

Spol and *Rod* from a Diachronic and Synchronic Perspective - Analysis of Croatian, Croatian Church Slavonic and English

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the diachronic and synchronic analysis of the use of Croatian words *spol* and *rod* and their Croatian Church Slavonic (*polb*, *spolb*, and *rodb*) and English (*sex* and *gender*) equivalents. The starting points for diachronic analysis are dictionaries and dictionary data, while the synchronic analysis is additionally based on the corpora and the Internet. The paper focuses on dictionary definitions of nouns *rod* and *spol*, adjectives *rodni* and *spolni*, the relation of Croatian terms *rod* and *spol* with English terms *gender* and *sex*, the terminology of *sex/gender* (non)discrimination, and ways of speaking about persons of non-binary gender.

Key words: *sex, gender, lexicography, historical lexicography, Croatian, Croatian Church Slavonic*

Introduction

In contemporary science, the meaning of nouns *spol* 'sex' and *rod* 'gender' and adjectives derived from them *spolni* and *rodni* are often differentiated. However, this difference is vague and their inconsistent usage is noticed in many analyzed texts. The word *rod* is highly polysemous and has many interconnected meanings^{1,2}. Sometimes it is used as a synonym or quasi-synonym of *spol*.

The fact that the use of Croatian words *rod* and *spol* often confuses even native speakers is evident from frequent questions of the users of language advice services in the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics. Three illustrative examples of questions from language advice users are given below:

1st question: What is the meaning of the sentence *Svi izrazi koji se koriste u tekstu, a imaju rodno značenje, bez obzira jesu li korišteni u muškom ili ženskom rodu, obuhvaćaju na jednak način i muški i ženski rod.* (All terms used in the text, which have a gender meaning, regardless of whether they are used in the masculine or feminine gender, encompass the masculine and feminine gender in the same way.)? Answer: The sentence is unclear because the word *rod* has two different meanings (grammatical and biological/social). It was suggested that the sentence be paraphrased in this way: *Svi izrazi koji se upotrebljavaju u tek-*

stu, i koji razlikuju muški i ženski (gramatički) rod, bez obzira na to u kojemu se (gramatičkome) rodu upotrebljavaju, odnose se na osobe obaju spolova. (All terms used in the text, which differentiate masculine and feminine (grammatical) gender, regardless of whether they are used in the masculine or feminine (grammatical) gender, relate to the persons of both sexes.) (All Croatian examples are translated into English. The principle of translation is formal correspondence and not translation equivalence.)

2nd question: Is it correct to translate gender diversity as *raznorodnost* or *rodna raznolikost*. The term refers to the advice given to institutions to include more women into their boards and committees so that they have an equal number of men and women. Answer: It does not seem logical to use the element *razno* (diverse) when referring only to two. As the term means only that in a company, there should be an equal number of male and female employees, the correct term would be *ravnomyerna zastupljenosti spolova* (equal representation of sexes) as they only differentiate between male and female sex in the biological sense.

3rd question: Should we use the term *rod* or *spol* when referring to persons of non-binary gender? Answer: As in this case, gender is a matter of choice and is non-binary; the term *gender* should be translated as *rod*.

Another motivation for this research is the problem of how to define nouns *rod* and *spol* and adjectives *rodni* and *spolni* in the Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik*³ and how to translate terms relating to gender-neutral language in Croatian Linguistic Terminology – *Jena* database⁴.

Methods, Corpus and Hypotheses

The starting point for diachronic analysis are dictionaries and dictionary card files, while the synchronic analysis, in addition to dictionaries and terminological databases, takes into consideration corpora and Internet sources. In diachronic analysis, the words *rod* and *spol* (*pol*) are analyzed in the OldBaun Church Slavonic dictionary (*Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*)⁵, older Croatian dictionaries, and the data from the Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic⁶, which is compiled at the Old Church Slavonic Institute. The analysis of their Latin and Greek equivalents is also conducted. The Latin and Greek equivalents are analyzed according to *Logeion*⁷. *Logeion* provides a simultaneous lookup of entries in several dictionaries and reference works from the Perseus Classical collection and other sources. These include Greek and Latin dictionaries such as Liddell & Scott and Lewis & Short, the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS), and DuCange.

The synchronic analysis is based on these Croatian corpora: Croatian Web Corpus – *hrWaC*⁸, Croatian Language Repository⁹, and the specialized linguistic corpus compiled within the project Croatian Linguistic Terminology – *Jena*¹⁰, and with English-Croatian parallel corpora available on Sketch Engine¹¹, a corpus query system loaded with the corpora. It enables the display of lexeme context through Word Sketches and Differential Word Sketches. The most common collocations are sorted into syntactic categories, e.g. the difference in collocations of the terms *rod* and *spol* can be seen in Differential Word Sketches in Sketch Engine in Figure 1.

