Peter M. Hill: "Sex and Gender in Croatian and other Languages"[1]

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Abstract

Gender is a grammatical category in most European languages, to be more precise, in the Indo-European languages. Gender of animate nouns is assumed to coincide with sex, but there are many exceptions, as we will see. In this article I deal with a number of different languages in order to demonstrate the cross-linguistic significance of this category.

Key words: sex & gender, Croatian, semantics of grammar, feminine agentives

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[1] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for many useful suggestions. Of course, I take full responsibility for any shortcomings in the article.

Gender

Mechanics of Gender

Gender is a grammatical category in most European languages, to be more precise, in the Indo-European languages. Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian are not Indo-European languages and do not have gender, though this grammatical category is found elsewhere, as in the Semitic languages, for example. English is an Indo-European language but it has lost gender. Gender of animate nouns is assumed to coincide with sex, but there are many exceptions, as we will see. In this article I deal with a number of different languages in order to demonstrate the cross-linguistic significance of this category. German is a typical gender language with three genders:

masculine: *der Mann* 'the man', *der Sohn* 'the son', *der Hund* 'the dog', *der Baum* 'the tree'.
feminine: *die Frau* 'the woman', *die Tochter* 'the daughter', *die Katze* 'the cat', *die Wand* 'the wall'.
neuter: *das Ferkel* 'the piglet', *das Haus* 'the house', *das Auto* 'the motor car'.

In the Slavonic languages, most nouns ending in a consonant (strictly speaking, in zero) are masc, most ending in –*a* are fem and those ending in –*o* or - *e* are neuter,[2] e.g. in Macedonian:

(Masc.) *čovek* 'person, man', *moliv* 'pencil'.
(Fem) *žena* 'woman', *vrata* 'door', *tatkovina* 'homeland'.
(Neut.) *ezero* 'lake', *pismo* 'letter, writing', *pole* 'field', *devojče* 'girl', *dete* 'child, son'.

or in Croatian:
(Masc.) *čovjek* 'person', *narod* 'people', *dar* 'gift'.
(Fem.) *žena* 'woman', *armija* 'army', *vojska* 'army'.
(Neut.) *jezero* 'lake', *selo* 'village', *dijete* 'child'.

In Italian and Spanish there are only two genders, masc and fem. As a general rule, nouns in –*o* are masc and those in –*a* are feminine, but there are exceptions:

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[2] There are, of course, exceptions, e.g. a large number of fem nouns in zero such as **(Cro)** *bol* 'pain', *glad* 'hunger'.

(It) *il ragazzo* 'the boy', *il bambino* 'the boy, child', *il giorno* 'the day', *il tavolo* 'the table', *il poeta* 'the poet'
la ragazza 'the girl', *la bambina* 'the girl, child', *la sera* 'the evening', *la città* 'the city'

(Sp) *el muchacho* 'the child, boy', *el hombre* 'the man', *el dia* 'the day'
la muchacha 'the child, girl', *la mujer* 'the woman', *la ciudad* 'the city'

Non-Gender Languages
Turkish has no gender: *kardeş* means 'brother or sister, sibling'. If we want to distinguish 'sister' from 'brother' we have to say *kızkardeş* 'girl brother'. If we ask *Alman mısınız?* 'Are you German?' we cannot tell the sex of the person, as in English, but in Croatian we have to say: *Jeste li Nijemac?* or *Jeste li Njemica?*, depending on the sex of the person. In Turkish the answer *Almanım* 'I am German' is the same for a man or a woman, as in English, but in Croatian we have to say either *Nijemac sam* or *Njemica sam*.

In Turkish *O gelmiş* means 'he/she/it arrived' – again we do not know the sex of the person or it might have been an inanimate object, as in *böbrek geldi* 'the kidney has arrived (has been delivered)'. The normal address in Turkish is *efendim!* 'Sir!' or 'Madam!' *Bekâr* means either 'bachelor' or 'spinster'. However, some important concepts do distinguish sex lexically, as in *baba* 'father', *anne* 'mother', *koca* 'husband' or *karı* 'wife'. Similarly, **Tagalog** (Filipino) has no gender: *May-sakit siya / si Mary / si John* 'He/she/ it is sick, Mary is sick, John is sick'. *Kapatid* is either 'brother' or 'sister', *anak* means 'child', and if we want to distinguish by sex we have to add:

lalake or *babae* 'man' or 'woman'
kapatid na lalake (man sibling) 'brother'
kapatid na babae (woman sibling) 'sister'
anak na lalake 'son'
anak na babae 'daughter'

Sex is expressed only in words borrowed from Spanish, e.g. *tiyo* 'uncle' – *tiya* 'aunt', *lolo* 'grandfather' – *lola* 'grandmother', etc. However, in some cases, indigenous lexemes also express sex, e.g. *ama* 'father' – *ina* 'mother', as we saw in Turkish.

