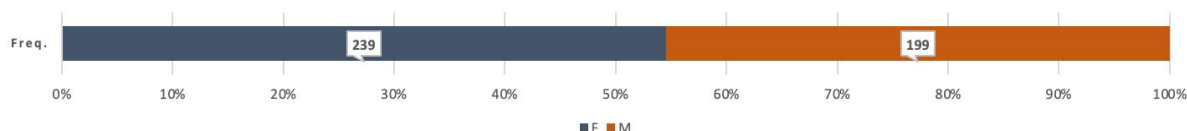
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>arstionu</i>	69	<i>arstitädi</i>	163			‘doctor’
<i>tohtrihärä</i>	50	<i>tohtriproua</i>	14			‘doctor’
<i>doktorihärä</i>	47	<i>doktoriproua</i>	12			‘doctor’

More last-part-gendered compounds describe female doctors, and these compounds have significantly more occurrences in the corpus. The higher frequency of F terms is mainly attributable to the F term *ämmaemand*, which literally translates as ‘mother-in-law lady’ and is a ubiquitous term referring to a midwife. The prevalence of this F term is likely rooted in the long-standing practice in which assisting with childbirth has traditionally been a woman’s role (Ehrenreich & English 1973; Towler & Bramall 1986). This appears to remain true today, as data from Statistics Estonia (2025b) show that in the first quarter of 2025, there were 541 female birth attendants, compared to fewer than 20 male birth attendants.

The term *ämmaemand* is sometimes used for male birth attendants as well, although the M noun *ämmaisand* (lit. ‘mother-in-law lord’, ‘birth attendant’) is occasionally used. However, it is rare, with only 5 instances. Notably, among all the F terms that have an entry in the WordWeb language portal, *ämmaemand* is the only F compound noun analysed in this research, which is defined as “a person” and not as “a woman”. When excluding the highly

common compound *ämmaemand*, which appears over 3,000 times in the corpus, the F and M terms are used with similar frequency, as shown in Graph 107.

Graph 107. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Healthcare Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



All other prevalent terms refer to a doctor in general without specifying the field of medicine. The F term *arstitädi* ('doctor lady') appears more than twice as often in the corpus as its M equivalent. While the term *arst* ('doctor') is the most common noun for a doctor in Estonian, *tohter* and *doktor* exist as synonyms, though they are somewhat older terms. Interestingly, these two older terms appear more frequently with an M lexical-gender noun in the final position, resulting in the higher frequency of the M compounds *tohtrihärä* ('doctor mister') and *doktorihärä* ('doctor mister'). In fact, historically, the medical profession was predominantly male due to the educational restrictions and professional barriers limiting women's entry (Towler & Bramall 1986). During the Soviet Union, however, this trend was reversed, with medicine becoming a typically female profession (Barr 1995; Harden 2001). This legacy is evident in Estonia today, where the number of female general doctors is more than 3 times that of male doctors. Among specialist doctors, females outnumber males by 2-fold (Statistics Estonia 2025b).

It goes without saying that being a doctor is generally considered a prestigious occupation, associated with knowledge, respect, and authority. The prevalence of *arstitädi* over other terms is therefore noteworthy. However, the lexical-gender gender noun *tädi* (lit. 'aunt', 'lady') in the final position introduces a more informal, less serious tone, which also diminishes the sense of authority and undermines the perception of professional status. The same is true for *arstionu* (lit. 'doctor uncle'), which also carries a somewhat belittling tone, though it is not as frequent as *arstitädi*. The M compounds *tohtrihärä* and *doktorihärä*, on the other hand, convey respect due to the lexical-gender noun *härä* ('mister') and have more corpus occurrences than their F equivalents. Hence, even though F compounds dominate the vocabulary describing people active in this prestigious field of healthcare and medicine, there is still a frequent term among them that belittles the authority of the woman it refers to.

Graph 108 outlines the proportions of first-part-gendered vocabulary in this category, while Table 76 presents the most prevalent F and M first-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 108. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Healthcare Activity



Table 76. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Healthcare Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisarst</i>	108	<i>meesarst</i>	165			‘doctor’
<i>naisgünekoloog</i>	15	<i>meesgünekoloog</i>	69			‘gynaecologist’
<i>naispsühholoog</i>	7	<i>meespsühholoog</i>	2			‘psychologist’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meesarst</i>	165	<i>naisarst</i>	108			‘doctor’
<i>meesgünekoloog</i>	69	<i>naisgünekoloog</i>	15			‘gynaecologist’
<i>meesmassöör</i>	7	<i>naismassöör</i>	1			‘massage therapist’

While there is a similar number of F and M first-part-gendered compounds, the M terms appear more frequently in the data. M compounds such as *meesarst* (‘male doctor’) and *meesgünekoloog* (‘male gynaecologist’) have more corpus occurrences than their F counterparts, supporting the notion that medical doctors, including specialist doctors, are more commonly associated with females in Estonia – a possibility consistent with real-life data (Statistics Estonia 2025b).

Clerical Activity

The category of Clerical Activity comprises words representing a person engaged in supporting office duties, such as answering the phone and managing correspondence (e.g. *telefonineiu* (‘telephone lady’), *sekretärihärä* (‘secretary mister’)). This category includes only 10 last-part-gendered compounds. However, due to the imbalance in the proportions of F and M compounds, they are viewed in a separate category despite the limited number. Graph

109 illustrates the count and frequency of F and M last-part-gendered compounds associated with clerical work, with the most commonly used nouns listed in Table 77.

Graph 109. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Clerical Activity

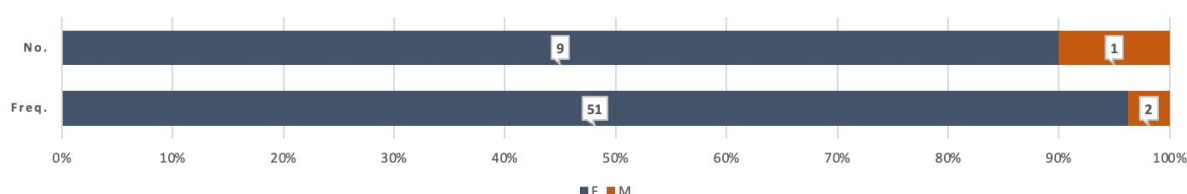


Table 77. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Clerical Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>sekretärineiu</i>	22			<i>sekretärihärä</i>	2	‘secretary’
<i>telefonineiu</i>	14			<i>telefonimees</i>	7	‘telephone’
<i>paljundajatädi</i>	1					‘copier’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>sekretärihärä</i>	2			<i>sekretärineiu</i>	22	‘secretary’

Although only 10 compounds describing an individual involved in clerical work were detected, 9 of them are F terms. Accordingly, F compounds, such as *sekretärineiu* (‘secretary lady’), *telefonineiu* (‘telephone lady’), referring to a young female secretary and telephone receptionist respectively, and *paljundajatädi* (‘copier woman’), describing a female copy assistant, appear more frequently in the corpus.

Among these scarce nouns, one unequal word pair can be observed. Specifically, *telefonineiu* denotes a woman responsible for phone calls, as illustrated by this corpus sentence: *Täna võttis vastu teine telefonineiu* (‘Today, another phone lady picked up [the call]’) (Tervisetrend n.d.). Its indirect counterpart, *telefonimees* (‘telephone man’), on the other hand, appears to refer to a technician involved in phone installation or repair, as evidenced by corpus examples, such as: *Järgmisel hommikul olid mul telefonimehed ukse taga: kuhu me selle aparaadi paneme?* (‘The next morning, the phone men were at my door: where shall we put the phone?’) (Eesti Ekspress n.d.). Hence, *telefonimees* is not included in this category.

The rare vocabulary appears to align with real-life data provided by Statistics Estonia (2025b). According to their reports, roles such as secretaries, administrators, and assistants,

which entail tasks like communication, coordination, and assisting leaders with the preparation of letters, reports, and similar duties, are predominantly held by women. In the first quarter of 2025, there were 9 times more women employed in corresponding positions, numbering over 6,000, while the number of men was approximately 700.

Other Activity

In the broad spectrum of compound nouns denoting an individual involved in an activity, some terms do not fit into any of the previously identified categories and cannot be grouped due to insufficient context for interpretation or the absence of similar compounds. Examples include *tegudemees* ('deeds man', 'man of action'), *postkontoritädi* ('post office lady'), *raamatupidajamutt* ('bookkeeper hag'), *bioloogiplika* ('biologist lass'), *naisvaataja* ('female watcher'), *meesdoonor* ('male donor'), *naisastronaut* ('female astronaut'), *meesmaakler* ('male real estate agent'), along with more wittier ones like *meessünnitaja* ('male birth-giver') or *naisnosija* ('female nibbler'). Graph 110 and Table 78 provide an overview of such last-part-gendered compounds.

Graph 110. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Activity

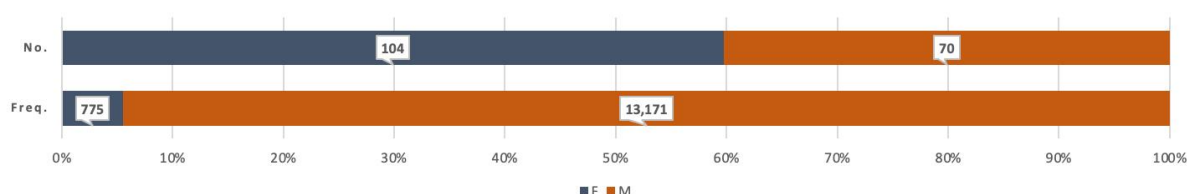


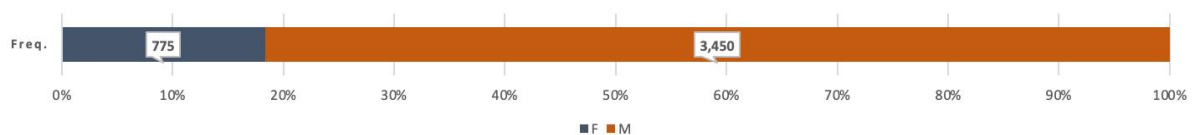
Table 78. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>ärinaine</i>	333	<i>ärimees</i>	9721			'business'
<i>karjäärinaine</i>	130	<i>karjäärimees</i>	6			'career'
<i>töölisnaine</i>	11			<i>töölispoiss</i>	3	'labourer'

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>ärimees</i>	9721	<i>ärinaine</i>	333			'business'
<i>ametimees</i>	739	<i>ametinaine</i>	6			'profession'
<i>asjamees</i>	531					'thing'

The number of last-part-gendered compounds describing a woman or a man engaged in other activities is nearly equal. However, M terms are used significantly more frequently. The most prevalent M noun is *ärimees* ('businessman'). While its F counterpart, *ärinaine* ('businesswoman'), also appears with notable frequency, *ärimees* occurs almost 30 times more often in the corpus. Additionally, this M compound is another possible masculine generic term, being defined as "a person" involved in business, in WordWeb, whereas *ärinaine*, which also has an entry in the Estonian language portal, is explicitly defined as "a woman" involved in business. Even when excluding the potentially generic noun *ärimees*, with over 9,000 occurrences in the corpus, M last-part-gendered compounds remain more frequently used, as illustrated in Graph 111.

Graph 111. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Other M compounds, such as *ametimees* ('profession man', 'official') and *asjamees* (lit. 'thing man', 'key figure'), also have significantly more instances in the corpus than their F equivalents. In fact, no F counterpart was found for *asjamees*. Both *ametimees* and *asjamees* are standard terms in Estonian, defined in WordWeb using gender-neutral designations and often used generically.

On the other hand, against the backdrop of other vocabulary explored in this analysis, it might be surprising that the F term *karjäärinaine* ('career woman') appears with much higher frequency than *karjäärimees* ('career man'). While *karjäärimees* even lacks an entry in WordWeb, *karjäärinaine* is defined as "a woman who is interested in work life and career, not wanting to limit herself to a traditional female role". The term *karjäärinaine*, therefore, does not simply refer to a woman focused on her professional goals but also carries a contrastive implication that, traditionally, a woman is not expected to pursue a career. This additional connotation of the F term may contribute to its higher frequency.

As usual, the first-part-gendered compounds present a somewhat contrastive picture to the last-part-gendered compounds. The proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds are shown in Graph 112, with the most prevalent vocabulary listed in Table 79.

Graph 112. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Activity



Table 79. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Activity

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naistöötaja</i>	207	<i>meestöötaja</i>	111			‘worker’
<i>naisettevõtja</i>	165	<i>meesettevõtja</i>	7			‘entrepreneur’
<i>naislugeja</i>	47	<i>meeslugeja</i>	18			‘reader’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meestöötaja</i>	111	<i>naistöötaja</i>	207			‘worker’
<i>meeslugeja</i>	18	<i>naislugeja</i>	47			‘reader’
<i>meesvaataja</i>	12	<i>naisvaataja</i>	12			‘watcher’

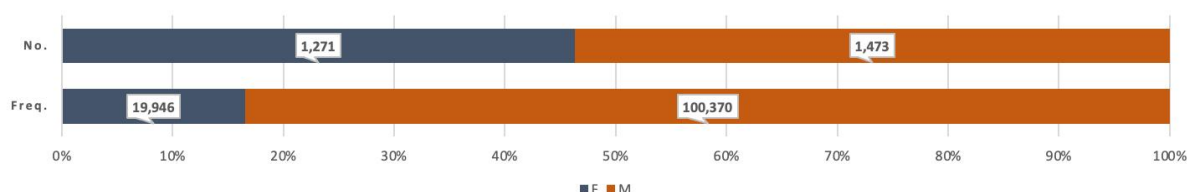
More first-part-gendered compounds describe a woman involved in an uncategorised activity, and F terms also have more corpus occurrences. With the exception of the term *vaataja* (‘watcher’), which appears equally often with both F and M modifiers, this pattern is demonstrated by the most prevalent vocabulary in the table, where female reference is marked more frequently when referring to a worker, entrepreneur, or reader. Hence, person nouns indicating someone engaged in an activity are more frequently gender-marked when this individual is female.

Activity as a Whole

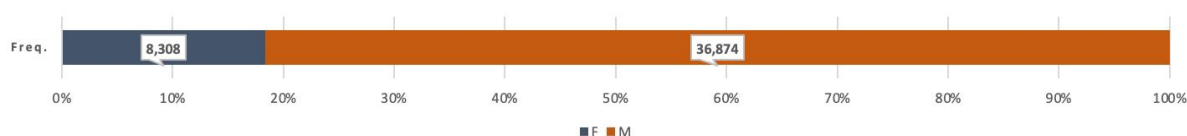
For a comprehensive overview, Graph 113 presents the combined proportions of all F and M last-part-gendered compounds that describe an individual involved in any kind of activity. Additionally, Graph 114 summarises the frequency of last-part-gendered compound nouns, leaving out those with more than 1,000 occurrences in the corpus. Lastly, Graph 115

showcases the number and frequency of all F and M first-part-gendered compounds related to activities.

Graph 113. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Activity



Graph 114. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Activity (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



Graph 115. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Activity



Overall, roughly equal numbers of different F and M last-part-gendered compounds exist, with both showing a similar range of distinct nouns across numerous categories, such as Cultural Activity, Research Activity, Criminal Activity, Sexual Activity, Agricultural Activity, Travel Activity, and others. However, M last-part-gendered compounds dominate in frequency across most categories – Construction Activity, Technological Activity, Research Activity, Protective Activity, Transport Activity, and beyond. Even after setting aside the widespread standard terms appearing over 1,000 times in the corpus, M compounds tend to hold a more prominent place in usage. F vocabulary is used more frequently only in a handful of categories, such as Modelling Activity, Clerical Activity, and Culinary Activity.

By contrast, the pattern shifts with first-part-gendered compounds, where considerably more distinct F terms appear across numerous categories, such as Construction Activity, Transport Activity, Combat Activity, Criminal Activity, Sports Activity, and Cultural Activity, among

others. Furthermore, F first-part-gendered compounds also show noticeably higher frequencies in the corpus across the majority of categories.

2.2.2.6 Other Gendered Compounds

The corpus also includes gendered compounds that could not be assigned to any specific category observed in this research. Some of these terms straddle the boundaries of different categories, such as Activity or Identity, but none of them clearly. Examples of such compounds include *halloomees* (‘hello man’), *kivimutt* (‘stone hag’), *käbikutt* (‘cone dude’), *tulemand* (‘fire lady’), and *meesohver* (‘male victim’), along with some humorous ones like *naisollus* (‘female creature’) or *kõrvaistmebeib* (‘passenger seat babe’). Graph 116 presents the number and frequency of such last-part-gendered compounds, while Table 80 lists the most prevalent last-part-gendered compounds that seem to drift between the borders of different categories.

Graph 116. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Gendered Compounds

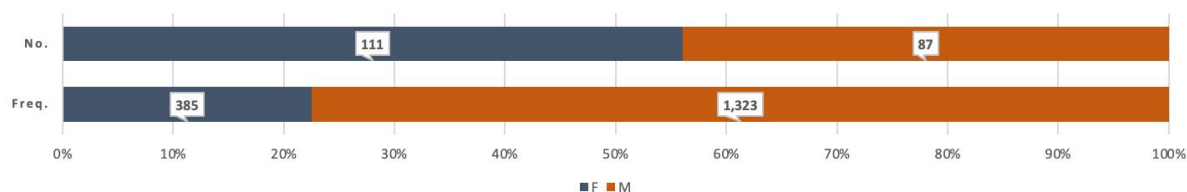


Table 80. The Most Frequent F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Gendered Compounds

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>koopatibi</i>	43			<i>koopamees</i>	35	‘cave’
<i>lossidaam</i>	19	<i>lossihärä</i>	23			‘castle’
<i>päikesenaine</i>	18	<i>päikesemees</i>	5			‘sun’

M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	First Part Transl.
<i>loodusemees</i>	212	<i>loodusenaine</i>	1			‘nature’
<i>saunamees</i>	207	<i>saunanaine</i>	79			‘sauna’
<i>tippmees</i>	100					‘top’

While more F terms appear to describe concepts that cannot be unambiguously classified, the M compounds have higher frequencies in the corpus. Most M last-part-gendered compounds

in the table – such as *lossihärä* (‘castle man’), indicating a man living in a castle; *loodusemees* (‘nature man’), referring to a man living in or studying nature; *saunamees* (‘sauna man’), describing a poor peasant from earlier times who lived in a sauna on a larger farm’s land, with little or no land of his own; and *tippmees* (‘top man’), indicating an expert in a given field – appear more often than their F equivalents, if they exist. Notably, *saunanaine* (‘sauna woman’), which refers to a woman serving sauna guests (WordWeb) and is therefore classified in the category of Sales or Service Activity, does not convey the same connotation as its M equivalent.

The most common F terms – *koopatibi* (‘cave chick’), indicating a girl either living in or associated with a cave, and *päikesenaine* (‘sun woman’), referring to a woman with a particular connection to the sun – occur more often than their M counterparts, though their usage persists lower than that of the most prevalent M terms.

Graph 117 presents the proportions of F and M first-part-gendered compounds in this category. The most prevalent first-part-gendered compounds are listed in Table 81.

Graph 117. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Gendered Compounds

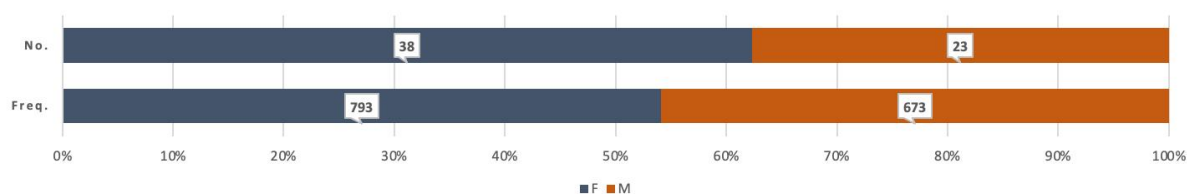


Table 81. The Most Frequent F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in the Category of Other Gendered Compounds

F Compound	Freq.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>naisliige</i>	149	<i>meesliige</i>	52			‘member’
<i>naisinimene</i>	124	<i>meesinimene</i>	76			‘human’
<i>naiskandidaat</i>	123	<i>meeskandidaat</i>	46			‘candidate’

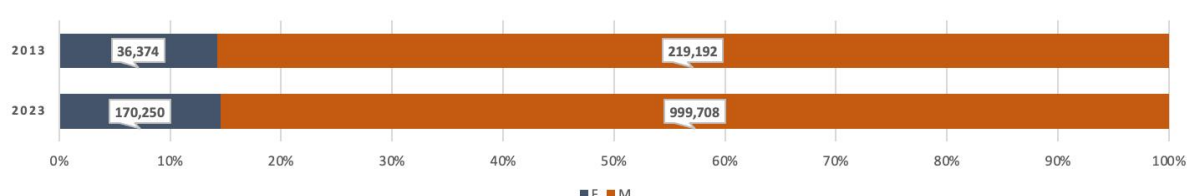
M Compound	Freq.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.	Last Part Transl.
<i>meeskodanik</i>	267	<i>naiskodanik</i>	45			‘citizen’
<i>meesinimene</i>	76	<i>naisinimene</i>	124			‘human’
<i>meesliige</i>	52	<i>naisliige</i>	149			‘member’

Both the number and frequency of F first-part-gendered compounds that could not be classified into more specific categories slightly exceed those of M terms. In the table, the only noun that has more occurrences with an M modifier is *kodanik* (‘citizen’). Other words, such as *liige* (‘member’) and *kandidaat* (‘candidate’), appear over 2.5 times more often in the corpus with an F lexical-gender noun than with an M one. It is also noteworthy that the term *inimene* (‘human being’) is more frequently gender-marked when referring to a woman, clearly supporting the notion of a people = male bias (Hamilton 1991; Hellinger & Bußmann 2001–2003; Silveira 1980).

2.3 Comparison of the 2013 and 2023 Estonian Web Corpora

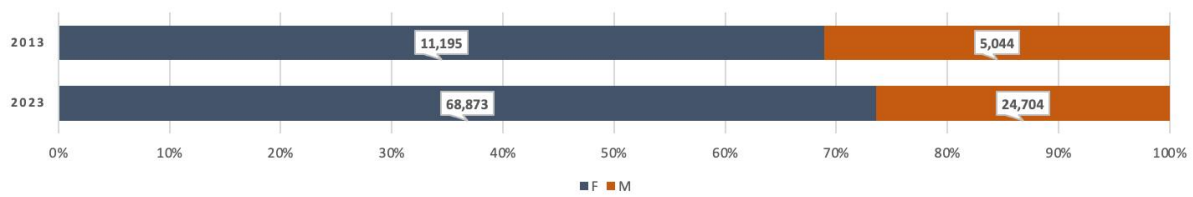
Within the 2023 version of the Estonian Web Corpus, 4,204 gendered compound nouns previously identified in the 2013 version were detected. Among the last-part-gendered compounds, 1,448 are feminine and 1,779 are masculine. Given that the 2023 corpus is 5.8 times larger, the noun frequencies are naturally higher. That said, the proportions of F and M nouns in the two corpora remain essentially the same. As in the 2013 corpus, M nouns occur over 5 times more frequently in the texts compiled ten years later, as illustrated in Graph 118.

Graph 118. Frequency of F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in 2013 and 2023



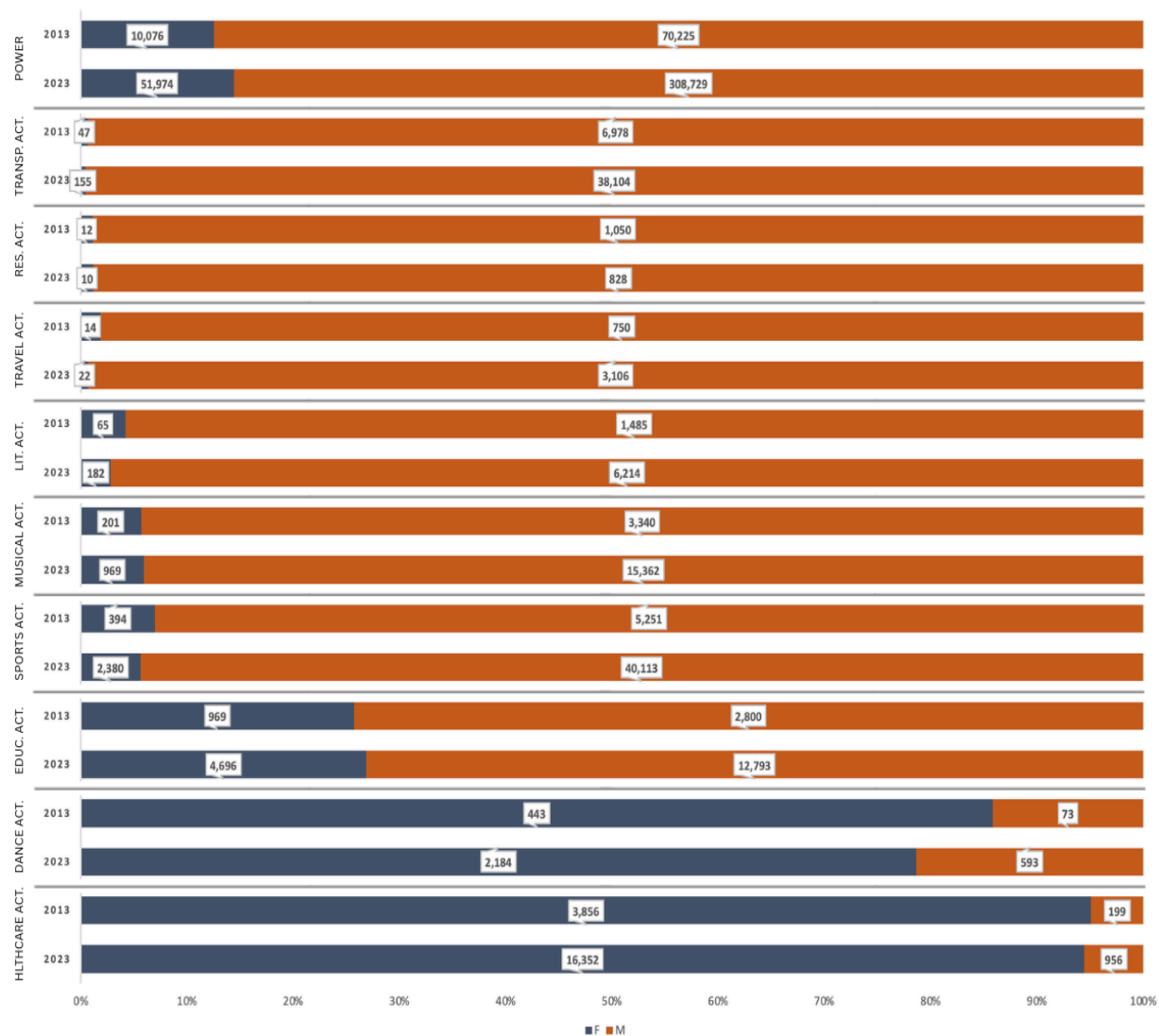
Among the first-part-gendered compounds in the 2023 Estonian Web Corpus, 668 F and 309 M compounds were found from those identified in the 2013 version. Following the tendency, F first-part-gendered nouns occur more than twice as often as M nouns of the same type. Graph 119 compares the frequency of F and M first-part-gendered compounds across the 2013 and 2023 corpora.

Graph 119. Frequency of F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in 2013 and 2023

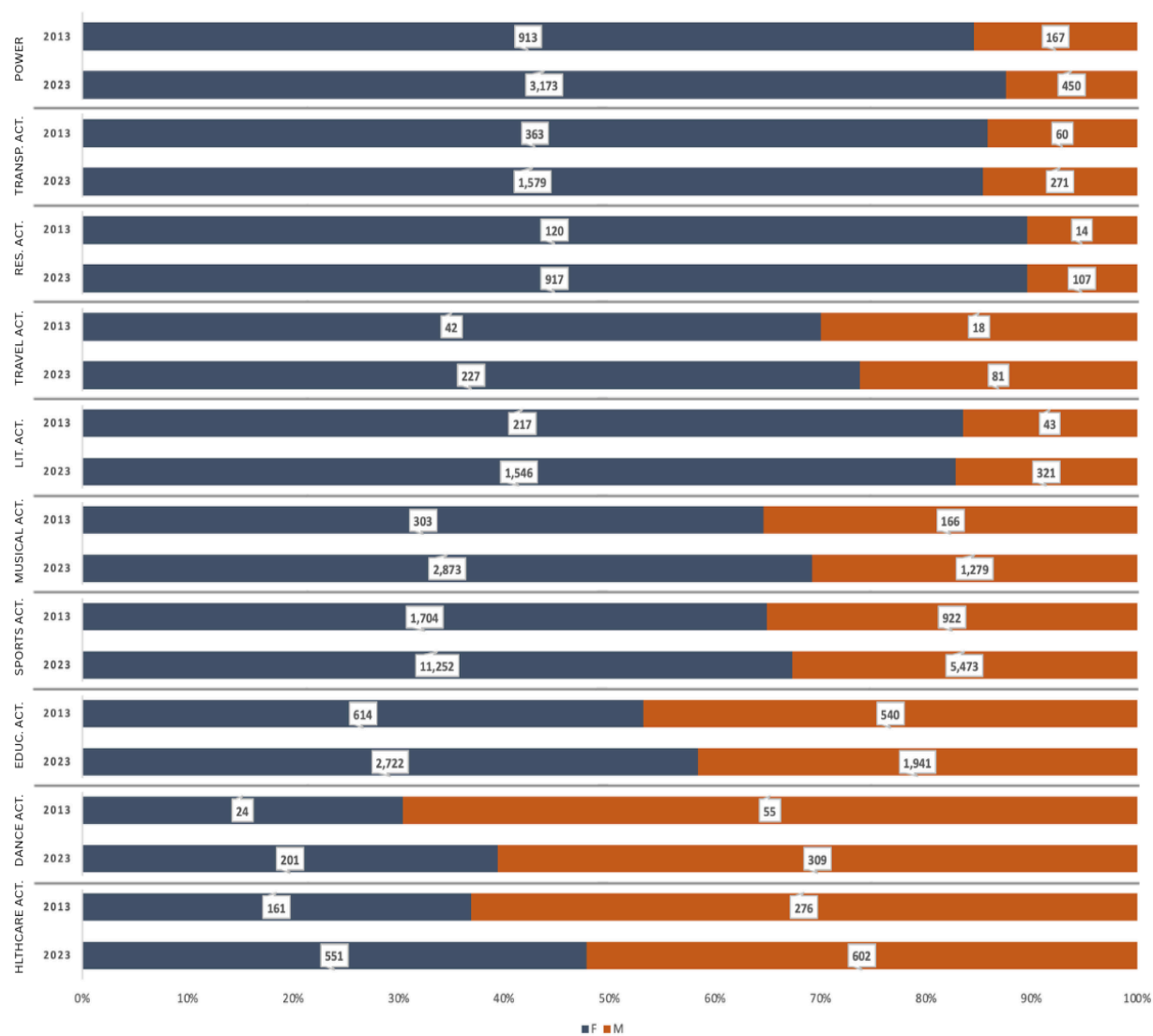


Consistent with the summarising graphs, the smaller categories, too, show no substantial changes in the 2023 Estonian Web Corpus. Most differences in the frequency of gendered vocabulary across various domains remain below 10% between the two corpora. To illustrate this, Graphs 120 and 121 present selected examples of the frequency of last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds in different categories in 2013 and ten years later.

Graph 120. Frequency of F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in 2013 and 2023 in Categories of Power, Transport Activity, Research Activity, Travel Activity, Literary Activity, Musical Activity, Sports Activity, Educational Activity, Dance Activity, and Healthcare Activity



Graph 121. Frequency of F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds in 2013 and 2023 in Categories of Power, Transport Activity, Research Activity, Travel Activity, Literary Activity, Musical Activity, Sports Activity, Educational Activity, Dance Activity, and Healthcare Activity



3 Summary and Discussion

In response to the research question of whether Estonian feminine and masculine compound nouns describe the same concepts with equal frequency, with feminine compounds referring to females and masculine compounds to males, the analysis indicates that this is generally not the case. The study of Estonian gendered compound nouns revealed numerous asymmetries between feminine and masculine forms. The concepts conveyed by Estonian gendered vocabulary will be summarised in the following sections.

3.1 Lexical Asymmetries

Gendered Generics

In the course of the analysis, 65 masculine compounds were identified that are possibly used generically to refer to both men and women. That is, they may be used sex-specifically in reference to male persons, but also generically in the plural form to refer to people of any gender or to a person whose sex is unknown or irrelevant. In addition to compounds discussed already in previous research – such as *meremees* (‘seaman’), *jahimees* (‘hunter’), and *ehitusmees* (‘builder’) (see Kasik 2006; Puna 2006) – many other examples were detected, which are listed in Table 82. Numerous terms refer to professions historically dominated by men, particularly in areas such as fishing, sailing, organised religion, construction, protective work, the military, and politics. Examples are *kalamees* (‘fisherman’), *tüürimees* (‘helmsman’), *usumees* (‘cleric’), *remondimees* (‘repairman’), *turvamees* (‘security guy’), *sõjamees* (‘soldier’), and *riigimees* (‘statesman’). Mostly, masculine generic compounds align with patriarchal ideals, describing roles linked to leadership, power, intelligence, financial success, and other characteristics, for instance, *peremees* (‘owner’, ‘leader’), *suurmees* (‘great man’), *nupumees* (‘brainiac’), and *rahamees* (‘money man’). Possible masculine generics also refer to other roles, such as *prillipapa* (‘four-eyed’), *jutumees* (‘ raconteur’), *kahamees* (‘D student’), *teatrimies* (‘theatre director’, ‘actor’), *sulemees* (‘writer’), and *reisimees* (‘traveller’). One masculine generic – *kojamees* (‘janitor’) – refers to a cleaning person, which is noteworthy, as from an androcentric perspective, cleaning is stereotypically assumed to be women’s duty.

According to the statistics, many of these fields – such as sailing, institutional religion, and construction – remain male-dominated today (Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik n.d.; Hämmal et al. 2022; Statistics Estonia 2025b), making it likely that nouns like *meremees*, *tüürimees*, *usumees*, *ehitusmees*, and *remondimees* would also in reality have a male reference more frequently. The reference scope of numerous other masculine generics – such as *prillipapa*, *jutumees*, *kahamees*, *teatrimees*, *reisimees*, and *kojamees* – likely more frequently encompasses females – especially when the gender of the referent is irrelevant or unknown – as women can also wear glasses, likely engage in storytelling, struggle academically, participate in theatre, travel, and work as cleaners (Hämmal et al. 2022; Statistics Estonia 2025b).