From Differential Word Sketches, we can see that one can *change one's sex* ('*spol*'), *find out one's (baby's) sex* ('*spol*'), and *attract the (opposite/same) sex* ('*spol*'). The most common coordination of the word *spol* is *rod* ('gender'), and the most common coordination of the word *rod* is *spol*. Adjectives male ('*muški*') and female ('*ženski*') are coordinated with both *spol* and *rod*. The word *spol* is often coordinated with *rasa* ('race'), *dob* ('age'), and *starost* ('old age'). Because of the polysemy of the word *rod*, most of the collocations are connected with the meanings of *rod*, which are not related to *spol sramotiti*, *zamrziti*, *istrijebiti*, *zgaditi*; *ljudski*, *plemenit*, *ovogodišnji*; *pleme*, *porod*, *porodica* ('embarrass, hate, exterminate, disgust; human, noble, this year's; tribe, childbirth, family').

The authors have also compiled a corpus of relevant newspaper articles (especially on non-binary persons), e.g., *Brisanje rodnih granica – i Emma Corrin povelja se za slavim kolegama Demi Lovato, Samom Smithom i Elliotom Pageom* (Erasing Gender Boundaries – Emma Corrin

follows celebrity colleagues Demi Lovato, Sam Smith, and Elliot Page.); *Emma Corrin (25), još jedna u nizu javnih osoba koje su obznanile svoj rodno neutralni status* (Emma Corrin, 25, another in a series of public figures who have announced their gender-neutral status).

The hypotheses of this research are:

1. The change of extra-linguistic reality has caused the transformation of the use of words *rod* and *spol* (and *rodni* and *spolni*).
2. The English word gender is not always translated by *rod*.
3. These changes of meaning have not been reflected in modern Croatian monolingual general dictionaries.

To test hypothesis 1, a diachronic and corpus analysis was conducted. To test hypothesis 2, an analysis of parallel corpora was undertaken. To test hypothesis 3, modern Croatian dictionaries were analyzed.

Diachronic Approach to Gender and Sex - *Rod* and (*S*)*pol*

Родъ, spolъ, and rodъ in *Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic*

In Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic words *polъ*, *spolъ* and *rodъ* are analyzed. In *Slovník*⁵, the word *polъ* has three meanings 1. half; 2. side, part, slope; 3. sex. For the third meaning, the Latin equivalents are *sexus* ('sex'), *masculinum* ('male'), *femininum* ('female'), *masculus* ('male'), *vir* ('man'), *femina* ('woman'). The word *rodъ* has the following meanings: 1. birth, descent, origin, 2. fruit, yield, 3. family, tribe, generation, 4. people, tribe, nation, 5. type, 6. nature, sex, gender, 7. relatives. Interestingly, the meaning 'sex/gender' is listed as a specific meaning in a narrow context (*specialiter*) of the meaning 'nature'. The word *spolъ* does not appear in *Slovník*⁵.

The entries *rodъ*, *polъ*, and *spolъ* have not yet been compiled in the *Dictionary of Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic*⁶ since the compilation is alphabetical and has been conducted only to the letter *i*. Therefore, the analysis was conducted on the excerpted corpus for the dictionary available on card files. There are eight examples of the word *spolъ*. In four examples, the word appears with the adjective *ženski* ('female'), and the Latin equivalent is *femineus sexus* ('female sex'). In one example, it appears with the adjectives *č(ověča)ski* ('human') and *kr'hki* ('fragile'). One example appears with the adjective *mužaskъ* ('male') and with the Latin equivalent *masculinum* ('male'). In one example, it appears with the adjective *oboi* ('both'). The Latin equivalent is *uterque sexus* ('both sexes'). The word *polъ* was attested 92 times. The word *polъ* has more meanings than the word *spolъ*. Its equivalent is often *sexus*, sometimes *masculus* and *femina*. In one example, it appears with the adjective *kr'hki* (lat. *fragilis*). Other equivalents are *medius*, *pars*, and *meridies*. The word *rodъ* appears approximately 380 times. It had mul-

WORD SKETCH DIFFERENCE

Croatian Web (hrWaC 2.2, RFTagger)

Account
Get mo

rod 38,404× | spol 47,595×

koga-što				oba_u_genitivu				koordinacija			
sramotiti	37	0	...	ljudski	3,499	0	...	spol	366	0	...
zamrziti	14	0	...	plemenit	65	0	...	pleme	63	0	...
izumrijeti	10	0	...	ovogodišnji	159	0	...	porod	84	0	...
istrijebiti	11	0	...	muski	143	58	...	porodica	19	0	...
zgaditi	10	0	...	zenski	141	87	...	vrsta	152	23	...
sazdati	7	0	...	muški	1,078	891	...	seksualnost	36	18	...
odrediti	16	128	...	ženski	1,300	1,228	...	spolan	7	55	...
promijeniti	18	432	...	isti	142	1,573	...	rasa	7	99	...
promjeniti	0	39	...	jak	0	607	...	rod	8	366	...
doznati	0	28	...	lijep	0	1,582	...	dob	8	500	...
privlačiti	0	85	...	nježan	0	769	...	starost	0	79	...
saznati	0	95	...	suprotan	0	2,254	...	doba	0	268	...