Gender identified by Agreement

In most European languages every noun has to belong to one gender: "*Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words*".[3] Gender can be identified on the basis of agreement. Gender is a feature of the noun, but other elements of the utterance (adjectives, pronouns) have to agree with the noun, as in Croatian:

Ušla je žena. Bila je lijepa.
Gdje je ormar? Evo ga.
Stol koji je bio za nas rezerviran nalazio se u prvom katu (Fedor Vidas)

A noun like *dječko* 'boy' looks neuter, but agreement shows it to be masc: *vaš dječko* 'your boy', *taj je dječko poludio* (Šenoa).[4]

Contradictions between Sex and Gender

Croatian nouns ending in *–a* are normally feminine. When they designate male persons, there can be some hesitation about the gender, e.g. *vjeran sluga* 'a faithful servant' (m.), but *sluge su bile vjerne* (f.).[5] Cf. also *kukavica* below. In German and some other languages, diminutives are neuter, even when they refer to people, e.g. *das Mädchen* 'girl': *Das Mädchen - hast du es gesehen? Peter hat mit ihm getanzt* 'The girl – did you see her (lit. *it*)? Peter danced with her (lit. *it*)'.

However, agreement by sex is possible in certain circumstances: *Das Mädchen war sehr groß, aber sie sprach sehr leise*[6] 'The girl was very tall, but she spoke very softly' or in this quotation from the magazine *Quick*: *... stürzten sich auf das Mädchen, das in der Ecke stand, und drohten ihr mit Erschießen* '[they] jumped on the girl that was standing in the corner and threatened her with being shot'.[7] The article (*das*) and the relative pronoun *das* must be neuter, but the personal pronouns can show agreement by sex. Corbett calls such nouns 'hybrid': "Mädchen *can take agreements exactly as a neuter noun. It may also take the feminine personal pronoun* sie, *but not the other agreements of the consistent agreement pattern associated*

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[3] Hockett (1958): 231.
[4] Today this form *(dječko)* is considered to be archaic (a hyperjekavism).
[5] Brabec, Hraste & Živković (1963): 40.
[6] Dahl (2000): 107f.
[7] Quoted by *Duden Grammatik* (1984): 664.

with feminine nouns"[8]; cf. also Russian *vrač* 'doctor', which is masc but can show fem agreement: *vrač prišla* 'the doctor (masc noun) has arrived (fem predicate)', i.e. 'the doctor (female) has arrived'.

In Croatian diminutives such as *momče, djevojče, čobanče* are neuter nouns:

Gotovo svaki dan sreo bih ... petnaestogodišnje crnokoso djevojče (Vjenceslav Novak).

Cf. also *kumče* n. 'godchild, godson': *Janko je moje kumče* (Šenoa).

However, as with Ger *Mädchen*, pronominalization can be according to sex, as we see in the poem *Djevojče mlado*:

<div align="center">

Kišne kapi po licu padaju
Njene suze skrivaju
Zašto opet plače to djevojče mlado
Jer i njeno srce obljubljeno nije
....
Djevojče mlado plakati neće više
Jer sunce će joj reći istinitu priču
Da obljubljeno njeno srce je odavno
Od prvog trena njena rođenja...[9]

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Croatian *klevetalo* 'slanderer, calumniator' is either neuter (on morphological grounds) or masc (on semantic grounds): *mrsko klevetalo* (Viktor Car Emin) 'dirty calumniator'. Cf. also *drijemalo* 'sleepy-head', *oklijevalo* 'hesitant person, procrastinator'.

The diminutives in *–če* in Macedonian are not hybrid; they are simply neuter nouns, with neuter attributes, neuter predicates and neuter pronominalization, e.g. *momče, devojče, bratče*: *dobro momče* 'a good boy', *edno oficerče* 'a little officer'. Cf. this quotation from Taško Georgievski's *Kupče toplina vo ulicata*: *nejzinoto bratče se grabalo za fustata na babata... toa znaelo samo deka seloto gori* 'her little brother held on to his grandmother's skirt.. he (lit. *it*) know only that the village was on fire'. But note *kuk'ička* 'little house', a diminutive of *kuk'a*, where the gender of the base noun is retained in the derivative.