The possible masculine generics are listed in Table 82.

Table 82. Possible Masculine Generics

Compound	Translation	Compound	Translation
<i>ametimees</i>	‘official’	<i>piimamees</i>	‘milkman’
<i>ankrumees</i>	‘anchorman’	<i>pikanäpumees</i>	‘pickpocket’
<i>ärimees</i>	‘businessman’	<i>pillimees</i>	‘musician’
<i>asjamees</i>	‘key figure’	<i>põllumees</i>	‘fieldworker’
<i>baarimees</i>	‘barman’	<i>prillipapa</i>	‘four-eyed’
<i>bassimees</i>	‘bassist’	<i>pritsimees</i>	‘fireman’
<i>ehitusmees</i>	‘builder’	<i>pühamees</i>	‘holy man’
<i>esimees</i>	‘foreman’, ‘chairman’	<i>raadiomees</i>	‘radio reporter’
<i>filmimees</i>	‘film director’, ‘camera operator’	<i>rahamees</i>	‘money man’
<i>fotomees</i>	‘photographer’	<i>rännumees</i>	‘traveller’
<i>helimees</i>	‘sound man’	<i>reamees</i>	‘private’
<i>jahimees</i>	‘hunter’	<i>reisimees</i>	‘traveller’
<i>jutumees</i>	‘raconteur’	<i>rekordimees</i>	‘record holder’
<i>kaameramees</i>	‘cameraman’	<i>remondimees</i>	‘repairman’
<i>kahamees</i>	‘D student’	<i>riigimees</i>	‘statesman’
<i>kalamees</i>	‘fisherman’	<i>saamees</i>	‘sawyer’
<i>kaupmees</i>	‘merchant’	<i>sõdurpoiss</i>	‘soldier’
<i>keelemees</i>	‘linguist’	<i>suitsumees</i>	‘smoker’
<i>kirjamees</i>	‘writer’	<i>sulemees</i>	‘writer’
<i>kojamees</i>	‘janitor’	<i>suurmees</i>	‘great man’

<i>kõrtsimees</i>	‘innkeeper’	<i>teadjamees</i>	‘shaman’
<i>lehemees</i>	‘journalist’	<i>teatrimees</i>	‘theatre director’, ‘actor’
<i>mängumees</i>	‘player’	<i>telemees</i>	‘TV reporter’
<i>masinamees</i>	‘machinist’	<i>trikimees</i>	‘magician’
<i>matkamees</i>	‘hiker’	<i>tsiklimees</i>	‘biker’
<i>meremees</i>	‘seaman’	<i>turvamees</i>	‘security guy’
<i>motomees</i>	‘biker’	<i>tüürimees</i>	‘helmsman’
<i>müügimees</i>	‘salesman’	<i>usumees</i>	‘cleric’
<i>naljamees</i>	‘joker’	<i>valijamees</i>	‘elector’
<i>napsumees</i>	‘boozehound’	<i>vargapoiss</i>	‘thief’
<i>nupumees</i>	‘brainiac’	<i>varumees</i>	‘reserve player’
<i>õpipoiss</i>	‘apprentice’	<i>viinamees</i>	‘boozehound’
<i>peremees</i>	‘owner’, ‘leader’		

Concerning the feminine generics, only 1 compound, *ämmamand* (‘midwife’), was identified as potentially having a generic use, as visible in Table 83. Since assisting with childbirth has traditionally been a woman’s role (Ehrenreich & English 1973; Towler & Bramall 1986), the term *ämmamand* can possibly also be used to refer to men in this profession. All other feminine compounds examined in this research are either absent from the language portal or explicitly defined as female-specific in WordWeb. A more in-depth qualitative study of the semantic field of feminine compounds is needed to explore whether any other feminine terms might have a generic application.

Table 83. Possible Feminine Generics

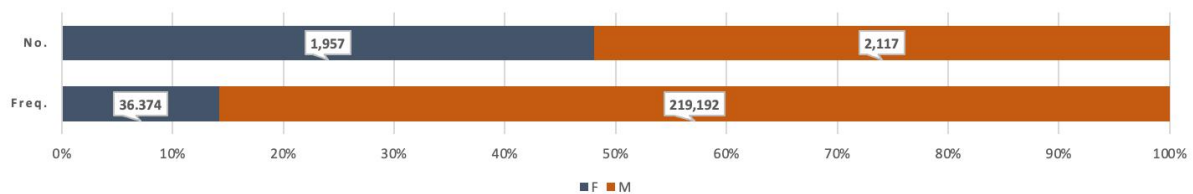
Compound	Translation
<i>ämmaemand</i>	‘midwife’

The significant prevalence of masculine generics over feminine generics highlights a male = people bias, discussed by Silveira (1980), Hamilton (1991), Hellinger and Bußmann (2001–2003), among others, suggesting that, even in a genderless Estonian language, a man is more likely to be perceived as a generic representation of a person. However, given the limitations of this study – reliance on Estonian language portal definitions and first-language intuition and knowledge – the masculine and feminine generics identified here require a more in-depth analysis of their usage contexts to confirm or refine these preliminary findings.

Lexical Gaps

Numerous lexical gaps – the absence or significantly lower frequency of a term in one gender while it is frequently used in the other – were identified in this research. As illustrated in Graph 1, although the number of different feminine and masculine compounds found in the corpus is similar, the masculine compounds are used much more frequently. This imbalance is reflected in the majority of lexical gaps embedded within the feminine vocabulary.

Graph 1. F and M Last-Part-Gendered Compounds



While the masculine compound is a common term, its feminine counterpart, if it exists, is rare and not commonly accepted. Most of the masculine generics previously discussed also appear on this list. Arguably, since they are used in reference to both men and women, their feminine counterparts have not gained common acceptance. Additionally, many other terms were identified. Besides the gaps in feminine vocabulary, some gaps on the masculine side were also discovered, albeit fewer.

Table 84 enumerates the masculine nouns with no feminine counterpart or whose direct or indirect feminine equivalents are used more than 50 times less frequently. Table 85 lists the feminine nouns with no or rare masculine counterparts, occurring with similar rarity in the corpus. The tables do not cover compounds whose semantic counterparts are structurally different – for example, the compound *noormees*, which uses *neiu* as its feminine counterpart instead.

Table 84. F Lexical Gaps in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds

M Compound	Freq.	Translation	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.
<i>töömees</i>	3163	‘workman’				
<i>meremees</i>	2754	‘seaman’				
<i>valijamees</i>	640	‘elector’				
<i>filmimees</i>	635	‘film director’, ‘camera operator’				

<i>ehitusmees</i>	581	‘builder’		
<i>reamees</i>	540	‘private’		
<i>asjamees</i>	531	‘key figure’		
<i>tüürimees</i>	416	‘helmsman’		
<i>pritsimees</i>	414	‘fireman’		
<i>helimees</i>	357	‘sound man’		
<i>raehärra</i>	287	‘councilman’		
<i>kommionu</i>	182	‘paedophile’		
<i>trikimees</i>	155	‘magician’		
<i>uuspoiss</i>	135	‘new boy’		
<i>arvajamees</i>	133	‘opinion man’		
<i>nupumees</i>	114	‘brainiac’		
<i>maaisand</i>	110	‘feudal lord’		
<i>tippmees</i>	100	‘top man’		
<i>geimees</i>	79	‘gay’		
<i>kurikamees</i>	77	‘bat man’		
<i>täkupoiss</i>	67	‘womaniser’		
<i>kahemees</i>	64	‘D student’		
<i>sulemees</i>	62	‘writer’		
<i>põllumees</i>	8943	‘fieldworker’	<i>põllunaine</i>	6
<i>jahimees</i>	7620	‘hunter’	<i>jahinaine</i>	6
<i>kaupmees</i>	6582	‘merchant’	<i>kaupnaine</i>	2
<i>kalamees</i>	4422	‘fisherman’	<i>kalainaine</i>	14
<i>sõjamees</i>	2569	‘soldier’	<i>sõjanaine</i>	1
<i>turvamees</i>	2513	‘security guy’	<i>turvainaine</i>	45
<i>müügimees</i>	2476	‘salesman’	<i>müüginaine</i>	15
<i>riigimees</i>	1612	‘statesman’	<i>riiginaine</i>	6
<i>kojamees</i>	1566	‘janitor’	<i>kojanaine</i>	22
<i>pillimees</i>	1547	‘musician’	<i>pillinaine</i>	4
<i>kirjamees</i>	1303	‘writer’	<i>kirjanaine</i>	9
<i>mängumees</i>	948	‘player’	<i>mängunaine</i>	1
<i>suurmees</i>	935	‘great man’	<i>suurnaine</i>	6
<i>teadusemees</i>	823	‘scientist’	<i>teadusenaine</i>	2
<i>ametimees</i>	739	‘official’	<i>ametinaine</i>	6
<i>õpipoiss</i>	533	‘apprentice’	<i>õpitudruk</i>	6
<i>spordimees</i>	531	‘sportsman’	<i>spordinaine</i>	5
<i>remondimees</i>	511	‘repairman’	<i>remondinaine</i>	2
<i>rammumees</i>	480	‘strongman’	<i>rammunaine</i>	5

<i>rännumees</i>	478	‘traveller’	<i>rännunaine</i>	1	
<i>paadimees</i>	467	‘boatman’	<i>paadinaine</i>	1	
<i>kaameramees</i>	416	‘cameraman’	<i>kaameranaine</i>	1	
<i>pühamees</i>	280	‘holy man’	<i>pühanaine</i>	1	
<i>püssimees</i>	272	‘gunman’	<i>püssinaine</i>	1	
<i>IT-meis</i>	271	‘IT guy’	<i>itinaine</i>	1	
<i>jõumees</i>	252	‘strongman’	<i>jõunaine</i>	5	
<i>bassimees</i>	224	‘bassist’	<i>bassinaine</i>	1	
<i>suitsimees</i>	218	‘smoker’	<i>suitsunaine</i>	1	
<i>loodusemees</i>	212	‘nature man’	<i>loodusenaine</i>	1	
<i>telemis</i>	202	‘TV reporter’	<i>telenaine</i>	3	
<i>pikanäpumeis</i>	161	‘pickpocket’	<i>pikanäpunaine</i>	1	
<i>teatrimis</i>	152	‘theatre director’, ‘actor’	<i>teatrinaine</i>	1	
<i>matkameis</i>	121	‘hiker’	<i>matkanaine</i>	1	
<i>naljameis</i>	570	‘joker’			<i>naljatüdruk</i> 1
<i>usumeis</i>	286	‘cleric’			<i>usutädi</i> 1
<i>rahamis</i>	222	‘money man’			<i>rahapreili</i> 1
<i>lehemis</i>	91	‘journalist’			<i>lehepiiga</i> 1

Table 85. M Lexical Gaps in Last-Part-Gendered Compounds

F Compound	Freq.	Translation	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.
<i>kaardimoor</i>	115	‘fortune teller’				
<i>seltskonnadaam</i>	64	‘socialite’				
<i>õuedaam</i>	58	‘lady-in-waiting’				
<i>turumutt</i>	51	‘market vendor’				
<i>ämmaemand</i>	3617	‘midwife’	<i>ämmaisand</i>	5		
<i>kokatädi</i>	169	‘cook’	<i>kokaonu</i>	1		
<i>teenijatüdruk</i>	154	‘servant’	<i>teenijapoiss</i>	1		
<i>köögitüdruk</i>	140	‘kitchen maid’	<i>köögipoiss</i>	2		
<i>tudengineiu</i>	87	‘student’	<i>tudenginoormis</i>	1		
<i>söögitädi</i>	132	‘lunch lady’			<i>söögimeis</i>	1
<i>nõiamoor</i>	123	‘witch’			<i>nõiamis</i>	2

Numerous masculine compounds that either lack a feminine counterpart or have a feminine equivalent that is rarely used tend to describe concepts or roles traditionally regarded as male attributes or activities – many of which remain male-dominated today. These include pursuits such as hunting, fishing, constructing, fighting, being sexually assertive, technically skilled

and physically strong, among others. Masculine terms like *jahimees* (‘hunterman’), *kalamees* (‘fisherman’), *töömees* (‘workman’), *kurikamees* (‘bat man’), *täkupoiss* (‘womaniser’), *IT-meis* (‘IT guy’), and *jõumeis* (‘strongman’) exceed their feminine counterparts by more than 50-fold in frequency. Additionally, many masculine compounds with a gap on the feminine side relate to activities, that, in reality, are practiced by both men and women, such as playing music (*bassimeis* (‘bassist’)), writing (*kirjameis* (‘writer’)), selling (*kaupmeis* (‘merchant’)), exploring nature (*loodusemeis* (‘nature man’)), or smoking (*suitsumeis* (‘smoker’)) (Hämmäl et al. 2022; National Institute for Health Development 2025; Statistics Estonia 2025b).

The 11 feminine compounds with a gap on the masculine side also describe various concepts and roles, such as providing assistance (*ämmaemand* (‘midwife’)), culinary work (*kokatädi* (‘cook’), *köögitüdruk* (‘kitchen maid’)), social interaction (*seltskonnadaam* (‘socialite’), *õuedaam* (‘lady-in-waiting’)), esoteric practices (*kaardimoor* (‘fortune teller’)), selling (*turumutt* (‘market vendor’)), and studying (*tudengineiu* (‘student’)). Here, many of those activities – such as birth attendance, assistance, cooking, and selling – are still mainly female-occupied today (Hämmäl et al. 2022; Statistics Estonia 2025b).

Unequal Word Pairs

In the analysis, unequal word pairs – feminine and masculine compound pairs with differences in meaning – were also identified. Table 86 presents the unequal word pairs based on direct feminine and masculine equivalents. Semantic variations in the indirect word pairs are more understandable, as different lexical-gender nouns convey distinct ideas. However, as these were also noted as potential, albeit less precise, equivalents for gendered vocabulary when no closer alternative could be identified, Table 87 summarises the unequal word pairs between the indirect feminine and masculine equivalents as well.

Table 86. Unequal Word Pairs Based on Direct F and M Equivalents

F Compound	Interpretation	M Compound	Interpretation	First Part Transl.
<i>filminaine</i>	1) actress	<i>filmimeis</i>	1) film director 2) camera operator	‘film’
<i>jooksutüdruk</i>	1) running girl	<i>jooksupoiss</i>	1) errand boy	‘run’

<i>kalanaine</i>	1) fisher 2) fish seller	<i>kalamees</i>	1) fisher	‘fish’
<i>kõrtsinaine</i>	1) innkeeper 2) wife of innkeeper	<i>kõrtsimees</i>	1) innkeeper 2) inn owner	‘inn’
<i>merenaine</i>	1) sea woman 2) woman by sea	<i>meremees</i>	1) seaman	‘sea’
<i>mõisaproua</i>	1) manor owner 2) wife of manor owner	<i>mõisahärä</i>	1) manor owner	‘manor’
<i>paruniproua</i>	1) baroness 2) wife of baron	<i>parunihärä</i>	1) baron	‘baron’
<i>perenaine</i>	1) owner 2) leader 3) wife of owner 4) housekeeper	<i>peremees</i>	1) owner 2) leader 3) head of family 4) sovereign ruler 5) decision-maker	‘family’
<i>presidendiproua</i>	1) wife of president	<i>presidendihärä</i>	1) president	‘president’
<i>saunanaine</i>	1) sauna servant	<i>saunamees</i>	1) poor, landless peasant living in sauna	‘sauna’
<i>soometüdruk</i>	1) Finnish girl	<i>soomepoiss</i>	1) Winter War volunteer soldier	‘Finnish’
<i>töönaine</i>	1) working woman	<i>töömees</i>	1) workman	‘work’
<i>ürgnaine</i>	1) primaeval woman	<i>ürgmees</i>	1) primaeval man 2) brute	‘prymaeval’
<i>vanatüdruk</i>	1) unmarried woman (derog.), spinster	<i>vanapoiss</i>	1) unmarried man, bachelor	‘old’
<i>varunaine</i>	1) athlete on reserve bench 2) woman reserved for sexual purposes	<i>varumees</i>	1) athlete on reserve bench	‘reserve’

Table 87. Unequal Word Pairs Based on Indirect F and M Equivalents

F Compound	Interpretation	M Compound	Interpretation	First Part Transl.
<i>aadlipreili</i>	1) single (young) woman of noble origin	<i>aadlimees</i>	1) nobleman	‘noble’
<i>jutumoor</i>	1) talkative woman, engaged in gossip	<i>jutumees</i>	1) talkative person, skilful with words, raconteur	‘story’
<i>kaardimoor</i>	1) fortune teller	<i>kaardimees</i>	1) map reader	‘card’, ‘map’
<i>linnapreili</i>	1) unmarried city woman with refined demeanour, snappy or arrogant	<i>linnamees</i>	1) city man	‘city’
<i>megabeib</i>	1) eye-catching woman paying much attention to appearance	<i>megamees</i>	1) man excelling in various aspects of life	‘mega’
<i>nõiamoor</i>	1) witch 2) evil, ugly, spiteful (older) woman	<i>nõiamees</i>	1) witch	‘witch’

<i>rannapiiga</i>	1) most beautiful girl at beach	<i>rannamees</i>	1) man at beach	‘beach’
<i>telefonineiu</i>	1) telephone receptionist	<i>telefonimees</i>	1) telephone technician	‘telephone’

Among the feminine and masculine word pairs, the masculine compounds are often more common terms with a fixed meaning, such as *meremees* (‘seaman’), *kalamees* (‘fisherman’), *filmimees* (‘film director’, ‘camera operator’), and *töömees* (‘workman’). As these terms are frequently used, sometimes even perhaps to denote females, their feminine equivalents tend to be rarer and therefore have a less fixed reference. To exemplify, the direct feminine equivalents of *meremees* and *kalamees* – *merenaine* (‘sea woman’) and *kalanaine* (‘fish woman’) – do not solely refer to a female sailor or fisher but can also more broadly denote a woman associated in some way with the sea or fish, as illustrated in corpus texts or WordWeb.

Likewise, grounded in WordWeb definitions and usage patterns observed in corpus data, several feminine compounds additionally connote “wife” or a woman’s marital status, whereas this implication is not present in the masculine equivalent. For example, feminine term *mõisaproua* (‘manor owner’, ‘wife of the manor owner’) versus masculine term *mõisahärra* (‘manor owner’). It is more common for the masculine compounds to convey ownership or the position of authority, a nuance often absent from the feminine equivalents, for instance, the feminine term *kõrtsinaine* (‘innkeeper’, ‘wife of the innkeeper’) versus the masculine term *kõrtsimees* (‘innkeeper’, ‘owner of the inn’). Unlike their masculine counterparts, some feminine words suggest involvement in the domestic sphere or service-related activities. For instance, the feminine compound *perenaine* (‘owner’, ‘leader’) includes connotations of responsibilities such as cooking and cleaning. Similarly, *saunanaine* (‘sauna woman’) conveys the role of attending to sauna guests. Exceptionally, the masculine term *jooksupoiss* (‘errand boy’) also signals service duties, a nuance not shared by its feminine equivalent, *jooksutüdruk* (‘running girl’).

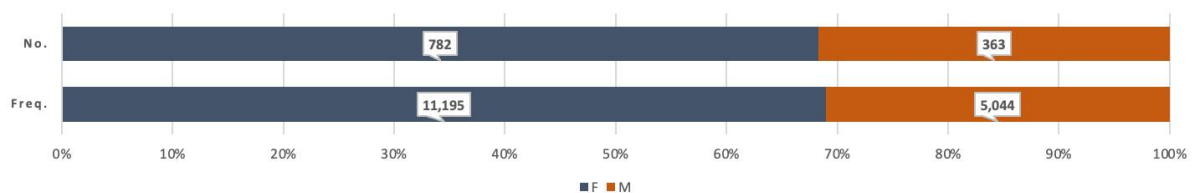
One masculine term, *ürgmees* (‘primal man’, ‘brute’), connotes physical strength, a nuance absent in its feminine counterpart, as suggested by corpus usage. By contrast, several feminine terms refer to a woman’s appearance – such as *rannapiiga* (‘beautiful beach girl’), *nõiamoor* (‘witch’, ‘evil, ugly, spiteful (older) woman’), and *megabeib* (‘eye-catching woman’) – while their masculine equivalents – though indirect – do not appear to carry such

implications. Lastly, as noted by Stahlberg et al. (2007) about languages in general, also in Estonian, feminine terms can convey derogatory connotations, whereas their masculine counterparts are neutral or positive. For example, in WordWeb, *vanatüdruk* ('spinster') is described with a pejorative connotation, whereas *vanapoiss* ('bachelor') carries a positive tone. Similarly, the feminine term *nõiamoor* ('witch', 'evil, ugly, spiteful (older) woman') is negative in tone, while the masculine term *nõiamees* ('witch') registers as neutral. Asymmetries beyond word pairs, extending into broader thematic fields, will be summarised and discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

Gender-Emphasised Nouns

The gendered compounds in the corpus reveal a tendency to make femaleness explicit more often than maleness. Among the first-part-gendered compounds, where the lexical-gender noun serves to emphasise the referent's gender, feminine compounds are more numerous and overall more frequently used, as shown in Graph 2.

Graph 2. F and M First-Part-Gendered Compounds



Here it is worth drawing attention to one potential limitation of first-part-gendered compounds observed in this research. Namely, compounds containing the lexical-gender nouns *tüdruk* ('girl') and *poiss* ('boy') were included in the dataset. Since, as copulative compounds, their emphasis on gender is rather doubtful, it is worthwhile to summarise the first-part-gendered compounds excluding those *tüdruk*- and *poiss*- initial compounds. As these are very limited in number, no considerable change is observed in the compound proportions when only words beginning with *naine* (*nais*-) ('female') and *mees* ('male') are considered, as shown in Graph 122:

Graph 122. Compounds with *nais-* and *mees-* in Initial Position

As the frequency of feminine first-part-gendered compounds surpasses that of masculine compounds 2-fold, more lexical gaps become apparent on the masculine side. Tables 88 and 89 highlight the most significant lexical gaps in first-part-gendered vocabulary. Given that first-part-gendered compounds generally occur less frequently in the corpus than last-part-gendered compounds, those with a frequency difference of at least 10-fold between feminine and masculine forms were included in the tables.

Table 88. M Lexical Gaps in First-Part-Gendered Compounds

F Compound	Freq.	Last Part Transl.	M Direct Equiv.	Freq.	M Indirect Equiv.	Freq.
<i>naiskodukaitsja</i>	784	‘home defender’				
<i>naisteoloog</i>	139	‘theologian’				
<i>naisterrorist</i>	19	‘terrorist’				
<i>naiskütt</i>	11	‘hunter’				
<i>naismehhanisaator</i>	11	‘mechaniser’				
<i>naispiiskop</i>	261	‘bishop’	<i>meespiiskop</i>	10		
<i>naisettevõtja</i>	165	‘entrepreneur’	<i>meesettevõtja</i>	7		
<i>naisteadlane</i>	74	‘scientist’	<i>meesteadlane</i>	4		
<i>naispresident</i>	74	‘president’	<i>meespresident</i>	3		
<i>naissõdalane</i>	35	‘warrior’	<i>meessõdalane</i>	2		
<i>naistraktorist</i>	33	‘tractor driver’	<i>meestraktorist</i>	2		
<i>naishelilooja</i>	29	‘composer’	<i>meeshelilooja</i>	1		
<i>naisreporter</i>	17	‘reporter’	<i>meesreporter</i>	1		

Table 89. F Lexical Gaps in First-Part-Gendered Compounds

M Compound	Freq.	Last Part Transl.	F Direct Equiv.	Freq.	F Indirect Equiv.	Freq.
<i>meesüksik</i>	11	‘loner’				

Marking the female reference in person nouns clearly reflects the people = male bias – discussed by Silveira (1980), Hellinger and Bußmann (2001–2003), Piits (2005/2006), among others – in the Estonian language, suggesting that, since the stereotypical human being is

perceived as male, only femaleness needs to be explicitly highlighted. Many feminine compounds, either lacking a masculine equivalent or having a masculine counterpart that is rarely used, tend to describe roles traditionally associated with masculine activities, such as hunting, machinery work, warfare, official religious services, politics, and similar domains. Terms like *kütt* ('hunter'), *traktorist* ('tractor driver'), *kodukaitsja* (lit. 'home defender', 'member of the Estonian defence organisation'), *sõdalane* ('warrior'), *piiskop* ('bishop'), and *president* ('president') appear at least 10 times more frequently in the corpus where they are marked as female.

Female reference is also emphasised among nouns referring to activities that, in present-day reality, are practised by both women and men. For example, the person nouns *reporter* ('reporter') and *helilooja* ('composer') occur more frequently in the corpus with a feminine lexical-gender noun in the initial position, even though music and journalism are practised by a similar number of women and men – or even more women – according to Statistics Estonia (2025b).

3.2 Thematic Asymmetries

From the lexical gaps and asymmetric vocabulary observed at the singular word level grow broader thematic asymmetries between the feminine and masculine compound groups. To offer a comprehensive overview of the concepts conveyed by gendered vocabulary, the previously examined categories are divided into three summarising groups.

Group I

Over 60% of compounds within a specific category are masculine. Over 60% of the total frequency within that category consists of M compounds.	Stacked bar chart for Group I. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 20% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 80%. For 'Freq.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 20% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 80%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.
The proportions of F and M compounds in a specific category are nearly equal, with both comprising 40%–60% of the vocabulary. Over 60% of the total frequency within that category consists of M compounds.	Stacked bar chart for Group I. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 50% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 50%. For 'Freq.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 20% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 80%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.

Group II

Over 60% of compounds within a specific category are feminine. Over 60% of the total frequency within that category consists of M compounds.	Stacked bar chart for Group II. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 80% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 20%. For 'Freq.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 20% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 80%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.
The proportions of F and M compounds in a specific category are nearly equal, with both comprising 40%–60% of the vocabulary. The total frequency of F and M compounds is nearly equal, with both accounting for 40%–60% of the category's overall frequency.	Stacked bar chart for Group II. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 50% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 50%. For 'Freq.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 50% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 50%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.

Group III

Over 60% of compounds within a specific category are feminine. Over 60% of the total frequency within that category consists of F compounds.	Stacked bar chart for Group III. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the orange bar (M) is approximately 80% and the blue bar (F) is approximately 20%. For 'Freq.', the orange bar (M) is approximately 20% and the blue bar (F) is approximately 80%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.
The proportions of F and M compounds in a specific category are nearly equal, with both comprising 40%–60% of the vocabulary. Over 60% of the total frequency within that category consists of F compounds.	Stacked bar chart for Group III. The x-axis represents percentage from 0% to 100% in 20% increments. The y-axis has two categories: 'No.' (Number of compounds) and 'Freq.' (Total frequency). For 'No.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 50% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 50%. For 'Freq.', the blue bar (F) is approximately 80% and the orange bar (M) is approximately 20%. A legend at the bottom indicates blue for F and orange for M.

Over 60% of compounds within a specific category are feminine. The total frequency of F and M compounds is nearly equal, with both accounting for 40%–60% of the category’s overall frequency.

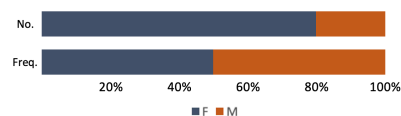


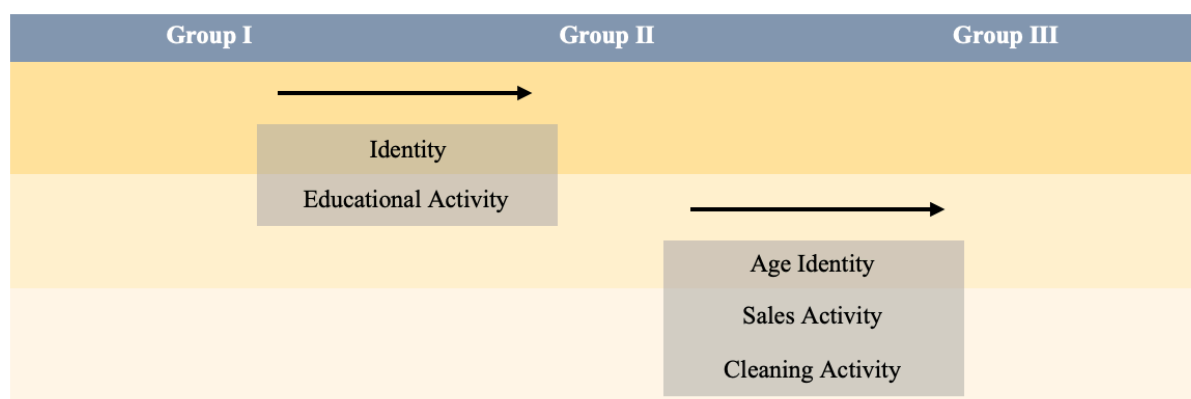
Table 90 presents the categories of last-part-gendered compounds, organised into the summarising Groups I, II, and III. The category hierarchy – including the six main categories, subcategories, and sub-subcategories – is distinguished by colour.

Table 91 illustrates the categories in which the proportions of feminine and masculine compounds change significantly after excluding very frequent compounds (those exceeding 1,000 occurrences), causing an entire category to move to a different summarising group. An arrow indicates the change.

Table 90. Categories of Last-Part-Gendered Compounds Organised into Three Summarising Groups

Group I	Group II	Group III
Power Identity Quality Activity Other		Relationship
Gender or Sexual Identity Status Identity Name Identity Character Quality Physical Strength Quality Intellectual Quality Economic Quality Other Quality Construction Activity Transport Activity Combat Activity Research Activity Technological Activity Travel Activity Agricultural Activity Protective Activity Political or Legal Activity Sports Activity Party or Substance Activity Cultural Activity Criminal Activity Religious or Spiritual Activity Educational Activity Sexual Activity Other Activity	Age Identity Appearance Quality	Marital Identity Ethnic or Geographic Identity Religious Identity Sales or Service Activity Modelling Activity Healthcare Activity Clerical Activity
Film or Theatre Activity Literary Activity Musical Activity Journalistic Activity Other Cultural Activity	Sales Activity Cleaning Activity	Dance Activity Culinary Activity Food Service Activity Other Sales or Service Activity

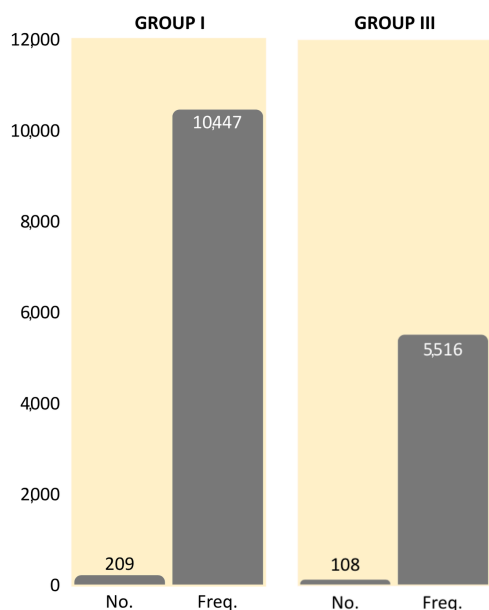
Table 91. Categories That Change Group When High-Frequency Compounds Are Excluded



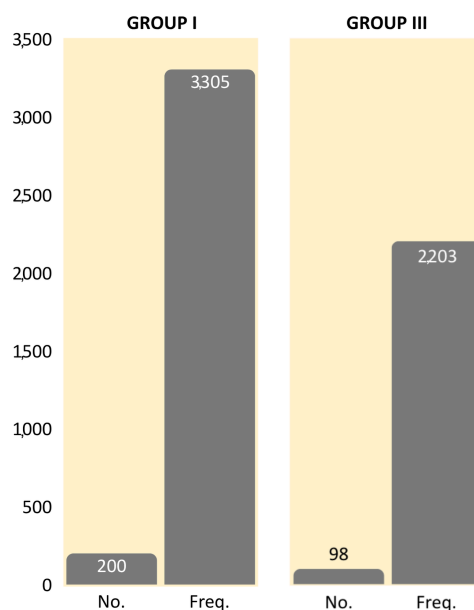
Group II, which is somewhat inconclusive or neutral in terms of gender asymmetry, as it includes categories with similar proportions of feminine and masculine compounds, as well as categories where feminine and masculine compounds lie at opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of number and frequency, comprises only a few categories. Group I includes categories that can be considered male-related, as the associated masculine compounds are more frequently used in the corpus, while the number of distinct masculine compounds exceeds or is similar to the number of feminine compounds. This group encompasses most of the (sub)categories described in this research. In contrast, Group III can be considered female-related, as the feminine compounds in these categories either appear more frequently in the corpus – while the number of distinct feminine compounds exceeds or is similar to that of masculine compounds –, or have comparable usage frequency to masculine compounds, but are more numerous. There are fewer than half as many female-related categories in Group III as male-related categories in Group I.

The lower number of female-related categories is unsurprising, as the generally higher frequency of masculine compounds shifts most categories towards the male side. Furthermore, the average size of female-related categories in Group III is significantly smaller, both in terms of the number of different feminine and masculine nouns and their frequency, compared to male-related categories in Group I. Graph 123 illustrates the average size of female-related and male-related categories in Groups III and I, respectively. Graph 124 shows the average size of these categories when leaving out highly frequent compounds with a frequency exceeding 1,000.

Graph 123. Average Number and Frequency of Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in Categories Across Groups I and III



Graph 124. Average Number and Frequency of Last-Part-Gendered Compounds in Categories across Groups I and III (High-Frequency Compounds Excluded)



On average, male-related categories in Group I contain around 200 distinct gendered compounds, whereas the average number of distinct nouns in female-related categories is half that amount. Similarly, each male-related category includes compounds with over 10,000 corpus occurrences, or around 3,000 occurrences when excluding highly frequent compounds. By contrast, compounds in female-related categories are used about 5,000 times on average in corpus texts, or approximately 2,000 times when leaving out the widely used terms. Because of this, masculine last-part-gendered vocabulary is generally more frequently used in most thematic fields, and these fields usually comprise a greater number of distinct nouns that appear with higher frequency in the corpus. Conversely, the fewer thematic fields dominated by feminine vocabulary typically consist of fewer nouns with lower corpus frequencies.

