

# Addressing the Audience: Gender Analysis

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## ABSTRACT

*The analysis focuses on ways of addressing the audience in Croatian. As the function of the address is to perform a social task, as opposed to conveying information, the role of the address is phatic, and it should follow communicative conventions. Significant considerations are politeness and correctness, as the addresser wants to address the addressee most politely. Some formulaic forms of address, such as *dame i gospodo* ('ladies and gentleman') create no problem. Still, the speaker often faces the problem of whether to use only the masculine noun or the feminine and masculine pair. Croatian has rich word-formation, so linguistic issues rarely occur, but pragmatic questions about using the feminine pair arise often. All nouns denoting a person and adjectives, pronouns, and some verbal forms which refer to them are gender-specific in Croatian. The corpus for the analysis consists of different texts from two Croatian corpora and the Internet. The address formulas usually have the following structure *dragi/poštovani/cijenjeni* ('dear/respected/esteemed') + addressee. The cases when more coordinated noun phrases denote the same addressee are also analyzed.*

**Key words:** addressing the audience, address term, feminine and masculine pairs, politeness, inaugural speeches

## Introduction

A range of socio-cultural factors influences language use. "These include situation-specific contextual factors such as the relationship between participants in an interaction as well as factors relating to participants' identities and their membership of different social and cultural groups."<sup>1</sup> The participants in addressing the audience are the addresser, the person performing the address, and the addressees, the recipients of the address. The addresser has to bear in mind these questions: 1) is he/she addressing one person, a group of people, or an audience, 2) is communication casual or formal, 3) is he/she addressing people in writing or in speaking, and 4) what is the gender of the addressees. This paper analyzes the relationship between one addresser (a specific person or an institution) and a group of multi-gender addressees. In a social interaction where the participants are the addresser and the address recipients (the addressees), politeness strategies (manner and etiquette) are significant as the addresser usually tries to make the addressee feel comfortable using the appropriate address terms. Address terms are terms used by individuals which express social solidarity or social distance towards other participants of direct communication<sup>2</sup>. The addressers have a formal function (politician, priest, representative of an institution, etc.), while the addressees do not belong to a specific group. Politeness

is a complex linguistic and non-linguistic phenomenon. Politeness strategies facilitate interaction between the addresser and the addressee. Properly addressing the addressees in different situations shows that the addresser is respectful of their position and mindful of not offending them in any way. Politeness is essential in political discourse, but it is also important in other text types and genres. This analysis focuses on ways of addressing a mixed-gender audience in formal communication, political discourse, advertisements, press releases, information from different institutions, etc. in written and spoken Croatian.

## Corpus

The analysis is conducted on two Croatian Internet corpora: *hrWaC – Croatian web corpus*<sup>3</sup> and *Croatian Language Repository*<sup>4</sup> and selected examples from the Internet. *hrWaC* is a web corpus collected from the .hr top-level domain. Currently, the corpus contains 1 405 794 913 tokens (1 211 328 660 words) and is annotated with the lemma, morphosyntax, and dependency syntax layers. The *Croatian Language Repository* (*Hrvatska jezična riznica*) is a corpus of Croatian literature and newspaper

texts compiled at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics. It consists of 101 782 863 tokens (85 273 724 words).

Data extraction from the corpora is performed with the Sketch Engine web tool<sup>5</sup>, which allows the display of the lexeme context through Word Sketches (see Figure 1), the most typical collocations are sorted into syntactic categories.

## Methodology and Terminology

The analysis is corpus-based and combines the approaches of pragmatics,<sup>6,7</sup> gender studies,<sup>8–14</sup> and Croatian word formation (feminine/masculine pair).

The corpora (*hrWaC* and *Riznica*) were searched using adjectives *poštovani* ('respected' M), *poštovana* ('respected' F), *cijenjeni* ('esteemed' M), *cijenjena* ('esteemed' F), *dragi* ('dear' M) and *draga* ('dear' F). The texts belong to various genres, and only examples that do not address the audience were excluded from corpus analysis (e.g. *U predškolskom programu Centra za autizam 16. studenog 2012. bile su nam u posjeti drage gošće iz UNICEF-a*. 'In the Center for Autism preschool program on November 16, 2012, we were visited by dear F guests F from UNICEF.'). All examples were translated into English. The principle of translation was formal correspondence and not translation equivalence. Only in the inaugural speeches of the Croatian presidents, Mrs. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović and Mr. Zoran Milanović, the official translations were used. In all translations into English, the Croatian gender is marked by F (feminine) and M (masculine).