In Croatian some emotive expressions designating girls or women are

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[8] Corbett (1991): 183.

[9] *http://poezija.forumotion.com/t20-djevojee-mlado* (last access 20/6/2015).

masc: *djevojčurak, djevojčićak, curičak, curić, babić, curetak*.[10] Some neuter nouns referring to people can in some instances display *slaganje po smislu* (*constructio ad sensum*), i.e., agreement by sex rather than gender: *Piskaralo je osta<u>o</u> u uredu* (colloq.) 'The pen-pusher stayed behind in the office'.[11] In Croatian there is a type of noun exemplified by *neznalica* 'ignoramus'. *Neznalica* is a double-gender noun (cf. below): *Pobeđivao bi ... najjeftinijim sredstvom, blefom, a bio je u stvari nevjerojatn<u>a</u> neznalica* (Miroslav Krleža). Cf. *propalica* 'loser, good-for-nothing', *pijanica* 'drunkard'. Note also *kukavica* 'cuckoo; coward': in the latter sense this is a double-gender noun: *Da bi umorio čovjeka, za to je Jovan ...odveć velik<u>a</u> kukavica* (Vjenceslav Novak).

Classification of Genders
In the classical languages nouns that can be either masc or fem are said to be of **genus commune** (*substantiva communia*): (**AGr**) ὁ βοῦς *hò boûs* 'bull' - ἡ βοῦς *hē boûs* 'cow'. Latin *civis* 'citizen' is either (Fem.) or (Masc.), depending on the sex of the person. For the *genus commune* Nissen[12] proposes for Spanish the expression *double gender*:[13]

(**Sp**) *el testigo – la testigo* 'witness'
 el mártir – la mártir 'martyr'
 el espía – la espía 'spy'

There is some dispute about (**Mac**) *rodnina* 'relative, relation': according to some authorities it is fem, following the general rule that nouns ending in *-a* are fem, but according to other authorities it is a double-gender noun, thus *bliska/ dalečna rodnina* f.: *Toj mi e bliska rodnina* 'He is a close relative (f.) of mine'; or alternatively one can say *eden moj rodnina* m. */ edna moja rodnina* f. 'a relative of mine'.

Double-gender nouns in Russian are e.g. *zevaka* 'idler, gaper', *plaksa* 'crybaby', *ubijca* 'murderer', *umnica* 'clever person'[14], *sirota* 'orphan': *molodoj sirota* (m.) 'young orphan' – *molodaja sirota* (f.) 'young orphan'.

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[10] Barić *et alii* (1995): 101.
[11] Barić *et alii* (1995): 425.
[12] Nissen (2002).
[13] "*Substantive zweierlei Genus*" – RSG (1988): 200.
[14] Cf. Azarx (1988); Nikunlassi (2000): 775f.

However, Doleschal[15] and Nikunlassi[16] dispute this and claim that masc agreement is preferred, as with *vrač* 'doctor'.

Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian have borrowed a number of lexemes from Turkish. In Turkish, obviously, nouns designating people do not distinguish sex. One example is **(Mac) (Cro)** *mušterija* 'customer' from **(Tk)** *müşteri*. The gender of **(Mac)** *mušterija* is a matter of dispute: according to some dictionaries it is fem, following the desinence, and according to other dictionaries it is masc. In **(Mac)** there is a feminine form *mušterika*. In **(Cro)** *mušterija* appears to be a double-gender noun:

Najviše se zabavljavaše <u>grofica Kronek</u> *... koja je ...* <u>*bila najčešća mušterija*</u> *zagrebačke zalagaonice* (Ksaver Šandor Gjalski).
Tko je kakvoj mušterija pláći, / danas će je na Grahovu naći (Grga Martić).

Epicene nouns (**Ger** *Epikoina*, **Cro** *epiceni*) have only one form and one gender but may refer to animate beings of either sex **(AGr)**: ἀλώπηξ *alōpēx* 'fox' is a fem noun, and the sex is determined by an attribute: ἄρσην ἀλώπηξ *àrsēn alōpēx* 'male fox' - θύλεια ἀλώπηξ *thúleia alōpēx* 'female fox'. Cf. **(Lat)** *aquila* f. 'eagle', *vulpes* f. 'fox', *anser* m. 'goose' In Croatian *pas* is masc but can designate a dog of either sex, *mačka* is fem but can designate a cat of either sex, similarly *slavuj, orao, sova*.[17] **(Cro)** *mačkica* is a diminutive ('kittie cat'). Of course, *pas* and *mačka* designate a species as well as individual animals.