As previously seen, the first-part-gendered vocabulary tends to paint a picture that stands in contrast to the last-part-gendered compounds, which is also mirrored in the three

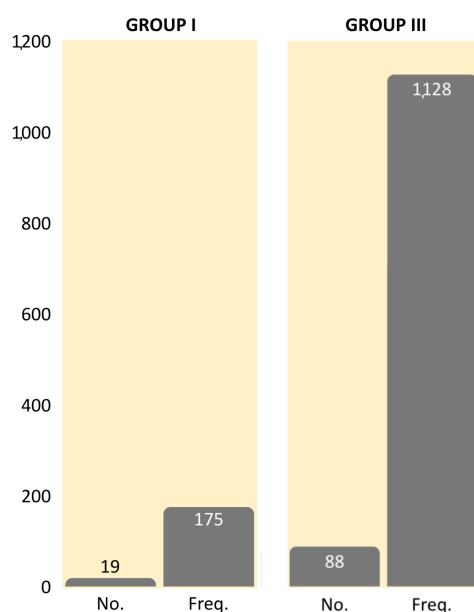
summarising groups. Table 92 presents the categories and subcategories of first-part-gendered compounds, arranged into Groups I, II, and III.

Table 92. Categories of First-Part-Gendered Compounds Organised into Three Summarising Groups

Group I	Group II	Group III
	Identity Relationship	Power Quality Activity Other
Sexual Activity Modelling Activity Healthcare Activity	Educational Activity Sales or Service Activity	Construction Activity Transport Activity Combat Activity Research Activity Technological Activity Travel Activity Agricultural Activity Protective Activity Political or Legal Activity Sports Activity Party or Substance Activity Cultural Activity Criminal Activity Religious or Spiritual Activity Other Activity
Dance Activity		Film or Theatre Activity Literary Activity Musical Activity Journalistic Activity Other Cultural Activity

Categories formed by first-part-gendered compounds that often highlight the gender of the referent predominantly gather in Group III. Within the categories encompassed by Group III, feminine compounds constitute the majority in terms of number, frequency, or both. However, the Group III can be characterised as male-related, as the markedness of female reference implies that individuals typically associated with these categories and concepts are actually expected to be men. In contrast, Group I comprises categories in which compounds that highlight maleness dominate and can, therefore, be characterised as female-related.

Graph 125. Average Number and Frequency of First-Part-Gendered Compounds in Categories across Groups I and III



The average sizes of the less numerous and less frequent first-part-gendered compounds are generally smaller than those of the last-part-gendered compounds. Within the first-part-gendered compounds, the average category size is notably larger in Group III, both in terms of the number of distinct gendered compound nouns and their overall frequency. For instance, while categories in Group I contain an average of 19 distinct compounds, a typical category in Group III consists of 88 different compounds. Moreover, the average compound frequency in the categories of Group III is more than 6 times higher than in Group I. In other words, compound nouns with the modifier *nais-* ('female') – the most typical F modifier – which are greater in number and higher in frequency, dominate most categories. On average, these categories include a larger variety of different compounds and are more frequently used compared to those where compounds with the modifier *mees-* ('male') form the majority in terms of number and/or frequency.

As noted earlier, among the last-part-gendered compounds, Group I can be considered male-related due to the dominance of masculine compounds in the categories it includes, while Group III can be characterised as female-related because of the prevalence of feminine compounds within its categories. In contrast, among the first-part-gendered compounds, the categories in Group I appear female-related, whereas those in Group III can be considered

male-related, as the gendered modifiers cast light on the gender, suggesting that it is unexpected and implying that the opposite gender is typically associated with the concept or activity described by the person noun in the final position.

Many (sub)categories fall into Group I or Group III in opposite patterns for last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds, and can therefore be regarded as female- or male-biased domains, as they relate to the same gender in both compound types. It is still important to note, however, that the categories formed by first-part-gendered compounds sometimes include only a handful of distinct terms. As a result, they may not always offer a strong representation of gender dynamics. Nonetheless, since the corpus did not yield a larger number of first-part-gendered compounds, it remains worthwhile to consider them, even if their presence is limited. If first-part-gendered compounds could not be grouped into a category due to their small number, the focus is placed solely on last-part-gendered compounds. That said, Table 93 presents the female- and male-biased categories according to the following criteria:

The Female-Biased Group includes categories that

- appear in Group III among the last-part-gendered compounds and in Group I among the first-part-gendered compounds;
- appear in Group III among the last-part-gendered compounds but are not distinguishable among the first-part-gendered compounds.

The Male-Biased Group includes categories that

- appear in Group I among the last-part-gendered compounds and in Group III among the first-part-gendered compounds;
- appear in Group I among the last-part-gendered compounds but are not distinguishable among the first-part-gendered compounds.

Table 93. Female- and Male-Biased Categories

Female-Biased	Male-Biased
	Power Quality Activity Other
Marital Identity Ethnic or Geographic Identity Religious Identity Modelling Activity Healthcare Activity Clerical Activity	Gender or Sexual Identity Status Identity Name Identity Character Quality Physical Strength Quality Intellectual Quality Economic Quality Other Quality Construction Activity Transport Activity Combat Activity Research Activity Technological Activity Travel Activity Agricultural Activity Protective Activity Political or Legal Activity Sports Activity Party or Substance Activity Cultural Activity Criminal Activity Religious or Spiritual Activity Other Activity
Dance Activity Culinary Activity Food Service Activity Other Sales or Service Activity	Film or Theatre Activity Literary Activity Musical Activity Journalistic Activity Other Cultural Activity

Before moving on to a summarising overview of these female- and male-biased categories, it is worthwhile underlining that some categories with ambiguous patterns are not presented in Table 93. For example, compounds describing an individual's appearance, which are only distinguishable among last-part-gendered vocabulary, fall into Group II, as they include similar proportions of feminine and masculine compounds. Other categories, such as Age Identity, Sales Activity, and Cleaning Activity, which are also identifiable among the more numerous and frequent last-part-gendered compounds, consist predominantly of feminine terms, while masculine terms are noticeably more frequently used, pushing these categories into Group II. Since the overall frequency of masculine compounds is mainly driven by a few

standard masculine terms, excluding those causes the entire category to shift to Group III among female-related categories.

Other categories, which are distinguishable among both last-part-gendered and first-part-gendered compounds, appear to be ambiguous, as they do not follow opposite patterns in Group I and Group III. For example, the category of Sexual Activity aligns with Group I for both compound types. The categories of Relationship and Sales or Service Activity are female-related among last-part-gendered compounds; however, they show similar proportions of feminine and masculine vocabulary among first-part-gendered compounds. Lastly, the categories of Identity and Educational Activity fall into Group I among last-part-gendered compounds but shift to Group II when the highly frequent masculine terms are removed. Among first-part-gendered compounds, these domains contain a similar number of distinct compounds, which are used with comparable frequency in the corpus and are therefore assigned to Group II.

Gender-biased and ambiguous categories, along with asymmetries in singular gendered compound nouns, will be further discussed in more detail in the next section, where they are examined against the backdrop of a worldview shaped by male hegemony.

3.3 Gender Ideologies in Estonian Compound Nouns

Female- and male-biased categories in summarising Table 93 reflect a worldview imprinted with the values of hegemonic masculinity and male dominance. The most straightforward example of positioning men at the top of the hierarchy is found in compound nouns describing an individual in power. Related masculine last-part-gendered compounds appear approximately 7 times more frequently in texts than those referring to a woman in power. The pattern is reversed among first-part-gendered compounds, where feminine terms surpass masculine nouns, signalling that women are not typically associated with holding positions of power.

The dominance of masculine vocabulary describing other aspects, such as status identity, also underscores male supremacy, though more remotely. While first-part-gendered compounds could not be grouped into this subcategory, last-part-gendered compounds emphasise men's

social position or prestige, thus highlighting men's importance. To exemplify, masculine compounds, such as *vabahärä* (lit. 'free lord', 'baron'), *aadlimees* ('nobleman'), have significantly more occurrences in the corpus than their feminine equivalents.

Additionally, male power subtly reveals itself in compounds describing a religious or spiritual activity, where masculine terms dominate among last-part-gendered compounds, while first-part-gendered compounds once again paint a counterpoint. For instance, the masculine terms *teadjamees* (lit. 'knower man', 'shaman') and *usumees* (lit. 'faith man', 'cleric') appear more frequently in the corpus than their feminine counterparts. The ability to communicate with higher powers or almighty entities to which people are believed to be subjected leads to the valuation and importance of the communicator, their influence, and, thereby, also their authority (see e.g. Berger 1967; Foucault 2007).

Men are also referred to by name more frequently in the corpus. This provides yet another example of the greater prominence of men compared to women. While both women and men have names, men are mentioned and discussed more often.

Among the male-biased categories, some do not fit into more specific thematic fields. These include categories labelled as "other", such as Other Quality, as well as the general category Other, which draws together compounds that could not be assigned to any thematic field examined in this research. The male-biased group also includes broader categories that collectively consider all associated compounds, subdivided into numerous thematic fields, such as the category of Quality. Additionally, masculine vocabulary dominates the Identity category as a whole, which spans subcategories such as sexual, gender, ethno-geographic, and other identities. That said, this observation comes with certain reservations, as only last-part-gendered masculine compounds are used more frequently and only when all vocabulary is considered, since the apparent predominance of masculine words is primarily due to the high frequency of a single compound, *noormees* ('young man').

While at first glance, these broad categories may not directly point to power, the mere fact that within these relatively vague and overarching categories, masculine last-part-gendered compounds surpass feminine compounds in frequency and, at times, in number, while female reference tends to be marked more often than male reference (if first-part-gendered compounds can be considered), still signals male hegemony. Just as it is reflected in the

overall greater number of male-biased categories, the larger average size of male-related categories among last-part-gendered compounds, and the higher frequency of masculine last-part-gendered compounds on the whole – male representation is at the centre of the picture.

The higher frequency of masculine last-part-gendered compounds contributes to the prevalence of lexical gaps in feminine last-part-gendered vocabulary, laying bare yet another feature of male hegemony revealed by the vocabulary. A typical last-part-gendered compound is masculine and used more frequently, whereas feminine last-part-gendered compounds tend to be rare. Serving as a clear example of male dominance, masculine compounds such as *tippmees* ('top man'), *asjamees* (lit. 'thing man', 'key figure'), and *suurmees* ('great man'), all signalling the prominence and importance of men – and by extension, their supremacy –, are highly frequent terms, while their feminine counterparts are either absent or exceedingly rare.

The same masculine terms, alongside numerous others identified in this research, such as *kaameramees* ('cameraman'), *rahamees* ('money man'), and *mängumees* (lit. 'game man', 'player'), and even *kojamees* (lit. 'hall man', 'janitor'), referring to a person in a cleaning role – an activity stereotypically regarded as women's duty from an androcentric perspective (Bem 1993: 42; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 39; Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 30–34) –, can be considered masculine generics. Masculine forms referring to both men and women or denoting individuals of unspecified gender, perfectly exemplify the male = people bias and serve as yet another reflection of male supremacy.

While a typical man is perceived as a person, a typical person also appears to be perceived as male – a phenomenon clearly illustrated by first-part-gendered compounds. In these compounds, feminine terms surpass masculine terms more than 2-fold in both number and frequency. Consequently, among first-part-gendered compounds, feminine terms dominate most categories, and the average size of these categories is also larger than that of the few categories dominated by masculine first-part-gendered compounds. The frequent need to specify female references highlights the default perception of individuals as male. A notable example of the people = male bias is the compound *naisinimene* ('female human being'), which appears significantly more frequently in the corpus than *meesinimene* ('male human

being’). Hence, the apparent male = people = male bias in Estonian vocabulary mirrors an androcentric mindset in Estonian society.

The 5,219 gendered compound nouns identified and analysed in this research largely reflect traits deemed suitable and characteristic for women and men in a society shaped by male hegemony. Many of the male-biased categories relate to physical strength, aggressiveness or violence, physical activity, and broader notions of activeness. For example, among words describing physical strength quality – distinguishable only in last-part-gendered compounds – masculine vocabulary appears significantly more frequently, while feminine vocabulary is rare and occurs only in a handful of instances. The masculine term *rammumees* (‘strongman’), for example, occurs over 90 times more frequently in the corpus than its feminine equivalent. Moreover, activities, such as fighting in wars, committing crimes, or conversely protecting people, which often involve physical or violent actions, are also male-biased, supported by both last-part-gendered vocabulary and first-part-gendered compounds. Furthermore, vocabulary describing individuals engaged in other physical activities, such as playing sports, constructing, farming, unspecified actions in the category of Other Activity, or Activity as a whole, predominantly casts these individuals as male.

The Estonian gendered vocabulary also binds men with sexual activity – another celebrated trait in men’s behaviour within an androcentric society (Bem 1993: 16–19; Plummer 2005). While the gender bias of this category could not be definitively determined, the most frequent masculine vocabulary includes last-part-gendered compounds such as *naistemees* and *täkupoiss*, terms often used to describe a womaniser, referring to a man actively pursuing women for romantic and sexual purposes. In fact, the vocabulary also depicts women as active in sexual life, though for financial gain or arranging romantic matches, as seen in feminine terms like *lõbutüdruk* (‘prostitute’) and *kosjamoor* (‘matchmaker’). Offering sexual services for money portrays women as conforming to the needs and desires of others – likely men in this context –, which, as expected behaviour for women, is yet another reflection of an androcentric society (Bem 1993; Connell 1987; Schippers 2007; Walby 1990: 109–128). Note that this role does not extend to men, as illustrated by the most frequent masculine first-part-gendered compound *meesprostituut* (‘male prostitute’).

The vocabulary that portrays women as providers or organisers of sexual activities and men as seekers of them reveals other nuances worth underlining. Notably, the fact that the person

whom a man referred to as *naistemees* or *täkupoiss* – the womaniser – is searching for is a *woman* is important, as hegemonic masculinity requires men to be heterosexual (Connell 2015; Donaldson 1993; Plummer 2005). Accordingly, while first-part-gendered compounds could not be distinguished in this regard, last-part-gendered compounds referring to men's sexual orientation and gender identity are significantly more prevalent than those referring to the same aspects in women. To illustrate, *heteromees* ('hetero man') appears in the corpus almost 10 times more frequently than *heteronaine* ('hetero woman').

In an androcentric society, men are often expected to exhibit not only physical strength but also mental strength, which is intertwined with the presumption of higher intelligence and rationality (Kuurme 2011; Walkerdine 1989). One category identified in this research, directly associated with this trait, consists of compounds describing intellectual qualities. Within this relatively small set of last-part-gendered compounds, masculine vocabulary significantly surpasses the feminine compounds in both number and frequency, faithfully mirroring this idea. For example, the masculine term *nupumees* (lit. 'clever man', 'brainiac') appears over 100 times in the data, whereas no feminine counterpart was found in the corpus.

Male bias also emerges clearly in the category of Research Activity, which, requiring strong analytical skills, is another domain closely tied to intelligence. On the other hand, the category of Educational Activity, which accompanies the steps of becoming a researcher and research work, presents a more ambiguous picture, as only last-part-gendered compounds are male-related, primarily due to the widespread term *koolipoiss* ('schoolboy'). The fact that this compound appears over 3 times more frequently in texts than its feminine counterpart is indeed remarkable, sketching a picture where boys are more commonly associated with school and learning, while both boys and girls go to school in Estonia. However, when casting an eye on this category without high-frequency compounds, the feminine and masculine vocabulary show comparable counts and frequencies. Furthermore, first-part-gendered compounds describing an individual involved in teaching or learning exhibit overall balance in both the number of nouns and their corpus frequency.

Intelligence is also associated with other categories observed in this study. For instance, political and legal activities are typically carried out by individuals expected to possess significant mental capacity and the rationality to make critical decisions (Connell 2005b: 39–42; Spender 1980; Walby 1990: 150–173; Wodak 2009). Intelligence and rationality also

resonate through technology, technical work, and machinery, including the operation of computers and other devices and machines, which demand an understanding of complex systems, effective problem-solving or repair skills, and the ability to generate new ideas that contribute to technological advancement (Harding 1986; Pilvre 2014; Wajcman 1991). The compounds describing activities related to politics, law, technology, and transport consistently reveal a clear male bias.

Another domain that requires analytical skills and intelligence is journalism, which relies on knowledge and includes news gathering and analysing (Donsbach 2013; Wai & Perina 2018). The category of Journalistic Activity also reveals a male bias. Of course, not all journalism is serious or demands a high degree of intelligence; however, the most frequent masculine last-part-gendered compounds, which largely contribute to this bias, refer to journalists in a neutral manner with terms that imply seriousness and competence, such as *telemees* (lit. ‘TV man’, ‘TV reporter’) and *raadiomees* (lit. ‘radio man’, ‘radio reporter’). In contrast, the most frequent feminine compounds in the same category tend to suggest a more playful, informal, or less expert role, as seen in terms like *ilmatüdruk* (‘weather girl’).

Intelligence often goes hand in hand with creativity (see Sternberg 2003). Compounds describing activities that typically thrive on imagination – such as acting, filmmaking, writing, composing or performing music, and other culture-related endeavours – also lean towards a predominantly male portrayal. Furthermore, certain singular masculine compounds, such as *naljamees* (lit. ‘joke man’, ‘joker’) and *jutumees* (lit. ‘story man’, ‘raconteur’), which refer to someone with a great sense of humour and talented communication skills (WordWeb), are widely used terms that lack a direct feminine counterpart. These masculine terms also seem to allow for generic usage, applying to all people.

Another male-biased domain – identified only among the last-part-gendered compounds – is Character Quality. Among other masculine terms, the same compounds, *naljamees* (‘joker’) and *jutumees* (‘raconteur’), greatly contribute to the prevalence of masculine vocabulary in this thematic field, highlighting an additional dimension of these terms. Making jokes, eliciting laughter, and telling engaging stories are activities that centre on entertaining an audience, which is another quality typically valued in men, that can be closely associated

with intellectual agility and dominance (Finney 1994; Holmes & Marra 2002; Kotthoff 2006; Kuipers 2006: 52).

One setting where entertainment undoubtedly takes place is at parties. Accordingly, compounds describing an individual engaged in partying or substance use tend to portray this individual as male. As Connell (2005b) points out, partying and drinking are often staged as performances of masculinity, signalling belonging and participation in male peer culture. While terms referring to drinking or smoking – which significantly contribute to the male bias in this category – may not directly imply entertaining others, they do embody the notion of freedom – as letting loose, or as a loss of control (Brain 2000; Measham & Brain 2005). In societies shaped by male hegemony, women are expected to exercise moderation in substance use (see Day et al. 2004; Griffin et al. 2013). A drunk or intoxicated woman is often met with disdain, as societal norms oblige women to control their behaviour and adhere to prescribed boundaries (Connell 1987; Ettorre 2007; Griffin et al. 2013; Room 1996). These restrictions, however, do not apply to men, whose loss of control is broadly accepted and even normalised, reflecting their autonomy and, by extension, their power (Connell 2005b; Day et al. 2004; Room 1996).

The freedom granted to men is likewise reflected in compounds describing travelling – an activity that invites one to adventure freely through the world. Travel Activity represents yet another overwhelmingly male-biased category. For instance, the most frequent masculine last-part-gendered compounds, such as *rännumees* ('journey man'), *matkamees* ('hiking man'), and *reisimees* ('travel man'), are often used as neutral terms to denote a traveller or hiker in general, with a high likelihood of generic usage. In contrast, there is a notable absence of equivalent feminine terms, and even when such terms are coined, their usage remains minimal.

Freedom (and power) comes with financial resources (Connell 2005b: 172–174; Walby 1990: 25–61), and accordingly, Estonian gendered vocabulary associates men more with money than women. A clear illustration of this appears in the category of Economic Quality, where compounds display a clear male bias. For instance, the masculine compound *rahamees* ('money man') is a frequent term with potential generic usage, while a feminine equivalent, *rahanaine* ('money woman'), does not appear in the corpus. Similarly, other masculine compounds, such as *ametimees* (lit. 'profession man', 'official') and *äriimees*

(‘businessman’), classified under the category of Other Activity, imply working and earning income. These terms are also used significantly more frequently than their feminine counterparts.

In contrast, the feminine term *karjäärinaine* (‘career woman’), which also conveys working and financial independence, appears with much higher frequency than *karjäärimees* (‘career man’). However, as indicated in WordWeb, *karjäärinaine* refers to a woman who is interested in work life and career, with the nuance of not wanting to limit herself to a traditional female role. Hence, the term *karjäärinaine* also suggests that women are not typically expected to pursue a career.

Alongside these frequent last-part-gendered compounds, within the first-part-gendered vocabulary, the feminine terms *naistöötaja* (‘female worker’) and *naisettevõtja* (‘female entrepreneur’) surpass their masculine counterparts in frequency, serving as yet another example of the notion that money-earning activities are typically not associated with women. One exception here is “the prostitute” – a noun more commonly associated with women. While sex workers do earn money, they do so in positions that require a certain degree of submissiveness and cannot truly be associated with the kind of power that money usually confers.

Women are associated with different traits and activities in a male-dominated society, many of which are reflected in the gendered vocabulary analysed in this research. As an inverse to men’s activity, women are encouraged to adopt passive and receptive roles, positioning themselves to be guided and controlled by men (see e.g. Connell 1987; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003; Spender 1980; Walby 1990). Among the compounds that describe an individual’s identity, women are more commonly identified through their religion, ethnicity, cultural group, or geographical origin – concepts that signal a certain passivity. Compounds such as *linnapreili* (‘city lady’) and *asiaadipreili* (‘Asian lady’) in the female-biased category of Ethnic or Geographic Identity, and *mosleminaine* (‘Muslim woman’) in the female-biased category of Religious Identity, refer to the origin and background of women – attributes that are inherent or unchangeable – thereby portraying women in a certain light of stasis. In the category of Identity, men are more frequently viewed through aspects of their sexual orientation and gender perception, as well as by their name and status, which are usually inherent and unchangeable too. However, these categories carry additional notions of their

sexual life, increased visibility, and imply societal importance, drawing attention to other concepts.

Another interesting observation is that, while the category of Religious Identity is female-biased, the category of Religious or Spiritual Activity is male-biased. The former includes compounds that imply submission to a higher power, whereas the latter conveys authority, even suggesting equivalence to higher powers, as priests or spiritual intermediaries are often regarded as possessing divine qualities or even as gods themselves (see e.g. Daly 1973; Irigaray 1987).

An ideal woman – passive and submissive to men – is also expected to be beautiful, an attractive object of the male gaze in a society that upholds male hegemony, and so physical appearance becomes an essential aspect of women (Bordo 1993; Burgess & Borgida 1999; Schippers 2007). In this study, the vocabulary related to the appearance of a woman or a man, categorised under Appearance Quality, includes a roughly equal number of feminine and masculine last-part-gendered compounds with similar frequencies, indicating no gender bias. To exemplify, while *hipitiüdruk* ('hippie girl') surpasses its masculine equivalent in frequency, there are also masculine terms, such as *prillipapa* ('four-eyed'), that have no feminine equivalent.

In contrast, other domains that emphasise physical appearance and the body exhibit a clear female bias. For example, modelling, where appearance plays a substantial role, is more strongly associated with women than with men in the gendered vocabulary. In the same way, the category of Dance Activity, where the human body, especially its visually appealing movement, is central, also skews female. At the same time, dancing requires creativity and serves to entertain others, abilities and activities that appear to be more commonly associated with men. Thus, dance seems to offer women a space to be creative performers, too, but only through the use of their bodies.

Another feature that, perhaps more indirectly, but still, touches upon notions of appearance and body is age, which determines and changes physical looks over time. While Age Identity was not categorised among first-part-gendered compounds, among last-part-gendered compounds, feminine nouns are more numerous. Masculine last-part-gendered compounds appear more frequently in the corpus, but this is primarily due to the prevalence of specific

standard masculine terms, such as the most frequent compound, *noormees* ('young man'), whose semantic counterpart, *neiu* ('young lady'), which is a common term too, could not be included in this research, as it is not a compound noun. When excluding the highly frequent terms to focus on other associated vocabulary, the category of Age Identity also skews female.

Attractive women being objects for men's eyes, expected to conform to men's needs and desires (Bem 1993; Burgess & Borgida 1999; Schippers 2007; Walby 1990), is also evident in the feminine vocabulary describing Sexual Activity, as discussed earlier. While the masculine vocabulary portrays men as active chasers of women, feminine terms suggest women in roles of pleasing men. For money, indeed, but it is the one who pays who decides on the service.

While the Estonian vocabulary does not uniformly reflect characteristics such as emotionality, patience, flexibility, compassion, and other traits deemed suitable for women (see e.g. Bem 1993; Connell 1987; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003), compounds that presuppose these qualities could be grouped, in particular, those that describe relationships. In a patriarchal society, women are often viewed through the prism of their familial ties, romantic partnerships, friendships, and other social connections – not only because they are expected to possess the qualities necessary for the effective functioning of these relationships but also because they are perceived as dependent on others and struggling to cope independently (see e.g. Bem 1993; Eagly & Steffen 1984; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003; Fraser 2013; Kuurme 2011; Lorber 2010; Oakley 2018). Among the last-part-gendered compounds denoting connections to other individuals, the feminine compounds are approximately twice as numerous and used twice as frequently as their masculine equivalents, clearly reflecting this expectation. Nevertheless, among first-part-gendered compounds, the number and usage frequency of feminine and masculine compounds are roughly equal. While this does not support the pattern observed in the last-part-gendered compounds, it is worth keeping in mind that first-part-gendered compounds are used to place the gender in the spotlight, and in some situations, relational aspects may necessitate this gender marking, for example, when talking about romantic partners. Since the overall numbers of females and males in the world – or in Estonia – do not differ significantly, neither do their explicit naming in this context.

Another related category is Marital Identity, which also reflects a person's romantic ties. While not classified among first-part-gendered compounds, the last-part-gendered vocabulary in this category also leans towards female reference, though it bears mentioning that this skew is due to the few but slightly more numerous feminine compounds rather than an abundance of such terms overall. Marital status additionally provides insight into a person's romantic availability, and when predominantly noted in women, once again points to an objectification of women in romantic contexts, as previously observed.

An important part of marital life takes place at home. While men are expected to be active in the outside world – working and earning money – women are traditionally associated with the home, with domestic duties that are unpaid (Bem 1993; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003; Fraser 2013; Oakley 2018; Pilcher & Whelehan 2004). The customary care of the home and family members is often viewed as an extension of childbearing and not even recognised as “work” but rather as an inherent part of a woman's role in marriage (Oakley 2018: 2). Obviously, taking care of or serving someone places the wife in a lower rank within the hierarchy than the husband, who is being served. Additionally, women's occupations outside the home tend to reflect these domestic responsibilities. Tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing, serving, supporting and assisting are traditionally associated with women (England et al. 2002).

This idea is also inscribed in the gendered vocabulary. For instance, the category of Clerical Activity (distinguishable only among a handful of last-part-gendered compounds), which includes supporting and assisting tasks, shows a female bias. For example, the compound *sekretärineiu* (‘secretary lady’) appears more frequently in texts than its masculine counterpart. It is important to note, however, that this category contains only a small number of compounds, which may undermine the reliability of this pattern.

Supporting roles are likewise reflected in compounds referring to an individual working in healthcare, which includes activities such as caregiving and patient assistance. This category also skews towards females, both in terms of the number of different feminine compounds – such as *arstitädi* (‘doctor lady’) and *põetajaneiu* (‘nurse lady’) – and the frequency of their use. Notably, *ämmaemand* (‘midwife’), the most frequent compound in this category, is the only feminine term identified in this study that appears to have a generic use. It should not be

overlooked that medical professions also carry high prestige, which in this context may bring women closer to positions of authority.

Furthermore, among the sales- and service-related subcategories (grouped only under last-part-gendered compounds), domains such as Culinary Activity, Food Service Activity, and Other Sales or Service Activity are all female-biased. For instance, feminine compounds like *kokatädi* ('cook lady'), *baaridaam* ('barmaid'), and *teenijatüdruk* (lit. 'servant girl', 'maid') are used noticeably more frequently than their masculine equivalents. Another related subcategory, Cleaning Activity, which contains more feminine last-part-gendered compounds but sees greater usage of masculine ones, is ambiguous. The higher frequency of masculine terms is primarily due to a single masculine compound, *kojamees* (lit. 'hall man', 'janitor'), which is undoubtedly a masculine generic and also used in reference to females. When this compound is excluded, the frequency proportions of the gendered vocabulary change drastically, and feminine compounds rise to dominance within the subcategory.

Among the last-part-gendered compounds describing service activities, another set of nouns refers to an individual selling something. This subcategory is also ambiguous, as it contains significantly more feminine terms, yet masculine compounds are used much more frequently. Also here, the high frequency of the masculine vocabulary is primarily due to two very common and possibly masculine generic terms, *kaupmees* and *müügimees*. These nouns refer to a merchant and a salesman, respectively, and convey the additional notion of money-making. When these standard terms are excluded, the category becomes more strongly associated with females.

Furthermore, the entire category of Sales or Service Activity as a whole, together with its smaller subfields, is female-related. However, only partly, as this feminine predominance is limited to last-part-gendered compounds, reflecting their prevalence in smaller thematic fields such as cooking and food service. By contrast, among first-part-gendered compounds, the feminine and masculine vocabulary exhibit similar counts and usage frequencies.

Lastly, as numerous previous studies have shown (see Hellinger & Bußmann 2001–2003; Merkel 2013; Mills 1995), in Estonian too, many feminine terms are colloquial or derogatory, whereas masculine compounds tend to be neutral, devoid of negative connotations, or even positive. Among the lexical-gender nouns in final position, many feminine ones bear

pejorative undertones, such as *eit* ('old woman', 'hag'), *moor* ('old woman', 'hag', 'crone'), and *plika* ('girl', 'lass'), and consequently, so do many feminine compounds. For example, terms like *jutumoor* (lit. 'story hag', 'chatterbox', 'gossiper') and *nõiamoor* (lit. 'witch crone', 'witch') have negative connotations, whereas their masculine counterparts, *jutumees* ('raconteur') and *nõiamees* ('witch man'), lack such nuances. Similarly, the feminine term *vanatüdruk* (lit. 'old girl', 'spinster') conveys a disdainful tone, whereas its masculine equivalents *vanapoiss* (lit. 'old boy', 'bachelor') and *poissmees* (lit. 'boy man', 'bachelor') are neutral or approving (WordWeb). This is another example of belittling and diminishing the importance of women, just like the fact that feminine last-part-gendered compounds overall are less frequently used and encompass fewer female-related categories with a notably smaller average size. Feminine terms dominate only among first-part-gendered compounds, which serve to emphasise the gender, portraying thereby women as someone unexpected. Masculine last-part-gendered vocabulary dominates the language, and the default person is male.

These patterns, how language reflects the world, do not appear to be changing. The tendencies observed in the vocabulary from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus show little meaningful shift in the texts collected ten years later, in the 2023 version of the corpus. Masculine last-part-gendered compounds continue to be used considerably more frequently, while female references tend to be more often marked. In line with this, the categories identified in this research exhibit similar proportions of feminine and masculine vocabulary across both datasets. For instance, dancers are still more often portrayed as female through gendered compounds, with no notable change observed in the corpus texts from either 2013 or 2023. Vocabulary describing individuals involved in transport, research, travel, literature, music, or sport continues to suggest a predominantly male figure. Likewise, the Power category remains male-biased over the ten-year period. Thus, language, as a tool, continues to uphold power positions and to foster the ideologies that favour them.

3.4 Gendered Compound Nouns and Real-Life Data

In some categories, the vocabulary appears to broadly reflect the actual gender distribution in the corresponding fields. For instance, among workers in construction, transport, IT, camera operation, and sound engineering, over 80% were men at the beginning of 2025 (Statistics

Estonia 2025b). Accordingly, the categories of Construction Activity, Transport Activity, and Technological Activity were found to be male-biased. However, certain observations are worth mentioning. To exemplify, while the number of female IT technicians is indeed significantly lower than that of their male counterparts, the compound *itinaine* ('IT woman'), with only 1 occurrence, falls far short of adequately representing the 1,300 female IT technicians in Estonia today (Statistics Estonia 2025b). Of course, a significant limitation to bear in mind is that the vocabulary originates from texts compiled in 2013, whereas the statistics reflect the gender distribution in 2025. Even so, as none of the categories show drastic frequency shifts in the 2023 Estonian Web Corpus, it is unlikely that the usage of *itinaine* could have increased dramatically in the intervening years.

In other occupations, such as dancing, cooking, healthcare, and clerical work, men are in the minority, making up less than 35% of workers in these fields, according to Statistics Estonia (2025b) and Hämmäl et al. (2022). In line with this, the categories of Dance Activity, Culinary Activity, Healthcare Activity, and Clerical Activity were determined to be female-biased based on the analysis of gendered compound nouns related to these domains. For example, for 'midwife', the feminine term *ämmaemand* – the only feminine generic detected in this research – occurs over 3,000 times, with only a handful of instances of its masculine counterpart. This aligns with real-life data, as approximately 96% of birth attendants in Estonia are women (Statistics Estonia 2025b).

Furthermore, there are some categories in which gendered compounds show a clear male bias, even though real-life data – while also indicating male dominance in the field – is not as pronounced, and female participation is also notable. For example, compounds describing a person in power tend to depict that person as male. While approximately 60% of managerial roles in 2024 were held by men, the 40% of women in these positions is far from proportionally reflected in the vocabulary (Statistics Estonia 2024). For instance, *esinaine* ('forewoman', 'chairwoman') occurs over 30 times less frequently in the corpus than its masculine counterpart. Another example is *naisjuht* ('female leader'), which appears 3 times more often than *meesjuht* ('male leader'), suggesting that a female leader is treated as an exception that needs to be marked. Men do hold a greater share of managerial roles, but the presence of women in leadership is not insignificant.

Another example comes from the category of Sports Activity, also a male-biased thematic field. Statistics on athletes offer an ambiguous picture – on the one hand, official data show a clear predominance of male athletes among professionals; on the other hand, the proportions of female and male students in hobby schools were nearly equal in 2024 (Statistics Estonia 2025a, 2025b). This balance, however, is not reflected in the vocabulary, among which the compound *spordipoiss* (‘sports boy’) has almost 4 times more corpus instances than *sporditüdruk* (‘sports girl’); moreover, *spordimees* (‘sportsman’) occurs over 100 times more frequently in the texts than *spordinaine* (‘sportswoman’), which appears only 5 times. To an even greater extent, the masculine compound *mängumees* (lit. ‘game man’, ‘player’) appears over 900 times more frequently than its feminine counterpart.

A similar pattern unfolds when examining the gendered compounds describing a person involved in a party-related activity. While no general statistics covering the whole array of words in this category were found, the National Institute for Health Development (2025) provides data on alcohol consumption and smoking habits among Estonians. In 2024, 18% of men identified themselves as daily smokers, while approximately 10% of women reported smoking daily. While men do appear to smoke more than women, this gender gap is a fraction of the frequency difference between the feminine and masculine compounds referring to a smoker, with masculine compounds occurring over 200 times more frequently in the corpus texts.