Figure 2 shows an example of a concordance search for the phrase *drage građanke*. Figure 3 shows a part of the

tko-što?	tko-što?	tko-što?
<b>slušatelj</b> cijenjeni slušatelji	<b>gospodin</b> Poštovani gospodine	<b>prijatelj</b> bog dragi Bog
<b>forumaš</b> cijenjene forumaše da	<b>gđa</b> ginekolog Poštovana gđa	<b>bogo</b> dragom Bogu
<b>gospodin</b> Cijenjeni gospodine	<b>gospođa</b> Poštovana gospođo	<b>kamenje</b> dragog kamenja
<b>kolega</b> cijenjeni kolega	<b>doktorica</b> Poštovana doktorice	<b>braća</b> Draga braća i sestre
<b>čitatelj</b> cijenjeni čitatelji	<b>čitatelj</b> Poštovani čitatelji	<b>gost</b> dragi gosti
<b>čitateljstvo</b> cijenjeno čitateljstvo	<b>gospođa</b> Poštovana gospođo	<b>osoba</b> prijateljica draga prijateljica
<b>redatelj</b>	<b>ružica</b> Poštovana Ružice	<b>čovjek</b>
<b>gost</b> cijenjeni gosti	<b>kolegica</b> Poštovane kolegice i kolege	<b>čitatelj</b> dragi čitatelji
<b>kupac</b> cijenjene kupce	<b>doktor</b>	<b>pokojnik</b> dragog nam pokojnika obaviti se
		<b>kolega</b>

Fig. 1. Collocations of adjectives *cijenjen* ('esteemed'), *poštovan* ('respected'), and *drag* ('dear').

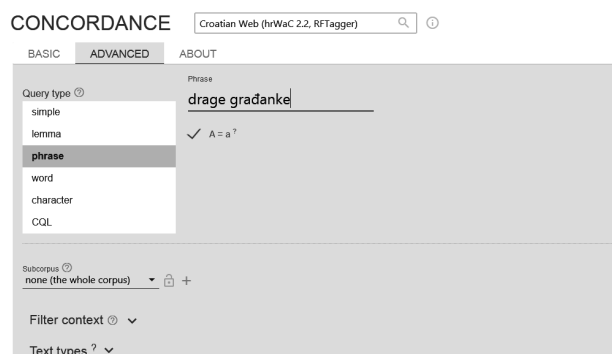


Fig. 2. Search for the phrase *drage građanke* ('dear' F 'citizens' F).

concordance of the phrase *drage građanke* ('dear' F 'citizens' F).

Results were sometimes checked by using nouns as keywords (e.g. *birači/biračice* ('voters' M/F), *pretplatnici/pretplatnice* ('subscribers' M/F), *vjernici/vjernice* ('believers' M/F) and selected sentences were checked manually. The conducted analysis showed that for this research, more relevant data were obtained from *hrWaC* than from *Riznica*. Although all examples were tested on both corpora most examples in the paper are from *hrWaC* and the *Internet*.

In Croatian linguistics, the Croatian term *mocija* is often translated as *motion*, and *mocijski parnjaci* as *motal pairs*. However, these terms do not exist in English and they should be translated as *feminine/masculine pairs*. We thank the American Slavist Wayles Brown for drawing our attention to this fact during our work on Croatian linguistic terminology – *Jena*<sup>15</sup>. That is the reason we use the term *feminine/masculine pairs*<sup>16</sup> for Croatian *mocijski parnjaci*.

## Linguistic Context

Croatian is a gender language; it is one of the languages which specify gender and gender agreement. In Croatian, all nouns are gender-specific. The gender of a noun determines the morphology of most determiners, such as adjectives, pronouns, some numerals, and some verbal forms.

Croatian has rich resources for word-formation. Feminine nouns are regularly formed from masculine nouns, most often by adding suffixes: *-ica* (*učitelj – učiteljica*; 'teacher' M/F), *-inja* (*psiholog – psihologinja*; 'psychologist' M/F), *-kinja* (*knjigovođa – knjigovotkinja*; 'accountant' M/F) and *-ka* (*novinar – novinarka*; 'journalist' M/F).

In Croatian linguistics, masculine/feminine pairs were analyzed from very different viewpoints: accentuation,<sup>17</sup> word-formation,<sup>18–23</sup> pragmatics,<sup>24–27</sup> contrastive linguistics,<sup>28</sup> terminology<sup>29</sup>, and lexicography and terminography<sup>30–34</sup>.