However, in some instances there are masc and fem forms to designate animals of a specific sex, e.g. **(Cro)** *lav* 'lion' m. designates (1) a lion, unmarked for sex, or (2) a male lion, in contradistinction to *lavica* 'lioness', which designates a female lion, marked for sex; similarly *golub* can designate (1) a pigeon, unmarked for sex, or (2) a 'cock-pigeon', marked for sex, in contradistinction to *golubica* 'hen-pigeon', marked for sex; *ovan* m. designates a 'ram', marked as male, while *ovca* can designate (1) a sheep, unmarked for sex, or (2) a 'ewe', marked for sex.

Otherwise, where the noun is epicene, there are various ways to designate an animal of a particular sex, if necessary. One can say *slavuj mužjak/ ženka* 'male nightingale/ female nightingale', *orao mužjak/ ženka*

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[15] Doleschal (1993): 126.
[16] Nikunlassi (2000): 776.
[17] Frančić (1963): 116f.

'male/female eagle', *Mi smo pokazali devu ženku* 'We pointed to the female camel'. One can say *mužjak slona/ antilope* 'male elephant/ antelope, *muško /žensko janje* 'male/ female lamb', *žensko ždrijebe* 'filly'.

Substantiva mobilia are those where a change in the desinence reflects the sex, e.g. **(Lat)** *filius* m. 'son' – *filia* f. 'daughter', *magister* m. 'male teacher' – *magistra* f. 'female teacher', *victor* m. – *victrix* f. 'victor', *asinus* m. – *asina* f. 'donkey', cf. **(Ru)** *suprug* 'husband' – *supruga* 'wife', **(Cro)** *suprug* 'husband' – *supruga* 'wife', **(Sp)** *hermano* 'brother' – *hermana* 'sister', **(It)** *ragazzo* 'boy' – *ragazza* 'girl', *bambino* 'boy' – *bambina* 'girl'.

Neutralization of Gender in the Plural

In some languages gender is neutralized (i.e., there is no gender) in the plural – as in German, Russian and Macedonian:

(Ger) *der Mann – die Frau – das Haus: die Männer/Frauen/Häuser*
(Ru) *dobrye muž'ja* 'good husbands', *dobrye ženščiny* 'good women', *dobrye deti* 'good children', *dobrye ljudi* 'good people'
(Mac) *edni drugari /ženi/ deca se dojdeni* 'some friends/ women/ children have arrived'

On the other hand, for instance, **(Cro)**, **(It)** and **(Sp)** retain the distinction of gender in the plural, as in:

(Cro) *dobar đak* m. 'good pupil', pl. *dobri đaci*
dobra žena f. 'good woman', pl. *dobre žene*
dobro djelo n. 'good deed', pl. *dobra djela*
(It) *un buon ragazzo* m. 'a good boy', pl. *buoni ragazzi*
una buona ragazza f. 'a good girl', pl. *buone ragazze*
(Sp) *un buen muchacho* m. 'a good boy', pl. *buenos muchachos*
una buena muchacha f. 'a good girl', pl. *buenas muchachas*

Sexism in Language[18]
Subtle Forms of Linguistic Discrimination
In **(Mac)** човек (*čovek*) means 'person' or 'human being', as in the sentence *Čovekot e razumno suštestvo* (as we say in English, 'Man is a rational

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[18] I have dealt with these issues in more detail in Hill (forthcoming).

being'), but in some contexts, *čovek* can apply only to a man, e.g. *Čovekot se plaši* 'he is scared'. If it were a woman, we would say *Ženata se plaši.* On the other hand, if someone says in the plural *Lug'eto se plašat* we assume that the sentence refers to people of both sexes (Macedonian does not distinguish gender in the plural). In Croatian, *ljudi* is masc., but it can be used in two senses. In the first sense it refers to men and women, in the second sense (which can be classified as archaic, dialectal, substandard or insulting) it refers only to men, as in the sentence *Ljudi, žene, čujte anđela mene!* 'People/ men, women, listen to me, an angel' (Ranko Marinković). In Serbian *ljudi*, which is (m.), displays the same ambiguity. An example of the second usage would be *Žene govore više nego ljudi* 'Women talk more than men'.