Another noteworthy discrepancy becomes visible in the category of Educational Activity, which includes compounds describing various educational activities and is accompanied by different statistics. Although this category does not exhibit a clear gender bias overall, among the diverse vocabulary describing a person teaching or studying in different establishments, a striking asymmetry worth noting can be observed between the feminine and masculine compounds referring to a school student. While basic education is logically compulsory for both boys and girls in Estonia, and according to the World Bank (2020), the gender parity index for school enrolment is approximately 1.00 for primary education and 1.05 for secondary education, indicating a balanced participation of girls and boys, it is notable that *koolipoiss* (‘schoolboy’) appears over 3 times as often as *koolitüdruk* (‘schoolgirl’).

Lastly, the study identified several categories in which gendered compounds associate the activity with males, whereas in present-day Estonia, these fields see equal involvement from

women and men, or even more from women. For instance, the category of Research Activity is male-biased: the most common compound, *teadusemees* ('science man', 'research man'), which significantly contributes to the overall frequency of masculine last-part-gendered compounds, appears 823 times in the corpus, whereas *teadusenaine* ('science woman', 'research woman') is attested only twice. In reality, female researchers represent a slightly larger proportion, approximately 54% of all researchers in Estonia (Statistics Estonia 2025b). This information, however, should be interpreted with certain caveats, as in some domains, the statistics group researchers together with related professionals, for instance, linguists with translators, which may affect the overall figures.

While the research domain should be taken with certain reservations, the statistics on professions in the cultural sphere appear to be more straightforward – the number of female and male musicians, as well as female and male actors and film and theatre directors, is currently roughly equal in Estonia (Statistics Estonia 2025b). However, the categories of Musical Activity and Film or Theatre Activity are male-biased, with feminine last-part-gendered compounds accounting for less than 6% of all related compounds by frequency. This discrepancy is exemplified by *pillinaine* (lit. 'musical instrument woman'), which appears only 4 times, whereas *pillimees* (lit. 'musical instrument man'), a commonly used term for a musician, is attested 1,547 times. Likewise, *teatrimees* (lit. 'theatre man', 'actor', 'theatre director') appears 152 times, while its feminine counterpart *teatrinaine* (lit. 'theatre woman', 'actress') occurs only once.

Among other cultural activities, the categories of Literary Activity and Journalistic Activity also reveal a male bias. For example, masculine last-part-gendered compounds account for 96% of all last-part-gendered compounds in the category of Literary Activity by frequency, largely due to the dominance of the masculine compound *kirjamees* ('writer'), which appears 1,303 times, compared to only 9 occurrences of the feminine counterpart. According to Statistics Estonia (2025b), however, there are approximately twice as many female writers as male writers in Estonia. A similar pattern is observed in journalism, where the number of men involved is roughly half that of women (Statistics Estonia 2025b).

To sum up, while there are aspects of reality that the Estonian language mirrors with some accuracy, there are many others where it falls short. With no significant shift in the image

conveyed by gendered vocabulary between 2013 and 2023, language seems to linger on, echoing a worldview that remains, in many ways, distorted.

3.5 General Conclusion, Limitations, and Final Reflections

This study, which zoomed in on a wealth of Estonian gendered compound nouns through the lens of critical discourse analysis, revealed numerous asymmetries between the feminine and masculine vocabulary. The gendered compounds – lexical choices made by Estonian speakers – expose ideologies that, in many ways, reflect male hegemony and androcentric attitudes. For instance, a significant number of masculine compounds were identified as possibly used generically to refer to both men and women, mirroring the male = people bias. The perception of men as the norm and women as the exception is also evident in first-part-gendered compounds, which mostly highlight gender. Here, feminine compounds outnumber and outweigh masculine compounds in frequency. Masculine compounds, on the other hand, dominate among last-part-gendered compounds, reflecting the underlying mindset of men as more central or important. The unequal treatment of women and men is also evident across the vocabulary's thematic fields, where feminine and masculine compound nouns describe different concepts with different frequencies, revealing numerous asymmetries. Masculine compounds tend to portray men as powerful and as possessing qualities traditionally deemed “superior” or “better” in a male-dominated society, while feminine vocabulary largely conforms to this worldview.

Without a doubt, this study does not claim to provide a definitive account or final interpretation of Estonian gendered vocabulary. The 5,219 gendered compound nouns proved too extensive for a systematic examination of the concordance lines in which they appear, potentially leading to occasional misinterpretations. Further research into the actual contexts in which these compounds are used would be valuable for confirming or refuting the findings presented here. One direction for future research could focus specifically on the masculine generics, which in this study were identified only as possible generics, since their classification was based primarily on dictionary definitions and example sentences. In this case as well, a more targeted analysis of concordance lines would be necessary to assess the referential scope of these compounds. Empirical testing would also contribute to a better understanding of how these terms are used and perceived in practice. Empirical studies,

overall, represent a significant void in the uncharted territory of gender research on Estonian, with only one study available to date (see Kaukonen et al. 2025). More variants of comprehensive experiments testing the perception of gendered compound nouns alongside gender-neutral alternatives would be highly valuable.

Another point of tension in this study lies in the fact that, while the vocabulary was collected from the most recent corpus version available at the time of data gathering, this corpus may now, eight years later, be considered outdated. To mitigate this issue, the frequencies of gendered vocabulary across different thematic domains in the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus were compared with those in the 2023 Estonian Web Corpus. Nevertheless, the vocabulary itself remains drawn from the earlier version and was not re-collected, as analysing all gendered compounds from the 5.8 times larger 2023 corpus would likely yield a number of compounds beyond the scope of a single researcher, probably constituting an entirely new PhD project. However, adjusting or refreshing the gendered vocabulary identified in this study – using newer versions of the Estonian Web Corpus or other corpora comprising more formal or standardised texts – would undoubtedly represent a valuable direction for future research.

Glancing back at the present research, the genderless Estonian language thus appears to persist as a vessel for patriarchal values, reinforcing male dominance even in fields where, in reality, statistical data do not support such a portrayal. As the first scholars to cast a critical eye on discourse, alongside both early and later linguists concerned with language and gender, have argued, language is a tool that moulds and influences our realities, and has the power to shape our thinking (see e.g. Cameron 2007a; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1995; Fairclough 1989; Hellinger & Bußmann 2001–2003; Marling 2011; Mills 1995; Spender 1980; van Dijk 1993b). Hence, if language users continue to speak of *motomees* (‘moto man’) rather than *motonaine* (‘moto woman’), this reinforces the mental association of bikers with men rather than with women – an idea that may, in turn, discourage women from taking the wheel. Previous studies have found that the use of the masculine generics, rather than gender-inclusive or neutral forms, made girls and women feel less welcome, less motivated, and less connected to the job, while also reducing their sense of efficacy, interest, and engagement (Chatard-Pannetier et al. 2005; Hetjens & Hartmann 2024; Stout & Dasgupta 2011; Vervecken & Hannover 2015). The resulting scarcity of female drivers then feeds into the stereotype that women are bad drivers – a belief vividly illustrated in Cameron’s (2007b)

anecdote about her father, who would often complain about “some silly woman” on the road, seeming only to notice bad female drivers while consistently failing to register competent ones.

“Language helps form the limits of our reality” (Spender 1980: 3). The prevalent masculine compound *spordimees* (‘sportsman’), which appears over 100 times more frequently in the corpus than the feminine equivalent *spordinaine* (‘sportswoman’), may create the impression that sport is more of a male field, discouraging women from stepping into athletic arenas. This preconception might, for instance, prompt parents to enrol their sons in athletic training rather than their daughters, which may, in turn, lead to boys becoming more physically active, while girls are left destined to remain passive. Previous studies have provided a thorough overview of how sport continues to be associated with male active power, while women engaged in sports lack societal approval and their experiences are muted (Hall 2002; Hargreaves 1994; Messner 2002). In a similar pattern, Estonian speakers who use the compound *rännumees* (‘journey man’) exactly 478 times more often than *rännunaine* (‘journey woman’) contribute to constructing a skewed image of travel as a predominantly male activity. Allowing myself a personal note, as a woman who has journeyed through nearly half the countries in the world, I find that the lone occurrence of *rännunaine* falls far behind the trail I have left on the map. At the same time, the persistent focus on male travellers may discourage women from embracing the freedom of discovering the world.

Continuing the thread, the high prevalence of other masculine compounds such as *nupumees* (‘clever man’, ‘brainiac’) and *riigimees* (‘statesman’), or the marking of female referents through first-part-gendered compounds like *naispresident* (‘female president’), reinforces the perception that men are intelligent, rational, and capable decision-makers, narrowing the space for women in domains such as technology or politics where men are portrayed as the default, and women as a surprising exception. For instance, Wajcman (1991) demonstrates how technology, defined as a “rational” sphere, has historically been associated with men and constructed as a domain in which they are seen as inherently more competent, a socially – and linguistically – constructed stereotype rather than a reality. Frequently used masculine terms like *asjamees* (lit. ‘thing man’, ‘key figure’), *suurmees* (‘great man’), and *esimees* (‘foreman’, ‘chairman’) contribute to the narrative of men as powerful and important, naturally suited to leadership roles. For example, numerous studies have shown that high-status positions are perceived as less suitable for women, either because of language use

(e.g. generic masculine forms in job advertisements) or because of gender stereotypes, which, to a considerable extent, also stem from language use (Castaño 2019; Heilman 2001; Horvath & Sczesny 2015). This linguistic framing thus pushes women to the margins of power, setting the stage for men.

Language, with its ability to create and preserve realities, can also – on the flip side – change and dismantle them (Cameron 2007a; Fairclough 1989; Mills 1995; Spender 1980). As a tool for shaping the world, it should not be employed to perpetuate male hegemony by, for example, reinforcing a distorted picture of domains that, in reality, are equally shared between women and men. Instead, language use should move towards fostering greater gender equality in Estonia, where disparities between women and men are still palpable. For instance, it could help support a shift towards a more balanced gender distribution in real-life male-dominated fields such as higher-paid technology, politics, or managerial positions (see Riigikogu Kantselei 2023; Statistics Estonia 2024, 2025b). The need to adopt more gender-fair language use is all the more pressing given the growing visibility of global (often far-right) movements that seek to cling to the male hegemony they fear losing and therefore oppose any reforms aimed at more gender-fair language use (Burn-Murdoch 2024; Douglas & Sutton 2014; Erdocia 2022; Renström & Klysing 2025). Since they frame language as the spine of national identity, a shift of a single brick in that pillar appears to be a threat to the nation, traditional values, and cultural continuity. In Estonia, too, parties with conservative values and their supporters have emerged over the past decade, strongly resisting feminist language reforms and dismissing the striving for more gender-fair language use as a “warped mindset” of feminists (Uued Uudised 2023). To counter these misogynist movements, the need to move towards a more gender-fair language is all the more necessary, especially given that no significant progress towards more equitable usage – progress that could reasonably have been expected over a ten-year span – was observed when comparing the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus with that of 2023.

Of the two principal strategies that have been proposed for promoting more gender-fair language use – feminisation and neutralisation – the former has been recommended for grammatical gender languages, while the latter is more appropriate for genderless languages (Gabriel et al. 2008; Hellinger and Bußmann 2001–2003; Lindqvist et al. 2019; Sczesny et al. 2016). Consequently, Estonian, as a genderless language, should prioritise neutralisation processes. In fact, avoiding gender marking in Estonian is relatively straightforward. Instead

of forming compounds with a lexical-gender noun, a gender-neutral alternative can be employed, many of which are listed in the Estonian language portal WordWeb as synonyms for gendered compounds. Thus, rather than using compounds such as *reisimees* ('travel man'), *filmimees* ('film man'), *ärimees* ('businessman'), or *kirjamees* ('letter man'), speakers should be encouraged to prefer gender-neutral terms like *reisija* ('traveller'), *režissöör* ('director'), *äritegelane* ('business person'), and *kirjanik* ('writer'), especially in contexts where the sex of the referent is unknown or irrelevant. More critically, first-part-gendered compounds – those with a gendered modifier, such as *naispresident* ('female president') or *naishelilooja* ('female composer') – can be easily avoided, as the compound head typically denotes a person, and the corresponding person nouns, such as *president* and *helilooja*, can be used without a gender marker. Of course, gender specification may not always be avoidable. In certain contexts, such as sports competitions, for instance, it may be necessary to explicitly indicate the competitor's gender, as women and men compete in separate categories. Last-part-gendered compounds can also serve as vivid synonyms for gender-neutral terms or introduce playful and figurative variations that enrich the language. However, even in such cases, the generic use of masculine compounds should be avoided. Masculine forms are best reserved for male referents, while for female referents, feminine forms should be used.

On a related note, one major question that arose during this research concerns the asymmetry in the definitions of compounds found in the WordWeb language portal. While numerous compounds with a masculine noun in final position (65 identified in this research, though likely more exist) are uniformly defined using gender-neutral terms, the corresponding compounds with a feminine noun are, with the sole exception of *ämmaemand* ('midwife'), explicitly described as referring to a female. If the Estonian language aims to contribute to a more gender-equal society, the compound definitions in the dictionaries and lexical databases that make up WordWeb should be symmetric: if feminine compounds are specified as referring to females, then masculine compounds should also be specified as referring to males.

Returning to the story I shared in the Introduction of this thesis: after jumping into that sea as a little girl, I became a *spordinaine* ('sportswoman'), or better said, a *sportlane* ('athlete') later in life. While my hours-long daily training in the swimming pool can jokingly be blamed for the eight years it took to complete this research, one thing can be said with certainty: my existence as a competitive swimmer is not reflected in Estonian vocabulary –

just like many other realities that surround us. It is like when “someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked in the mirror and saw nothing”, as the American poet and feminist Adrienne Rich (1994: 99) poignantly describes it. She continues by noting: “It takes some strength of soul [...] to resist this void, this nonbeing, into which you are thrust, and to stand up, demanding to be seen and heard.” Following Spender’s (1980) call to reshape a language in which women are silenced, a shift in linguistic practices is necessary, so that taking a bold plunge into the vast seas of life becomes a given for all the future swimmers.

Bibliography

- 24tundi. n.d. [Website]. Retrieved from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus. (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2016. *How gender shapes the world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aleknaitė, Eglė & Kull, Anne & Rozners, Ģirts. 2024. Female presidents but not female priests? Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran women's discourse on female ordination and gender relations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In Budrytė, Dovilė & Lorman, Thomas (eds.), *Religion, Gender, and Populism in the Baltic States*, 37–58. London: Routledge.
- Ametniku soovitusõnastik [Advisory dictionary of document language]. 2012–2013. Tallinn: Institute of the Estonian Language. <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/ametnik> (Accessed 4 September 2025)
- Annist, Aet. 2011. *Otsides kogukonda sotsialismijärgses keskuskülas: arenguantropoloogiline uurimus* [Seeking community in post-socialist centralised villages: A study in anthropology of development]. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus.
- Annuk, Eve. 1999. Sugupool kui mask(eraad): Androgüünsus Emil Tode/Tõnu Õnnepalu romaanides [Gender as masquerade: Androgyny in the novels of Emil Tode/Tõnu Õnnepalu]. *Looming* 11. 1728–1735.
- Bailey, April H. & LaFrance, Marianne & Dovidio, John F. 2020. Implicit androcentrism: Men are human, women are gendered. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 89. 103980. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2020.103980>
- Baker, Paul. 2010. Will Ms ever be as frequent as Mr? A corpus-based comparison of gendered terms across four diachronic corpora of British English. *Gender and Language* 4(1). 125–149. <https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.v4i1.125>
- Baker, Paul. 2014. *Using corpora to analyse gender*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Baker, Paul & Gabrielatos, Costas & Khosravini, Majid & Krzyżanowski, Michał & McEnery, Tony & Wodak, Ruth. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & Society* 19(3). 273–306. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508088962>

- Barr, Donald A. 1995. The professional structure of soviet medical care: The relationship between personal characteristics, medical education, and occupational setting for Estonian physicians. *American Journal of Public Health* 85(3). 373–378. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.85.3.373>
- Barrett, Frank J. 2001. The organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the U.S. navy. In Whitehead, Stephen M. & Barrett, Frank J. (eds.), *The Masculinities Reader*, 77–99. Cambridge: Polity.
- Belle, Deborah & Tartarilla, Ashley B. & Wapman, Mikaela & Schlieber, Marisa & Mercurio, Andrea E. 2021. “I can’t operate, that boy is my son!”: Gender schemas and a classic riddle. *Sex Roles* 85. 161–171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01211-4>
- Bem, Sandra L. 1993. *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The sacred canopy: Elements of a sociological theory of religion*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Biber, Douglas. 2015. Corpus-based and corpus-driven analyses of language variation and use. In Heine, Bernd & Narrog, Heiko (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, 193–224. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199677078.013.0008>
- Bordo, Susan. 1993. *Unbearable weight: Feminism, Western culture, and the body*. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520930711>
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *La domination masculine*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Brain, Kevin. 2000. *Youth, alcohol and the emergence of the post-modern alcohol order*. Occasional Paper 1. London: Institute of Alcohol Studies.
- Brauer, Markus & Landry, Michaël. 2008. Un ministre peut-il tomber enceinte? L’impact du générique masculin sur les représentations mentales. *L’année psychologique* 108(2). 243–272.
- Braun, Friederike & Gottburgsen, Anja & Sczesny, Sabine & Stahlberg, Dagmar. 1998. Können Geophysiker Frauen sein? Generische Personenbezeichnungen im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 26(3). 265–283. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zfgl.1998.26.3.265>
- Braun, Friederike. 2000. *Geschlecht im Türkischen. Untersuchungen zum sprachlichen Umgang mit einer sozialen Kategorie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Braun, Friederike. 2001. The communication of gender in Turkish. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation*

- of women and men*, vol. 1, 283–310. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.17bra>
- Braun, Friederike & Sczesny, Sabine & Stahlberg, Dagmar. 2005. Cognitive effects of masculine generics in German: An overview of empirical findings. *Communications* 30(1). 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1515/comm.2005.30.1.1>
- Braun, Virginia & Clarke, Victoria. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2). 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Brohmer, Hilmar & Hofer, Gabriela & Bauch, Sebastian A. & Beitner, Julia & Berkessel, Jana B. & Corcoran, Katja & Garcia, David & Gruber, Freya M. & Giuliani, Fiorina & Jauk, Emanuel & Krammer, Georg & Malkoc, Smirna & Metzler, Hannah & Mües, Hanna M. & Otto, Kathleen & Rahal, Rima-Maria & Salwender, Mona & Sczesny, Sabine & Stahlberg, Dagmar & Wehrt, Wilken & Athenstaedt, Ursula. 2024. Effects of the generic masculine and its alternatives in Germanophone countries: A multi-lab replication and extension of Stahlberg, Sczesny, and Braun (2001). *International Review of Social Psychology* 37(1). 17. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.522>
- Buckley, Mary. 1989. *Women and ideology in the Soviet Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Burgess, Diana & Borgida, Eugene. 1999. Who women are, who women should be: Descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotyping in sex discrimination. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 5(3). 665–692. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8971.5.3.665>
- Burn-Murdoch, John. 2024. A new global gender divide is emerging. *Financial Times*, January 26. <https://www.ft.com/content/29fd9b5c-2f35-41bf-9d4c-994db4e12998> (Accessed 30 September 2025)
- Bußmann, Hadumod & Hellinger, Marlis. 2003. Engendering female visibility in German. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 3, 141–174. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.11.10bus>
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen R. & Moon, Rosamund. 2010. “Curvy, hunky, kinky”: Using corpora as tools for critical analysis. *Discourse & Society* 21(2). 99–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926509353843>
- Cameron, Deborah. 1992. *Feminism and linguistic theory*. 2nd edn. London: Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-22334-3>

- Cameron, Deborah. 2006. Gender and the English language. In Aarts, Bas & McMahon, April (eds.), *The handbook of English linguistics*, 724–741. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470753002.ch30>
- Cameron, Deborah. 2007a. *The myth of Mars and Venus: Do men and women really speak different languages?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2007b. What language barrier? *The Guardian*, 2 October.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/oct/01/gender.books> (Accessed 15 August 2025)
- Castañó, Ana M. & Fontanil, Yolanda & García-Izquierdo, Antonio L. 2019. “Why can’t I become a manager?” – A systematic review of gender stereotypes and organizational discrimination. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16(10). 1813. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16101813>
- Chatard-Pannetier, Aramand & Guimont, Serge & Martinot, Delphine. 2005. Impact de la féminisation lexicale des professions sur l’auto-efficacité des élèves: Une remise en cause de l’universalisme masculin? *L’Année Psychologique* 105(2). 249–272.
<https://doi.org/10.3406/psy.2005.29694>
- Connell, Robert W. 1987. *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, Robert W. 2005a. Globalization, imperialism, and masculinities. In Kimmel, Michael S. & Hearn, Jeff & Connell, Robert W. (eds.), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*, 71–89. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233833.N5>
- Connell, Robert W. & Messerschmidt, James W. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6). 829–859.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>
- Connell, Robert W. 2005b. *Masculinities*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Connell, Raewyn & Pearse, Rebecca. 2015. *Gender: In world perspective*. 3rd edn. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, Raewyn. 2015. Masculinities: The field of knowledge. In Horlacher, Stefan (ed.), *Configuring masculinity in theory and literary practice*, 39–52. Leiden: Brill.
https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004299009_004
- Conrad, Susan. 2002. Corpus linguistic approaches for discourse analysis. In Schiffrin, Deborah & Tannen, Deborah & Hamilton, Heidi E. (eds.), *The handbook of discourse*

- analysis, 75–91. Malden & Oxford: Blackwell.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190502000041>
- Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2013. Sex-based and non-sex-based gender systems. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *WALS Online*. <https://wals.info/chapter/31> (Accessed 11 February 2026)
- Cruse, David A. 1986. *Lexical semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Currier, Danielle M. 2013. Strategic ambiguity: Protecting emphasized femininity and hegemonic masculinity in the hookup culture. *Gender & Society* 27(5). 704–727.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213493960>
- Daly, Mary. 1973. *Beyond God the father: Toward a philosophy of women's liberation*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Day, Katy & Gough, Brendan & McFadden, Majella. 2004. “Warning! alcohol can seriously damage your feminine health”. *Feminist Media Studies* 4. 165–183.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1468077042000251238>
- Doleschal, Ursula. 1993. *Genus als grammatische und textlinguistische Kategorie. Eine kognitiv-funktionalistische Untersuchung des Russischen*. Vienna: University of Vienna. (PhD thesis.)
- Doleschal, Ursula. 1997. *O vzaimosvjazi grammatičeskoj kategorii roda i pola* [On the interdependence of the grammatical category gender and sex]. In Xolod, Aleksandr (ed.), *Verbal'naja i neverbal'naja interpretacija polovych charakteristik* [Verbal and nonverbal interpretation of gender characteristics], 134–155. Krivoj Rog: Meždunarodnyj Issledovatel'skij Centr Čelovek-Jazyk-Kul'tura-Poznanie.
- Doleschal, Ursula & Schmid, Monika. 2001. Doing gender in Russian: Structure and perspective. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 1, 253–282. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.16dol>
- Doleschal, Ursula. 2015. Gender marking. In Müller, Peter O. & Ohnheiser, Ingeborg & Olsen, Susan & Rainer, Franz (eds.), *Word-Formation: An international handbook of the languages of Europe*, vol. 2, 1159–1171. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110246278-020>
- Donaldson, Mike. 1993. What is hegemonic masculinity? *Theory and Society* 22(5). 643–657. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00993540>

- Donsbach, Wolfgang. 2013. Journalism as the new knowledge profession and consequences for journalism education. *Journalism* 15(6). 661–677. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884913491347>
- Douglas, Karen M. & Sutton, Robbie M. 2014. “A giant leap for mankind” but what about women? The role of system-justifying ideologies in predicting attitudes toward sexist language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 33(6). 667–680. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X14538638>
- Eagly, Alice H. & Steffen, Valerie J. 1984. Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46(4). 735–754. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.46.4.735>
- Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 1995. Constructing meaning, constructing selves: Snapshots of language, gender and class from Belten High. In Hall, Kira & Bucholtz, Mary (eds.), *Gender articulated: Language and the culturally constructed self*, 469–507. London & New York: Routledge.
- Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 2003. *Language and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791147>
- Eesti Ekspress. n.d. [Website]. Retrieved from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus. (Accessed 12 September 2025)
- Eesti Ekspress. 2010. Täna värskes Ekspressis: Jürgen Ligi, Kalle Klandorf, Jan Uuspõld [Today in the latest *Ekspress*: Jürgen Ligi, Kalle Klandorf, Jan Uuspõld]. Tallinn: Eesti Ekspress. <https://ekspress.delfi.ee/artikkel/29709241/tana-varskes-ekspressis-jurgen-ligi-kalle-kl-andorf-jan-uuspold> (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik [Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church]. n.d. Our Church. <https://eelk.ee/our-church> (Accessed 12 September 2025)
- Eesti Keele Instituut [Institute of the Estonian Language]. 2022. Sugusid tähistavad sõnad [Words denoting genders]. In *EKI teatmik: Eesti õigekeelsuskäsiraamat* [EKI handbook: Estonian language manual]. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut. <https://eki.ee/teatmik/sugusid-tahistavad-sonad> (Accessed 4 September 2025)
- Ehrenreich, Barbara & English, Deirdre. 1973. *Witches, midwives, and nurses: A history of women healers*. New York: Feminist Press.
- Engelberg, Mila. 1993. *Maskuliini, feminiini, virkamies* [Masculine, feminine, civil servant]. *Naistutkimus-Kvinnoforskning* 4. 39–50.

- Engelberg, Mila. 1995. *Kuinka geneerisiä suomen geneeris-maskuliiniset ilmaiset ovat?* [How generic are the generic masculine expressions in Finnish?]. *Acta Universitatis Ouluensis B Humaniora* 19. 25–32.
- Engelberg, Mila. 2002. The communication of gender in Finnish. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 2, 109–132. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.10.11eng>
- England, Paula & Budig, Michelle & Folbre, Nancy. 2002. Wages of virtue: The relative pay of care work. *Social Problems* 49(4). 455–473. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2002.49.4.455>
- Erdocia, Iker. 2022. Language and culture wars: The far right's struggle against gender-neutral language. *Journal of Language and Politics* 21(6). 847–866. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.21050.erd>
- Ettorre, Elizabeth. 2007. *Revisioning women and drug use: Gender, power and the body*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230596849>
- Eurostat. 2024a. Jobs with the highest shares of women in Q3 2023. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20240304-1> (Accessed 6 August 2025)
- Eurostat. 2024b. More people employed in ICT in the EU in 2023. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20240524-2> (Accessed 6 August 2025)
- Eurostat. 2025a. 3.7 million women held managerial positions in 2023. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/edn-20250305-1> (Accessed 6 August 2025)
- Eurostat. 2025b. Gender equality in the EU - 10 years in review. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Gender_equality_in_the_EU_-_10_years_in_review (Accessed 7 August 2025)
- Eurostat. 2025c. Gender pay gap statistics. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Gender_pay_gap_statistics (Accessed 12 August 2025)
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. London & New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Finney, Gail. 1994. *Look who's laughing: Gender and comedy*. Langhorne: Gordon and Breach.

- Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, territory, population*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2013. *Fortunes of feminism: From state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*. London: Verso.
- Gabriel, Ute & Mellenberger, Fabienne. 2004. Exchanging the generic masculine for gender-balanced forms – the impact of context valence. *Swiss journal of psychology* 63(4). 273–278. <https://doi.org/10.1024/1421-0185.63.4.273>
- Gabriel, Ute & Gygax, Pascal & Sarrasin, Oriane & Garnham, Alan & Oakhill, Jane. 2008. Au-pairs are rarely male: Norms on the gender perception of role names across English, French and German. *Behavior Research Methods* 40. 206–212. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.40.1.206>
- Gal, Susan & Kligman, Gail. 2000. *The politics of gender after Socialism: A comparative-historical essay*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400843008>
- Gastil, John. 1990. Generic pronouns and sexist language: The oxymoronic character of masculine generics. *Sex Roles* 23(11–12). 629–643. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00289252>
- Gomard, Kirsten & Kunøe, Mette. 2003. Danish. Equal before the law – unequal in language. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 3, 59–85. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.11.07gom>
- Gray, John. 1992. *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus: A practical guide for improving communication and getting what you want in your relationships*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Griffin, Christine & Szmigin, Isabelle & Bengry-Howell, Andrew & Hackley, Chris & Mistral, Willm. 2013. Inhabiting the contradictions: Hypersexual femininity and the culture of intoxication among young women in the UK. *Feminism & Psychology* 23(2). 184–206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353512468860>
- Gustafsson Sendén, Marie & Bäck, Emma A. & Lindqvist, Anna. 2015. Introducing a gender-neutral pronoun in a natural gender language: The influence of time on attitudes and behavior. *Frontiers in Psychology* 6. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00893>
- Gustafsson Sendén, Marie & Eagly, Alice & Sczesny, Sabine. 2020. Of caring nurses and assertive police officers: Social role information overrides gender stereotypes in

- linguistic behavior. *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 11(6). 743–751.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550619876636>
- Gygax, Pascal & Gabriel, Ute & Sarasin, Oriane & Oakhill, Jane & Garnham, Alan. 2008. Generically intended, but specifically interpreted: When beauticians, musicians, and mechanics are all men. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 23(3). 464–85.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01690960701702035>
- Hachimi, Atiqa. 2001. Shifting sands: Language and gender in Moroccan Arabic. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 1, 27–51. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.06hac>
- Hall, Ann. 2002. *The girl and the game: A history of women's sport in Canada*. Peterborough: Broadview.
- Hamilton, Mykol C. 1988. Using masculine generics: Does generic *he* increase male bias in the user's imagery? *Sex Roles* 19. 785–799. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288993>
- Hamilton, Mykol C. 1991. Masculine bias in the attribution of personhood: People = male, male = people. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 15(3). 393–402.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1991.tb00415.x>
- Hämmäl, Jaanika & Meior, Marianne & Varblane, Anu. 2022. *Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2021* [Gender equality monitoring 2021]. Tallinn: Sotsiaalministeerium.
- Hansson, Leeni & Laidmäe, Virve-Ines. 2000. Naine, töö ja perekond Eestis – muutuvad hoiakud ja väärtushinnangud [Woman, work and family in Estonia – changing attitudes and values]. *Ariadne Lõng* 1–2. 60–69.
- Harden, Jan. 2001. Mother Russia at work: Gender divisions in the medical profession. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 8(2). 181–199.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/135050680100800204>
- Harding, Sandra. 1986. *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer. 1994. *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*. London: Routledge.
- Hasselblatt, Cornelius. 1998. Die Frau im estnischen Lexikon. In Grünthal, Riho & Laakso, Johanna (eds.), *Oekeeta asijoo: Commentationes Fenno-Ugricae in honorem Seppo Suhonen sexagenarii*, 147–155. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Hasselblatt, Cornelius. 2015. The representation of gender in Estonian. In Hellinger, Marlis & Motschenbacher, Heiko (eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic*

- representation of women and men*, vol. 4, 125–151. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.36.05has>
- Heilman, Madeline E. 2001. Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues* 57(4). 657–674.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00234>
- Hellinger, Marlis. 2001. English – Gender in a global language. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 1, 105–112. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.09hel>
- Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.). 2001–2003. *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*. 3 vols. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod. 2001. Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 1, 1–25. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.05hel>
- Hetjens, Dominik & Hartmann, Stefan. 2024. Effects of gender sensitive language in job listings: A study on real-life user interaction. *PLoS ONE* 19(8). E0308072.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0308072>
- Holmes, Janet & Marra, Meredith. 2002. Humour as a discursive boundary marker in social interaction. In Duszak, Anna (ed.), *Us and others*, vol. 98, 377–400. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Horsemarket. n.d. [Website]. Retrieved from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus. (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Horvath, Lisa K. & Sczesny, Sabine. 2015. Reducing women's lack of fit with leadership positions? Effects of the wording of job advertisements. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 25(2). 316–328.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1359432X.2015.1067611>
- Hyde, Janet S. 2005. The gender similarities hypothesis. *American Psychologist* 60(6). 581–592. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.6.581>
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). n.d. Estonia: The Estonian Parliament.
<https://data.ipu.org/parliament/EE/EE-LC01> (Accessed 12 August 2025)

- International Labour Office. 2012. *International standard classification of occupations: ISCO-08*. vol. 1. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Irigaray, Luce. 1987. *Sexes and genealogies*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Joosse, Paul & Willey, Robin. 2020. Gender and charismatic power. *Theory and Society* 49(4). 533–561. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-020-09392-3>
- Kallas, Vaino. 2002. Tema eluideaaliks oli vabadus [His life ideal was freedom]. *Kultuur ja Elu*. https://kultuur.elu.ee/ke507_saartson.htm (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Kapanen, Airi. 2010. *Mida teevad poisid ja tüdrukud eesti uuemas lastekirjanduses* [What boys and girls do in contemporary Estonian children's literature]. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool. (MA thesis.)
- Karro, Piret. 2022. 150 aastat Eesti feminismi [150 years of Estonian feminism]. *Vikerkaar* 3. 57–112.
- Kasik, Reet. 1996. *Eesti keele sõnatuletus* [Estonian word derivation]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
- Kasik, Reet. 2006. Feministlik lingvistika [Feminist linguistics]. *Oma Keel* 2. 5–12.
- Kaukonen, Elisabeth. 2021. *Sooliselt markeeritud sõnavara veebiportaalide Delfi ja ERR spordiuudistes* [Gender-marked vocabulary in the sports news of the web portals Delfi and ERR]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (MA thesis.)
- Kaukonen, Elisabeth. 2022. Sooliselt markeeritud sõnad eesti spordiuudistes [Gender-marked words in Estonian sports news]. *Keel ja Kirjandus* 65(6). 526–545. <https://doi.org/10.54013/kk774a3>
- Kaukonen, Elisabeth. 2023a. Cleaning aunts and police uncles in action. Unveiling gender dynamics in Estonian compound words. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 14 (3). 137–171. <https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2023.14.3.05>
- Kaukonen, Elisabeth. 2023b. Kes on esinaine? [Who is a forewoman?]. *Keel ja Kirjandus* 66 (3). 328–336. <https://doi.org/10.54013/kk783a4>
- Kaukonen, Elisabeth & Oskolskaia, Polina & Lindström, Liina & Marling, Raili. 2025. Gender, language and labour: Gender perception of Estonian and Russian occupational titles. *Frontiers in Communication* 9. 1454022. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2024.1454022> Frontiers+6
- Keith, Nina & Hartwig, Kristine & Richter, Tobias. 2022. Ladies first or ladies last: Do masculine generics evoke a reduced and later retrieval of female exemplars? *Collabra: Psychology* 8(1). 32964. <https://doi.org/10.1525/collabra.32964>