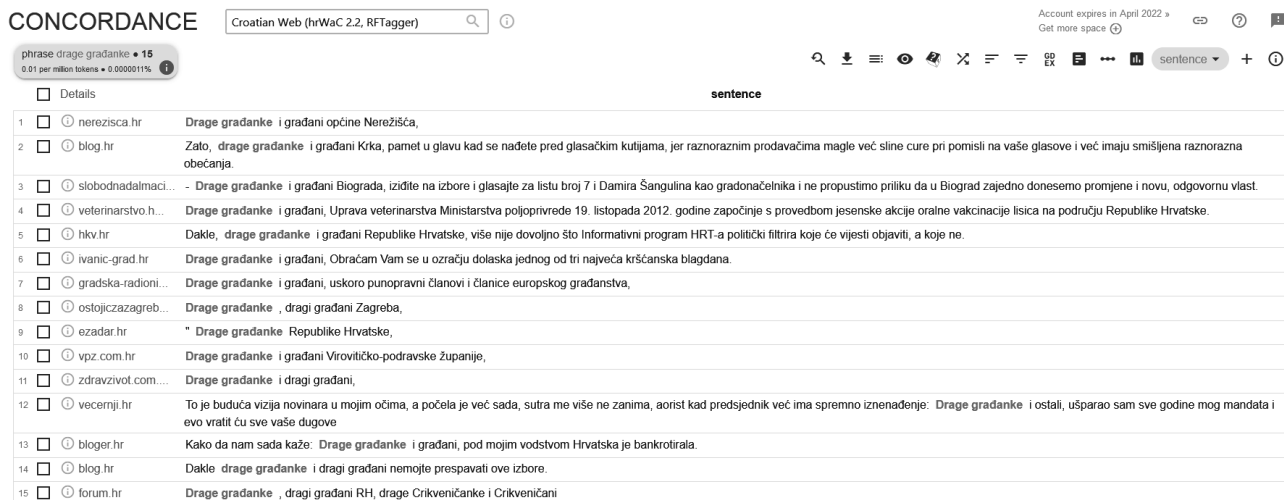


Fig. 3. A part of the concordance of the phrase *drage građanke* ('dear' F 'citizens' F).

Native speakers of Croatian have no problem deriving a feminine noun from most masculine nouns. However, there are cases when this is difficult even for native speakers, as shown in Table 1. The examples shown in the table are based on questions the language advice service in the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics obtained from language users.

**TABLE 1**  
EXAMPLES OF MASCULINE/FEMININE PAIRS WHICH CAN CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR NATIVE SPEAKERS

Masculine	Feminine	English
kupac	–	buyer
mislilac	misliteljica	thinker
mornar	mornarica	sailor
ronilac	roniteljica	diver
vodič	vodičica	guide

As many men enter into traditionally female professions, sometimes the problem is also how to derive a masculine noun from a feminine noun, e.g., *dadilja* ('nanny'), *primajlja* ('midwife'), *medicinska sestra* ('nurse').

It is also important to note that most masculine nouns relating to people have two meanings 1. *a man that + verb* and 2. *a person that + verb* and feminine nouns have only the meaning *a woman that + verb*. This can be illustrated by entries from *Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*<sup>35</sup> (School Dictionary of the Croatian Language) in Table 2.

In Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik*<sup>36</sup>, the entry *nastavnik* (teacher M) has definitions shown in Table 3.

**TABLE 2**  
ENTRIES *NASTAVNIK* AND *NASTAVNICA*  
(TEACHER M/F)

entry	English	entry	English
<i>nastāvnik im.</i> <i>m. osoba koja vodi nastavu</i> [~ <i>hrvatskog jezika; sveučilišni</i> ~]	<i>teacher noun M</i> a person who teaches [~ <i>of the Croatian language; university</i> ~]	<i>nastāvnica im.</i> <i>ž. žena koja vodi nastavu</i> [~ <i>hrvatskog jezika; sveučilišna</i> ~]	<i>teacher noun F</i> a woman who teaches [~ <i>of the Croatian language; university</i> ~]

### Sociolinguistic Context

Sociolinguistics takes into consideration gender-specific social practices. Social practice refers to “human activity when emphasizing the conventional aspect of activity and its relation to social structure.”<sup>9</sup>

The Law on Gender Equality (*Zakon o ravnopravnosti spolova*)<sup>37</sup> in Croatia was passed on July 14 2003. The Law intended to reinforce the view that everyone should receive equal treatment and not be discriminated against based on their gender. It states, for example, that all job advertisements should clearly say that both men and women can apply for any job.<sup>28,34</sup>

In the text of the Law, both feminine and masculine forms were used, but there were many mistakes (the feminine form was omitted) connected with the usage of gender (marked by M or F/M in the translation below). Although the text from 2003 was corrected in 2008, some mistakes still remained. This illustrates how difficult it is to use all gender-specific elements correctly. Table 4 shows one characteristic sentence from this Law<sup>34,38</sup>.

However, in the Croatian constitution<sup>40</sup>, the masculine noun refers to male and female representatives, e.g.: *Hr-*

**TABLE 3**  
DEFINITIONS IN THE ENTRY *NASTAVNIK* (TEACHER M)

Croatian	English
Nastavnik je odrasla osoba bez obzira na spol ili muškarac koji izvodi nastavu u srednjoj školi ili na fakultetu	A teacher is an adult person regardless of gender or a man who teaches in high school or college.
Nastavnik je odrasla osoba bez obzira na spol ili muškarac koji izvodi nastavu u višim razredima osnovne škole.	A teacher is an adult person regardless of gender or a man who teaches in the upper grades of primary school.
Nastavnik je odrasla osoba bez obzira na spol ili muškarac koji komu prenosi kakva znanja ili ga poučava kakvim vještinama.	A teacher is an adult person regardless of gender or a man who imparts knowledge to someone or teaches him some skills.