Masculine Unmarked for Sex?
From a grammatical point of view, m nouns are considered to be unmarked for sex, thus **(Sp)** *romanos* 'Romans', *hispanos* 'Hispanics', *los obreros* 'workers'.[19] Mozdzierz writes: "*In the category of gender, the feminine form is the marked member of the opposition in that it is restricted to denote only emales, while the unmarked masculine does not have such a constraint*";[20] but feminists consider that this practice is discriminatory, since women become ʻinvisible'. Nissen refers to such nouns as "*ambiguous masculine*": **(Sp)** *los padres* 'the fathers' 'parents', *los reyes* «the kings» 'the king and the queen'.

Previously, in German, *die Studenten* was considered to be unmarked for sex, but in recent years people have started using *Studentinnen und Studenten*, but, since that is tiring, a new double-gender expression was coined, *die Studierenden*. In the sg. there is still the same problem: *die Studierende* vs. *der Studierende*. For 'professors' one can write *ProfessorInnen*, which can only be read as ʻ*Professorinnen und Professoren*', but this can be replaced by a new double-gender noun *Lehrende* (pl only). In Serbian Bugarski notes <u>*aktivistkinje i aktivisti*</u> *Centra za nenasilnu akciju Beograd* 'activists (f.) and activists (m.) of the Belgrade Centre for Non-Violent Action'. One can also write *članovi/ce*, i.e. *članovi* ʻmembers' (m.) and *članice* ʻmembers' (f.)*, studenti/kinje*, i.e. *studenti*

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[19] Nissen (2002): 258; (1986): 729.
[20] Mozdzierz (1999): 166.

'students' (m.) and *studentkinje* 'students' (f.)*, doktori/ke* 'doctors' (m.) and *doktorke* 'doctors' (f.) and even *moramo da budemo svesne i svesni nekih stvari* 'we need to be conscious (f. pl.) and conscious (m. pl.) of certain issues'.[21] This last example is particularly interesting because it would normally be regarded as ungrammatical. According to normative grammars, the m.pl. of adjectives is used when they apply to a mixed-sex group.

Designations of Professions

General

Today European gender languages have problems with the designations of professions. One would imagine that there should be a fem form of every professional name, but in some languages this is not the case, or the theoretical fem form is not actually used. As Kinder & Savini put it: "*Due to the ever increasing presence of women at all levels in society, including fields that have traditionally been the exclusive domain of men, the issue of gender in language has acquired sociopolitical implications*"[22]; and Butt and Benjamin write: "*Like other Latin-based languages, Spanish is afflicted with the relatively new problem of what title to use for professional women*".[23]

Often traditional fem forms are understood to mean "wife of...", e.g. **(Sr)** *sudinica* 'judge's wife' ('judge' is *sudija*, m.), **(It)** *ambasciatrice* 'ambassador's wife'*, presidentessa* 'president's wife', **(Sp)** *la jueza* 'judge's wife'*, la generala* 'general's wife', or as in this example from August Šenoa:

> *"Sve se budi, samo u jednoj kući spušteni su bijeli zastori. Kod gospodina <u>suca</u>* [*sudac* m. 'judge']. *Milostiva gospođa <u>sudinja</u>, bljeđana Zagrepkinja, nije nikad vidjela kako izlazi sunce..."* (*Mladi Gospodin*).

However today in **(Cro)** the term *sutkinja* is used to designate a female judge. In the same novel (*Mladi Gospodin*) there is a *debela pekarica*, a ˈfat baker' (f.) or 'fat baker's wife'. Apparently she is the wife *trbušastog pekara* ˈof the pot-bellied baker', but, of course, in a 19th-century Croatian village the baker's wife would probably also be a baker herself.

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[21] Bugarski (2005): 63.
[22] Kinder & Savini (2000): 240.
[23] Butt & Benjamin (1994): 4.

Low-Status Fem Agentives /Traditional Female Occupations
In many languages there are traditional fem forms of low-status occupations or occupations where women have traditionally been represented:
(**Mac**) *sekretarka* 'secretary', *kafedžika* 'café owner/manager', *furnadžika* 'baker', (**Pol**) *sprzedawca – sprzedawczyni* 'salesman / -woman' *pracownik – pracownica* 'worker', *traktorzysta – traktorzystka* 'tractor driver', cf. (**Cro**) *bolničarka* 'nurse' (a male nurse is *bolničar*). In Russian, derivatives in *–ša* are understood in the standard or literary language to refer to traditional women's jobs, e.g. *kassirša* 'cashier', *konduktorša* 'conductor', *kontrolërša* '(ticket) inspector', *sekretarša* 'secretary', etc., but not **bankirša* 'banker, (f.)'.[24]

For professions traditionally open to women, not necessarily low-status occupations, such as *writer* or *teacher*, there will often be a commonly used feminine agentive, e.g.