- Kennison, Shelia M. & Trofe, Jessie L. 2003. Comprehending pronouns: A role for word-specific gender stereotype information. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 32(3). 355–378. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023599719948>
- Kincaid, Reilly & Sennott, Christie & Kelly, Brian C. 2022. Doing and redoing emphasized femininity: How women use emotion work to manage competing expectations in college hookup culture. *Sex Roles* 86. 305–319. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-022-01275-4>
- Kivimaa, Katrin. 2000. Teise tootmine – Ida-Euroopa ja feminism [The production of the other – Eastern Europe and feminism]. *Ariadne Lõng* 1–2. 41–49.
- Kongot, Liisa. 2014. *Soorollide konstrueerimine eesti uuemas lastekirjanduses. Kriitiline tekstianalüüs* [Constructing gender roles in contemporary Estonian children's literature: A critical text analysis]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (MA thesis.)
- Kotthoff, Helga. 2006. Gender and humor: The state of the Art. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(1). 4–25. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.06.003>
- Kuipers, Giseline. 2006. *Good humor, bad taste: A sociology of the joke*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110898996>
- Kujala, Helinä. 2021. Työpaikoilla suunnataan kohti neutraalia kieltä [Workplaces are moving toward gender-neutral language]. *TTT-lehti*, 8 Nov. 2021, <https://tttlehti.fi/tyopaikoilla-suunnataan-kohti-neutraalia-kielta> (Accessed 11 February 2026)
- Kuurme, Tiit. 2011. Haridus, kasvatus ja sugupool [Education, upbringing, and gender]. In Marling, Raili (ed.), *Sissejuhatus soouuringutesse* [Introduction to gender studies], 238–273. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
- Laakso, Johanna. 2005. *Our otherness: Finno-Ugrian approaches to women's studies, or vice versa*. Vienna: Lit Verlag.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lapidus, Gail W. 1978. *Women in Soviet society: Equality, development, and social change*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Li, Rui. 2017. The relevance of English antonyms: A semantic study. In *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Education, Language, Art and Inter-cultural Communication (ICELAIC 2016)*, 364–368. Paris: Atlantis Press.
- Lindqvist, Anna & Renström, Emma A. & Gustafsson Sendén, Marie. 2019. Reducing a male bias in language? Establishing the efficiency of three different gender-fair language

- strategies. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 1(1–2). 109–117.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0974-9>
- Lorber, Judith. 2010. *Gender inequality: Feminist theories and politics*. 5th edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lorber, Judith. 2018. Night to his day: The social construction of gender. In Plante, Rebecca F. & Mau, Lis M. (eds.), *Doing gender diversity: Readings in theory and real-world experience*, 13–20. New York: Routledge.
- MacKay, Donald G. & Fulkerson, David C. 1979. On the comprehension and production of pronouns. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 18(6). 661–673.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371\(79\)90369-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371(79)90369-4)
- Mäelo, Helmi. 1999. *Eesti naine läbi aegade* [Estonian woman through the ages]. Tallinn: Varrak.
- Mägiste, Julius 1928–1929. Nais-sugu tuletuslõpu jälgi läänemeresoome keelis [Traces of the feminine-gender suffix in Finnic languages]. *Keelekultuur*, vol. 1, 22–39. Tartu: Tartu Keeleuuendusühingu väljaanne.
- Mänd, Loviisa & Tóth, Szilárd T. 2025. Vana kirjakeele feminiinsest ik-sufiksist murdesõnastike peeglis [On the feminine -ik suffix of Old Literary Estonian through the lens of dialect dictionaries]. *Keel ja Kirjandus* 68(1–2). 129–138.
- Märka, Riita-Ilona. 2003. *Sooaspekt ja selle keeleline ülekanne: Emil Tode “Piiririik”* [The sex aspect and its linguistic transfer: Emil Tode’s “Piiririik”]. *Ariadne Lõng* 1/2. 148–156.
- Marling, Raili. 2010. The intimidating other: Feminist critical discourse analysis of the representation of feminism in Estonian print media. *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 18(1). 7–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08038741003626767>
- Marling, Raili. 2011. Keel ja sugu [Language and gender]. In Marling, Raili (ed.), *Sissejuhatus soouuringutesse* [Introduction to gender studies], 196–215. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
- Marling, Raili & Koobak, Redi. 2017. Intersections of feminisms and neoliberalisms: Post-state-socialist Estonia in a transnational feminist framework. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 38(3). 1–21.
<https://doi.org/10.5250/fronjwomestud.38.3.0001>
- Marling, Raili & Sepper, Mari-Liis & Kaukonen, Elisabeth & Tinn, Maarja. 2024. Kes ees, see mees? Soolistatud juhtimiskultuur ja selle meediakajastused Eestis [Gendered

- managerial culture and its media representations in Estonia]. *Ariadne Lõng* 20. 65–103.
- Martyna, Wendy. 1983. Beyond the “he/man” approach: The case for nonsexist language. In Thorne, Barrie & Kramarae, Cheris & Henley, Nancy (eds.), *Language, gender, and society*, 25–37. Cambridge: Newbury.
- McEnery, Tony & Wilson, Andrew. 2001. *Corpus linguistics: An introduction*. 2nd edn. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McEnery, Tony & Xiao, Richard & Tono, Yukio. 2006. *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced resource book*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Measham, Fiona & Brain, Kevin. 2005. ‘Binge’ drinking, British alcohol policy and the new culture of intoxication. *Crime, Media, Culture* 1(3). 262–283.
- Merkel, Elisa. 2013. *The two faces of gender-fair language*. Padova: Università degli Studi di Padova. (PhD thesis.)
- Messner, Michael A. 2002. *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Metslang, Helle & Erelt, Mati & Habicht, Külli & Hennoste, Tiit & Kasik, Reet & Teras, Pire & Viht, Annika & Asu, Eva L. & Lindström, Liina & Lippus, Pärtel (eds.). 2023. *Eesti grammatika* [Estonian grammar]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus. <https://doi.org/10.12697/EG>
- Mills, Martin. 2001. *Challenging violence in schools: An issue of masculinities*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Mills, Sara. 1995. *Feminist stylistics*. London & New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203408735>
- Mills, Sara. 2008. *Language and sexism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511755033>
- Misersky, Julia & Majid, Asifa & Snijders, Tineke M. 2019. Grammatical gender in German influences how role-nouns are interpreted: Evidence from ERPs. *Discourse Processes* 56(8). 643–654. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2018.1541382>
- Morehouse, Kristen N. & Kurdi, Benedek & Hakim, Ece & Banaji, Mahzarin R. 2022. When a stereotype dumbfounds: Probing the nature of the surgeon = male belief. *Current Research in Ecological and Social Psychology* 3. 100044. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cresp.2022.100044>
- Narusk, Anu. 2000. Eesti naised ja ratsionaalsed valikud [Estonian women and rational choices]. *Ariadne Lõng* 1/2. 50–59.

- Nissen, Uwe K. 2002. Gender in Spanish: Tradition and innovation. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 2, 251–279. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.10.16nis>
- Nissen, Uwe K. 2013. Is Spanish becoming more gender fair? A historical perspective on the interpretation of gender-specific and gender-neutral expressions. *Linguistik Online* 58(1). 99–117. <https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.58.241>
- Oakley, Ann. 2018. *The sociology of housework*. Bristol: Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.56687/9781447349419>
- Offen, Karen. 2000. *European feminisms, 1700–1950: A political history*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Õim, Asta. 2007. *Sünonüümisõnastik* [Dictionary of Synonyms]. Tallinn: Institute of the Estonian Language. <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/sys> (Accessed December 2017)
- Olt, Kerli. 2003. *Mees ja naine sõnaraamatutes* [Man and woman in dictionaries]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (BA thesis.)
- Pajumets, Marion. 2018. “Hea Eesti isa?”: hooletust lähiminevikust 21. sajandi hoolitseva ideaalini [“The good Estonian father?”: From recent past neglect to the caring ideal of the 21st century]. <https://feministeerium.ee/hea-eesti-isa-hooletust-lahiminevikust-21-sajandi-hoolitseva-ideaalini> (Accessed 8 August 2025)
- Pankratova, M. G. & Yankova, Z. A. 1978. Soviet woman: A social portrait. *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya* 1. 19–28.
- Parent-Lamache, Annick & Hallée, Yves. 2023. Exploring the effects of predominantly female jobs on demands and resources at work and consequently on health and performance in the Province of Québec, Canada. *International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health* 96(9). 1267–1281. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00420-023-02005-3>
- Pauwels, Anne. 2003. Linguistic sexism and feminist linguistic activism. In Holmes, Janet & Meyerhoff, Miriam (eds.), *The handbook of language and gender*, 550–570. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Piits, Liisi. 2004. *Sõnade mees, naine ja inimene esinemisümbrusest ja stiilivärvingust* [Stylistic colour of the words man and woman]. Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool. (MA thesis.)

- Piits, Liisi. 2005/2006. Kas eesti mees on mees või inimene? [Is an Estonian man a man or a person?]. *Ariadne Lõng* 1/2. 3–9.
- Piits, Liisi. 2015. *Sagedamate inimest tähistavate sõnade kollokatsioonid* [Collocations of the most frequent Estonian words for ‘human being’]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (PhD thesis.)
- Pilcher, Jane & Whelehan, Imelda. 2004. *50 key concepts in gender studies*. London: SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446278901>
- Pilvre, Barbi. 2002. *Formaat* [Format]. Tallinn: Eesti Ekspressi Kirjastus.
- Pilvre, Barbi. 2011. *Naiste meediarepresentatsioon Eesti ajakirjanduskultuuri ja ühiskonna kontekstis* [Media representation of women in the context of Estonian journalist culture and society]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (PhD thesis.)
- Pilvre, Bilvre. 2013. Estonian men’s lifestyle magazine “Mees”: A manual of masculine identity in a transition society. In Allaste, Airi-Alina Allaste (ed.), *Back in the West: Changes and continuities of lifestyles in transforming societies*, 97–122. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Pilvre, Barbi. 2014. Eesti mehelikkused [Estonian masculinities]. *Vikerkaar* 4–5. 45–55.
- Plummer, Ken. 2005. Male sexualities. In Kimmel, Michael S. & Hearn, Jeff & Connell, Robert W. (eds.), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*, 213–229. Thousand Oaks: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233833.n11>
- Poogen. n.d. [Website]. Retrieved from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus. (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Puna, Kerli. 2006. *Soospetsiifilised isikunimetused sõnaraamatutes ja tekstides* [Use of gender-specific nouns for people in dictionaries and texts]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (MA thesis.)
- Raadik, Lydia. 2016. *Sugude kujutamine “Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamatu ÕS 2013” näidetes* [The portrayal of genders in the Estonian dictionary “Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat ÕS 2013”]. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool. (MA thesis.)
- Ravila, Paavo. 1941. Über die Verwendung der Numeruszeichen in den uralischen Sprachen. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 27. 1–136.
- Redl, Theresa & Frank, Stefan L. & de Swart, Peter & de Hoop, Helen. 2021. The male bias of a generically-intended masculine pronoun: Evidence from eye-tracking and sentence evaluation. *PLoS ONE* 16(4). e0249309. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0249309>
- Renström, Emma A. & Lindqvist, Anna & Gustafsson Sendén, Marie. 2022. Are gender-neutral pronouns really neutral? Testing a male bias in the grammatical

- genderless languages Turkish and Finnish. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 42(4). 476–487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X221146229>
- Renström, Emma A. & Klysing, Amanda. 2025. Ideological origins of resistance against gender-inclusive language reforms: Singular they as a de-gendering or multi-gendering strategy. *Political Psychology* 46. 1062–1080. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.13058>
- Rich, Adrienne. 1994. Blood, bread, and poetry: Selected prose, 1979–1985. New York: Norton.
- Riigikogu Kantselei. 2023. *Riigikogu XIV koosseis* [The composition of the XIV Riigikogu]. Tallinn: Riigikogu Kantselei.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 2001. A corpus-based view of gender in British and American English. In Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod (eds.), *Gender across languages. The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 1, 153–175. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.9.12rom>
- Room, Robin. 1996. Gender roles and interactions in drinking and drug use. *Journal of Substance Abuse* 8(2). 227–39.
- Schippers, Mimi. 2007. Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society* 36(1). 85–102. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9022-4>
- Sczesny, Sabine & Formanowicz, Magda & Moser, Franziska. 2016. Can gender-fair language reduce gender stereotyping and discrimination? *Frontiers in Psychology* 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00025>
- Sigley, Robert & Holmes, Janet. 2002. Girl-watching in corpora of English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 30(2). 131–148.
- Siyanova-Chanturia, Anna & Pesciarelli, Francesca & Cacciari, Cristina. 2012. The electrophysiological underpinnings of processing gender stereotypes in language. *PLOS ONE* 7(12). e48712. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0048712>
- Silveira, Jeanette. 1980. Generic masculine words and thinking. *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 3(2–3). 165–178. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0148-0685\(80\)92113-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0148-0685(80)92113-2)
- Sõnaveeb [WordWeb]. 2019–. Tallinn: Institute of the Estonian Language. <https://sonaveeb.ee> (Accessed February 2019 – September 2025)
- Spender, Dale. 1980. *Man made language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Stahlberg, Dagmar & Sczesny, Sabine. 2001. Effekte des generischen Maskulinums und alternativer Sprachformen auf den gedanklichen Einbezug von Frauen. *Psychologische Rundschau* 52(3). 131–140. <https://doi.org/10.1026//0033-3042.52.3.131>
- Stahlberg, Dagmar & Sczesny, Sabine & Braun, Friederike. 2001. Name your favorite musician: Effects of masculine generics and of their alternatives in German. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 20(4). 464–469. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X01020004004>
- Stahlberg, Dagmar & Braun, Friederike & Irmen, Lisa & Sczesny, Sabine. 2007. Representation of the sexes in language. In Fiedler, Klaus (ed.), *Frontiers of social psychology: Social communication*, 163–187. New York: Psychology Press.
- Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia]. 2022a. Estonian women still among the most highly educated in Europe. <https://stat.ee/en/news/estonian-women-still-among-the-most-highly-educated-in-europe> (Accessed 12 September 2025)
- Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia]. 2022b. Rahvastiku majanduslik aktiivsus, elatusallikad ja tööränne [Population economic activity, sources of subsistence, and labor migration]. <https://rahvaloendus.ee/et/tulemused/rahvastiku-majanduslik-aktiivsus-elatusallikad-j-a-tooranne> (Accessed 12 August 2025)
- Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia]. 2024. Female managers. <https://tamm.stat.ee/tulemusvaldkonnad/heaolu/indikaatorid/52?lang=en> (Accessed 12 August 2025)
- Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia]. 2025a. Huvikoolides õppijad õppevaldkonna, vanuse ja soo järgi [Pupils in hobby schools by field of study, age, and gender]. https://andmed.stat.ee/et/stat/sotsiaalelu__haridus__huviharidus/HTH02 (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Statistikaamet [Statistics Estonia]. 2025b. Palgarakendus [Salary Application]. <https://palgad.stat.ee> (Accessed June – August 2025)
- Sternberg, Robert J. 2003. *Wisdom, intelligence, and creativity synthesized*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Storme, Benjamin & Storme, Martin. 2025. Feminization is more gender-fair than neutralization: Evidence from gender-stereotyped contexts. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X251349151>

- Stout, Jane G. & Dasgupta, Nilanjana. 2011. When he doesn't mean you: Gender-exclusive language as ostracism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37(6). 757–769. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211406434>
- Swain, Jon. 2005. Masculinities in education. In Kimmel, Michael S. & Hearn, Jeff & Connell, Robert W. (eds.), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*, 213–229. Thousand Oaks: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233833.n13>
- Tannen, Deborah. 1990. *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation*. New York: William Morrow.
- Tervise Arengu Instituut [National Institute for Health Development]. 2025. Uimastite tarvitamine [Drug use]. In *Rahvastiku tervise aastaraamat 2025* [Population health yearbook 2025]. Tallinn: Tervise Arengu Instituut. <https://www.tai.ee/et/valjaanded/41-uimastite-tarvitamine> (Accessed 11 September 2025)
- Tervisetrend. n.d. [Website]. Retrieved from the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus. (Accessed 12 September 2025)
- Tognini-Bonelli, Elena. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Towler, Jean & Bramall, Joan. 1986. *Midwives in history and society*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003378105>
- Trull, Siret. 2002. Soorollimudelid lugemik-õpikus “Meie keel 2. Suvest jõuludeni” [Gender-role models in the reader-textbook “Meie keel 2. Suvest jõuludeni”]. In Mikk, Jaan (ed.), *Soorollid õppekirjanduses* [Gender roles in textbooks], 193–212. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
- Uued Uudised. 2023. Marufeminist ründab emakeelepäeval seksistlikku eesti keelt [Radical feminist attacks the sexist Estonian language on Mother Tongue Day]. <https://uueduudised.ee/marufeminist-rundab-emakeelepaeval-seksistlikku-eesti-keelt> (Accessed 30 September 2025)
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1993a. *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483326184>
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1993b. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society* 4(2). 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2008a. *Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511481499>
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2008b. *Discourse and power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Vare, Silvi. 2018. Eesti keele sõnamoodustus [Estonian word formation]. In Raag, Raimo & Valge, Jüri (eds.), *Sõida tasa üle silla* [Drive slowly over the bridge], 85–97. Tallinn: EKSA.
- Vasvári, Louise O. 2015. Gender trouble in a grammatically genderless language: Hungarian. In Hellinger, Marlis & Motschenbacher, Heiko (eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men*, vol. 4, 203–225. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/impact.36.08vas>
- Vervecken, Dries & Hannover, Bettina. 2015. Yes I can! Effects of gender fair job descriptions on children's perceptions of job status, job difficulty, and vocational self-efficacy. *Social Psychology* 46(2). 76–92. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000229>
- Wai, Jonathan & Perina, Katrina. 2018. Expertise in journalism: Factors shaping journalistic excellence. *Journal of Expertise* 1(1). 70–83. https://www.journalofexpertise.org/articles/JoE_2018_1_1_Wai_Perina_Mar3.pdf
- Wajcman, Judy. 1991. *Feminism confronts technology*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Walby, Sylvia. 1990. *Theorizing patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Walkerdine, Valerie. 1989. Femininity as performance. *Oxford Review of Education* 15. 267–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305498890150307>
- Wodak, Ruth. 2001. The discourse-historical approach. In Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael (eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, 63–94. London: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.n4>
- Wodak, Ruth. 2009. *The discourse of politics in action: Politics as usual*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2014. The discourse of exclusion: Xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism. In Angermüller, Johannes & Maingueneau, Dominique & Wodak, Ruth (eds.), *The discourse studies reader: Main currents in theory and analysis*, 400–410. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Woodhead, Linda. 2007. Gender differences in religious practice and significance. *Travail, Genre et Sociétés*, 33–54. Paris: La découverte.
- World Bank. 2020. School enrollment, gender parity index: Estonia. <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/en/indicator/se-enr> (Accessed 12 September 2025)
- World Prison Brief. n.d. Estonia. <https://www.prisonstudies.org/country/estonia> (Accessed 11 September 2025)

- Xiao, Hualin & Strickland, Brent & Peperkamp, Sharon. 2023. How fair is gender-fair language? Insights from gender ratio estimations in French. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 42(1). 82–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X221084643>
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. *Gender and nation*. London: Sage.

Appendix

Abstract

This doctoral thesis examines how gender is expressed in the genderless Estonian language. While lacking grammatical and pronominal gender marking, gender can nevertheless be expressed lexically. The study focuses on gendered compound nouns – the result of a highly productive and widely used word-formation process in Estonian, which enables speakers to create countless combinations with nuanced connotations. Using corpus linguistic techniques, the research draws on the 2013 Estonian Web Corpus, which includes diverse text genres and spontaneous language use, yielding the identification of 5,219 compounds formed with a broad range of lexical gender nouns, including both standard and colloquial terms.

Through the lens of feminist linguistics and the framework of critical discourse analysis, the study reveals unequal linguistic treatment of women and men in Estonian. Gendered compounds relate women to fewer concepts, while men appear dominant in the linguistic landscape, with masculine compounds also often functioning as possible generics. The analysis shows that gendered compounds associate women and men with different thematic fields: the vocabulary links women to domesticity and supportive or service roles, frequently reflecting a dismissive attitude towards them, whereas men are portrayed in relation to power, strength, intelligence, independence, freedom, and other traits traditionally deemed “superior” or “better” in a male-dominated society, even when real-life statistical data do not support such associations.

This thesis demonstrates how gender ideologies are reflected in the vocabulary of a language that is grammatically and pronominally gender-neutral, and how a genderless language can function as a tool for maintaining gender inequality and male power. In Estonian, this tendency does not appear to be changing, as the comparison of the 2013 and 2023 Estonian Web Corpora did not reveal any significant progress towards more gender-equitable language usage over the ten years. The findings highlight the persistence of androcentric linguistic patterns and contribute to broader research on gender expression in genderless languages.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation untersucht, wie Geschlecht in der geschlechtslosen estnischen Sprache zum Ausdruck kommt. Obwohl das Estnische kein grammatisches oder pronominales Genus hat, kann Geschlecht dennoch lexikalisch ausgedrückt werden. Im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung stehen geschlechtsspezifische Komposita – das Ergebnis eines im Estnischen hochproduktiven und weit verbreiteten Wortbildungsprozesses, der es den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern erlaubt, unzählige Kombinationen mit nuancierten Konnotationen zu bilden. Mithilfe korpuslinguistischer Methoden stützt sich die Studie auf das Estnische Webkorpus von 2013, das vielfältige Textsorten und spontanen Sprachgebrauch umfasst, und identifiziert dabei 5.219 Komposita, die mit einer breiten Palette geschlechtsspezifischer Substantive bestehen, darunter sowohl standardsprachliche als auch umgangssprachliche Begriffe.

Aus der Perspektive der feministischen Linguistik und im Rahmen der kritischen Diskursanalyse zeigt die Untersuchung eine ungleiche sprachliche Behandlung von Frauen und Männern im Estnischen. Geschlechtsspezifische Komposita verknüpfen Frauen mit einer geringeren Vielfalt an Konzepten, während Männer in der sprachlichen Landschaft dominant erscheinen. Darüber hinaus können maskuline Komposita häufig auch als mögliche generische Maskulina fungieren. Die Analyse zeigt, dass geschlechtsspezifische Komposita Frauen und Männer mit unterschiedlichen thematischen Bereichen assoziieren: Der Wortschatz verbindet Frauen mit häuslichen Tätigkeiten sowie mit unterstützenden oder dienstleistenden Rollen und zeichnet sie häufig in einem negativen Licht, während Männer in Verbindung mit Macht, Stärke, Intelligenz, Unabhängigkeit, Freiheit und anderen Eigenschaften dargestellt werden, die in einer männlich dominierten Gesellschaft traditionell als „höherwertig“ oder „besser“ gelten – selbst dann, wenn statistische Daten aus der Realität solche Zuschreibungen nicht stützen.

Diese Dissertation zeigt, wie Geschlechterideologien sich im Wortschatz einer Sprache, die grammatisch und pronominal geschlechtsneutral ist, manifestieren und wie eine geschlechtslose Sprache als Instrument zur Aufrechterhaltung von Geschlechterungleichheit und männlicher Macht fungieren kann. Im Estnischen scheint sich diese Tendenz nicht zu verändern, da der Vergleich des Estnischen Webkorpus von 2013 mit dem von 2023 innerhalb von zehn Jahren keine nennenswerten Fortschritte in Richtung eines geschlechtergerechteren Sprachgebrauch erkennen ließ. Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen die Persistenz androzentrischer

sprachlicher Muster und leisten einen Beitrag zur breiteren Forschung über den Ausdruck von Geschlecht in geschlechtslosen Sprachen.

Full List of Analysed Compounds (in Estonian)

FEMININE LAST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS

1. aadelipreili	491. killertšikk	981. murumemm	1471. rõõmutüdruk
2. aadlidaam	492. kindralinaine	982. murumoor	1472. rootsi-tädi
3. aadlikeleedi	493. kindraliproua	983. murumutt	1473. rootsinaine
4. aadlikuproua	494. kinnisvaratädi	984. muruneid	1474. rootsitädi
5. aadlinaine	495. kinnisvaratütarlaps	985. musimemm	1475. rõõvlieit
6. aadlineiu	496. kioskimemm	986. musimoor	1476. rõõvliemand
7. aadlipreili	497. kioskitädi	987. musitibi	1477. rõõvliplika
8. aadliproua	498. kirikuemand	988. musitüdruk	1478. rõõvliüdruk
9. aadlitüdruk	499. kirikunaine	989. musliminaine	1479. rulatüdruk
10. äbariktibi	500. kirikuõpetajaproua	990. muslimineiu	1480. rullisunaine
11. abelunaine	501. kirikutädi	991. mussulmann-naine	1481. rüütlidaam
12. abielunaine	502. kirjadaam	992. musternaine	1482. saadikuproua
13. abielusnaine	503. kirjanaine	993. mustlaseeit	1483. saalitädi
14. abistajatädi	504. kirjandusdaam	994. mustlaseit	1484. saarememm
15. abiturientitüdruk	505. kirjandustädi	995. mustlasemutt	1485. saarenaine
16. abituuriumplika	506. kirjaneiu	996. mustlaseplika	1486. saareproua
17. aborigeeniemand	507. kirjanikuemand	997. mustlasetüdruk	1487. saaretüdruk
18. aborigeeninaine	508. kirjanikumoor	998. mustlasmamma	1488. saatetibi
19. aborigeenitädi	509. kirjanikumutt	999. mustlasmammi	1489. saatjadaam
20. Actimeli-tädi	510. kirjanikupreili	1000. mustlasmoor	1490. saenaine
21. administraatorineiu	511. kirjanikuproua	1001. mustlasmutt	1491. saianaine
22. administraatoriproua	512. kirjanikutädi	1002. mustlasnaine	1492. saia poetädi
23. administraatoritädi	513. kirjapiiga	1003. mustlasneid	1493. saksapreili
24. administratsioontädi	514. kirjapreili	1004. mustlasneiu	1494. sakslasemoor
25. advokaadipreili	515. kirjaproua	1005. mustlasplika	1495. salanaine
26. advokaadiproua	516. kirjastusetädi	1006. mustlastibi	1496. šamaanitädi
27. adžikatädi	517. kirjatädi	1007. mustlastüdruk	1497. sanitaritädi
28. aednikuemand	518. kirjatibi	1008. müügidaam	1498. saunaeit
29. aednikunaine	519. kirjatüdruk	1009. müügimemm	1499. saunanaine
30. aednikuproua	520. kirjutajainaine	1010. müügitüdruk	1500. saunaneiu
31. aeroobikatibi	521. kirjutajapreili	1011. müüginaine	1501. saunapiiga
32. aeroobikatüdruk	522. kivileedi	1012. müüginineiu	1502. saunaplika
33. afäärinaine	523. kivimutt	1013. müügiipiiga	1503. saunatädi
34. ägetüdruk	524. klahvitibi	1014. müügiplika	1504. saunatüdruk
35. agulinaine	525. klahvkanaine	1015. müügitädi	1505. savisaaremutt
36. aguliplika	526. klassitüdruk	1016. müügitibi	1506. seenemammi
37. agulitüdruk	527. klatshimoor	1017. müügitüdruk	1507. seenemutt
38. agulitütarlaps	528. klatsimoor	1018. müüjadaam	1508. seeneneiu
39. aidanaine	529. klatšimoor	1019. müüjaeit	1509. seenetädi
40. ajakirjanikbeib	530. klatsimutt	1020. müüjamutt	1510. sekretärineiu
41. ajakirjanikuneiu	531. klatšimoor	1021. müüjanaine	1511. sekretäripreili
42. ajakirjanikuplika	532. klavernaine	1022. müüjanäitsik	1512. sekretäritibi
43. ajakirjanikupreili	533. klienditeenindajapiiga	1023. müüjaneiu	1513. seksidaam
44. ajakirjanikuproua	534. kloostriemand	1024. müüjapiiga	1514. seksitüdruk
45. ajakirjanikutibi	535. klouniplika	1025. müüjapreili	1515. seksnaine
46. ajamõõtjaneiu	536. klounitädi	1026. müüjaproua	1516. seltkonnadaam
47. alfanaine	537. klubibeib	1027. müüjatädi	1517. seltskonnadaam
48. algklassiplika	538. klubinaine	1028. müüjatibi	1518. seltsidaam
49. algklassitüdruk	539. klubitšikk	1029. müüjatüdruk	1519. seltskonnabeib
50. algkooliplika	540. klubitüdruk	1030. muulasnaine	1520. seltskonnadaam
51. algkoolitüdruk	541. kodumammi	1031. muulastädi	1521. seltskonnamm
52. alkotädi	542. koduproua	1032. muuseumiproua	1522. seltskonnapreili

53. ameerikanaine	543. kodutädi	1033. muuseumitädi	1523. seltskonnatibi
54. ametinaine	544. Kohila-tädi	1034. muuseumitibi	1524. sepaemand
55. ametnikumutt	545. kohtingumutt	1035. muusikaleedi	1525. sepamoor
56. ametnikuneiu	546. kohtunikumammi	1036. muusikatädi	1526. sepamutt
57. ametnikupreili	547. kohtunikupreili	1037. muusikatüdruk	1527. sepapiiga
58. ametnikuproua	548. kohtunikuproua	1038. muusikuemand	1528. sepaplika
59. ametnikutädi	549. kohtunikutädi	1039. muusiumitädi	1529. sepapreili
60. ametnikutibi	550. kohvikudaam	1040. myyjamoor	1530. serverimutt
61. ämmaemand	551. kohvikuemand	1041. naabermemm	1531. setoneiu
62. ämmamamma	552. kohvikunaine	1042. naabernaine	1532. sex-naine
63. ämmamoor	553. kohvikupreili	1043. naabertädi	1533. sibulatüdruk
64. ämmamutt	554. kohvikuproua	1044. naabribreib	1534. sidruniplika
65. ämmaproua	555. kohvikutädi	1045. naabrieit	1535. sidrunitüdruk
66. analüütikutädi	556. kohvikutüdruk	1046. naabrimamma	1536. sinepinaine
67. animistineiu	557. kohvileedi	1047. naabrimammi	1537. sōbranaine
68. ankrunaine	558. kohvimoor	1048. naabrimemm	1538. sõdalasnaine
69. ankrutüdruk	559. kohvitädi	1049. naabrimoor	1539. sõdurinaine
70. ansamblinaine	560. kohvitibi	1050. naabrimutt	1540. sõduriplika
71. ansamblitüdruk	561. kōjamutt	1051. naabrinaine	1541. sõduritüdruk
72. ansipitädi	562. kōjanaine	1052. naabrineiu	1542. sohinaine
73. apelsinineiu	563. kōkaemand	1053. naabripīiga	1543. sõimetädi
74. apelsinitüdruk	564. kōkamammi	1054. naabriplika	1544. sõjanaine
75. apteegineiu	565. kōkandusnaine	1055. naabripreili	1545. sõjatüdruk
76. apteegipreili	566. kōkapiiga	1056. naabriproua	1546. šokolaaditüdruk
77. apteegitädi	567. kōkaplika	1057. naabritädi	1547. soldatinaine
78. apteegitüdruk	568. kōkapreili	1058. naabritüdruk	1548. sõõgipiiga
79. apteekrimutt	569. kōkaproua	1059. naabrivanamutt	1549. sõõgitädi
80. apteekriproua	570. kōkatädi	1060. naelatädi	1550. sõõgitädi
81. arhitektipreili	571. kōkatüdruk	1061. nägijanaine	1551. sõõklatädi
82. arhitektiproua	572. kōkkatädi	1062. näitlejamutt	1552. soomemutt
83. äridaam	573. kolhoosimoor	1063. näitlejaproua	1553. soomenaine
84. ärileedi	574. kolhoosinaine	1064. näitlejatüdruk	1554. soomeproua
85. ärimammi	575. kōkapiiga	1065. naljatüdruk	1555. soometüdruk
86. ärimemm	576. kōkaplika	1066. napsunaine	1556. soomoor
87. ärimutt	577. kōkatüdruk	1067. narkotüdruk	1557. sooneid
88. arinaine	578. kolledžiplika	1068. NATOtibi	1558. SOS-tädi
89. ärinaine	579. kolledžitüdruk	1069. natsitädi	1559. šotlaseleedi
90. äritädi	580. komandandimutt	1070. neegernaine	1560. sotsiaaltädi
91. arstidaam	581. kommunistitibi	1071. neegrimammi	1561. sotsitädi
92. arstinaine	582. komsomolitibi	1072. neegrimutt	1562. sotsnaine
93. arstipreili	583. komsomolitüdruk	1073. neegrinaine	1563. sotstädi
94. arstiproua	584. kondiitripiiga	1074. neegrineiu	1564. sõudetüdruk
95. arstitädi	585. konduktörineiu	1075. neegriplika	1565. sõudjanaine
96. arvutineiu	586. konduktoritädi	1076. neegripreili	1566. sõutüdruk
97. asiaadiemand	587. konstaabliproua	1077. neegriproua	1567. šõutüdruk
98. asiaadipreili	588. kontnaine	1078. neegritädi	1568. spordidaam
99. Asicsi-neiu	589. kontoribeib	1079. neegritibi	1569. spordileedi
100. auto-tädi	590. kontoridaam	1080. neegritüdruk	1570. spordinaine
101. autoripreili	591. kontorimutt	1081. neegritütarlaps	1571. spordineiu
102. autoritädi	592. kontorinaine	1082. neegrivanamutt	1572. spordipiiga
103. baaridaam	593. kontörineiu	1083. neenetsitüdruk	1573. sporditibi
104. baarieit	594. kontöripreili	1084. neitsitüdruk	1574. sporditšikk
105. baarinaine	595. kontöritädi	1085. nelinaine	1575. sporditüdruk
106. baarineiu	596. kontöritibi	1086. netinaine	1576. sprindinaine
107. baariplika	597. kontöritüdruk	1087. netitüdruk	1577. staarmamma
108. baaritibi	598. kontrollidaam	1088. Nexuse-tüdruk	1578. staarmemm
109. baaritüdruk	599. kōntsnaine	1089. nohiktüdruk	1579. stiilinaine