**TABLE 4**  
LAW ON GENDER EQUALITY FROM 2003 AND 2008

2003	2008	English
Za pravobranitelja/icu i njegovog/njezinog zamjenika/icu može biti imenovan hrvatski državljanin/ka koji ima visoku stručnu spremu i koji je osobnim zalaganjem poznat javnosti u području zaštite ljudskih prava.	Za pravobranitelja/icu i njegovog/njezinog zamjenika/icu može biti imenovan hrvatski državljanin/ka koji ima završen diplomski sveučilišni studij i koji/a je osobnim zalaganjem poznat/a javnosti u području zaštite ljudskih prava.	For the public attorney F/M and his/her deputy F/M a Croatian M citizen F/M can be appointed who M has completed graduate studies and his (his/her) personal commitment is known M (F/M) to the public in the field of human rights.

*vatski sabor ima najmanje 100, a najviše 160 zastupnika.* (The Croatian Parliament has at least 100, and not more than 160 representatives. M).

### Pragmalinguistic Approach

Pragmalinguistics combines the knowledge of linguistics (in this case, word-formation, lexicology, and syntax) and social conventions (politeness, gender equality). As the only function of the addresser is to perform a social task, as opposed to conveying information, the role of the address is phatic, and it should follow communicative conventions. An essential consideration in addressing the audience is politeness and correctness. “Except when we are deliberately looking for a confrontation, we normally take care to ensure that what we say (and what we don’t say) is chosen appropriately so as to avoid embarrassing or offending anyone.”<sup>40</sup>

As the addresser wants to address the addressee most politely, he is often faced with the problem which address terms to use. It is considered polite in Croatian to address a mixed-gender audience by using first the feminine and then the masculine noun.

The relation between one linguistic element (masculine noun or feminine and masculine pair) and the person producing (addresser) and receiving it (addressee) during the communicative situation is analyzed. How this works in communication depends on commonalities, conventions, standards, and norms between the addresser and the addressees.

As addressing the audience is mostly oral, shortening of the type shown in Table 4 does not occur often. However, some such examples have been recorded in the corpora, e.g. *Drage korisnice / i, kako imamo puno upita u vezi traženja osobe za čuvanje djeteta/djece odlučile smo postaviti oglasnu ploču...* (Dear users (F + the ending of

the masculine noun), as we have a lot of inquiries regarding the search for a person for taking care of the child/children, we decided to put up a bulletin board...).

#### *Masculine nouns or feminine/masculine pairs in addressing the audience*

Some formulaic forms of address such as *dame i gospodo* (‘ladies and gentleman’) and *braćo i sestre* (‘brothers and sisters’) create no problem. In most cases, the addresser is faced with the problem of whether to use the masculine noun, e.g., *dragi slušatelji* (dear M listeners M) or the feminine and the masculine pair e.g., *drage slušateljice i dragi slušatelji* (dear F listeners F and dear M listeners M) often phrased as *drage slušateljice i slušatelji* (dear F listeners F and listeners M). In the phrase *drage slušateljice i slušatelji* (dear F listeners F and listeners M) we could argue that it is not correct (if not linguistically than at least sociolinguistically and pragmatically) to use the adjective *dragi* (‘dear’) only in the feminine gender.

In addressing the audience, these adjectives are most often used: *dragi* (‘dear’), *poštovani* (‘respected’), and *cijenjeni* (‘esteemed’). Corpus analysis shows that for some concepts feminine/masculine pairs are used, while for other concepts only or mainly the masculine noun is used. This is shown in Table 5.

The linguistic (word formation) reason for not using the feminine form can only be found for the noun *kupac* (‘buyer’). With all other nouns in Table 5, the native speakers have no problem in forming feminine pairs.

Suppose the addressees are only female (e.g. when congratulating them The International Women’s Day on March 8). In that case, the addresser will use the feminine pair of some masculine nouns used when addressing a mixed-gender audience, e.g., *poštovane korisnice* (‘respected users’ F), *poštovane pretplatnice* (‘respected subscrib-

**TABLE 5**  
MASCULINE OR FEMININE AND MASCULINE NOUNS USED IN ADDRESSING THE AUDIENCE (HRWAC)

Only (mostly) masculine	English	Feminine and masculine pairs	English
gosti	guests	gledateljice i gledatelji	viewers F and viewers M
kupci	buyers	građanke i građani	citizens F and citizens M
vjernici	believers	Hrvatice i Hrvati	Croats F and Croats M
korisnici	users	kolegice i kolege	colleagues F and colleagues M
naručitelji	placers of order	mještanke i mještani	town-inhabitants F and town-inhabitants M
hodočasnici	pilgrims	slušateljice i slušatelji	listeners F and listeners M
predstavnici	representatives	studentice i studenti	students F and students M
pretplatnici	subscribers	sugrađanke i sugrađani	co-citizens F and co-citizens M
prijatelji	friends	kolegice i kolege	colleagues F and colleagues M
vjernici	believers	učenice i učenici	students F and students M

ers' F), *poštovane predstavnice* ('respected representatives' F), *drage gošće* ('dear guests' F).