(**Sp**) *abadesa* 'abbess', *actriz* 'actress', *emperatriz* 'empress', *reina* 'queen'
(**It**) *scrittrice* 'writer', *professoressa* 'teacher'
(**Pol**) *nauczycielka* 'teacher', *tłumaczka* 'interpreter'
(**Cro**) *slikarica* 'artist, painter'

While the lexeme 'secretary' (**It** *segretaria*, **Ru** *sekretarša*, **Mac** *sekretarka*) is fem and denotes a low-status occupation, this does not apply to high-status positions such as 'First Secretary of the Party'. Here the use of the fem form is unacceptable:

(**Mac**) * *glavna sekretarka na partijata* 'First Secretary of the Party'
* *državna sekretarka* 'Secretary of State'

Similarly in (**Cro**) *tajnica* f. denotes a female secretary, but the Secretary of NATO, for instance, obviously a very high-status position, would be designated with the masc form *tajnik* even if it were a woman. Spanish *secretaria* is an administrative assistant, while *secretario* is a high-ranking position, e.g. *secretario general del partido comunista*; if held by a woman one can use *la secretario* or perhaps *secretaria* with an explanation. In all

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[24] Mozdzierz (1999): 171, 177.

these cases the fem agentive typically designates a low-status position.[25]

The problem with fem agentive nouns

The problem of fem agentive nouns is twofold: 1. Whether they can easily be formed; and 2. Whether they are actually used. In **(Sp)** *la sergenta* 'the sergeant' (f.) is morphologically possible, but a female sergeant might still refer to herself as *el sargento*, just as a flight supervisor referred to herself in the masc ("*Les habla el sobrecargo, María Diez*").[26] In Europe today, the most progressive language is German, followed by Croatian and Serbian, Spanish, Macedonian, Polish, Italian and Russian, in that order, that is, Italian and Russian are the languages in which female agentives are least likely to be formed and/or actually used.

What Happens in Individual European Languages

German

German is the most progressive European language in this respect: it is very simple to form a feminine form of any agentive noun by using the suffix –*in*. When a German journalist asked Angela Merkel whether she was excited at the prospect of being *Bundeskanzlerin*, the journalist probably created this term herself by adding the suffix –*in* to the term *Bundeskanzler*, note also *die Oberstaatsanwältin Nana Frombach* (FAZ) 'the Senior Public Prosecutor Nana Frombach'. As we will see below, other languages find this much more difficult or else they avoid using a fem form. It is now normal in Germany to use a fem agentive to designate a woman, but this was not always the case. However, when the name of the profession is preceded by *Frau* it is often used in the masc form, as e.g. in *Sehr geehrte Frau Oberamtsrat* 'Dear Madam Senior Councillor' (addressing a bureaucrat in a letter).

Croatian

In 1963, Vilim Frančić wrote that lexemes such as *blagajnik, sekretar, ministar* could be used in reference to women. Today, this seems unlikely.[27] In 1998 Babić wrote:

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[25] Cf. Weiss (1985).
[26] Messeguer (1991): 453f.
[27] Frančić (1963): 116f.

> *"... iako se i danas mogu čuti takva kolebanja, ipak su ona rijetka jer su u velikoj mjeri prevladavala imenice u ženskim likovima za ženske osobe. Tvorba se ostvarivala u skladu s tvorbenim sustavom svima četirima plodnim sufiksima mocijske tvorbe:* -ica, -ka, -kinja, inja".[28]

In some cases, however, it is more difficult to form a fem form, e.g. *rukovodilac, djelovođa* and so these terms are regularly used to designate women (as well as men). With agentives of foreign origin in −*g* Babić writes that the suffix −*inja* has been adopted in most cases, e.g. *dramaturginja, etnologinja*.[29] In **(Cro)** fem agentives are, as a rule, easily formed and freely used:

kao predsjednica "Društva javne dobrotvornosti" (Ranko Marinković)
upraviteljica ubožnice (Ranko Marinković)
kustosica 'custodian' (f.)
čelistica 'cellist' (f.)