Fig. 1 Word Sketch Difference of words *rod* and *spol*.

multiple meanings and equivalents including: *cognatio* 'blood relation', *generatio* 'generation', *natura* 'nature', *populus* 'people, nation', *progenies* 'race, family', *genimen* 'product, fruit', *stirps* 'race, lineage', *consanguineus* 'of the same blood, related by blood', *nativitas* 'birth', *natio* 'nation', *natus* 'birth, child', *naturaliter* 'inherently, by nature', and Greek γένος 'race, stock, kin', φύσις 'origin, nature', συγγένεια 'kinship, family'. In some examples, the Latin equivalent is *genus*, with the examples: *č(lovêća)ski rodъ* (*hominum genus* 'human race'), *rodъ d(a)v(i)d(o)vb* (*genus David* 'the descendants of David'), *vi že rod' izbran'* (*vos autem genus electum* 'you are the chosen nation'), *s(i)n(o)ve roda avraamla (filii generis Abraam* 'sons of the descendants of Abraham'), *tvorac' roda č(lovêća)sk(a)go* (*creator generis humani* 'creator of the human race'). In a few examples, the collocation *rod ženski* ('female gender') appears as a synonym of *ženski polb/spolb* ('female sex').

The Latin word *sexus* is in *Logeion*⁷, defined as sex, male or female (of men and beasts). The word *sex* is derived from the verb *seco* 'to cut', and in *Logeion*, it is stated 'hence properly, a division, segment'. In the corpus of *Logeion*, it is the 2785th most frequent word. In *Logeion*, the Latin word *genus* is defined as birth, descent, origin, stock, lineage, family, kin, nationality, race, nation, kind, method, mode. Among equivalents, the English word *gender* also appears with the explanation that it is used for grammatical descriptions. In the corpus of *Logeion*, it is the 88th most frequent word. In *Logeion*, the Greek word γένος is the 202nd most frequent word. It has the following meanings: 'race', 'stock', 'kin', 'offspring', 'descendant', 'posterity', 'clan', 'house', 'family', 'tribe', 'cast', 'breed', 'age', 'generation', 'sex', 'gender', 'class', 'sort', 'kind', 'species', 'kind', 'element'. The word συγγένεια is the 1849th most

frequent word and has the following meanings: 'kinship', 'kin', 'relationship', 'ties of kindred', 'family connexion', 'family influence', 'congenital character', 'kinsfolk', 'kinsmen', 'kind', 'species'. The word φύσις is the 178th most frequent word and has the following meanings: 'origin', 'birth', 'growth', 'natural form', 'constitution', 'nature', 'appearance', 'outward form', 'temperament', 'natural place or position', 'character', 'instinct', 'the regular order of nature', 'kind', 'sort', 'species', 'sex'. The attested Latin and Greek equivalents and meanings can be seen in Table 1.

Rod and spol in Croatian dictionaries from 1595 to 1956

The word *spol* does not appear in Vrančić's dictionary¹², the oldest Croatian dictionary from 1595, and in Kašić's manuscript dictionary¹³. In Habelić's dictionary¹⁴, the word *spol* appears as an equivalent of Latin *sexus*, and in the following collocations: *spol mužki* (*sexus virilis* 'male sex'), *spol ženski* (*sexus faemineus* 'female sex'), and in the definition of the word *hermaphroditus* – *pol muža pol žene, ali človeč obojega spola* ('half man half woman, or a person of both sexes'). Mikalja¹⁵ states that *spol* is the difference between males and females (*spol razlika muška ženska*) and Latin equivalent *sexus* ('sex'). Vitezović, in his *Lexicon Latino-Illyricum*¹⁶, states that the Latin equivalent of the word *spol* is *sexus* ('sex') and gives examples: *hermaphroditus* is a person who has both sexes (*človik ki obadva spola ima*), and male sex (*mužki spol*). Della Bella¹⁷ gives various Italian: *feminezza, astratto di femina* ('femininity'), *Sesso virile, o d'uomo; sesso* ('sex'), *l'esser proprio del maschio e della femina, che distingue uno dall' altro* ('the essence of male or female that differentiates the one from the other') and Latin equivalents: *sexus femininus* (*spol*

TABLE 1

CROATIAN CHURCH SLAVONIC AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC WORDS, THEIR LATIN AND GREEK EQUIVALENTS, AND ENGLISH MEANINGS

Croatian Church Slavonic / Old Church Slavonic	spolъ / spolъ	polъ / polъ	rodъ / rodъ
Latin equivalent	sexus (femineus, uterque, masculinum)	sexus (masculus, femina), masculinum, femininum, masculus, vir, femina, genus (femininum) medius, pars, merities	cognatio, generatio, genus, natura, populus, progenies, cognatio, genimen, stirps, consanguineus, nativitas, natio, natus, naturaliter
Greek equivalent			γένος, συγγένειας, φύσις
English meanings	sex	half; side, part, slope, sex	birth, descent, origin, fruit, yield, family, tribe, generation, people, nation, type, nature, sex, gender, relatives