110. baleriinitüdruk	600. kõõgimutt	1090. nohikuplika	1580. stjuuardessineiu
111. balletikoolitüdruk	601. kõõginaine	1091. nõiaeit	1581. stripitüdruk
112. banaaninaine	602. kõõgitädi	1092. nõiamoor	1582. striptiisitüdruk
113. banaanipiiga	603. kõõgitüdruk	1093. nõiamutt	1583. südamedaam
114. banaanitüdruk	604. koolimamma	1094. nõianaine	1584. südametüdruk
115. bänditüdruk	605. koolineiu	1095. nõianeidis	1585. südmedaam
116. baptistiproua	606. koolipiiga	1096. nõianeiu	1586. sügisetüdruk
117. Barbie-naine	607. kooliplika	1097. nõianeiu	1587. sügistüdruk
118. barbinaine	608. koolipreili	1098. nõiapiiga	1588. suhkrusaiatädi
119. baridaam	609. koolitädi	1099. nõiaplika	1589. suhkrutüdruk
120. basseiniibeib	610. koolitajabeib	1100. nõiapreili	1590. suitsumammi
121. bassinaine	611. koolitüdruk	1101. nõiaproua	1591. suitsumutt
122. bassitüdruk	612. koopanaaine	1102. nõiatädi	1592. suitsunaine
123. beduiininaaine	613. koopatibi	1103. nõiatüdruk	1593. suitsutibi
124. beebiqlika	614. kooridaam	1104. nõidnaine	1594. sulasenaine
125. beebipreili	615. koorilaulunaine	1105. noorbeib	1595. sulastüdruk
126. beebitüdruk	616. koorinaaine	1106. noordaam	1596. sulgpallineiu
127. beetanaaine	617. kooritüdruk	1107. nooremand	1597. sumonaine
128. bemmeneiu	618. kõrbeneiu	1108. noormutt	1598. sumoneiu
129. berberinaaine	619. kõrcitädi	1109. noornaine	1599. sumopiiga
130. bi-naine	620. koreatüdruk	1110. noorneiu	1600. suomi-tšikk
131. bi-neid	621. korisajatädi	1111. noorpreili	1601. superbeib
132. bi-neiu	622. koristajamammi	1112. noorproua	1602. superdaam
133. bi-plika	623. koristajamutt	1113. normaalenaine	1603. supermamma
134. bi-tüdruk	624. koristajanaaine	1114. nõudepesijatädi	1604. supermammi
135. bikiiniibeib	625. koristajaproua	1115. nutitibi	1605. supermemm
136. bikiinitüdruk	626. koristajatädi	1116. odanaine	1606. supermutt
137. binaine	627. koristajatüdruk	1117. odavnaine	1607. supertädi
138. bioloogiplika	628. koristusnaine	1118. õeqlika	1608. supertibi
139. bisnesleedi	629. koristustädi	1119. ohvitserinaaine	1609. supertüdruk
140. bisnessleedi	630. koritajatädi	1120. ohvitseriproua	1610. supitädi
141. BMW-preili	631. korraldajatüdruk	1121. ökomemm	1611. surfinaaine
142. burgeritüdruk	632. korrektorineiu	1122. ökomutt	1612. surfiplika
143. burjaaditüdruk	633. korterinaaine	1123. ökonaine	1613. surfitüdruk
144. burksitibi	634. kõrtsidaam	1124. ökotädi	1614. suurilmadaam
145. business-proua	635. kõrtsiemand	1125. õlleemand	1615. suurnaine
146. bussitädi	636. kõrtsimamma	1126. õlletüdruk	1616. suurproua
147. Camorra-beib	637. kõrtsimoor	1127. omanikupiiga	1617. suursaadikuproua
148. cosmo-tšikk	638. kõrtsinaaine	1128. omanikuproua	1618. suurtädi
149. cosmoneiu	639. kõrtsiplika	1129. õmblejanaaine	1619. suusahüppetüdruk
150. cosmotibi	640. kõrtsipreili	1130. õmblejapreili	1620. suusamemm
151. dekoratiivtibi	641. kõrtsitüdruk	1131. õmblejaproua	1621. suusanaine
152. diktaatoriproua	642. kõrtsumoor	1132. õmblusnaine	1622. suusaneiu
153. diplomaadiproua	643. kõrtsutibi	1133. onunaine	1623. suusapiiga
154. direktoriproua	644. kõrvalistmeibeib	1134. ööklubibeib	1624. suusatibi
155. diskobeib	645. kõrvalnaine	1135. ööklubinaaine	1625. suusatüdruk
156. diskotüdruk	646. korvitüdruk	1136. ööklubitüdruk	1626. suvebeib
157. dispetšeriproua	647. korvpallinaaine	1137. operaatorineiu	1627. suvenaine
158. dokfilminaine	648. korvpallineiu	1138. operaatoritädi	1628. suvepiiga
159. doktoriproua	649. korvpallitüdruk	1139. õpetajapreili	1629. suvetüdruk
160. draama-tibi	650. korvpallivanamutt	1140. õpetajaproua	1630. sydamedaam
161. driftipiiga	651. kosjamoor	1141. õpetajatädi	1631. tähemutt
162. džässitüdruk	652. kõstriemand	1142. õpitüdruk	1632. täheqlika
163. eestinaaine	653. kostüümibeib	1143. opositsioonineid	1633. taitädi
164. eestlase-tüdruk	654. kotletitädi	1144. õppurneiu	1634. talliemand
165. egonaine	655. krahvipreili	1145. õppurpiiga	1635. tallimammi
166. ehitajaneiu	656. krahviproua	1146. orjanaaine	1636. tallimoor

167. chitajaproua	657. krimileedi	1147. orjaplika	1637. tallinaine
168. eksnaine	658. krimkadaam	1148. orjatüdruk	1638. tallineiu
169. ekstüdruk	659. krossinaine	1149. ossibeib	1639. tallitädi
170. eludaam	660. kübaradaam	1150. ostujuhitibi	1640. tallitüdruk
171. elueit	661. kübaramoor	1151. õuedaam	1641. talueit
172. elumutt	662. kübaramutt	1152. õunaneiu	1642. taluemand
173. elunaine	663. kübarmoor	1153. õunapreili	1643. talumemm
174. emotüdruk	664. kuberneriproua	1154. paadinaine	1644. talunaine
175. ennustajamoor	665. kuiviknaine	1155. paadipiiga	1645. taluneid
176. ennustajamutt	666. külaeit	1156. paarinaine	1646. taluneiu
177. ennustajatädi	667. külamammi	1157. padjaklubitädi	1647. talupiiga
178. ennustusmoor	668. külamemm	1158. pagariemand	1648. talupreili
179. epeenaine	669. külamoor	1159. pagarinaine	1649. taluproua
180. epeeneiu	670. külamutt	1160. pagaripiiga	1650. talutüdruk
181. esikaanetüdruk	671. külanaine	1161. pagariproua	1651. talvenaine
182. esileedi	672. külanaine	1162. pagaritüdruk	1652. talvetüdruk
183. esimehenaine	673. külaneid	1163. pahaplika	1653. tänavakorvpalliqlika
184. esinaine	674. külaneiu	1164. pahatüdruk	1654. tanklaemand
185. eskimonaine	675. külapiiga	1165. pahteldajanaine	1655. tanklatädi
186. eskortbeib	676. külaplika	1166. päikesenaine	1656. tantranaine
187. eskortdaam	677. külatädi	1167. päikeseqlika	1657. tantsubeib
188. eskortnaine	678. külatüdruk	1168. päikesepreili	1658. tantsuemand
189. eskortneiu	679. kuldamma	1169. päikesetüdruk	1659. tantsumemm
190. eskorttüdruk	680. kuldmedalitüdruk	1170. päiksenaine	1660. tantsunaine
191. esoteerikatädi	681. kuldaine	1171. paitüdruk	1661. tantsuneid
192. ettekandjanäitsik	682. kuldtüdruk	1172. pakistaniproua	1662. tantsuneiu
193. ettekandjaneiu	683. küljendajadaam	1173. pakstibi	1663. tantsupiiga
194. ettekandjapreili	684. kullanaine	1174. paljastüdruk	1664. tantsutibi
195. ettekandjaproua	685. kullatüdruk	1175. paljundajatädi	1665. tantsutsikk
196. ettekandjatüdruk	686. kultuurimajatädi	1176. palvenaine	1666. tantsutüdruk
197. ettkandjaneiu	687. kultuuritibi	1177. pangapreili	1667. tapjatüdruk
198. eurobeib	688. kuningaemand	1178. pangatädi	1668. taretüdruk
199. eurodaam	689. kuningamma	1179. pannkoogitädi	1669. teadjanaine
200. euroeit	690. kuningannaemand	1180. parandajamemm	1670. teadlaseproua
201. euromoor	691. kuningaplika	1181. paraproua	1671. teadlasetädi
202. euromutt	692. kuningaproua	1182. parimnaine	1672. teadlastädi
203. euronaine	693. künnimamma	1183. pärlitüdruk	1673. teadmanaine
204. euroopanaine	694. kunstidaam	1184. parteinaine	1674. teadusenaine
205. eurorahatädi	695. kunstikoolitüdruk	1185. parteiproua	1675. teadustajaneiu
206. eurotädi	696. kunstnikuleedi	1186. parteitädi	1676. teatridaam
207. eurotibi	697. kunstnikuneiu	1187. paruniemand	1677. teatrinaine
208. eurotüdruk	698. kunstnikupreili	1188. parunipreili	1678. teatritädi
209. eveliinaproua	699. kunstnikuproua	1189. paruniproua	1679. teenijaneidis
210. farminaine	700. kuribeib	1190. parvetüdruk	1680. teenijaneiu
211. feministitädi	701. kurimoor	1191. passijanaine	1681. teenijapiiga
212. filmileedi	702. kuritädi	1192. pastorinaine	1682. teenijaplika
213. filminaine	703. kuulitõuketädi	1193. pastoriproua	1683. teenijatädi
214. filmitüdruk	704. kuunaine	1194. pasunatüdruk	1684. teenijatüdruk
215. firmakatibi	705. kuuneiu	1195. pätimutt	1685. teenindaja-tüdruk
216. fitnessitüdruk	706. küünetibi	1196. pätiqlika	1686. teenindajanäitsik
217. fitnesstüdruk	707. kuuplika	1197. pätitüdruk	1687. teenindajaneiu
218. flamenkotüdruk	708. küürusvanamutt	1198. peaministriprova	1688. teenindajaproua
219. flööditüdruk	709. kuusememm	1199. pedetädi	1689. teenindajatädi
220. folgitüdruk	710. kuusetüdruk	1200. peldikumutt	1690. teenindajatibi
221. forditädi	711. kuutüdruk	1201. pensionääriproua	1691. teenindajatšikk
222. fraktsioonitibi	712. kveekrinaine	1202. pensionärimammi	1692. teenindajatüdruk
223. frigiidaine	713. kvoodimemm	1203. pensionäriproua	1693. tegijamutt

224. fruktnaine	714. kwoodinaine	1204. penskarimutt	1694. tegijatädi
225. gardekataädi	715. kybaramoor	1205. penskarmoor	1695. tegudemoor
226. garderoobieit	716. kybaramutt	1206. peomutt	1696. tegudetüdruk
227. garderoobimutt	717. kyladaam	1207. peopiiga	1697. tehnikamutt
228. garderoobinaine	718. laadaeit	1208. peoplika	1698. tehnikanaine
229. garderoobipreili	719. laadanaine	1209. peotüdruk	1699. teksatibi
230. garderoobitädi	720. labidanaine	1210. perenaine	1700. teledaam
231. geomutt	721. laborimutt	1211. pereproua	1701. telefoninäitsik
232. geonaine	722. laboritädi	1212. pervarnaine	1702. telefonineiu
233. geotibi	723. laisknaine	1213. pervotütarlaps	1703. telefonipreili
234. geotüdruk	724. lamburneiu	1214. pesumajatibi	1704. telefonitädi
235. getotüdruk	725. lapsemamma	1215. pesunaine	1705. telefonitüdruk
236. giidinäitsik	726. lapsmamma	1216. pesutädi	1706. telenaine
237. giidiproua	727. lapsnaine	1217. pesutüdruk	1707. teleneiu
238. glamuuridaam	728. lapslika	1218. petisnaine	1708. teleritädi
239. glamuurinaine	729. lapstüdruk	1219. piimamemm	1709. teletädi
240. glamuuritibi	730. laskesuusaneiu	1220. piimanaine	1710. teletüdruk
241. golfnaine	731. laskesuusapiiga	1221. piimapreili	1711. tellerineiu
242. golfitibi	732. lasnamäemutt	1222. piimatädi	1712. telleritädi
243. golfitüdruk	733. lasteaiakasvatatädi	1223. piiripiiga	1713. tenniseneiu
244. gooti-tšikk	734. lasteaiaproua	1224. piirivalveproua	1714. tennisepiiga
245. gooti-tüdruk	735. lasteaiatädi	1225. piirivalvetädi	1715. tennisepreili
246. gootiplika	736. lastekoduneiu	1226. piiskopiproua	1716. tennisetüdruk
247. gootitüdruk	737. lastekodutädi	1227. piitstüdruk	1717. teoloogianaine
248. grungetüdruk	738. lastekodutüdruk	1228. pikanäpunaine	1718. teonaine
249. gümnaasiumineiu	739. lastemamma	1229. pillinaine	1719. tequilatüdruk
250. gümnaasiumipiiga	740. lastetädi	1230. pillipiiga	1720. terasmemm
251. gümnaasiumiplika	741. latiionäitsik	1231. pilliplika	1721. terasmutt
252. gümnaasiumipreili	742. laudanaine	1232. pillitüdruk	1722. terasnaine
253. gümnaasiumitibi	743. laulikneiu	1233. pilvetüdruk	1723. tervendajanaine
254. gümnaasiumitüdruk	744. laulja-tädi	1234. piraadimamma	1724. tibimamma
255. häärberiproua	745. lauljanaine	1235. piraadineiu	1725. tibinaine
256. haaremidaam	746. lauljaneiu	1236. piraadiplika	1726. tiblamoor
257. haareminaine	747. lauljatüdruk	1237. piraaditüdruk	1727. tiblamutt
258. haiglatädi	748. laulumemm	1238. pirinaine	1728. tiblatibi
259. häkkeriplika	749. laulunaine	1239. pirukatädi	1729. tinamemm
260. haljaplika	750. lauluneiu	1240. pisibeib	1730. tissitibi
261. hambaarstiproua	751. laulupiiga	1241. pisiipiiga	1731. titemamma
262. hapukurgitädi	752. laulutädi	1242. pisiplika	1732. titemammi
263. hapupiimaemand	753. laulutüdruk	1243. pisipreili	1733. titetädi
264. hausimutt	754. lauranaine	1244. pisitüdruk	1734. titemamma
265. heanaine	755. lausujanaine	1245. pizza-mamma	1735. toatüdruk
266. heteronaine	756. lavadaam	1246. pjedestaalipreili	1736. tohtriproua
267. heterotüdruk	757. lavastajaproua	1247. pläramutt	1737. tohtritädi
268. hevinaaine	758. leerineiu	1248. plokkflööditüdruk	1738. toidunaine
269. hiidnaine	759. leeritüdruk	1249. poedaam	1739. toidutädi
270. hiigelnaine	760. lehepiiga	1250. poemand	1740. toimetajaemand
271. hiiglasnaine	761. lellenaine	1251. poemutt	1741. toimetajatädi
272. hiiglasneiu	762. lemmikdaam	1252. poenaine	1742. toimetajatibi
273. hiiupiiga	763. lemmikleedi	1253. poepiiga	1743. toimetajatüdruk
274. hindunaine	764. lemmiknaine	1254. poepreili	1744. toimis-tüdruk
275. hindutüdruk	765. lemmiktädi	1255. poeproua	1745. tollikontrollitädi
276. hipinaine	766. lemmiktüdruk	1256. poetädi	1746. tollitädi
277. hipiplika	767. lennunaine	1257. põetajaneiu	1747. tomatitädi
278. hipitüdruk	768. leptonaine	1258. põetajapiiga	1748. töölisnaine
279. hõbenaine	769. lesbieit	1259. poetibi	1749. töölistüdruk
280. hoidjaneiu	770. lesbimoor	1260. põgeniknaine	1750. töönaaine

281. hoidjatädi	771. lesbinaine	1261. põhikooliplika	1751. torminaine
282. hokinaine	772. lesbipiiga	1262. põhikoolitüdruk	1752. torunaine
283. homonaine	773. lesbiproua	1263. poissnaine	1753. torutädi
284. hooldajamutt	774. lesednaine	1264. poisstüdruk	1754. transnaine
285. hooranaine	775. lesenaine	1265. pojanaine	1755. treeneritädi
286. hopsimutt	776. leseproua	1266. policetädi	1756. trendibeib
287. hotellinäitsik	777. leskemand	1267. poliitikadaam	1757. trenditibi
288. hotelliproua	778. lesknaine	1268. poliitikanaine	1758. trenninaine
289. huligaaniplika	779. leskproua	1269. poliitikatädi	1759. trenniipiiga
290. hüppenaine	780. letinäitsik	1270. poliitikatibi	1760. trenniplika
291. huumoritüdruk	781. letitädi	1271. poliitmammi	1761. trennitüdruk
292. idaalnaine	782. letitüdruk	1272. poliitnaine	1762. trofeenaine
293. ideaalnaine	783. libutibi	1273. polikliinikutädi	1763. trollineiu
294. ideaaltüdruk	784. lihaeit	1274. politseimammi	1764. trollitüdruk
295. ilmadaam	785. lihatädi	1275. politseimutt	1765. troppnaine
296. ilmanaine	786. liignaine	1276. politseineidis	1766. trummitšikk
297. ilmaneu	787. liiklustädi	1277. politseineiu	1767. trummitüdruk
298. ilmaplika	788. lillemutt	1278. politseinikuneiu	1768. tsensuurimemm
299. ilmatädi	789. lilleneiu	1279. politseinikuproua	1769. tshellodaam
300. ilmatedustajaneiu	790. lilletädi	1280. politseinikutädi	1770. tsiklinaine
301. ilmatedetädi	791. lilletüdruk	1281. politseipiiga	1771. tsiklitüdruk
302. ilmatibi	792. linalakkneid	1282. politseiproua	1772. tsirkusemoor
303. ilmatüdruk	793. linanpreili	1283. politseitädi	1773. tublitüdruk
304. iluleedi	794. linnabeib	1284. politseitibi	1774. tudengineid
305. ilunaine	795. linnadaam	1285. polkovnikuproua	1775. tudengineiu
306. ilusnaine	796. linnaemand	1286. põllunaine	1776. tudengipiiga
307. ilustüdruk	797. linnamammi	1287. pontšikuemand	1777. tudengiplika
308. ilutüdruk	798. linnamemm	1288. poodiumidaam	1778. tudengipreili
309. imenaine	799. linnamutt	1289. pordunaine	1779. tudengitüdruk
310. imikumamma	800. linnanaine	1290. pornomutt	1780. tuhatoositüdruk
311. imperaatoriproua	801. linnapiiga	1291. pornonaine	1781. tuhatüdruk
312. india-tädi	802. linnaplika	1292. pornotädi	1782. tuisumoor
313. indiaanimoor	803. linnapreili	1293. portjee-tädi	1783. tulemand
314. indiaaninaine	804. linnaproua	1294. posijamoor	1784. tuletüdruk
315. indiaanineiu	805. linnatädi	1295. posijanaine	1785. tulevikutüdruk
316. indiaaniplika	806. linnatibi	1296. posteritüdruk	1786. turismidaam
317. indiaanitädi	807. linnatšikk	1297. postiljoniproua	1787. turismitädi
318. indiaanivanamutt	808. linnatüdruk	1298. postinaine	1788. turueit
319. indigotüdruk	809. linnuseemand	1299. postineiu	1789. turuemand
320. infoletineiu	810. litsnaine	1300. postitädi	1790. turumammi
321. infoneiu	811. lõbunaine	1301. postkontoritädi	1791. turumemm
322. infotädi	812. lõbutüdruk	1302. pottsepanaine	1792. turumoor
323. infotibi	813. lollnaine	1303. PR-neiu	1793. turumutt
324. infotüdruk	814. lontruseproua	1304. präänikutädi	1794. turunaine
325. inglise-tüdruk	815. loodusenaine	1305. praenaine	1795. turuproua
326. internetitüdruk	816. loodustädi	1306. praktikandineiu	1796. turutädi
327. isanaine	817. loomaarstitädi	1307. praostiproua	1797. turvamoor
328. islaminaine	818. loomenaine	1308. preestriemand	1798. turvamutt
329. islamitibi	819. lõõtspillitüdruk	1309. presidendinaine	1799. turvanaine
330. islamitüdruk	820. lossidaam	1310. presidendiproua	1800. turvaneiu
331. itibeib	821. lossiemand	1311. pressiproua	1801. turvaproua
332. itinaine	822. lossipreili	1312. pressitüdruk	1802. turvatädi
333. ititüdruk	823. lossiproua	1313. priimustüdruk	1803. turvatibi
334. jäägermeistriplika	824. luitenaine	1314. primeratibi	1804. turvatüdruk
335. jäänaine	825. lumenaine	1315. priskeproua	1805. tussinaine
336. jäätiseproua	826. lüpsieit	1316. professoriproua	1806. tuuleemand
337. jäätisetädi	827. lüpsinaine	1317. prohvetiemand	1807. udupiiga

338. jäätisetibi	828. lüpsitüdruk	1318. projutibi	1808. udutüdruk
339. jäätisetüdruk	829. lüpsjanaine	1319. prokuröridaam	1809. ühenaine
340. jah-tüdruk	830. lüpsjatädi	1320. prokurörineiu	1810. ühikamutt
341. jahinaine	831. lurjusnaine	1321. prokuröriplika	1811. ühikanaine
342. jalgpallinaine	832. lusti-piiga	1322. prokuröripreili	1812. ühikatädi
343. jalgpallineiu	833. lustiplika	1323. prokuröriproua	1813. ühikatibi
344. jalgpallitüdruk	834. lustiproua	1324. prokuröritädi	1814. uisupiiga
345. jalgratturvanamutt	835. lustitädi	1325. prokuröritibi	1815. uisutüdruk
346. jänkimoor	836. lustitüdruk	1326. prolenaine	1816. ujumispiiga
347. jänkinaaine	837. luuleneiu	1327. proletüdruk	1817. ukseeit
348. Järvapiiga	838. luulepiiga	1328. prominendiproua	1818. uksetädi
349. Jõgeva-daam	839. luuletüdruk	1329. pronksinaine	1819. uksetüdruk
350. jõmm-naine	840. luusernaine	1330. pronksineiu	1820. üksikmamma
351. joodikeit	841. maadlusnaine	1331. pronksnaine	1821. üksiknaine
352. joodikmutt	842. maadlusneiu	1332. prostituuditüdruk	1822. üksnaine
353. joodiknaine	843. maaeit	1333. proviisoriproua	1823. ükstüdruk
354. joogadaam	844. maaemand	1334. provintsineiu	1824. ülbiktibi
355. jooksjanaine	845. maagibeib	1335. provintsiplika	1825. ülemustädi
356. jooksupiiga	846. maagiplika	1336. provintsitüdruk	1826. üliõpilasneid
357. jooksutüdruk	847. maailmarekordinaine	1337. pruuttüdruk	1827. üliõpilasneiu
358. jopeplika	848. maaklerineiu	1338. psühholoogineiu	1828. üliõpilastüdruk
359. joruplika	849. maakleriproua	1339. psühholoogiproua	1829. ulmepiiga
360. jotaplika	850. maalritädi	1340. pubebeib	1830. ürgnaine
361. jõunaine	851. maamammi	1341. pubekaplika	1831. usuemand
362. jõupiiga	852. maamemm	1342. pubekapreili	1832. usutädi
363. jõusaalitšikk	853. maamimm	1343. pubeplika	1833. uudistetädi
364. jubetädi	854. maamoor	1344. pubetüdruk	1834. uudistetibi
365. juhatusebeib	855. maamutt	1345. pühanaine	1835. uuenaine
366. jumalanaine	856. maanaine	1346. puhvetidaam	1836. uurijatädi
367. juristineiu	857. maapiiga	1347. puhvetipreili	1837. uurijatüdruk
368. juristipiiga	858. maaplika	1348. püksnaine	1838. vaartädi
369. juristitibi	859. maapreili	1349. punapeait	1839. väärtnaine
370. juristitüdruk	860. maaproua	1350. pungiplika	1840. vabapreili
371. jutumemm	861. maasikamutt	1351. pungitšikk	1841. vabaproua
372. jutumoor	862. maatädi	1352. pungitüdruk	1842. vabatüdruk
373. jututüdruk	863. maatibi	1353. punkarimemm	1843. vabrikunaine
374. juudimammi	864. maatüdruk	1354. punknaine	1844. vaenenaine
375. juudimutt	865. madruseplika	1355. punktibi	1845. väginaine
376. juudinaine	866. mäemutt	1356. punktüdruk	1846. väginaiu
377. juudiplika	867. mäenaine	1357. püroneiu	1847. vaglamemm
378. juudiproua	868. maffiatüdruk	1358. puskarimutt	1848. vaglamutt
379. juuditüdruk	869. mägedetüdruk	1359. püssimutt	1849. vahetusnaine
380. juuksuriemand	870. mäginaine	1360. püssinaine	1850. väikeplika
381. juuksurimammi	871. magistrandineiu	1361. püstolitüdruk	1851. väikepreili
382. juuksuriplika	872. mägitüdruk	1362. putkamutt	1852. väiketüdruk
383. juuksuripreili	873. mahememm	1363. putkatädi	1853. vaimulikuproua
384. juuksuriproua	874. majadaam	1364. puunaine	1854. vaimutüdruk
385. juuksuritädi	875. majaeit	1365. puutõonaine	1855. valenaine
386. juuksuritibi	876. majaemand	1366. raadionaine	1856. valgustajatädi
387. juuniorneid	877. majaproua	1367. raadiotädi	1857. valitseja-proua
388. kääbusnaine	878. majoriproua	1368. raamatukogumutt	1858. valitsejaproua
389. kaageebettšikk	879. maksuametimutt	1369. raamatukogunaine	1859. vallanaine
390. kaagutajaleedi	880. maleleedi	1370. raamatukogupreili	1860. vallatupiiga
391. kaameranaine	881. maleneiu	1371. raamatukoguproua	1861. valvelauaneiu
392. kaameratüdruk	882. mandrinaine	1372. raamatukogutädi	1862. valvelauatädi
393. kaanetüdruk	883. mangopiiga	1373. raamatukogutüdruk	1863. valvemutt
394. kaardimoor	884. mägunaine	1374. raamatupidaja-mutt	1864. valvetädi

395. kaartimoor	885. mängutüdruk	1375. raamatupidajatädi	1865. valvurimutt
396. kadrinaine	886. maratoninaine	1376. rabaeit	1866. valvurineiu
397. kahetüdruk	887. marjanaine	1377. rabamoor	1867. valvuripreili
398. kaisumemm	888. marssaliproua	1378. rahapreili	1868. valvuriproua
399. kakukesetüdruk	889. märulimutt	1379. rahvalaulumemm	1869. valvuritädi
400. kakuleedi	890. marumemm	1380. rahvatantsumemm	1870. vampnaine
401. kakumamma	891. masinapreili	1381. rajutüdruk	1871. vanadaam
402. kalanaine	892. massaažitädi	1382. rallimoor	1872. vanamamma
403. kaltsnaine	893. massaažitüdruk	1383. rallinaine	1873. vanamammi
404. kalurinaine	894. matemaatikuproua	1384. rallitüdruk	1874. vanamemm
405. kalurineiu	895. matkanaine	1385. rammunaine	1875. vanamoor
406. kaluriplika	896. matkatüdruk	1386. rämpsaine	1876. vanamutt
407. kaluriproua	897. matsinaine	1387. rändnaine	1877. vananaine
408. kandelitüdruk	898. matsiplika	1388. rändtibi	1878. vanapiiga
409. kangelasnaine	899. matsitüdruk	1389. rändurmutt	1879. vanapreili
410. kangenaine	900. medalinaine	1390. rannabeib	1880. vanaproua
411. kannelnaine	901. medalitüdruk	1391. rannaeit	1881. vanatädi
412. kantseleipreili	902. meditsiinaine	1392. rannaleedi	1882. vanatüdruk
413. kantseleiproua	903. meditsiiniproua	1393. rannamammi	1883. vanemproua
414. kantseleitädi	904. meediabeib	1394. rannamemm	1884. vardamoor
415. kantsleriproua	905. meesnaine	1395. rannapiiga	1885. vargamutt
416. kappnaine	906. megabeib	1396. rannaplika	1886. vargaplika
417. karjääribeib	907. megatüdruk	1397. rannatibi	1887. vargatüdruk
418. karjäärieit	908. mehenaine	1398. rannatüdruk	1888. varjupaigatädi
419. karjäärimutt	909. mehetanaine	1399. rännunaine	1889. varunaine
420. karjaarinaine	910. mehhanisaatoriproua	1400. rännutüdruk	1890. vastuvõtutädi
421. karjäärinaine	911. meieriproua	1401. räpineiu	1891. veebinaine
422. karjääritädi	912. mendiiplika	1402. rätinaine	1892. veemutt
423. karjääritibi	913. merenaine	1403. ratsadaam	1893. veeneiu
424. karjaeit	914. mereröövliiplika	1404. ratsanaine	1894. vehklejaneiu
425. karjanaine	915. metallimoor	1405. ratsanikuemand	1895. vehklemisnaine
426. karjapiiga	916. metsaemand	1406. ratsanikupreili	1896. vehklemispiiga
427. karjaplika	917. metsamamma	1407. ratsapiiga	1897. velotüdruk
428. karjasetüdruk	918. metsamemm	1408. ratsaplika	1898. venemammi
429. karjatüdruk	919. metsamoor	1409. ratsatüdruk	1899. venememm
430. karjusnaine	920. metsamutt	1410. rätsepanaine	1900. venenaine
431. karjuseneiu	921. metsanaine	1411. rätsepatüdruk	1901. venepliika
432. karjusneiu	922. metsaplika	1412. ratsutajatüdruk	1902. venepreili
433. kartulimutt	923. metsapreili	1413. rattanaine	1903. veneproua
434. kartulitädi	924. metsatädi	1414. raudleedi	1904. venetüdruk
435. kasetädi	925. metsatüdruk	1415. raudnaine	1905. venkutädi
436. käsipallipiiga	926. miljardäriproua	1416. rauktibi	1906. vennanaine
437. käsitöömemm	927. miljonariproua	1417. ravitsejanaine	1907. veretädi
438. käsitöönaine	928. miljonäriproua	1418. ravitsejatädi	1908. vesineiu
439. kassadaam	929. miljonäriivanamutt	1419. reedutädi	1909. veskiemand
440. kassaemand	930. ministeeriumistüdruk	1420. registraatoritädi	1910. veskinaine
441. kassamutt	931. ministeeriumitädi	1421. registratuurimutt	1911. veskineiu
442. kassaneiu	932. ministrileedi	1422. registratuurineiu	1912. veskiproua
443. kassapidajatüdruk	933. ministripreili	1423. registratuuriproua	1913. veskitüdruk
444. kassapreili	934. ministriproua	1424. registratuuritädi	1914. veteraniproua
445. kassaproua	935. misjonäriproua	1425. reikiemand	1915. veterannaine
446. kassatädi	936. modelliipiiga	1426. reikinaine	1916. vibueit
447. kassatibi	937. modellnaine	1427. reikitädi	1917. vibunaine
448. kassatüdruk	938. moebeib	1428. reisiemand	1918. vibuneiu
449. kasvatajaneiu	939. moedaam	1429. reisimutt	1919. vibupiiga
450. kasvatajatädi	940. moemutt	1430. reismutt	1920. vibutüdruk
451. kataloogitüdruk	941. moenaine	1431. reisunaine	1921. vihmapiisapliika

452. katarinaine	942. moepreili	1432. reklaaminaine	1922. vihmapiisatüdruk
453. katitüdruk	943. moetibi	1433. reklaamitädi	1923. viikinginaine
454. kaukaaslasepreili	944. mõisapreili	1434. reklaamitibi	1924. viikingipiiga
455. kauplejamutt	945. mõisaproua	1435. reklaamitüdruk	1925. viikingitüdruk
456. kaupmeheemand	946. mõisnikuproua	1436. reklaamtšikk	1926. viikingnaine
457. kaupmehenaine	947. mõldriemand	1437. reklaamtüdruk	1927. viinerineiu
458. kaupmeheproua	948. mõldrineiu	1438. rekordinaine	1928. viulitüdruk
459. kaupnaine	949. möllueit	1439. rektoriproua	1929. virtuaaltütarlaps
460. keeleedi	950. möllumutt	1440. remondimutt	1930. võidunaine
461. keelekõrvadaam	951. mõõgatüdruk	1441. remondinaine	1931. võileivatädi
462. keelekõrvaleedi	952. moonanaine	1442. reporterineiu	1932. võimlejaplika
463. keelenaine	953. moosimemm	1443. reporteritädi	1933. võimlemisdaam
464. keeletädi	954. mootorrattanaaine	1444. reporteritibi	1934. võimlemisnaine
465. keisrimamma	955. mootorratturtädi	1445. restoranitädi	1935. võimlemistüdruk
466. keisrinaine	956. mormooninaine	1446. režissööripiiga	1936. võitjanaine
467. keisriproua	957. morsitüdruk	1447. riidehoidjatädi	1937. võitlusnaine
468. kellanaine	958. mõrtsukmoor	1448. riidehoiutädi	1938. volinikuproua
469. kellasepaproua	959. mõrtsuknaine	1449. riietehoitädi	1939. võltsnaine
470. kellatädi	960. mõrtsukneiu	1450. riietehoiutädi	1940. võltstüdruk
471. kelneritädi	961. mõrvadaam	1451. riigidaam	1941. võlurnaine
472. kenaneiu	962. mõrvaleedi	1452. riigiemand	1942. võlurtüdruk
473. kerjusetüdruk	963. mõrvadaam	1453. riiginaine	1943. võmmipiiga
474. kerjusmemm	964. mõrvarleedi	1454. riigiproua	1944. võrdsustädi
475. kerjused	965. moslemidaam	1455. riigitibi	1945. võrguneiu
476. kerjusnaine	966. mosleminaine	1456. rikkanaaine	1946. võrgutüdruk
477. kerjustüdruk	967. moslemiqlika	1457. rikkuriproua	1947. võrkpallinaine
478. keskaplika	968. moslemitüdruk	1458. rikkurimamma	1948. võrkpallipiiga
479. keskkoolineiu	969. mossepiiga	1459. rockineiu	1949. võrkpallitüdruk
480. keskkoolipiiga	970. motikatüdruk	1460. rockitüdruk	1950. võtmetädi
481. keskkooliqlika	971. mõtlejanaine	1461. rokimemm	1951. vutinaaine
482. keskkoolitüdruk	972. motodaam	1462. rokiqlika	1952. vutipiiga
483. keskkoolitüdruk	973. motomutt	1463. rokitibi	1953. vutiproua
484. keskvaljanaine	974. motonaine	1464. rokitšikk	1954. vutitüdruk
485. keso-naine	975. mulgieit	1465. rokitüdruk	1955. woodoo-tädi
486. ketrajanaine	976. mulgimutt	1466. rolleritibi	1956. yuppie-neiu
487. kettatädi	977. mulgiipiiga	1467. röntgenimutt	1957. ziibitibi
488. khmeeriplika	978. munatädi	1468. röntgentüdruk	
489. kiirabiplika	979. mupotädi	1469. roolinaine	
490. kiirabitädi	980. murdmaanaine	1470. rõõmupiiga	