Table 6 with numerical data from *hrWac* (which gives more data relevant for this research than *Croatian Language Repository*) shows which feminine nouns never occur in addressing the audience, e.g., *hodočasnice* ('pilgrims' F), which occur rarely, e.g. *vjernice* ('believers' F), *biračice* ('voters' F) and which occur more often in the feminine form, e.g. *gledateljice* ('viewers' F), *čitateljice* ('readers' F). In the table, a characteristic part of the con-

ducted analysis on *hrWac* is shown. The same analysis was conducted on *Riznica* but not so many feminine/masculine pairs were found. As from all of the mentioned masculine nouns feminine nouns are formed easily; the reasons for such distribution have to be related to politeness strategies and the domain (text type, genre) to which the terms belong. The analysis shows that terms belonging to religious context tend to be used only (or mostly) in the masculine form: *vjernici* ('believers'), *hodočasnici* ('pilgrims').

**TABLE 6**  
NUMERICAL RESULTS OF HRWAC CORPUS ANALYSIS

Feminine	Occurrence in the corpus	Masculine	Occurrence in the corpus	Translation
cijenjene biračice	0	cijenjeni birači	2	esteemed voters F/M
drage biračice	0	dragi birači	30	dear voters F/M
poštovane biračice	1	poštovani birači	14	respected voters F/M
cijenjene čitateljice	3	cijenjeni čitatelji	73	esteemed readers F/M
drage čitateljice	93	dragi čitatelji	1173	dear readers F/M
poštovane čitateljice	32	poštovani čitatelji	429	respected readers F/M
cijenjene gledateljice	0	cijenjeni gledatelji	12	esteemed viewers F/M
drage gledateljice	7	dragi gledatelji	176	dear viewers F/M
poštovane gledateljice	1	poštovani gledatelji	82	respected viewers F/M
cijenjene gošće	0	cijenjeni gosti	87	respected guests F/M
drage gošće	0	dragi gosti	687	dear guests F/M
poštovane gošće	0	poštovani gosti	53	respected guests F/M
cijenjene hodočasnice	0	cijenjeni hodočasnici	0	esteemed pilgrims F/M
drage hodočasnice	0	dragi hodočasnici	39	dear pilgrims F/M
poštovane hodočasnice	0	poštovani hodočasnici	1	respected pilgrims F/M
cijenjene Hrvatice	0	cijenjeni Hrvati	2	esteemed Croats F/M

**TABLE 6**  
CONTINUED

Feminine	Occurrence in the corpus	Masculine	Occurrence in the corpus	Translation
drage Hrvatice	57	dragi Hrvati	282	dear Croatis F/M
poštovane Hrvatice	10	poštovani Hrvati	10	respected Croats F/M
cijenjene mještanke	1	cijenjeni mještani	1	esteemed inhabitants F/M
drage mještanke	5	dragi mještani	28	dear inhabitants F/M
poštovane mještanke	2	poštovani mještani	46	respected inhabitants F/M
drage pretplatnice	0	dragi pretplatnici	5	dear subscribers F/M
poštovane pretplatnice	0	poštovani pretplatnici	4	respected subscribers F/M
cijenjene suradnice	0	cijenjeni suradnici	3	esteemed collaborators F/M
drage suradnice	1	dragi suradnici	19	dear collaborators F/M
poštovane suradnice	0	poštovani suradnici	16	respected collaborators F/M
cijenjene vjernice	0	cijenjeni vjernici	1	esteemed believers F/M
drage vjernice	1	dragi vjernici	424	dear believers F/M
poštovane vjernice	0	poštovani vjernici	18	respected believers F/M

When analyzing the data, we have to consider that *hr-WaC* is not a corpus of the standard language, political discourse, or formal language and that it does not contain the most recent examples. State of the art is only somewhat different in the examples from the Internet. The phrase *drage biračice* ('dear voters' F) occurred rarely in the corpus, but the Internet data shows that some politicians now use it more often. Examples are shown in Table 7.

Corpus analysis also implies that feminine and masculine forms are used much more often in addresses than in other (non-address) contexts in the same speech or sentence, as shown in Table 8.