ženski ‘female sex’), *sexus virilis* (*spol muški* ‘male sex’). Belostenec¹⁸ gives Latin equivalents *sexus* (‘sex’) and *genus* (‘gender’) for the word *spol*, *sexus masculinus* for *spol muški* (‘male sex’), and *sexus foemininus* or *foemineus* for *spol ženski* (‘female sex’). Jambrešić¹⁹ gives the Latin equivalent *sexus* (‘sex’) and the German equivalent *Geschlecht* (‘gender, sex, race’) for the word *spol*. Stulli²⁰ gives the Italian equivalent *Sesso* (‘sex’) and the Latin equivalent *sexus* (‘sex’). Voltić²¹ gives Italian equivalents *genere* (‘gender’) and *Sesso* (‘sex’), and the German equivalent *Geschlecht* (‘gender, sex, race’). Iveković and Broz²² add adjectives *muški* (‘male’) and *ženski* (‘female’). In Academy’s Dictionary (ARj)²³, the etymology of the word *spol* comes from ‘to chop, to split in half’ (*od cijepati, razdvajati napola*). The word *rod* has multiple meanings; some of the meanings are ‘birth’, ‘childbirth’, ‘offspring’, ‘whelp’, ‘fruit’, ‘siblings’, ‘seeds in plants’, ‘shoot’, ‘kinship’, ‘relatives’, ‘family’, ‘generation’, ‘tribe’, ‘brotherhood’, ‘people’, ‘people in the religious sense’, ‘human race’, ‘species’ (*rođenje, porod, pomladak, mlado u životinje, plod, braća i sestre, mlado u životinje, sjeme u biljke, izdanak, srodstvo, rodbina, rođaci, porodica, naraštaj, pokoljenje, potomstvo, pleme, bratstvo, narod, narod u vjerskom smislu, ljudski rod, vrsta*). In Vrančić’s dictionary¹², the word *rod* is the equivalent of the Latin word *genus* with the synonym *pleme* (‘tribe’). In Mikalja’s dictionary¹⁵, the Latin equivalents of the word *rod* are *familia* (‘family’), *stirps* (‘race, lineage’), *gens* (‘tribe, clan, nation’), *genus* (‘birth, origin’), *progenies* (‘race, family’), *proles* (‘offspring, descendant’), *origo* (‘origin, source’), and the collocations are *od istoga roda* (‘of the same lineage’), *rod plemeniti* (‘noble family’), *roda plemenita* (‘of nobile birth’). Mikalja¹⁵ lists synonyms of the word *rod* – *ročbina, rodbina*. In Vitezović’s *Lexicon Latino-Illyricum*¹⁶, the Latin equivalents of the word *rod* are: *feracitas* (‘fertility’), *generatio* (‘generation’), *genus* (‘birth, descent, origin’), *natales* (‘of birth, natal’), *ortus* (‘birth’), *progenies* (‘race, family, progeny’), *propinquitas* (‘nearness, vicinity, relationship’), *cognatio* (‘blood relation, relatives’), *soboles* (‘race, offspring’), *parentela* (‘relatives, kindred, kinship’), *gentilis* (‘of the same house or family/tribe or race’), *oriundus* (‘descended, originating from’) – all words connected to

being related by blood or connected with being born. In Habdelić’s *Dictionary*¹⁴, the synonyms of the word *rod* are *rođak* and *rodbina*, Latin equivalents are *cognatus* (‘relative, kinsmen’), *cognatio* (‘blood relation, relatives’), and *consanguinitas* (‘blood-relation, kinship’). The examples are *rod po kumstvu* (‘relation by godparenthood’) and *rod po zene, ali muzu* (lat. *affinitas* ‘relation by marriage’), *roda plemenitoga* (lat. *de nobili cognatione, familia* ‘of noble blood’), *po rodu* (lat. *per cognationem*). In Iveković and Broz²², the 1b meaning of the word *rod* is the same as *spol*. In Šulek’s dictionary²⁴, the word *rod* has the Latin equivalent *genus*, and it is stated that it is often used grammatically for *genus verborum* (‘gender of words’). The synonym *spol* is labeled as vulgar. Under *o* in ARj²³, the word *rod* is defined as the same as *spol*. The meaning is divided into two subsections: a) general meaning, divided into aa) in humans, bb) in animals, and b) grammatical.

Words *spol* and *rod* have completely different word-formation potential. These are the words derived by suffixation from the word *spol* or *pol* in ARj²³: *pol, polan, spolovilo, spolovan, spolnost, spolnik, spolan*. These are the words derived by suffixation from the word *rod* in ARj: *rodak, rodan, rodansto, rodba, rodben, rodbina, rodbinik, rodbinski, rodbinstvo, rode, rođeća, rođenje, rodica, rodičić, rodična, rodijak, rodijeljka, rodika, rodilac, rodilo, rodilja, rodiljka, rodiljnica, rodiljski, rodim, rodin, rodina, rodioci, rodionica, rodišan, roditelj, roditeljan, roditeljev, roditeljica, roditeljka, roditeljski, roditi, rodiv, rodivo, rodivšija, rođjak, rođljiv, rođljivost, rodica, rođnik, rođnost, rodo, rođodatan, rodom, rođovan, rođotvoran, rođovit, rođovnica, rođovnik, rođski, rođstven, rođstvenica, rođstvenik, rođstveje, rođstvo, rođša, rođa, rođa, rođača, rođačica, rođačiti se, rođački, rođaj, rođak, rođaka, rođakati se, rođakinja, rođakov, rođaković, rođanstvo, rođanje, rođaštvo, rođavati, rodbina, rode, rođenast, rođenica, rođenik, rođenka, rođenstvo, rođenje, rođica, rođo*.