MASCULINE LAST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS

1. 6pipoiss	531. keelepapi	1061. musterpoiss	1591. šariaadimees
2. aadelimees	532. keemikuhärra	1062. mustlasepoiss	1592. sauamees
3. aadetemees	533. keisrihärra	1063. mustlasmees	1593. saunamees
4. aadlihärra	534. keisripoiss	1064. mustlasnoormees	1594. savumees
5. aadlikuhärra	535. kellamees	1065. mustlaspapi	1595. seadusemees
6. aadlimees	536. kellaonu	1066. mustlaspoiss	1596. seadusmees
7. aadlinoormees	537. kellaipoiss	1067. mustmees	1597. seenemees
8. aadlipoiss	538. kelneripoiss	1068. müügimees	1598. seenepoiss
9. aapteekrihärra	539. kelnerpoiss	1069. müügionu	1599. sekretärihärra
10. aatemees	540. kenamees	1070. müügipoiss	1600. seksimees
11. äbarikmees	541. kenapoiss	1071. müüjanoormees	1601. seksipoiss
12. abielumees	542. kepimees	1072. müüjapoiss	1602. sekssipoiss
13. aborigeenipoiss	543. keppimees	1073. müürimees	1603. sepaonu
14. admiralihärra	544. kergejõustikumees	1074. muuseumimees	1604. sepapoiss
15. adramees	545. kergejõustikupoiss	1075. muuseumionu	1605. sepäpoiss

16. adrapoiss	546. kerjusehärä	1076. muuseumipapa	1606. serverihärä
17. advokaadihärä	547. kerjuspoiss	1077. muusikamees	1607. serverimees
18. advukaadihärä	548. keskäljamees	1078. myygimees	1608. servimees
19. aednikuhärä	549. keskapoiss	1079. naabermees	1609. shokolaadipoiss
20. aednikupoiss	550. keskkaitsemees	1080. naaberpoiss	1610. shoumees
21. aerumees	551. keskkoolipoiss	1081. naabrihärä	1611. shōumees
22. ägemees	552. keskmaamees	1082. naabrikutt	1612. showmees
23. agulimees	553. keskmaamees	1083. naabrimees	1613. sibulapoiss
24. agulionu	554. keskoolipoiss	1084. naabrinoormees	1614. sidrunimees
25. agulipoiss	555. keskväljamees	1085. naabrionu	1615. sierramees
26. ahtipoiss	556. kettaheitamees	1086. naabripapi	1616. sigarimees
27. ahukaadihärä	557. kettamees	1087. naabripoiss	1617. siimpoiss
28. ahukaadipoiss	558. kettapoiss	1088. naabritaat	1618. siklimees
29. äiapapa	559. kevinpoiss	1089. naabrivanamees	1619. silverionu
30. aidamees	560. KGB-meis	1090. naastumees	1620. sisekontrollipoiss
31. äimees	561. khmeeripoiss	1091. naelamees	1621. sitamees
32. ainionu	562. kidramees	1092. naelrehvimees	1622. skeidimees
33. ajakirjandusmees	563. kiirabimees	1093. naelsterlingimees	1623. skeidipoiss
34. ajakirjanikuhärä	564. kiirabionu	1094. naesimees	1624. skeletonimees
35. ajakirjanikupoiss	565. kiirendusmees	1095. naftamees	1625. skodamees
36. ajalehemees	566. kiiruisumees	1096. nägijamees	1626. skuutimees
37. ajalehepoiss	567. kikiilipsuonu	1097. nähtamatumees	1627. sõbermees
38. ajumees	568. kikiilipsumees	1098. naisimees	1628. sõberpoiss
39. ajupoiss	569. kindralihärä	1099. naisimees	1629. sobramees
40. akordionimees	570. kinnisvaramees	1100. naistimees	1630. sõbramees
41. akordionipoiss	571. kinomees	1101. naistenmees	1631. sõbramees
42. akrobaatikapoiss	572. kinoonu	1102. näitlejahärä	1632. sõbrapoiss
43. alfamees	573. kinumees	1103. näitlejamees	1633. sõdalasmees
44. algklassinolk	574. kipsimees	1104. naljamees	1634. sõdamees
45. algklassipoiss	575. kipsplaadimees	1105. naljapoiss	1635. sõduripoiss
46. algkoolipoiss	576. kirikhärä	1106. napsimees	1636. sodurpoiss
47. alkomees	577. kirikisand	1107. napsimees	1637. sõdurpoiss
48. allilmamees	578. kirikpapi	1108. näpumees	1638. sõdurpoiss
49. altariipoiss	579. kirikuhärä	1109. narkoisand	1639. soidumees
50. ametimees	580. kirikuisand	1110. narkomees	1640. sõidumees
51. ametmees	581. kirikumees	1111. nätsupoiss	1641. sõidumees
52. ametnikuhärä	582. kirikuonu	1112. neegermees	1642. sõjaisand
53. ametnikunolk	583. kirikupapa	1113. neegerpoiss	1643. sojamees
54. ametnikuonu	584. kirikupapi	1114. neegertaat	1644. sõjamees
55. ämmaisand	585. kirjahärä	1115. neegrihärä	1645. sõjamees
56. ammetimees	586. kirjamees	1116. neegrimees	1646. sojapoiss
57. ammetmees	587. kirjandusmees	1117. neegrionu	1647. šokolaadipoiss
58. analimees	588. kirjanikhärä	1118. neegripoiss	1648. sõnapidajamees
59. analüütikuhärä	589. kirjanikuhärä	1119. neegrivanamees	1649. soodimees
60. andrepoiss	590. kirjapapa	1120. neljamees	1650. söögimees
61. andrespoiss	591. kirjapapi	1121. neljapoiss	1651. soojendusmees
62. androidimees	592. kirjastajahärä	1122. netimees	1652. sööklaonu
63. andruspoiss	593. kirjutajahärä	1123. netionu	1653. soolomees
64. ankrumees	594. kirjutajamees	1124. netipoiss	1654. soolopillimees
65. ansamblimees	595. kirvimees	1125. niidukimees	1655. soomemees
66. ansamblipoiss	596. kitarrimees	1126. nikumees	1656. soomepapi
67. apelsinipoiss	597. kitarrionu	1127. ninamees	1657. soomepoiss
68. äplimees	598. kitarripoiss	1128. NKVD-meis	1658. soomlasehärä
69. apteekrihärä	599. kivimees	1129. noabremees	1659. sõtsemees
70. apteekriisand	600. klahvimees	1130. noamees	1660. sotsiaalmees
71. aptekrihärä	601. klahvpillimees	1131. nohik-vanamees	1661. sotsipoiss
72. äpumees	602. klahvpillipoiss	1132. nohikpoiss	1662. sõudemees

73. argpoiss	603. klarnetimees	1133. nõiaisand	1663. sõumees
74. arhitektihärra	604. klarnetipoiss	1134. nõiamees	1664. šõumees
75. ärikamees	605. klassikamees	1135. nõiapoiss	1665. spermapoiss
76. ärikasmees	606. klassipoiss	1136. nõidmees	1666. spinningumees
77. äriees	607. klaverimees	1137. nokiamees	1667. spodrimees
78. arkebuusimees	608. klaveripoiss	1138. noksipoiss	1668. spordimees
79. armanimees	609. kloostriisand	1139. nokuonu	1669. spordipoiss
80. armeemees	610. kloun-mees	1140. nõmemees	1670. sportliknoormees
81. armeepoiss	611. klounipoiss	1141. noodamees	1671. sportlikpoiss
82. arstihärra	612. klubihärra	1142. noorehärra	1672. sprindimees
83. arstionkel	613. klubimees	1143. nooremees	1673. sprindipoiss
84. arstionu	614. klubipoiss	1144. noorepoiss	1674. stiilikutt
85. artistipoiss	615. koalitsioonimees	1145. noorisand	1675. stiilimees
86. arvajamees	616. kodupoiss	1146. noormees	1676. stripparpoiss
87. arvjamees	617. kohimees	1147. noorpoiss	1677. subarumees
88. arvutimees	618. kohtohärra	1148. normaalnemees	1678. subarupoiss
89. arvutionu	619. kohtomees	1149. nuhipoiss	1679. südamees
90. arvutipoiss	620. kohtuhärra	1150. nuiamees	1680. sügisemees
91. asendusmees	621. kohtuisand	1151. nullimees	1681. sügismees
92. asjamees	622. kohtumees	1152. nullipoiss	1682. suhkrumees
93. atspoiss	623. kohtunikehärra	1153. nullmees	1683. suhkrupoiss
94. atv-mees	624. kohtunikuhärra	1154. nupumees	1684. suhkruvatimees
95. audimees	625. kohtuonu	1155. nutimees	1685. suicumees
96. audipoiss	626. kohukesemees	1156. oberstihärra	1686. suitsmees
97. aumees	627. kohukesepapi	1157. odamees	1687. suitsumees
98. automees	628. kohupiimamees	1158. õemees	1688. sukeldusmees
99. autopoiss	629. kohvikumees	1159. õgardipoiss	1689. sukelusmees
100. autorihärra	630. kohvikupoiss	1160. õhudessantpoiss	1690. sulanemees
101. avamees	631. kohvipoiss	1161. õhukaitsemees	1691. sulanepoiss
102. baarimees	632. kojamees	1162. õhutõrjemees	1692. sulasepoiss
103. baarionu	633. kokahärra	1163. ohvitserihärra	1693. sulaspoiss
104. baaripoiss	634. kokaonu	1164. õigemees	1694. sulees
105. baarivanamees	635. kokapoisinolk	1165. ökomees	1695. sulevpoiss
106. bagimees	636. kokapoiss	1166. oligarhihärra	1696. sulimees
107. bajaanimees	637. kolemees	1167. õllehärra	1697. sulipoiss
108. balletipoiss	638. kolhoosimees	1168. õllemees	1698. sumomees
109. banaanimees	639. kolledzipoiss	1169. õllepoiss	1699. sumopoiss
110. bandimees	640. kolledžipoiss	1170. olümpiahõbedamees	1700. sündimees
111. bändimees	641. kolmemees	1171. olümpiaisand	1701. superpoiss
112. bändipoiss	642. kolmepoiss	1172. olümpiamedalimees	1702. surfarihärra
113. basseinipoiss	643. kolonelihärra	1173. olümpiamees	1703. surfimees
114. bassimees	644. komissarihärra	1174. omakaitsemees	1704. surfipoiss
115. beduiinipoiss	645. komitaat	1175. omanikmees	1705. süstamees
116. beebipoiss	646. kommarimees	1176. õmblusepoiss	1706. süstapoiss
117. beetamees	647. kommentaatorihärra	1177. onamees	1707. süstlamees
118. beibmees	648. kommionu	1178. õngemees	1708. suupillimees
119. bemarkimees	649. kommunistionu	1179. opelimees	1709. suurhärra
120. bemarkipoiss	650. komsomolinolk	1180. operaatoripoiss	1710. suurisand
121. bemimees	651. komsomolipoiss	1181. õpetajahärra	1711. suurmees
122. bemmimees	652. kõnemees	1182. õpetajamees	1712. suuronu
123. bemmipoiss	653. konjakimees	1183. õpipoiss	1713. suurpoiss
124. bemmmees	654. konservaatorihärra	1184. õpipoiss	1714. suurtükimees
125. betoonimees	655. konsulihärra	1185. õppepoiss	1715. suusamees
126. bi-härra	656. kontmees	1186. õppipoiss	1716. suusanoomes
127. bi-mees	657. kontorihärra	1187. orjapoiss	1717. suusapoiss
128. biidimees	658. kontorimees	1188. orkestrimees	1718. suvekutt
129. bimees	659. kontrabassimees	1189. orkestriipoiss	1719. suvemees

130. binolk	660. kontrollionu	1190. otsustajahärra	1720. suvepoiss
131. bisnesmees	661. kõõgimees	1191. õunamees	1721. tabletimees
132. bisnismees	662. kõõgionu	1192. õunapoiss	1722. tabletionu
133. blogionu	663. kõõgipoiss	1193. paadimees	1723. tädimees
134. bluffimees	664. koolihärra	1194. paadipoiss	1724. tagalamees
135. blufimees	665. koolimees	1195. paarimees	1725. tagimees
136. bluusimees	666. koolionu	1196. päästemees	1726. tagumikmees
137. bluusivanamees	667. koolipapa	1197. päästeonu	1727. tagumikumees
138. bockimees	668. koolipapi	1198. pagarionu	1728. täheisand
139. Botoxi-poiss	669. koolipoiss	1199. pagunimees	1729. tähemees
140. breigipoiss	670. koopamees	1200. pahamees	1730. tähenoorimees
141. buldooserimees	671. koorihärra	1201. pahapoiss	1731. täheonu
142. burgerimees	672. koorimees	1202. pahtlimees	1732. tähepoiss
143. burgeronu	673. kooripoiss	1203. päikesemees	1733. tähtismees
144. businessimees	674. kopamees	1204. päikesepoiss	1734. taksomees
145. bussimees	675. kopaonu	1205. paipoiss	1735. taksoonu
146. bussionu	676. kõplamees	1206. paksmees	1736. täkuonu
147. bussipoiss	677. koristajamees	1207. pakspoiss	1737. täkupoiss
148. canonimees	678. koristajaonu	1208. pallimees	1738. taliolümpiamees
149. danzumees	679. koristajapoiss	1209. pallipoiss	1739. talispordimees
150. deivismees	680. korraldajaonu	1210. palveisand	1740. talliisand
151. dekoratiivmees	681. korstnapühkijahärra	1211. palvemees	1741. tallimees
152. delfimees	682. kõrtsiisand	1212. palvepapi	1742. tallipoiss
153. deputaadihärra	683. kõrtsimees	1213. pangahärra	1743. talomees
154. deržaavamees	684. kõrtsipapa	1214. pangamees	1744. talumees
155. dessandimees	685. kõrtsipoiss	1215. pangaonu	1745. talupoiss
156. dessantmees	686. korvapllimees	1216. pankurihärra	1746. talutaat
157. dharmaisand	687. kõrvarõngamees	1217. pankurionu	1747. talveisand
158. diislimees	688. korvimees	1218. pankuronu	1748. talvemees
159. direktorihärra	689. korvipoiss	1219. pannkoogipoiss	1749. tänavapoiss
160. diskomees	690. korvpallimees	1220. panomees	1750. tanelionu
161. diskopoiss	691. korvpallinoorimees	1221. parkouripoiss	1751. tankimismees
162. distantsimees	692. korvpallipoiss	1222. parteiisand	1752. tankistinolk
163. dokfilmimees	693. kossumees	1223. parteimees	1753. tankistnolk
164. doktorihärra	694. kossupoiss	1224. parteionu	1754. tanklamees
165. doktorionkel	695. kõstrihärra	1225. parteipoiss	1755. tanklapoiss
166. doktorionu	696. kotimees	1226. partsuhärra	1756. tantramees
167. dollarimees	697. kotipoiss	1227. partsupoiss	1757. tantsuisand
168. dopingumees	698. kotletipoiss	1228. parunihärra	1758. tantsukutt
169. dressimees	699. kottpüksipoiss	1229. parvemees	1759. tantsumees
170. driftimees	700. kõvamees	1230. parvepoiss	1760. tantsupoiss
171. dubstepimees	701. kõvapoiss	1231. passatimees	1761. tantsutaat
172. duublimees	702. kraanamees	1232. pastorihärra	1762. tapeedipoiss
173. džässimees	703. krahvihärra	1233. pasunamees	1763. tapjamees
174. džässmuusikamees	704. kremlimees	1234. pasunapoiss	1764. tarandionu
175. dzhiibimees	705. kriitikuhärra	1235. pätinorimees	1765. tarandipoiss
176. džihaadimees	706. krikamees	1236. pätionu	1766. tarandpoiss
177. dziibimees	707. krimkamees	1237. pätipoiss	1767. tarepoiss
178. džiiibimees	708. kringlimees	1238. patrullimees	1768. targapoiss
179. džuudopoiss	709. kroonumees	1239. patrullipoiss	1769. tarkpoiss
180. e-meis	710. krossimees	1240. patrullmees	1770. tarkvarainsenerihärra
181. edgarpoiss	711. krossipoiss	1241. pättmees	1771. tarkvamees
182. eesliinimees	712. krutskimees	1242. peamees	1772. tatrahärra
183. eesnahapoiss	713. krutskipoiss	1243. peaministrihärra	1773. tatramees
184. eestimees	714. krutskumees	1244. peatoimetajahärra	1774. tavalinimees
185. eestipoiss	715. kübamees	1245. pedepoiss	1775. teadjamees
186. eestlasipoiss	716. kubernerihärra	1246. pedevanamees	1776. teadlasehärra

187. eetrimees	717. külamees	1247. peekonipoiss	1777. teadlaseonkel
188. egiptipoiss	718. külamees	1248. peenrahamees	1778. teadlasmee
189. egomees	719. külanoormees	1249. peeterpoiss	1779. teadmamees
190. ehistusmees	720. külaonu	1250. peetrimonu	1780. teadmataat
191. ehitajamees	721. külapapi	1251. peigamees	1781. teadusehärä
192. ehitajaonu	722. külapoiss	1252. peigmees	1782. teadusemees
193. ehitajapoiss	723. külataat	1253. peigmeespoiss	1783. teadusmees
194. ehitusemees	724. kuldketimees	1254. pekipoiss	1784. teadustaat
195. ehitushärä	725. kuldmedalimees	1255. peksumees	1785. teatrihärä
196. ehitusisand	726. kuldmedalipoiss	1256. peksupoiss	1786. teatrimees
197. ehitusmees	727. kuldmees	1257. pamarimees	1787. teatrimonu
198. ehituspapi	728. kuldpoiss	1258. pemmimees	1788. teedemees
199. ehituspoiss	729. külgorvimees	1259. pendlimees	1789. teehöövlimees
200. ehitustöömees	730. kullamees	1260. pendlionu	1790. teemees
201. eitmees	731. kullapoiss	1261. pensionärihärä	1791. teenijapoiss
202. eksmees	732. kullerimonu	1262. pensionäripapi	1792. teenindajanoormees
203. ekstreemspordimees	733. kulleripoiss	1263. peomees	1793. teenindajapoiss
204. elektrimees	734. kullermees	1264. peopoiss	1794. teenindusemees
205. elektripoiss	735. külmpapi	1265. pepupoiss	1795. teeninduseonu
206. elektivõrgumees	736. kultuuramees	1266. peremees	1796. teenindusmees
207. eluisand	737. kultuurimees	1267. peremehehärä	1797. teeninduspoiss
208. elumees	738. külvimees	1268. pervo-onu	1798. teeremondimees
209. elumee	739. kümme	1269. pervomees	1799. teerullimees
210. emomees	740. kumminuiamees	1270. pervovanamees	1800. teetpoiss
211. emopoiss	741. kummipaadimees	1271. pesapallipoiss	1801. tegijamees
212. enduromees	742. kuningahärä	1272. pesulamees	1802. tegijapoiss
213. enduumees	743. kuningamees	1273. pesumees	1803. tegudemees
214. energeetikamees	744. künnimees	1274. pesupoiss	1804. tehnikamees
215. energomees	745. künnipoiss	1275. petjapoiss	1805. tehnikaonu
216. ennustajamees	746. kunstimees	1276. petupoiss	1806. tehnikapoiss
217. epeemees	747. kunstipoiss	1277. pidumees	1807. telefonimees
218. epepoiss	748. kunstnikuhärä	1278. pihupoiss	1808. telekaameramees
219. erak-vanamees	749. kunstnikupoiss	1279. piibumees	1809. telemees
220. erakonnamees	750. kuprokimees	1280. piibupoiss	1810. teleonu
221. ergomeetrimees	751. küprokimees	1281. piigimees	1811. telepoiss
222. esikaanepoiss	752. küprokmees	1282. piimamees	1812. telerimees
223. esikohamees	753. kuraatorihärä	1283. piimaonu	1813. televisioonimees
224. esimees	754. kurbmees	1284. piimapoiss	1814. tembumees
225. eskavaatorimees	755. kurikamees	1285. piirimees	1815. tempomees
226. eskimo-onu	756. kurimees	1286. piiripoiss	1816. tennisimees
227. eskimo-taat	757. kurimonu	1287. piiritusemees	1817. tennisepoiss
228. etspoiss	758. kurnipoiss	1288. piirivalvemees	1818. teoloogihärä
229. ettekandjapoiss	759. küsitlejapapi	1289. piirivalvenoormees	1819. toomees
230. eurohärä	760. kütimees	1290. piirivalveonu	1820. teopoiss
231. euroisand	761. kutsekapoiss	1291. piirivalvepoiss	1821. terariistamees
232. euromees	762. kutsekoolipoiss	1292. piirivalvurionu	1822. terasmees
233. euroonu	763. küüdimees	1293. piiskopihärä	1823. teraspoiss
234. europapi	764. küüdipoiss	1294. piiskopimees	1824. terroristionu
235. eurumees	765. kuuemees	1295. piitsamees	1825. tillimees
236. evangeeliumimees	766. kuulimees	1296. piitsapoiss	1826. tinutajamees
237. excelimees	767. kuumees	1297. pikanäpumees	1827. tippmees
238. exelimees	768. kuuonu	1298. pikkapoiss	1828. tittmees
239. falckionu	769. kuusepoiss	1299. pikkmees	1829. tiumees
240. falgionu	770. kuusetaat	1300. pillimees	1830. toapoiss
241. fanfaarimees	771. kvoodimees	1301. pillionu	1831. tõbrashärä
242. fännipoiss	772. kylamees	1302. pillipoiss	1832. tohtrihärä
243. farmimees	773. kylaonu	1303. pilsnerimees	1833. tohtrikutt

244. farmipoiss	774. labidamees	1304. pilvemees	1834. tohtrionu
245. filmikaameramees	775. laborimees	1305. pilvepoiss	1835. toimetajahärä
246. filmimees	776. laborionu	1306. pimeonu	1836. tolamees
247. filmionu	777. läbunolk	1307. pingimees	1837. tõllapoiss
248. filmipoiss	778. laevaisand	1308. pingipoiss	1838. tollihärä
249. filmmees	779. laevamees	1309. pioneeripoiss	1839. tollimees
250. finaalimees	780. laevapoiss	1310. piraadipoiss	1840. tollionu
251. firmamees	781. lahemees	1311. pirukamees	1841. tommionu
252. flöödipoiss	782. lahingmees	1312. pirukapoiss	1842. toobalipoiss
253. folgimees	783. lahingumees	1313. pisimees	1843. töökasmees
254. folkrockipoiss	784. laiskmees	1314. pisipoiss	1844. töökojamees
255. folkrokipoiss	785. lamellimees	1315. pistodamees	1845. töölisnoormees
256. fordimees	786. laomees	1316. pitsamees	1846. töölispoiss
257. fotograafihärä	787. laopoiss	1317. pitsapoiss	1847. toomasmees
258. fotograafionu	788. lapsmees	1318. pizzapoiss	1848. toomaspoiss
259. fotomees	789. lapspornomees	1319. poedihärä	1849. toomees
260. fraktsioonimees	790. lasnakamees	1320. poehärä	1850. töömees
261. gaasimees	791. lasteaiionu	1321. poemees	1851. töömeheonu
262. gaasipoiss	792. lasteaiapoiss	1322. poemüüjamees	1852. toomhärä
263. gardepoiss	793. lastekodupoiss	1323. poepoiss	1853. toompeahärä
264. garnisonihärä	794. latiinomees	1324. põhikoolipoiss	1854. toompeamees
265. gaymees	795. latiinopoiss	1325. põhikoolipoiss	1855. tööpoiss
266. gaypoiss	796. lauaarvutimees	1326. pohmellipoiss	1856. tööriistapoiss
267. geelipoiss	797. laudamees	1327. põidlaküüdimees	1857. tormipoiss
268. gei-poiss	798. laulumees	1328. poisiklutt	1858. torumees
269. geikutt	799. laulupoiss	1329. poissmees	1859. toruonu
270. geimees	800. laulutaat	1330. poksimees	1860. torupillimees
271. geinoormees	801. lavamees	1331. poksipoiss	1861. tõstukimees
272. geipoiss	802. lavapoiss	1332. polgumees	1862. tõukerattamees
273. geomees	803. leegionimees	1333. poliitikahärä	1863. traalimees
274. geonoormees	804. leeripoiss	1334. poliitikamees	1864. trahteriisand
275. getomees	805. lehemees	1335. poliitikapoiss	1865. trahvionu
276. getopoiss	806. lehepoiss	1336. poliitikuahärä	1866. traktorimees
277. giidi-onu	807. leierkastimees	1337. poliitmees	1867. trammimees
278. glamuuripoiss	808. leitnandihärä	1338. poliitnolk	1868. transakutt
279. golfimees	809. leitnandinolk	1339. politeionu	1869. transamees
280. golfipoiss	810. leitnandipoiss	1340. politsehärä	1870. transapoiss
281. gootimees	811. leivamees	1341. politseihärä	1871. transiidimees
282. gümnaasiumipoiss	812. lemmiklutt	1342. politseimees	1872. transmees
283. gümnaasiumipoiss	813. lemmikmees	1343. politseinikuahärä	1873. transpordimees
284. gyrokimees	814. lemmiknoormees	1344. politseinikuonu	1874. transporimees
285. haamimees	815. lemmikpapa	1345. politseinikupoiss	1875. treeneripoiss
286. haanimees	816. lemmikipoiss	1346. politseinolk	1876. treilerimees
287. Haanjamees	817. lendur-kutt	1347. politseinoormees	1877. trekimees
288. haaremiisand	818. lenduripoiss	1348. politseionu	1878. trendimees
289. haavipoiss	819. lendurpoiss	1349. politseipoiss	1879. trennimees
290. häbelikipoiss	820. lennukimees	1350. põllumees	1880. trennipoiss
291. habemikipoiss	821. lennumees	1351. pommimees	1881. trikikutt
292. haigimees	822. lennundusemees	1352. pommionu	1882. trikimees
293. haiglapoiss	823. lennuväepoiss	1353. pommipoiss	1883. trikipoiss
294. haikumees	824. leskmees	1354. pommivanamees	1884. trofeemees
295. häkkeripoiss	825. lesktaat	1355. ponksmees	1885. trollimees
296. hallomees	826. letimees	1356. ponksipoiss	1886. trollinoormees
297. halloomees	827. letipoiss	1357. poodiumimees	1887. trollionu
298. hambamees	828. lexusemees	1358. popsumeis	1888. trollipoiss
299. hapukapsamees	829. libemees	1359. pordumees	1889. trompetimees
300. haraldipoiss	830. liftipoiss	1360. porgandimees	1890. trompetipoiss

358. iiripoiss	888. maailmarekordimees	1418. puksiirimees	1948. ulmemees
359. iisraelimees	889. maaisand	1419. püksionu	1949. umbluumees
360. ilnamees	890. maalrimees	1420. pullimees	1950. ürgmees
361. ilmaonu	891. maamees	1421. pullipoiss	1951. usaldusmees
362. ilmapoiss	892. maapoiss	1422. pulmapillimees	1952. usamees
363. ilusmees	893. määrdemees	1423. pumppüssimees	1953. usumees
364. iluspoiss	894. määrdespoiss	1424. pungimees	1954. usupapi
365. imelikimees	895. maardumees	1425. püramiidimees	1955. uudisemees
366. imemees	896. maasikamees	1426. purjekamees	1956. uudisteonu
367. indiaanimees	897. maasikamees	1427. purjelaevamees	1957. uudistmees
368. indiaanipoiss	898. maasturimees	1428. purjetajapoiss	1958. uurijahärra
369. indigopoiss	899. machomees	1429. purjumees	1959. uurijamees
370. inglismees	900. macimees	1430. pussimees	1960. uusisand
371. insenerihärra	901. madispoiss	1431. püssimees	1961. uusmees
372. insenerikutt	902. madrusespoiss	1432. püstolimees	1962. uuspoiss
373. inseneripapi	903. madruspoiss	1433. püstolipoiss	1963. v2ikemees
374. inseneripoiss	904. mämees	1434. putinimees	1964. vaaronu
375. inspektorihärra	905. maffiaisand	1435. putkamees	1965. vabahärra
376. interrindemees	906. maffiamees	1436. putsimees	1966. vabastiilimees
377. ironmees	907. maffiapoiss	1437. puuklutt	1967. vabastiilipoiss
378. isandamees	908. maffimees	1438. puumees	1968. vämees
379. islamimees	909. mafiamees	1439. puupapi	1969. vaenemees
380. islamipoiss	910. mafioosoisand	1440. puupoiss	1970. vaesemees
381. IT-mees	911. mägedemees	1441. puurimees	1971. vägimees
382. IT-poiss	912. magemees	1442. puusepapoiss	1972. vägistajamees
383. itaaliamees	913. magimees	1443. puusuusamees	1973. vägivallamees
384. itimees	914. mägimees	1444. puutinipoiss	1974. vahetusmees
385. itipoiss	915. mägipoiss	1445. puutöömees	1975. vahimees
386. itmees	916. maguspoiss	1446. pyhamees	1976. vahurpoiss
387. itpoiss	917. mahemees	1447. quattromees	1977. väikepoiss
388. jaakmees	918. mahhviamees	1448. raadiomees	1978. väiksemees
389. jäämees	919. Mahtramees	1449. raadiopoiss	1979. väiksepapi
390. jaanuspoiss	920. maitpoiss	1450. raamatukogumees	1980. väimeespoiss
391. jaapanimees	921. majaisand	1451. raehärra	1981. vaimulikuhärra
392. jäätisemees	922. majoneesimees	1452. raeisand	1982. vaimulikuisand
393. jäätiseonu	923. majoneesionu	1453. raemees	1983. vaimumees
394. jäätisepapi	924. majorihärra	1454. ragbimees	1984. väkemees
395. jäätisepoiss	925. makaronipoiss	1455. rahahärra	1985. valemees
396. jahihärra	926. makaronpoiss	1456. rahamees	1986. valgemees
397. jahiimees	927. mäkimees	1457. rahaonu	1987. valgusmees
398. jahimees	928. makramees	1458. rahatumees	1988. valgustajapoiss
399. jalamees	929. malakamees	1459. rahvalaulumees	1989. valijamees
400. jalgpallihärra	930. malemees	1460. rahvamees	1990. valimismees
401. jalgpallimees	931. mandariinimees	1461. rahvapillimees	1991. valitseja-taat
402. jalgpallipoiss	932. mandlipoiss	1462. raiemees	1992. valitsejahärra
403. jalgrattamees	933. mandoliinimees	1463. raketimees	1993. valitsusehärra
404. jalkamees	934. mandrimees	1464. ralfionu	1994. valitsusemees
405. jalkapoiss	935. mängumees	1465. rallimees	1995. valitsusmees
406. jalrattamees	936. mängupoiss	1466. rallipapa	1996. vallahärra
407. janarpoiss	937. mantlimees	1467. rallipoiss	1997. vallaisand
408. jänkimees	938. maratonimees	1468. rammumees	1998. vallamees
409. jänkionu	939. maratonipoiss	1469. rändurmees	1999. vallapapi
410. jänkipoiss	940. marguspoiss	1470. rändurpoiss	2000. valvemees
411. Jawamees	941. marksistipapi	1471. rannamees	2001. valvurihärra
412. jazzimees	942. marlboromees	1472. rannapoiss	2002. valvurionu
413. jeebimees	943. marssalihärra	1473. rännumees	2003. valvuripoiss
414. jeepimees	944. martinpoiss	1474. räpimees	2004. vanahärra