Examples from Croatian National Television (HRT):
poljska ministrica
hrvatska premijerka
kći bivše premijerke Julije Timošenko
Snežana Malović, srbijanska ministrica pravosūđa
Jadranka Kosor, predsjednica vlade (premijerka)
Martina Dalić, ministrica financija
Nika Fleiss, članica inicijativnog odbora Zagreb
Nela Sršen, liječnica
Johanna Uekermann, čelnica mladeži Socialdemokratske stranke (SPD)
Karmen Ratković, profesorica povijesti umjetnosti i filozofije
Anka Slonjšak, pravobraniteljica za osobe s invalidetetom
Ivanka Magdić, ravnateljica Doma zdravlja Slunj
Bryony Kimmings, komičarka
urednica 'editor', *novinarka* 'journalist', *montažerka* 'editor, cutter'
Kancelarka Merkel[30]

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[28] Babić (1998): 111.
[29] Babić (1998): 111f.; cf. also Babić (1986).
[30] I was unable to access T. Pišković: *Gramatika roda* (Zagreb: Disput, 2011).

Macedonian

In Macedonian, usage is unstable, according to Minova-G'urkova.[31] Minova-G'urkova cites the following example:

*Minister<u>ot</u> [*a man*] go obvini pretsedatel<u>ot</u> [*a woman*] deka toa smisleno go napravil<u>a</u>* (f.) 'The Minister accused the Chairman of doing that deliberately'.[32] While the word *pretsedatel* 'Chairman' is m., we recognize on the basis of the fem predicate that she is a woman.

The following examples are from Macedonian state TV (MTV):

Jadranska Arizanovska, <u>Direktor</u> (m.) *na stopanskata komora* 'Jadranska Arizanovska, Director of the Chamber of Commerce'
postar <u>vodnik</u> (m.) ('senior sergeant') *Emilija Anastasovska*
Martina Miševska, <u>menadžer</u> (m.) *vo pivara Skopje* 'Martina Miševska, manager of the Skopje brewery'
Gordana Jankulovska, <u>minister</u> (m.) *za   vnatrešni raboti* 'Gordana Jankulovska, Minister of Internal Affairs (Home Secretary)'
Gordana Josifova-Nedelkovska, <u>muzički direktor</u> (m.) *na festivalot "Ohridsko leto"* 'Gordana Josikova-Nedelkovska, Musical director of the "Ohridsko Leto" Festival'
Valentina Stevanovska, <u>akademski skulptor</u> (m.) 'Valentina Stevanovska, Academic Sculptor'
Suzana Tuneva-Paunova, <u>sekretar</u> (m.) *na Crveniot krst na grad Skopje* 'Suzana Tuneva-Paunova, Secretary of the Red Cross of Skopje'
Milka Tanevska, <u>sudija</u> (m.) *(*sudika)*[33]

Elizabeta Kančeska-Milevska is referred to both as <u>*Minister*</u> (m.) *za kultura na RM* 'Minister for Culture of the RM' and as <u>*Ministerkata*</u> (f.) *za kultura.* It appears that the first reference was more formal, hence the m. form, while

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[31] Minova-G'urkova (1998).

[32] Minova-G'urkova (1998): 117.

[33] In a discussion at the University of Skopje, a number of colleagues noted that there are difficulties with some fem agentives. Should one refer to a female psychologist as *psihološka*? Apparently this form is interpreted as an adj, as in *psihološka bolest* 'mental illness'. However, there are counter-examples: a female school pupil is referred to as *učenička* even though this same form is used as an adj, as in *učenička grupa* 'a group of school pupils'. Because of this hesitation with *psihološka* Tomislav Trenevski suggested that Macedonian should borrow the Croatian form *psihologinja*.

the following references were less formal, hence the use of the f. form. The then Prime Minister of France, Edith Cresson, is referred to in the same report once as *francuskata premierka* (f.) but twice as *francuskiot premier* (m.). Similarly, Hillary Clinton is referred to in the same program as *državniot sekretar* (m.) *na SAD* 'US Secretary of State' and as *amerikanskata državna sekretarka* (f.) 'the American Secretary of State'. For Catherine Ashton we have *Minister<u>kata</u>* (f.) *za nadvorešni raboti na EU, Ketrin Ešton* 'the EU Foreign Minister', Angela Merkel is noted as *germans<u>kata</u> kancelarka Angela Merkel* and for the female selector of the documentary programme we have *selektor<u>kata</u>* (f.) *na dokumentarnata programa.*[34]

Difficulties and Hesitations with Fem Agentives

There can be difficulties in the formation of fem agentives. In **(Sp)** a 'harbour pilot' is *práctico*, but the fem *la práctica appears to be blocked by the word *la práctica* 'practice', so the female harbour pilot is referred to as *la práctico* (masc term with fem article). Since this solution is impossible in **(Mac)**, the only solution to the problem *psiholog ?psihološka (psihološka bolest* 'mental illness') would be to borrow the **(Cro)** term *psihologinja*. In Italian a politician is *politico*, a female politician would be *politica, but this is also the word for 'politics', similarly in **(Sp)** *una buena política* could mean 'good politics' or 'a good female politician'.[35] Or if we take **(Sp)** *el policía* ('policeman'), this can also be used as a double-gender noun: *la policía* 'police woman', but since *la policía* means 'the police force', the only useful fem counterpart is *la mujer policía* 'woman policeman'.