#### *Coordinating feminine/masculine pairs or masculine nouns*

Coordinated noun phrases are noun phrases of equal grammatical rank and importance linked by a coordination conjunction. In corpus analysis, we focused on coordinated noun phrase pairs in the address, e.g. *Drage učiteljice*

*i učitelji, profesorice i profesori, odgajateljice i odgajatelji, stručne suradnice i suradnici, ravnateljice i ravnatelji* (Dear F teachers and teachers M, professors F and professors M, educators F and educators M, professional associates F and professional associates M, principals F and principles M). Two coordinated noun phrase pairs are joined by a coordination conjunction *i* ('and') or only by a coma.

Corpus analysis shows that not always feminine/masculine pairs are used as in the example above. Table 9 shows some characteristic examples from the corpora and the Internet. The analysis shows that the first or the last places in the address especially tend to have masculine and feminine pairs.

#### *Addressing the audience in inaugural speeches*

At the beginning of their mandate, elected presidents use their inaugural address to set forth the aims for their nation and present the vision of the future of their country.

**TABLE 7**  
SENTENCES WITH THE ADDRESS FORMULA *BIRAČICE AND BIRAČI* (VOTERS F/M)

Croatian	English
Drage biračice i birači, u nedjelju 5. srpnja biramo između dvije Hrvatske.	Dear F voters F and voters M, on Sunday, July 5, we are choosing between the two Croatias.
Drage biračice i birači, 16-tog u nedjelju je prvi krug izbora za gradonačelnika i jedini krug izbora za Gradsko vijeće.	Dear F voters F and voters M, on the 16 <sup>th</sup> of Sunday is the first round of elections for the mayor and the only round of elections for the City Council.

**TABLE 8**  
MALE AND FEMALE IN THE ADDRESS VS. NON-ADDRESS

Croatian	English
Poštovane učiteljice i učitelji, poštovane nastavnice i nastavnici, poštovane profesorice i profesori, vama koji ćete učenicima širiti vidike i koji će uz vas, odrastati u ljude novog vremena, također, čestitam početak nove školske godine i prvi nastavni dan.	Respected F elementary school teachers F/M, respected F high-school teachers F/M, respected F professors F/M, to you who will expand the horizons of students M and who will grow with you, into people of the new time, also, I congratulate the beginning of the new school year and the first day of school.

**TABLE 9**  
EXAMPLES OF COORDINATION

Croatian	English
Poštovane ravnateljice i ravnatelji, pročelnici teorijskih odjela, drage kolegice i kolege, dragi članovi društva	Respected F principals F/M, heads M of theoretical departments, dear F colleagues F/M, dear M members M of the association.
Drage moje Hrvatice i Hrvati diljem Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine i diljem svijeta, dragi hrvatski državljani, poštovane dame i gospodo, dobra večer svima	My F dear F Croats F and Croats M throughout Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and throughout the world, dear M Croatian M nationals M, respected F ladies and gentlemen, good evening to all.
Hrvatice i Hrvati i svi hrvatski državljani	Croats F/M and all M Croatian M nationals M
Poštovani uzvanici, dame i gospodo	Respected M dignitaries M, ladies and gentlemen
Poštovane odgojiteljice i odgojitelji, učiteljice i učitelji, nastavnice i nastavnici, ravnateljice i ravnatelji, stručne suradnice i suradnici, profesorice i profesori, kolegice i kolege, dragi prijatelji!	Respected F nursery school teachers F/M, elementary school teachers F/M, high-school teachers F/M, principals F/M, professional F collaborators F/M, professors F /M, colleagues F/M, dear friends M!
Poštovani profesori, poštovani suradnici, drage kolegice i kolege...	Respected M professors M, respected M collaborators M, dear F colleagues F/M...

“Inaugural addresses are important tools in political communication because, unlike other presidential addresses, inaugural addresses are given at the beginning of the term and are considered programmatic.”<sup>41</sup> That means it is essential for the president to politely address the audience to elicit positive feelings towards himself and his future reign. “The aim of the ceremonial speech is to enrich the *momento* and the audience, to connect the people in goodness and beauty, and elicit positive feelings of happiness, pride and belonging. The main characteristics of ceremonial speeches are high language style that includes carefully chosen words, well thought sentences, figures of speeches and the specific slow and solemn delivery.”<sup>42</sup> This is why inaugural speeches are very interesting for analyzing the use of feminine/masculine pairs. In this paper, the inaugural speech of the former Croatian president Mrs. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović and the president Mr. Zoran Milanović are analyzed. Table 10 shows some sentences from the speech of Mrs. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović. The speech shows the above-mentioned tendencies of using sometimes feminine and masculine pairs: *Hrvatice* (‘Croats’ F) *i* (‘and’) *Hrvati* (‘Croats’ M), *državljanke* (‘citizens’ F) *i* (‘and’) *državljan* (‘Citizens’), and sometimes only masculine nouns: *gosti* (‘guests’ M), *uzvanici* (‘dignitaries’ M), *prijatelji* (‘friends’ M). However, in the same speech, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović thanked many collaborators.