415. jeesusemees	945. martpoiss	1475. räpipoiss	2005. vanaisand
416. jehoovamees	946. märtpoiss	1476. rapsimees	2006. vanamees
417. jenkamees	947. märulimees	1477. raskeveokimees	2007. vananoormeis
418. jobumees	948. marumees	1478. rastamees	2008. vanaonu
419. jõemees	949. masinamees	1479. rastapatsimees	2009. vanapapa
420. joindipoiss	950. matchomees	1480. rätikmees	2010. vanapapi
421. joodikmees	951. matemaatikuhärra	1481. rätimees	2011. vanapoiss
422. joogimees	952. matimees	1482. rätipoiss	2012. vanataat
423. joogipoiss	953. matkamees	1483. ratsamees	2013. vandamees
424. jookspoiss	954. matkapoiss	1484. ratsurisant	2014. vanempoiss
425. jooksumeis	955. matsipoiss	1485. rattamees	2015. vangipoiss
426. jooksupoiss	956. matsmees	1486. rattapoiss	2016. vangivalvurihärä
427. joonemees	957. matsomees	1487. ratturihärä	2017. vanglapoiss
428. Joosepinolk	958. matsomees	1488. ratturipoiss	2018. vankrimees
429. joumees	959. mättakutt	1489. ratturipoiss	2019. vankripoiss
430. jõumees	960. mazdamees	1490. rauamees	2020. vargapapa
431. jõusaalimees	961. mecamees	1491. raudmees	2021. vargapoiss
432. jõumees	962. medalimees	1492. raudteemees	2022. varumees
433. judeomees	963. meditsiinimees	1493. raudteeonu	2023. varupoiss
434. judomees	964. meediamees	1494. reaaliipoiss	2024. värvijamees
435. judopoiss	965. meelasmees	1495. reamees	2025. vasaramees
436. juhtgrupimees	966. meemees	1496. reformatsioonimees	2026. vasaraonu
437. juhtmees	967. megamees	1497. reformihärä	2027. vastuvõtumees
438. julgemees	968. megapapi	1498. reformimees	2028. vastuvõtunoormeis
439. julgeolekumeis	969. mehaanikupoiss	1499. reforminolk	2029. vastuvõtupoiss
440. julgeolekupoiss	970. mendionu	1500. rehvimées	2030. vedurimees
441. jumalapapi	971. meremees	1501. reinpoiss	2031. veebimees
442. juristihärä	972. mereväepoiss	1502. reinsalupoiss	2032. veebipoiss
443. juristipoiss	973. merimees	1503. reinuonu	2033. veerpalupoiss
444. jutumees	974. mersumees	1504. reinupoiss	2034. veespordimees
445. juudimees	975. metalimees	1505. reisimees	2035. veinimees
446. juudionkel	976. metallimees	1506. reismees	2036. velomees
447. juudionu	977. metallmees	1507. reissimees	2037. vembumees
448. juudipapa	978. metsahärä	1508. reisumees	2038. venemees
449. juudipapi	979. metsamees	1509. rekamees	2039. venepoiss
450. juudipoiss	980. metsapoiss	1510. rekkamees	2040. veoautomees
451. juuditaat	981. metsmees	1511. rekkaonu	2041. veokamees
452. juudivanamees	982. mihkelpoiss	1512. reklaamimees	2042. veokimees
453. juudopoiss	983. miikaelpoiss	1513. reklaamionu	2043. veomees
454. juuksekrunnimees	984. miilitsamees	1514. reklaamipoiss	2044. vesipoiss
455. juuksuripoiss	985. miilitsaonu	1515. reklaampoiss	2045. veskihärä
456. juustupoiss	986. miilitsavanamees	1516. rekordimees	2046. veskiisand
457. k6vamees	987. mikrobussimees	1517. rektorihärä	2047. veskimees
458. kaablikutt	988. miljonärihärä	1518. releemees	2048. veskipoiss
459. kaablimees	989. miljonimees	1519. religiooniisand	2049. veteranionu
460. kääbusmees	990. miljonionu	1520. religioonionu	2050. vibukutt
461. kaameramees	991. milljonimees	1521. relvamees	2051. vibumees
462. kaanepoiss	992. minimees	1522. remomdimees	2052. vibupoiss
463. kaardimees	993. minisrtihärä	1523. remomees	2053. videokaameraamees
464. kaatrimées	994. ministeeriumihärä	1524. remondimees	2054. videomees
465. kabenoormeis	995. ministeeriumimees	1525. remonimees	2055. vigurimees
466. käbiklutt	996. ministeeriumionu	1526. restoranionu	2056. viguripoiss
467. käbimees	997. ministrihärä	1527. revolverimees	2057. vigurmees
468. käbipoiss	998. ministrionu	1528. revolvrimees	2058. vihamees
469. kaevandusmees	999. missapapi	1529. richmees	2059. vihanamees
470. kaevurpoiss	1000. missapoiss	1530. riidehoiuonu	2060. vihmaonu
471. kaheksamees	1001. moemees	1531. riigihärä	2061. vihmapiisamees

472. kahemees	1002. moeonu	1532. riigiisand	2062. vihmapiisapoiss
473. kahurimees	1003. mõisahärra	1533. riigimees	2063. viikingimees
474. kaikamees	1004. mõisamees	1534. riigionu	2064. viikingipoiss
475. kaikaonu	1005. mõisnikuhärra	1535. riigipapa	2065. viinamees
476. kaitsemees	1006. mölamees	1536. rikasmees	2066. viinaonu
477. kaklejamees	1007. möldrimees	1537. rikaspoiss	2067. viineripoiss
478. kaklejapoiss	1008. möldripapa	1538. rikkamees	2068. viiuldajapoiss
479. kakuonu	1009. möldripoiss	1539. rikkurmees	2069. viiulimees
480. kakupoiss	1010. mollermees	1540. rikkurpoiss	2070. viiulipoiss
481. kalamees	1011. möllumees	1541. rikšamees	2071. vimnamees
482. kalameheonkel	1012. mõõgamees	1542. rindamees	2072. vintpüssimees
483. kalamehepapi	1013. moonakapoiss	1543. ringhäälingumees	2073. vioolamees
484. kälimees	1014. moonamees	1544. ringrajamees	2074. viskamees
485. kallurimees	1015. mooramees	1545. ristipoiss	2075. viskimees
486. kaluripoiss	1016. moosipoiss	1546. riukamees	2076. vitsamees
487. kaluripoiss	1017. mootorpaadimees	1547. rockimees	2077. võidumees
488. kandlemees	1018. mootorrattamees	1548. rokimees	2078. võidupoiss
489. kandlepoiss	1019. mootorsaanimees	1549. rokipoiss	2079. võimumees
490. kanepimees	1020. mootorsaamees	1550. rokkansamblimees	2080. võimumees
491. kanepipoiss	1021. mopeedimees	1551. rokkimees	2081. võimupoiss
492. kangemees	1022. mopeedipoiss	1552. rollerimees	2082. võitjamees
493. kangimees	1023. mormoonipoiss	1553. rolleripoiss	2083. võitlusmees
494. kannumees	1024. morsipoiss	1554. rongimees	2084. volinikuhärra
495. kannupoiss	1025. moslemimees	1555. ronijakutt	2085. võltshärra
496. kantrimees	1026. moslemipoiss	1556. roolimees	2086. võltsmees
497. kantslerihärra	1027. mossemees	1557. roolinolk	2087. võluripoiss
498. kanuumees	1028. motamees	1558. roolmees	2088. võluripoiss
499. Kapo-meess	1029. mõtetumees	1559. roomamees	2089. volvomees
500. kapomees	1030. motikamees	1560. rootsimees	2090. võmmionu
501. kapopoiss	1031. motikapoiss	1561. röövlionu	2091. võõrasonu
502. kappmees	1032. mõtlikmees	1562. röövlipoiss	2092. voorimees
503. karakamees	1033. motomees	1563. rottmees	2093. võrgumees
504. karatamees	1034. motopoiss	1564. rublamees	2094. võrgupoiss
505. karatepoiss	1035. mõttemees	1565. rulamees	2095. vorkpallimees
506. karavanimees	1036. muhemees	1566. rulapoiss	2096. võrkpallimees
507. karbussimees	1037. mulamees	1567. rullisumees	2097. võrkpallinoormees
508. kardimees	1038. mulatipoiss	1568. ründamees	2098. võrkpallipoiss
509. karjäärimees	1039. mulgimees	1569. rusikamees	2099. võrrimees
510. karjamees	1040. mulgipoiss	1570. rüütlihärra	2100. võrripoiss
511. karjapoiss	1041. mullimees	1571. rüütliisand	2101. võtjamees
512. kárjapoiss	1042. multimees	1572. rüütlimees	2102. vutimees
513. karjasepoiss	1043. munamees	1573. rüütlionu	2103. vutipoiss
514. karjusepoiss	1044. munapoiss	1574. rüütliipoiss	2104. wägamees
515. karjuspoiss	1045. mündihärra	1575. saamamees	2105. wäimees
516. karlpoiss	1046. mündimees	1576. saanimees	2106. waldorfpoiss
517. karmoškamees	1047. mundrimees	1577. saaremees	2107. webimees
518. karmpoiss	1048. munnamees	1578. sadomasomees	2108. wifihärra
519. kaseonu	1049. mupomees	1579. saekaatrimees	2109. wimmamees
520. käsipallimees	1050. murdja-poiss	1580. saamees	2110. windowsipoiss
521. käsipallipoiss	1051. murdmaamees	1581. sahamees	2111. wõimumees
522. kassapoiss	1052. murdmaapoiss	1582. saiaamees	2112. ylikoolimees
523. katusemees	1053. murjanipoiss	1583. saksamees	2113. yxikmees
524. katusepapi	1054. murjanmees	1584. saksapoiss	2114. zeleepoiss
525. kaunismees	1055. murumees	1585. saksimees	2115. zigulimees
526. kaupmees	1056. muruniitjamees	1586. saksofonipoiss	2116. žigulimees
527. kaupmehehärra	1057. musipoiss	1587. salaluuremees	2117. žigulimees
528. kaupmeheisand	1058. musklimees	1588. salamees	

529. kebabionu
530. keelemees

1059. mustermees
1060. musterpapa

1589. šamaanipoiss
1590. särgipoiss

FEMININE FIRST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS

1. naisäärmuslane
2. naisabikaasa
3. naisabiline
4. naisabiturient
5. naisadventist
6. naisadvokaat
7. naisaerutaja
8. naisaferist
9. naisagent
10. naisagitaator
11. naisagronoom
12. naisajakirjanik
13. naisajaloolane
14. naisajateenija
15. naisakadeemik
16. naisakordionist
17. naisakrobaat
18. naisaktivist
19. naisalkohoolik
20. naisalluv
21. naisalpinist
22. naisamatöör
23. naisamatsoon
24. naisametnik
25. naisämmaemand
26. naisanalüütik
27. naisanarhist
28. naisapostel
29. naisapteeker
30. naisarhitekt
31. naisarmastaja
32. naisarmuke
33. naisarst
34. naisartist
35. naisasetäitja
36. naisaskeet
37. naisäss
38. naisassistent
39. naisastronaut
40. naisastronoom
41. naisatleet
42. naisaustaja
43. naisautojuht
44. naisautor
45. naisautosportlane
46. naisbaaritöötaja
47. naisbaleriin
48. naisbaskitarrimängija
49. naisbiatlonist
50. naisbiker
51. naisbioloog

196. naiskantor
197. naiskantsler
198. naiskaplan
199. naiskapten
200. naiskarateka
201. naiskarjus
202. naiskarmeliit
203. naiskäsipallur
204. naiskäsitööõpetaja
205. naiskaskadöör
206. naiskassiir
207. naiskasvataja
208. naiskatselane
209. naiskatselendur
210. naiskaugushüppaja
211. naiskaunitar
212. naiskaupleja
213. naiskaupmees
214. naiskeeglimängija
215. naiskeemik
216. naiskeevitaja
217. naiskelm
218. naiskelner
219. naiskergejõustiklane
220. naiskergekaallane
221. naiskerjus
222. naiskeskmaajooksja
223. naisketser
224. naiskittaheitja
225. naiskiirendussportlane
226. naiskindral
227. naiskinnipeetav
228. naiskirikuõpetaja
229. naiskirikupea
230. naiskirjanik
231. naiskirjutaja
232. naiskirurg
233. naiskitarrist
234. naiskiuslik
235. naisklassijuhataja
236. naiskleptomaan
237. naisklienditeenindaja
238. naisklient
239. naiskloostriülem
240. naiskodanik
241. naiskodanlane
242. naiskodukaitsja
243. naiskogudusevanem
244. naiskoguja
245. naiskohtualune
246. naiskohtunik

392. naismitmevõistleja
393. naismodell
394. naismõisnik
395. naismölaja
396. naismölakas
397. naismonarh
398. naismootorisportlane
399. naismootorrattur
400. naismõrtsukas
401. naismõrvar
402. naismoslem
403. naismõtteleja
404. naismotohuviline
405. naismotoinimene
406. naismotopolitseinik
407. naismotosportlane
408. naismunk
409. naismurdmaasuusataja
410. naismüstik
411. naismustlane
412. naismüügimees
413. naismüüja
414. naismüüriladuja
415. naismuusik
416. naisn2itleja
417. naisnaerutaja
418. naisnaine
419. naisnäiteja
420. naisnäitekirjanik
421. naisnäitleja
422. naisnäitlejanna
423. naisnaljaviskaja
424. naisnarkomaan
425. naisnašist
426. naisnats
427. naisnatsionalist
428. naisneošamaan
429. naisneurokirurg
430. naisneuroloog
431. naisniitja
432. naisnõid
433. naisnoodaline
434. naisnosija
435. naisnõunik
436. naisnunn
437. naisõdalane
438. naisodaviskaja
439. naisõhtujuht
440. naisohver
441. naisohvitser
442. naisõiguslane

588. naisriigijuht
589. naisriigikogulane
590. naisriigikohtunik
591. naisriigimetnik
592. naisriigipea
593. naisrikkur
594. naisrivaal
595. naisröntgenoloog
596. naisroolijoodik
597. naisröövel
598. naisrulluisutaja
599. naisründaja
600. naissaadik
601. naissaatejuht
602. naissaatja
603. naissadist
604. naissaientoloog
605. naissaksofonist
606. naisšamaan
607. naisšamurai
608. naisšanitar
609. naisšaunaline
610. naisseenior
611. naissekretär
612. naisseksuaalkurjategija
613. naisseeltsimees
614. naisseeltskonnalõvi
615. naissemiootik
616. naisseenaator
617. naissepp
618. naisshovinist
619. naisšiseviimistleja
620. naissskaut
621. naisškeptik
622. naissskulptor
623. naisšlaalomisõitja
624. naisšlalomist
625. naisšnaiper
626. naisšöber
627. naisšöbranna
628. naisšödalane
629. naisšödur
630. naisšöduautojuht
631. naisšöidukijuht
632. naisšöitja
633. naisšöjaväelane
634. naisšöjaveteran
635. naisšolist
636. naisšötlane
637. naisšõnumitooja

52. naisblogija	247. naiskakk	443. naisõigusvolinik	638. naissoomlane
53. naisblondiin	248. naiskoletis	444. naisoligarh	639. naissots
54. naisbobisõitja	249. naiskolhoosnik	445. naisõllemeister	640. naissotsialist
55. naisboss	250. naiskolleeg	446. naisollus	641. naissotsioloog
56. naisbrigadir	251. naiskolmikhüppaja	447. naisolümpiavõitja	642. naissõudja
57. naisbussijuht	252. naiskolumnist	448. naisolümlane	643. naisšovinist
58. naisdelegaat	253. naiskombainer	449. naisomanik	644. naisspetsialist
59. naisdemokraat	254. naiskomissar	450. naisõmbleja	645. naisspiiker
60. naisdemonstrant	255. naiskommentaator	451. naisoperaator	646. naisspioon
61. naisdetektiiv	256. naiskommenteerija	452. naisopetaja	647. naissportlane
62. naisdiakon	257. naiskommunist	453. naisõpetaja	648. naissprinter
63. naisdiktator	258. naiskonduktor	454. naisõpetlane	649. naisstaar
64. naisdiktator	259. naiskõneleja	455. naisõpilane	650. naissugulane
65. naisdiplomaat	260. naiskonkurent	456. naisopositsionäär	651. naissuistsetaja
66. naisdire	261. naiskonstaabel	457. naisõppejõud	652. naissuitsuhoolik
67. naisdirektor	262. naiskonsultant	458. naisõppur	653. naissulgpallur
68. naisdirigent	263. naiskontrolör	459. naisõps	654. naissumomaaadleja
69. naisdisainer	264. naiskoolitaja	460. naisorganist	655. naissünoptik
70. naisdispetšer	265. naiskoolmeister	461. naisori	656. naissupermodell
71. naisdissident	266. naiskoomik	462. naisorienteeruja	657. naissurfar
72. naisdokter	267. naiskoondislane	463. naisorjatar	658. naissurija
73. naisdoktorant	268. naiskoorilaulja	464. naisortopeed	659. naissurnu
74. naisdramaturg	269. naiskoorlane	465. naisosaleja	660. naissürrealist
75. naisdriftija	270. naiskõrgushüppaja	466. naisosaline	661. naissüüdistatav
76. naisdzõki	271. naiskõriloikaja	467. naisosatäitja	662. naissuursaadik
77. naisenesetapja	272. naiskoristaja	468. naisosavõtja	663. naissuusahüppaja
78. naisenesetaputerrorist	273. naiskorralvur	469. naisoss	664. naissuusataja
79. naisennustaja	274. naiskorrespondent	470. naisostja	665. naistaksojuht
80. naisesimees	275. naiskorstnapühkija	471. naisostleja	666. naistalitaja
81. naisesindaja	276. naiskõrtsmik	472. naisotsustaja	667. naistalunik
82. naisesineja	277. naiskõrvalosatäitja	473. naispaavst	668. naistankist
83. naisesivanem	278. naiskorvpallur	474. naispagulane	669. naistantsija
84. naisettekandja	279. naiskosmonaut	475. naispahalane	670. naistapja
85. naisettevõtja	280. naiskriitik	476. naispalgamõrvar	671. naistarbija
86. naisevangelist	281. naiskrimikirjanik	477. naispallimängija	672. naisteadlane
87. naisfänn	282. naiskriminaal	478. naispallur	673. naisteadur
88. naisfarmer	283. naiskristlane	479. naispansionär	674. naisteadustaja
89. naisfekalist	284. naiskuberner	480. naispapp	675. naisteenija
90. naisfeminist	285. naiskuduja	481. naispärija	676. naisteenindaja
91. naisfilmikangelane	286. naiskülaline	482. naisparlamendiliige	677. naisteenistuja
92. naisfilminäitleja	287. naiskülataja	483. naisparlamentäär	678. naistennisist
93. naisfilmitegelane	288. naiskulturist	484. naisparm	679. naisteoloog
94. naisfiloloog	289. naiskultuskirjanik	485. naisparteijuht	680. naisterrorist
95. naisfilosoof	290. naiskultuuriminister	486. naispartisan	681. naistippjuht
96. naisfinalist	291. naiskümnevõistleja	487. naispartner	682. naistohter
97. naisfinišeerija	292. naiskunde	488. naispastor	683. naistoimetaja
98. naisfirmajuht	293. naiskuninganna	489. naispatsient	684. naistõlkija
99. naisfotograaf	294. naiskunstiajaloolane	490. naispea	685. naistööandja
100. naisfrantsisklane	295. naiskunstnik	491. naispeadirektor	686. naistööline
101. naisführer	296. naiskurjategija	492. naispealik	687. naistööstur
102. naisfunktsionäär	297. naiskursant	493. naispeaminister	688. naistöötaja
103. naisfüüsik	298. naiskursuslane	494. naispeaosatäitja	689. naistöötegija
104. naisgeenius	299. naiskutsar	495. naispeategelane	690. naistõstja
105. naisgeopeitur	300. naiskütt	496. naispeatoimetaja	691. naistraktorist
106. naisgestapolane	301. naiskuulitõukaja	497. naispedaalija	692. naistrammijuht
107. naisgiid	302. naiskuulsus	498. naispedagoog	693. naistreener
108. naisgladiaator	303. naislaiskur	499. naispederast	694. naistriatleet

109. naisgolfar	304. naislambakasvataja	500. naispedofiil	695. naistriatlonist
110. naisgolfimängija	305. naislangevarjur	501. naispersoon	696. naistrollijuht
111. naisgümnaasist	306. naislaotõõtaja	502. naispervar	697. naistrummar
112. naisgün	307. naislaps	503. naispetanker	698. naistšellist
113. naisgüne	308. naislaskesuusataja	504. naispianist	699. naistsistertslane
114. naisgunekoloog	309. naislaskja	505. naispiduline	700. naistsivilist
115. naisgünekoloog	310. naislaskur	506. naispiirivalvur	701. naistudeng
116. naisguru	311. naislastekasvataja	507. naispiiskop	702. naistuletõrjuja
117. naishabemik	312. naislastekirjanik	508. naispikamaajooksja	703. naistürann
118. naishakatis	313. naislauatennisist	509. naispillimees	704. naisturist
119. naishambaarst	314. naislaulik	510. naispiloot	705. naisturvatoõtaja
120. naisharitlane	315. naislaulja	511. naispiraati	706. naistuttav
121. naisharrastaja	316. naislauljanna	512. naispoet	707. naistüürimees
122. naishauakaevaja	317. naislauljatar	513. naispoemüüja	708. naisühepaadisõudja
123. naishävituspataljonlane	318. naislausuja	514. naispoetess	709. naisuimastisõitlane
124. naishelilooja	319. naislavastaja	515. naispõgenik	710. naisuisutaja
125. naishiid	320. naisleidur	516. naispohtseinik	711. naisujuja
126. naishokimängija	321. naisleilivõtja	517. naispokerimängija	712. naisüksiksõitja
127. naishomo	322. naisleutaja	518. naispoksija	713. naisülekuulaja
128. naishomoseksuaal	323. naislektor	519. naispoliitik	714. naisülemus
129. naishuligaan	324. naislendur	520. naispoliitvang	715. naisüliõpilane
130. naishull	325. naislennujuht	521. naispoliteinik	716. naisulmekirjanik
131. naishumanitaar	326. naisliider	522. naispolitseiametnik	717. naisümmardaja
132. naishüsteerik	327. naisliige	523. naispolitseinik	718. naisuroloog
133. naishuviline	328. naisliikleja	524. naispollar	719. naisusklik
134. naisideaal	329. naislinnapea	525. naispõlluharija	720. naisütleva
135. naisihukaitsja	330. naisliputaja	526. naisportlane	721. naisuurija
136. naisilmlik	331. naislohesurfari	527. naispottsepp	722. naisuurja
137. naisiludus	332. naislohetaja	528. naispraktikant	723. naisvaarao
138. naisiluisutaja	333. naislooja	529. naispraost	724. naisvaataja
139. naisiluvõimleja	334. naislõpetaja	530. naispreester	725. naisvabakuulaja
140. naisimmigrant	335. naislugeja	531. naispresident	726. naisvabamüülane
141. naisinformant	336. naislumelaudur	532. naisprodutsent	727. naisvabatahtlik
142. naisinimene	337. naislõpsja	533. naisprofessionaal	728. naisväejuht
143. naisinnovaator	338. naisluuletaja	534. naisprofessor	729. naisvaenlane
144. naisinsener	339. naisluuraja	535. naisproff	730. naisväepealik
145. naisinspektor	340. naislõõrik	536. naisproffessionaal	731. naisvägilane
146. naisintellektuaal	341. naisluuser	537. naisprofirattur	732. naisvägistaja
147. naisintelligent	342. naismaadeuurija	538. naisprogrammeerija	733. naisvahekohtunik
148. naisinterpreet	343. naismaadleja	539. naisprohvet	734. naisvaimulik
149. naisintervjueerija	344. naismaag	540. naisprokurör	735. naisvalija
150. naisintrigaan	345. naismaakler	541. naisprominent	736. naisvälisminister
151. naisinvalid	346. naismaaler	542. naisprosaist	737. naisvalitseja
152. naisiseseisvuslane	347. naismaalija	543. naisprost	738. naisvalitsusjuht
153. naisisik	348. naismaalikunstnik	544. naisprostituut	739. naisvallavanem
154. naisjääpurjetaja	349. naismaavanem	545. naisprotestija	740. naisvalvur
155. naisjahimees	350. naismadrus	546. naispsühholoog	741. naisvang
156. naisjalakäija	351. naismäesuusataja	547. naispsühhopaati	742. naisvangivalvur
157. naisjalgpallur	352. naismägironija	548. naispsühhoterapeut	743. naisvanur
158. naisjalgrattur	353. naismägironija	549. naispühak	744. naisvaras
159. naisjäreltulija	354. naismagister	550. naispuhuja	745. naisväravavaht
160. naisjärgija	355. naismajor	551. naispunkar	746. naisvärdjas
161. naisjoodik	356. naismäkketõusja	552. naispurilauasõitja	747. naisvastaja
162. naisjoogi	357. naismaletaja	553. naispurilendur	748. naisveebel
163. naisjooksja	358. naismäletaja	554. naispurjelaudur	749. naisvehkleja
164. naisjõutõstja	359. naismäändžer	555. naispurjetaja	750. naisveltvveebel
	360. naismängija	556. naispüssilaskur	751. naisveteran

165. naisjudokas	361. naismängur	557. naispuuraijuja	752. naisvibukütt
166. naisjudosportlane	362. naismanipulaator	558. naisraadioajakirjanik	753. naisvibulaskja
167. naisjuhataja	363. naismannekeen	559. naisraadiotöötaja	754. naisvibulaskur
168. naisjuht	364. naismaratonijooksja	560. naisraamatupidaja	755. naisviiking
169. naisjuhtija	365. naismaratoonar	561. naisrabi	756. naisviuldaja
170. naisjünger	366. naismarksist	562. naisradist	757. naisvilistlane
171. naisjurist	367. naismassöör	563. naisrahvatantsija	758. naisvõidusõitja
172. naisjutlustaja	368. naismatemaatik	564. naisrallisõitja	759. naisvõimleja
173. naisjutustaja	369. naismatkaja	565. naisrändur	760. naisvõisteja
174. naisjuuksur	370. naismats	566. naisrannavõrkpallur	761. naisvõistleja
175. naisjuunior	371. naismeditsiinitöötaja	567. naisrapartist	762. naisvõitja
176. naiskaak	372. naismeedik	568. naisräppar	763. naisvõitleja
177. naiskaalulangetaja	373. naismeedium	569. naisraskejõustiklane	764. naisvõitlussportlane
178. naiskaaslane	374. naismeelelahutaja	570. naisratsanik	765. naisvokalist
179. naiskaaslanna	375. naismeer	571. naisratsasportlane	766. naisvolinik
180. naiskabetaja	376. naismehaanik	572. naisrätsep	767. naisvoltižeerija
181. naiskadett	377. naismehanisator	573. naisratsur	768. naisvõlur
182. naiskaevur	378. naismehhaanik	574. naisratsutaja	769. naisvõmm
183. naiskäija	379. naismehhanisaator	575. naisrattur	770. naisvõrdõiguslane
184. naiskaitseminister	380. naismeister	576. naisräuskaja	771. naisvõrgutaja
185. naiskaitseväelane	381. naismement	577. naisreisija	772. naisvõrkpallur
186. naiskalastaja	382. naismenukirjanik	578. naisreisisaatja	773. naisvormeliäss
187. naiskaljuroniija	383. naismerekapten	579. naisrekkajuht	774. naisvormelipiloot
188. naiskalur	384. naismesinik	580. naisrektor	775. naisvormelisõitja
189. naiskandidaat	385. naismetsaomanik	581. naisremontija	776. tüdrukminister
190. naiskandidateerija	386. naismigrant	582. naisrennisõitja	777. tüdrukmodell
191. naiskangelane	387. naismiilits	583. naisreporter	778. tüdruknaaine
192. naiskangelanna	388. naismiljardär	584. naisrespondent	779. tüdrukpunkar
193. naiskannataja	389. naismiljonär	585. naisrevolutsionäär	780. tüdruksõber
194. naiskannatanu	390. naisminister	586. naisrežissöör	781. tüdruksolist
195. naiskanoonik	391. naismisjonär	587. naisriigiametnik	782. tüdruktankist

MASCULINE FIRST-PART-GENDERED COMPOUNDS

1. meesabikaasa	92. meesjalgpallur	183. meesnõustaja	274. meessamaan
2. meesabilinnapea	93. meesjalgrattur	184. meesnudist	275. meessanitar
3. meesaborigeen	94. meesjärglane	185. meesohver	276. meessaunaline
4. meesadministraator	95. meesjätis	186. meesomanik	277. meesseenior
5. meesaednik	96. meesjobu	187. meesõmbleja	278. meesseikleja
6. meesagent	97. meesjooksja	188. meesopetaja	279. meessekretär
7. meesajakirjanik	98. meesjõutõstja	189. meesõpetaja	280. meesshovinist
8. meesakadeemik	99. meesjubedik	190. meesõpetlane	281. meessõber
9. meesalkohoolik	100. meesjudokas	191. meesõpilane	282. meessõdalane
10. meesalluv	101. meesjuhataja	192. meesõppejõud	283. meessõdur
11. meesallveeujaja	102. meesjuht	193. meesõppetaja	284. meessohver
12. meesametnik	103. meesjumestaja	194. meesõppur	285. meessolist
13. meesapteeker	104. meesjurist	195. meesõps	286. meessopran
14. meesarhitekt	105. meesjutustaja	196. meesori	287. meessõudja
15. meesarmuke	106. meesjuuksur	197. meesorienteeruja	288. meessõvinist
16. meesarst	107. meesjuunior	198. meesosaleja	289. meesspetsialist
17. meesartist	108. meeskaalujälgija	199. meesosaline	290. meessportlane
18. meesasutaja	109. meeskaaslane	200. meesosatäitja	291. meessprinter
19. meesatleet	110. meeskabetaja	201. meesostja	292. meesstaar
20. meesaustaja	111. meeskaevur	202. meespalgatöötaja	293. meesstrippar
21. meesautojuht	112. meeskaitseminister	203. meespullur	294. meessugulane
22. meesautor	113. meeskaljuroniija	204. meespärija	295. meessuitsetaja
23. meesbaleriin	114. meeskandidaat	205. meesparlamendiliige	296. meessünnitaja

24. meesballetitantsija	115. meeskangelane	206. meesparm	297. meessuperstaar
25. meesbeib	116. meeskannatanu	207. meesparteilane	298. meessurf
26. meesboss	117. meeskantsler	208. meespartner	299. meessurija
27. meesbussijuht	118. meeskapt	209. meespastor	300. meessurnu
28. meesdebütant	119. meeskarateka	210. meespatsient	301. meessuusataja
29. meesdetektiiv	120. meeskasiir	211. meespealtvaataja	302. meestantsija
30. meesdiiva	121. meeskäsupallur	212. meespeaosaline	303. meesteadlane
31. meesdiktaator	122. meeskasvataja	213. meespeaosatäitja	304. meesteener
32. meesdiktor	123. meeskaunitar	214. meespeategelane	305. meesteenindaja
33. meesdirektor	124. meeskelner	215. meespedagoog	306. meesteller
34. meesdoktorant	125. meeskergejõustiklane	216. meespediaater	307. meestennisist
35. meesdoonor	126. meeskirjakandja	217. meespediküür	308. meestibi
36. meesedvik	127. meeskirjanik	218. meespedofiil	309. meestikkija
37. meeseeskuju	128. meeskirurg	219. meespeksja	310. meestohter
38. meeseestlane	129. meesklient	220. meespervo	311. meestööline
39. meesegoist	130. meeskodanik	221. meespetangimängija	312. meestöötaja
40. meesehitaja	131. meeskohtunik	222. meespetis	313. meestraktorist
41. meesekstremist	132. meeskõhutantsija	223. meespiiskop	314. meestrammijuht
42. meeselukaslane	133. meeskokk	224. meespiloot	315. meestreener
43. meesenesetapja	134. meeskolleeg	225. meespoeet	316. meestriatleet
44. meesesindaja	135. meeskommentaator	226. meespoemüüja	317. meestudeng
45. meesesineja	136. meeskõrgushüppaja	227. meespõetaja	318. meesturist
46. meesettevõtja	137. meeskoristaja	228. meespoksija	319. meestuttav
47. meeseurolaulik	138. meeskorvpallur	229. meespoliitik	320. meesühapaadisõudja
48. meesfänn	139. meeskriitik	230. meespolitseiametnik	321. meesuisutaja
49. meesfeminist	140. meeskristlane	231. meespolitseinik	322. meesujuja
50. meesfiloloog	141. meeskuduja	232. meespoolehoidja	323. meesüksik
51. meesfilosoof	142. meeskujunduja	233. meespornostaar	324. meesüksiksõitja
52. meesfinantsist	143. meeskülaline	234. meesportlane	325. meesülemus
53. meesfitnessist	144. meeskulturist	235. meespraktikant	326. meesüliõpilane
54. meesfotograaf	145. meeskümnevõistleja	236. meespreester	327. meesuroloog
55. meesfüüsik	146. meeskunde	237. meespresident	328. meesuuri
56. meesfüüsikaõpetaja	147. meeskunstnik	238. meespriimus	329. meesvaataja
57. meesgei	148. meeskurjategija	239. meesprofessor	330. meesvabamüürlane
58. meesgeiša	149. meeskuulitõukaja	240. meesproff	331. meesvabatahtlik
59. meesgeopeitur	150. meeslaps	241. meesproffessionaal	332. meesvaenlane
60. meesgolfar	151. meeslapsehoidja	242. meesprohvet	333. meesvaimulik
61. meesgün	152. meeslaskja	243. meesproktoloog	334. meesvalija
62. meesgüne	153. meeslaskur	244. meesprokurör	335. meesvallavanem
63. meesgünekoloog	154. meeslasteaednik	245. meesprosaist	336. meesvanem
64. meeshäälataja	155. meeslasteaiakasvataja	246. meesprostituut	337. meesvang
65. meeshäldalaja	156. meeslasteaiatõpetaja	247. meesproviisor	338. meesvanur
66. meeshambaarst	157. meeslaulik	248. meespsühhiaater	339. meesvõrdjas
67. meesharrastaja	158. meeslaulja	249. meespsühholoog	340. meesvastaja
68. meesheitja	159. meeslavastaja	250. meespühak	341. meesvehkleja
69. meeshelilooja	160. meesleivateenija	251. meespuhuja	342. meesveteran
70. meeshelistaja	161. meeslektor	252. meespurjetaja	343. meesveteransportlane
71. meeshermafrödiit	162. meesliider	253. meesraamatupidaja	344. meesvibulaskja
72. meeshetero	163. meesliige	254. meesrahvasportlane	345. meesvilistlane
73. meeshomo	164. meeslinnapea	255. meesrahvatantsija	346. meesvõimleja
74. meeshomoseksuaal	165. meeslits	256. meesrändur	347. meesvõistleja
75. meeshomoseksualist	166. meeslugeja	257. meesrappar	348. meesvõitja
76. meeshooldaja	167. meesluuletaja	258. meesratsasportlane	349. meesvokalist
77. meeshoor	168. meesmaakler	259. meesrätsep	350. meesvolinik
78. meeshüsteerik	169. meesmadrus	260. meesratsutaja	351. meesvoltižeerija
79. meesideaal	170. meesmäesuusataja	261. meesrattur	352. meesvõrgutaja
80. meesilmateadustaja	171. meesmähkija	262. meesreisija	353. meesvõrkpallur

81. meesiludus	172. meesmaletaja	263. meesreisijuht	354. poissjurist
82. meesiluuisutaja	173. meesmängija	264. meesrektor	355. poisskuningas
83. meesimmigrant	174. meesmannekeen	265. meesreporter	356. poissmaag
84. meesinformant	175. meesmassöör	266. meesresident	357. poissmodell
85. meesinimene	176. meesminister	267. meesrevolutsionäär	358. poissnäitleja
86. meesintelligent	177. meesmodell	268. meesriigikogulane	359. poisspaharet
87. meesinterpreet	178. meesmüüja	269. meesrikkur	360. poisssober
88. meesintervjueerija	179. meesmüüriladuja	270. meesrullnukk	361. poissolist
89. meesinvalid	180. meesnäitleja	271. meessaadik	362. poissopran
90. meesisand	181. meesnõid	272. meessaatejuht	363. poisssteenija
91. meesisik	182. meesnosija	273. meessaatja	