In both Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic, the words *polъ* and *rodъ* are attested. The word *spolъ* is attested only in Croatian Church Slavonic but not

in Old Church Slavonic. In older dictionaries, mainly the forms *rod* and *spol* appear, although the word *pol* with the meaning equivalent to the word *spol* appears in ARJ²³. In some dictionaries, the words (*s*)*pol* and *rod* are in some meanings defined as synonyms. The Latin equivalent of the word (*s*)*pol* is *sexus*, while the word *rod* has many meanings and thus many equivalents. The noun *rod* has a much richer word-formation potential than the noun *spol*. The attested Latin equivalents and meanings can be seen in Table 2.

Synchronic Approach to *Rod* and *Spol*

Terminological database

In the Special Field Terminological Database *Struna* (field: anthropology) *spol* (sex) is defined as the totality of biological features by which man and women are differentiated²⁵. *Rod* (gender) is defined as culturally specific shaping of sexes and their interrelationships. In the same database, these terms containing the adjective *rodni* are also used (see Table 3).

From Table 3, we can see that anthropologists differentiate between sex and gender; sex is biologically based while gender is culturally based. From the note in the entry *rodna hijerarhija*, we see that these terms are not consistently differentiated and are sometimes used as synonyms even in anthropology.

Rod and spol in Croatian dictionaries and corpora

In the corpus compiled by the authors, we can find these examples of the noun *rod* and the adjective *rodni* (gender): 1. *rod označava društveno oblikovane uloge, ponašanja, aktivnosti i osobine koje određeno društvo smatra prikladnima za žene i muškarce* (gender denotes socially shaped roles, behaviors, activities, and characteristics that a particular society deems appropriate for women and men), 2. *Prvo je ta da je njezina profesija ugrožena jer će talibani, između ostalog, preuzeti i potpunu kontrolu nad medijima, a druga stvar koja se nameće je rodne prirode. Ona je žena, a ženama će uskoro biti zabranjeno raditi...* (The first is that her profession is threatened because the Taliban will, among other things, take complete control of the media, and the second thing that is imposed is of a gender nature. She is a woman, and women will soon be banned from working,...), 3. *Dana 19. svibnja 2021. Lovato na Twitteru izjavljuje da je nebinarnog roda i da službeno mijenja svoje zamjenice u they/them.* (On 19th May 2021, Lovato declared on Twitter that she was of non-binary gender and that she was officially changing her pronouns to they/them).

Croatian dictionaries do not record the differences in the meaning of *rod* and *rodni* in these three typical sentences. *Hrvatski jezični portal* (Croatian Language Portal)⁹ records these meanings of *spol*: 1. *biol.* the totality of physiological and psychological characteristics that distinguish males and females or among members of the same species male animals from female animals, 2. *a.* the fact of belonging to one of the sexes; male or female as a

TABLE 2
ATTESTED LATIN EQUIVALENTS AND MEANINGS

Croatian	spol	rod
Latin equivalent	sexus (virilis, femineus, femininus, masculinus) genus	familia, stirps, gens, genus, progenies, proles, origo, feracitas, generatio, natales, ortus, soboles, cognatio, propinquitas, parentela, gentilis, oriundus, cognatus, consanguinitas, affinitas
English meanings	sex	birth, childbirth, offspring, whelp, fruit, siblings, seeds in plants, shoot, kinship, relatives, family, generation, tribe, brotherhood, people, people in the religious sense, human race, species

TABLE 3
TERMS WITH THE ELEMENT *RODNI*

Croatian term	Definition	English definition
rodna hijerarhija gender hierarchy	različito vrednovanje rodno obilježenih aktivnosti i svojstava s obzirom na razdiobu resursa, ugleda i moć napomena: Zbog nedovoljno jasnoga razdvajanja uporabe naziva rod i spol, spolna hijerarhija često se upotrebljava kao istoznačnica rodnoj hijerarhiji	different evaluation of gender-marked activities and features concerning the division of resources, reputation, and power. Note: Due to the unprecise differentiation of the usage of terms sex and gender, sexual hierarchy is often used as a synonym of gender hierarchy
rodna uloga gender role	društveno očekivano ponašanje i podjela rada s obzirom na rodnu pripadnost pojedinaca	socially expected behavior and division of labor concerning the gender affiliation of the individual
rodni identitet gender identity	poimanje vlastite rodne pripadnosti	grasping of personal belonging to a gender