Nissen writes: "*In principle, there is no reason whatsoever not to provide women with feminine titles, especially in languages like Spanish, whose structure provides the necessary options*".[36] As to the factors that *block* a consistent and rapid innovation in the area of feminine word formation, there seem to be mainly three: (1) the existence of terms with ambiguous (not to say dubious) connotations; (2) the derogatory character of feminine titles, and (3) the fact that a feminine title may mean 'wife of the masculine title-holder'.

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[34] See Hill (forthcoming).
[35] Olivares (1984): 754.
[36] Nissen (1986): 731.

If there is any hesitation in using fem forms, it may be due in part also to the ambiguity of the suffixes used to form fem agentives. Thus, in Croatian the suffix *–ica* is used to form diminutives, as in *ptičica, kućica, uličica, vrpčica*, and also to designate devices, as in *slušalica* 'receiver; headphones' from *slušati* 'to listen' or *dizalica* 'crane' from *dizati* 'to raise, lift'. The suffix *–k(a)* is used to form the names of objects, as in *acetilenka* 'acetylene lamp', *petrolejka* 'petroleum lamp', *najlonka* 'nylon stocking', *brzojavka* 'telegram'.

Conclusions

Gender is present in most European languages. In principle, gender and sex coincide in animate nouns, but there are many exceptions, e.g. **(Ger)** *das Kind* n. 'child', *die Person* f. 'person', **(It)** *la persona* f. 'person', *la guardia* f. 'guard', *la spia* f. 'spy', *la guida* f. 'guide', *la star* f. 'star', **(Ru)** *lico* n. 'person', **(Mac)** *stranka* f. 'client', **(Cro)** *osoba* 'person', *pijanica, klevetalo, drijemalo* 'sleepy-head', *oklijevalo* 'hesitant person, procrastinator', *neznalica* 'ignoramus' (cf. above).

In Croatian some emotive expressions designating girls or women are masc: *djevojčurak, djevojčićak, curičak, curić, babić, curetak*, cf. It *il donnone* m. 'strapping woman'. Epicene nouns have only one gender but may refer to animate beings of either sex, e.g. Spanish *el ratón* 'mouse', *la rata* 'rat', *la rana* 'frog', *el delfín* 'dolphin', *la paloma* 'dove', *la comadreja* 'weasel'. Interestingly, diminutives are neuter in different languages, e.g. **(Ger)** *Mädchen*, **(Mac)** *momče, devojče, bratče*, **(Cro)** *momče, djevojče, čobanče*.

Today the European languages have to deal with the phenomen that professions previously reserved for men are open to women. While in English generally − and also, of course, in non-gender languages such as Turkish - there is only one noun to designate both men and women, one would expect that, in the other European languages, fem. agentives would be formed and employed to designate women in the professions, but this area is fraught with difficulties. A lot of fem. agentives originally designated the wife of the agent. To a certain extent, even today, the fem agentive is perceived as being subordinate to the male agent.

Fem agentives are mostly derived from masc agentives using suffixes. Thus, the woman is perceived to be derived from the man (as in the story of

Adam and Eve). Further, suffixes are often polysemous. The most used feminizing suffix in the Slavonic languages, *k(a)*, has other functions, as a diminutive and for producing nomina instrumenti. It appears that other feminizing suffixes in other languages originally had a diminutive function, so the female agent was perceived as being a 'little' agent, a subordinate to the man. Fem agentives are available and are normally employed for traditional female occupations. Fem forms are employed for women in the high-status occupations in German and on the whole in Croatian and Serbian. There is still some reserve in Macedonian, Spanish and Polish, while Italian and Russian tend to avoid the use of fem agentives for women in the professions.

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Sažetak

Rod je gramatička kategorija u većini europskih jezika, odnosno, da budemo precizniji u Indo-europskim jezicima. Rod imenica koje opisuju živa bića bi trebao koincidirati sa spolom, ali postoji više izuzetaka, kako se pokazuje u ovom radu gdje autor pokazuje na višejezičnim primjerima višejezični značaj ove gramatičke kategorije.