This is not a part of the address, and she does not use feminine/masculine pairs, as shown in Table 11. As opposed to directly addressing the audience, she mainly used masculine nouns. She also used a pleonastic construction *žena poduzetnica* (‘woman entrepreneur’ F) and a feminine noun *domaćica* (‘housewife’).

The inaugural speech of Mrs. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović also shows the pragmatic pattern that if in the address many nouns are coordinated, some are feminine and masculine pairs while others are only masculine. When noun phrases are coordinated e.g., *Hrvati* (‘Croats’ M) and *državljan* *Hrvatske* (‘Croatian citizens’ M), the feminine/masculine pairs of some nouns have a much higher probability of being used than the others e.g., *Hrvatice* (‘Croats’ F) and *Hrvati* (‘Croats’ M), but only *državljani Hrvatske* (‘Croatian citizens’).

Table 12 shows some sentences from the inaugural speech of Mr. Zoran Milanović. Milanović uses feminine/masculine pairs at the beginning of his address *poštovane građanke i građani* (respected F citizens F and citizens M) but in the second part of the address uses only the masculine noun *prijatelji* (‘friends’ M). Later in the speech he directly addresses the audience by using the phrase *dame i gospodo* (‘ladies and gentlemen’). This shows three already noticed tendencies. 1. Although

**TABLE 10**  
ADDRESS FROM THE INAUGURATION SPEECH OF MRS. KOLINDA GRABAR-KITAROVIĆ

Croatian	Official translation
Hrvatice i Hrvati u domovini i svijetu, i sve hrvatske državljanke i državljani, poštovani visoki gosti i uzvanici, dragi prijatelji, prisegom koju sam upravo položila, obvezala sam se da ću služiti hrvatskom narodu i svim hrvatskim državljanima. S neizmjernim ponosom, ali istodobno svjesna velike odgovornosti, preuzimam dužnost hrvatske predsjednice.	My fellow Croatians F/M in Croatia and around the world, Croatian citizens F/M, dear M guests M and dignitaries M, dear friends M, with the oath that I have just taken, I have committed to serving the Croatian people and all of the citizens M of Croatia. I take over the duty of the Croatian president F with great pride, but also aware of its immense responsibility.

**TABLE 11**  
FROM THE INAUGURATION SPEECH OF MRS. KOLINDA GRABAR-KITAROVIĆ

Croatian	Official translation
Hvala svim volonterima. ... Hvala svakom ribaru, seljaku, poduzetniku, svakoj ženi poduzetnici, domaćici, svakom branitelju...	Thanks to all volunteers M. Thanks to each fisherman M, peasant M, entrepreneur M, each woman entrepreneur F, housewife F, each defender M... Thanks to farmers M, workers M, peasants M, pensioners M to whom we have to give back a dignified life...
Hvala poljoprivrednicima, radnicima, seljacima, umirovljenicima kojima moramo vratiti dostojanstven život...	

**TABLE 12**  
INAUGURATION SPEECH OF MR. ZORAN MILANOVIĆ

Croatian	Official translation
Poštovane građanke i građani Republike Hrvatske, ... dragi prijatelji,	Dear F citizens F/M of the Republic of Croatia, ... Dear M friends M.
jedan od, po mom mišljenju, vodećih mislilaca današnjice ovih je dana rekao da se budućnost prave zapadne liberalne demokracije može osigurati samo tako da se istinu sačuva neovisnom o željama većine birača, kao i želju većine birača neovisnu od istine. ...Većina birača ili većina narodnih zastupnika može, primjerice, izglasati odluku da ne postoji problem klimatskih promjena ili da to uopće nije problem, ali to neće promijeniti istinu da taj problem – postoji.	One of the leading present-day thinkers M, in my opinion, has recently said that the future of a true Western liberal democracy can only be secured by keeping the truth independent of the desires of the majority of voters, and by keeping the desires of the majority of voters independent of the truth. ... The majority of voters M or members of Parliament M, can, for instance, decide that there is no climate change problem or that this is not a problem at all, but that will not change the fact that the problem exists.
Dame i gospodo,	Ladies and gentlemen,
molim vas unaprijed zrno razumijevanja za svoje buduće greške, bit će ih. ... Uložiti ću sve što imam i sve što znam da iz tog zrna povjerenja i razumijevanja izraste mandat od koristi modernoj Hrvatskoj i svim njezinim građanima.	I ask of you beforehand for a seed of understanding for my possible future mistakes. ... I will do my best to make sure that this seed produces a presidential term to the benefit of a modern Croatia and its citizens M.
Poštovane građanke i građani, dragi prijatelji,	Dear F citizens F/M, dear M friends M,
našu Republiku ne čine i nikad je neće činiti samo visokoobrazovani, samo kompetitivni, poduzetni, znanstveno, umjetnički ili sportski nadareni. Hrvatska je domovina nekvalificiranog radnika jednako kao i uglednog akademika. Hrvatska jednako pripada i nezaposlenom tokaru, i zaposlenom programeru, i potplaćenju radnici na blagajni i menadžerici u javnom ili privatnom poduzeću.	Our Republic is not, and will never be comprised only of highly educated, competitive, enterprising individuals or those with a scientific, artistic or athletic talent. Croatia is the home of an unskilled worker and a respectable academic alike. Croatia belongs equally to an unemployed lathe operator and an overworked programmer, to an underpaid worker at the cash register and a manager in a public or private enterprise.