collectivity. The other analyzed dictionaries record only one meaning of *spol*: *Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Croatian School Dictionary)²⁶: *biol.* a set of characteristics that distinguish a male and a female individual and *Veliki rječnik standardnoga hrvatskog jezika* (Big Dictionary of Standard Croatian) *VRH*²⁷: *biol.* the totality of physiological and psychological characteristics that distinguish males and females or among members of the same species male animals from female animals. The word *rod* has many meanings in all analyzed dictionaries. *Hrvatski jezični portal* records these meanings of *rod*: **1. a.** what was born; birth, offspring, species, **b.** family, family line, strain, **c.** relatives (usually by blood, by father and mother), **d.** relatives, crop, fruit, fruits, **2. a. coll.** the totality of beings of a particular species as a whole; race, strain, species, **b. retor. arch.**, **3. lit.** people (to whom one belongs), nation; homeland, **c. hist.** a form of socio-economic community derived from a common ancestor and related by blood, clan community; brotherhood, genus, tribe, **4. a. biol.** a unit of classification of plants and animals, higher than the species and lower than the family; genus, **b.** type or subtype of some spiritual (scientific, artistic, etc.) activity, area, branch, discipline **c.** category, order, type, **5. coll.** sex of people or animals, **6. a. gram.** formal gender of words in specific languages expressed by different morphological means (article, declension, etc.), **b.** belonging to one of the natural genders, i.e. sex. Croatian School Dictionary records these meanings of *rod*: **1. hist.** the original form of human community, **2.** offspring of one ancestor, **3.** close and distant relatives with their offspring, **4.** those who preceded someone, **5. biol.** category in the division of the living world below the family and above the species, **6. see** crop, yield, **7. gram.** grammatical category of words (with number and case) manifested in matching a noun with adjectives. *VRH* records these meanings of *rod*: **1.** that which came into the world by birth, that which was born, **b** → parentage, **c.** the totality of those in a blood relation, **2.** annual plant yield, **3. a coll.** the totality of beings of a particular species as a whole, **b. arch. lit.** nation to which one belongs **c. hist.** a form of socio-economic community derived from a common ancestor and related by blood kinship, an ancestral community, **4 a. biol** a unit for the classification of plants and animals, higher than the species and lower than the family; **b.** a higher gender term than a species in an art or science system; **c.** unit in the systematization of work according to professional cri-

teria, **5. coll.** sex of people or animals, **6. a. gram.** formal gender of words in different languages expressed by various morphological means, **b.** belonging to one of the natural genders, i.e. sex.

Rod is highly polysemous in all dictionaries, while *spol* has only two closely connected definitions in the Croatian Language Portal. In the dictionaries, there are no definitions that correspond to the definition from the anthropological database or define the meaning of the given examples from the corpus.

Meanings of adjectives *rodni* and *spolni* correspond to the meaning of nouns from which they are derived. In Croatian School Dictionary the adjective *spolni* is defined as relating to sex and sexuality, while *rodni* is defined only as relating to birth ('rođenje'). Croatian Language Portal has the same definition of *spolni* and *rodni* is defined as relating to birth and gender. *VRH* has the entry-word *spolan* and under it the meaning 'relating to sex' and the entry-word *rodan* and under it the subentry *rodni* with the meaning 'relating to birth and gender'.

From the word *spol*, the words *dvospolac*, *dvospolni*, *spolni*, *spolovilo* ('bisexual, bisexual, sexual, genital') are derived, and from the word *rod*, the following words are derived: *dvorodni*, *rodni*, *rodbina*, *rodak*, *rodakinja*, *rođenje* ('bisexual, gender, relatives, cousin, cousin F, birth').

Comparison with English

In English, the word gender is polysemous and can be translated into Croatian as *rod* (*rodni*) and *spol*. This can be seen from the corpus and translation memory².

The English word sex is polysemous and is an equivalent of Croatian words *seks* and *spol*. However, in English, the word sex (in the meaning 'spol') is more and more often replaced by gender. English dictionaries define gender as either of the two sexes (male and female), especially when considered regarding social and cultural differences rather than biological ones. The word is also used more broadly to denote a range of identities that do not correspond to established ideas of male and female.²⁸

The analysis of parallel corpora in Sketch Engine shows that English gender is often translated as Croatian *spol*, but sex is never translated as *rod*. Figure 2 shows that gender is often translated as *spol*. Table 4 shows numerical data in parallel corpora (13th October 2021).

TABLE 4
NUMERICAL DATA IN PARALLEL CORPORA (13TH OCTOBER 2021)

Corpus	Translation equivalents – numerical analysis	
DGT, English	gender – spol 167	sex – rod 0
	gender – rod 4	sex – spol 78
EUR-Les judgements English 12/2016	gender – rod 0	sex – rod 0
	gender – spol 6	sex – spol 15
OPUS 2 English	gender – rod 2	sex – spol 86
	gender – spol 24	sex – rod 0

PARALLEL CONCORDANCE EUR-Lex judgments English 12/2016

Account expires in April 2022 + Get more space

simple gender • 12 0.23 per million tokens • 0.000223%

EUR-Lex judgments Croatian 12/2016

62013CJ0148	<s> the individual position and personal circumstances of the applicant, including factors such as background, gender and age, so as to assess whether, on the basis of the applicant's personal circumstances, the acts to which the applicant has been or could be exposed would amount to persecution or serious harm. </s>	<s> položaj i osobne okolnosti podnositelja zahtjeva, uključujući čimbenike kao što su podrijetlo, spol i dob, kako bi se procijenilo bi li se, s obzirom na osobne okolnosti podnositelja zahtjeva, postupci kojima je podnositelj zahtjeva bio izložen ili bi mogao biti izložen mogli smatrati proganjanjem ili ozbiljnom nepravdom; </s>
62013CJ0148	<s> It should be noted in that regard that, in accordance with Article 4(3)(c) of Directive 2004/83, that assessment must be made on an individual basis and must take account of the individual situation and personal circumstances of the applicant, including factors such as background, gender and age, in order for it to be determined whether, on the basis of the applicant's personal circumstances, the acts to which the applicant has been or could be exposed would amount to persecution or serious harm. </s>	<s> U tom pogledu treba istaknuti da sukladno članku 4. stavku 3. točki (c) Direktive 2004/83 ta procjena treba biti pojedinačna, pri čemu se moraju uzeti u obzir položaj i osobne okolnosti tražitelja, uključujući čimbenike kao što su njegovo podrijetlo, spol i dob, kako bi se utvrdilo mogu li se, s obzirom na okolnosti, postupci kojima je bio izložen ili bi mogao biti izložen smatrati proganjanjem ili ozbiljnom nepravdom. </s>
62014CJ0222	<s> (11) The Member States, in collaboration with the social partners, should continue to address the problem of the continuing gender-based wage differentials and marked gender segregation on the labour market by means such as flexible working time arrangements which enable both men and women to combine family and work commitments more successfully. </s><s> This could also include appropriate parental leave arrangements which could be taken up by either parent ... </s>	<s> (11) Države članice bi u suradnji sa socijalnim partnerima trebale nastaviti rješavati problem stalno prisutnih razlika u plaćama uvjetovanih spolom i izražene spolne podjele na tržištu rada, između ostalog fleksibilnim radnim vremenom koje muškarcima i ženama omogućuje bolje usklađivanje obiteljskih i radnih obveza. </s><s> To može uključivati odgovarajuća rješenja u vezi s roditeljskim dopustom, koji bi mogao koristiti bilo koji od roditelja [...]. </s>
62013CJ0472	<s> the individual position and personal circumstances of the applicant, including factors such as background, gender and age, so as to assess whether, on the basis of the applicant's personal circumstances, the acts to which the applicant has been or could be exposed would amount to persecution or serious harm. </s>	<s> položaj i osobne okolnosti podnositelja zahtjeva, uključujući čimbenike kao što su podrijetlo, spol i dob, kako bi se procijenilo bi li se, s obzirom na osobne okolnosti podnositelja zahtjeva, postupci kojima je podnositelj zahtjeva bio izložen ili bi mogao biti izložen mogli smatrati proganjanjem ili ozbiljnom nepravdom; </s>
62012CJ0377	<s> migration and development issues including human resources development, social protection, maximising benefits from migration, gender and development, ethical recruitment and circular migration, and the integration of migrants. </s>	<s> pitanja migracije i razvoja, uključujući razvoj ljudskih resursa, socijalnu sigurnost, maksimiziranje koristi migracije, spol i razvoj, etično zapošljavanje, kružne migracije i integraciju migranata. </s>
62015CJ0423	<s> 'The objective of this Law is to prevent or eliminate any discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual identity. </s><s> ' </s>	<s> „Svrha ovog zakona je spriječiti ili ukloniti svaku diskriminaciju na temelju rase ili etničkog podrijetla, spola, vjere ili uvjerenja, invalidnosti, dobi ili seksualnog identiteta. </s><s> ” </s>
62013CJ0439	<s> ensure that all its activities respect international standards concerning human rights and gender mainstreaming. </s><s> ' </s>	<s> osigurava da se u svim njegovim djelatnostima poštuju međunarodni standardi za ljudska prava i spolno osviještena politika. </s><s> ” </s>
62015CJ0025	<s> (I) information on the convicted person (full name, date of birth, place of birth ... gender, nationality and – if applicable – previous name(s)). </s>	<s> i. podatke o osuđenoj osobi (puno ime, datum rođenja, mjesto rođenja [...], spol, državljanstvo i, prema potrebi, prijašnje ime(na)); </s>
62015CJ0443	<s> Provided that this does not result in a breach of the principle of equal pension treatment on the gender ground. </s>	<s> pod uvjetom da to ne rezultira povredom načela jednakog postupanja u području mirovine na temelju spola. </s>

Fig. 2 Parallel concordance of the word *gender*.