there are no linguistic (word-formation) reasons for not using the word *prijateljice* ('friends' F) this form is rarely used in the address of a mixed-gender audience. 2. The beginning of the address is most prominent and almost always has feminine/masculine pairs. 3. The masculine adjective is left out from the address formula *poštovane građanke i građani* (respected F citizens F and citizens M). 4. In the part of the speech which is not the address, he uses only masculine nouns *misililac* ('thinker'), *birač* ('voter'), *zastupnik* ('representative'), *građanin* ('citizen'). However, only from the word *misililac* ('thinker') native Croatian speakers have problems in deriving the feminine pair.

In pragmatic works, it is commonly stated that "there is research to suggest that men and women have different ways of going about being friendly".<sup>12</sup> Women tend to use more politeness strategies than men. If we compare the inaugural speeches of Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović with the speech of Zoran Milanović we can conclude that both use feminine and masculine pairs when directly addressing the audience as a politeness strategy.

## Conclusion

To analyze addressing the audience in Croatian linguistic (word-formation), sociolinguistic (gender equality), and pragmalinguistic (politeness strategies) facts have to be considered. It is polite to address a mixed audience in formal, and especially in political, discourse by using feminine and masculine pairs. It is considered polite to use first the feminine and then the masculine pair. There are no linguistic reasons for using feminine/masculine pairs as the masculine noun denotes persons of both sexes, especially in the plural.<sup>27</sup> Only sometimes creating feminine pairs causes problems for native Croatian speakers, e.g. *misililac* ('thinker'), *kupac* ('buyer'). The reasons for using feminine/masculine pairs are politeness strategies.

The conducted analysis shows:

1. The address is formulaic and usually has the following structure *dragi/poštovani/cijenjeni* (dear/respected/esteemed + addressee). Sometimes the adjectives are coordinated e.g., *poštovani i dragi* ('respected and dear').



2. The Internet and Croatian corpora examples show that some female and male pairs occur more often than others.
3. However, this changes rapidly as some speakers start using feminine nouns not used in the address before. If we compare corpus data with Internet data, we can see that some feminine/masculine pairs that did not exist in the corpora e.g., *gošće i gosti* ('guests F and guests M') can be attested on the Internet.
4. If in the address many noun phrases are coordinated, sometimes the feminine nouns are left out. The first and the last place in the address are most prominent, and usually, both feminine and masculine pairs nouns are used.
5. In the analyzed inaugural speeches, feminine/masculine pairs nouns are used more often in the address than in other parts of the speech.

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6. When using the feminine and the masculine pair, the masculine adjective is often left out; so in avoiding language that discriminates women, language that discriminates men is used.

As this is the first gender analysis of addressing formulas in Croatian it opened many issues for further research: 1. the analysis of the use of male/female pairs according to the gender of the addresser; 2. the analysis of female/male forms in the address from a diachronic point of view; 3. gender analysis of address formulas in different genres and text types.

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## OBRAĆANJE SLUŠATELJSTVU: ANALIZA UPORABE MOCIJSKIH PARNJAKA

### SAŽETAK

U radu se analiziraju načini obraćanja slušateljstvu u Hrvatskoj. Funkcija je obraćanja slušateljima društvena i fatička, a ne prenošenje obavijesti te je poštovanje društvenih norma posebno važno. Pritom važnu ulogu igraju pristojnost i korektnost jer se govornik želi obratiti slušateljima na najpristojniji način. Neke formule obraćanja kao *dame i gospodo* nisu povezane ni s kakvim jezičnim problemom, ali pri uporabi drugih imenica u obraćanju govornik je često suočen s problemom treba li upotrijebiti samo muške mocijske parnjake ili ženske i muške mocijske parnjaka. Hrvatski ima bogatu tvorbu riječi, pa izvorni govornici samo pokatkad imaju problem kako izvesti mocijski parnjak. Međutim, često se postavlja pitanje kad upotrijebiti muški i ženski mocijski parnjak, a kad samo muški mocijski parnjak jer muški mocijski parnjak može označavati i muškarce i žene. Analiza je provedena na tekstovima dvaju hrvatskih korpusa i tekstovima preuzetim s internet. Formule obraćanja sastoje se od pridjeva *dragi/poštovani/cijenjeni* + imenice kojom se označuje primatelj poruke. Posebno se analizira slučaj kad je primatelj označen s nekoliko koordiniranih imeničkih fraza.