Sex and gender in *Mrežnik* and *Jena* – applying the results

The results of the conducted analysis are reflected in the entries *rod*, *spol*, *rodni*, *spolni* in Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik*³ and entries *spolno/rodno nediskriminirajući jezik*, *spolno/rodno neutralan jezik*, *spolno/rodno diskriminirajući jezik*, *spolno/rodno pristan jezik*, *spolno/rodno obilježeni jezik* (‘gender-non-discriminatory language, gender-neutral language, sex-gender-discriminatory language, gender-biased language, gender-marked language’) in the database Croatian Linguistic Terminology – *Jena*.⁴ In *Mrežnik*, the entry *rod* has these meanings not defined in Croatian dictionaries so far: 1. *Rod je bilo koji identitet koji osoba sebi pripisuje i koji se može poklapati sa spolnim identitetom ili može od njega odstupati.* (Gender is any identity that a person attributes to himself and it may coincide with or deviate from gender identity.); 2. *Rod je društveno i kulturno oblikovana uloga ponašanja, aktivnosti i osobina koje određeno društvo smatra prikladnim za žene i muškarce.* (Gender is a socially and culturally shaped role of behavior, activities, and characteristics that a particular society considers appropriate for women and men.). One of the meanings of the adjective *rodni* is *koji se odnosi na rod, identitet koji osoba sebi pripisuje ili koji joj pripisuje društvo* (‘which refers to the gender, an identity that a person attributes to himself or that society ascribes to him’). In the corpora, this is the most frequent meaning of the adjective *rodni*. Word Sketches give these frequent collocations of the adjective *rodni*: *identitet, ideologija, list, neravnopravnost, ravnopravnost, stereotip* (‘identity, ideology, certificate, inequality, equality, stereotype’). Only the collocate certificate does not relate to this meaning.

In the *Jena* database, the problem was how to translate synonymous terms gender-neutral language, gender-blind language, gender-inclusive language defined as *jezični izraz u kojemu se govori o ljudima općenito bez ikakvog elementa koji bi upućivao na njihov spol/rod* (a linguistic expression that speaks of people in general without any element that would indicate their gender).

The translation *rodno neutralni jezik* (gender-neutral language) is unclear in many contexts. Croatian is a gender-language because it has grammatical genders. Therefore it cannot be *rodno neutralni jezik*, thus the preferred term in *Jena* database is *spolno neutralni jezik* (sex-neutral language).

Discussion and Conclusion

The conducted diachronic and corpus analysis showed that the change of extra-linguistic reality caused new meanings of the already polysemous word *rod* while the meaning (meanings) of the word *spol* has not changed considerably. *Rod* (gender) acquired new meanings also under the influence of the English word *gender*. Parallel corpus analysis showed that the English word *gender* should not be automatically translated by *rod*. The analysis of contemporary dictionaries showed that the new meanings of *rod* have not been recorded in contemporary Croatian monolingual dictionaries although they are often used in the media. Suggestions have been made for definitions of new meanings of *rod* in *Mrežnik*, an online dictionary that is being compiled at the moment and for translation of some linguistic terms denoting gender-neutral (sensitive) language in *Jena*, an online database also compiled at the moment.

The analysis showed that the use of words *rod* and *spol* in Croatian is connected with many problems, they are sometimes used as synonyms (*rod* is used instead of *spol*), sometimes as quasi-synonyms (*rod* is a more correct way of expressing *spol* often under the influence of English) and their inconsistent use has been noticed in many analyzed texts. An additional problem is a high level of sensitivity of these words for language users. The importance of this problem is mirrored in numerous questions language users send to the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics. The problem has lexicographic implications and implications on speaking of persons of non-binary sex/gender. It is not logical that the term related to anthropology, psychology, and sociology etymologically comes from Latin *gigno*, meaning 'giving birth', i.e. it is related to the biological sense. Maybe the solution would be to speak about *biološki* ('biological'), *društveni* ('social'),

sociološki ('sociological'), *antropološki* ('anthropological'), and *psihološki spol* ('psychological sex') and use *rod* only to describe non-binary persons/choices. Some aspects of the use of words *rod* and *spol* especially connected with the way we speak about persons of non-binary gender still need to be explored.

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ROD I SPOL IZ DIJAKRONIJSKE I SINKRONIJSKE PERSPEKTIVE (ANALIZA HRVATSKOGA, HRVATSKOGA CRKVENOSLAVENSKOG I ENGLESKOGA JEZIKA)

SAŽETAK

Uporaba riječi *rod* i *spol* u hrvatskome jeziku povezana je s mnogo nedoumica, što se ponajviše očituje u pitanjima zbunjenih korisnika. U radu je provedena dijakronijska i sinkronijska analiza uporabe riječi *rod* i *spol* u hrvatskome i hrvatskome crkvenoslavenskom jeziku. Polazište za dijakronijsku analizu rječnici su i rječnička građa dok će se u sinkronijskoj analizi uz rječnike analizirati i terminološke baze, korpusi i internetski izvori. Posebna je pozornost posvećena prijedlogu rječničkih definicija *roda* i *spola*, odnosu hrvatskih naziva *rod* i *spol* s engleskim nazivima *sex* i *gender*, nazivlju spolne/rodne nediskriminacije i govoru o spolno/rodno nebinarnim osobama.

