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 (polь, spolь, and rodь) 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 meanings¹,². 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 na to u kojemu se (gramatičkome) rodaju, 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 ravnomjerna 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 – Mržnik and how to translate terms relating to gender-neutral language in Croatian Linguistic Terminology – Jena database.

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 OldBauhn Church Slavonic dictionary (Slovnik jazyka staroslavenského), older Croatian dictionaries, and the data from the Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic, 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. 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 & 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 – hWoC, Croatian Language Repository, and the specialized linguistic corpus compiled within the project Croatian Linguistic Terminology – Jena, and with English-Croatian parallel corpora available on Sketch Engine, 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 starosti (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, zamržiti, istrijetiti; ljudski, plemenit, ovogodnji; plem, 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 povela se za slavnim 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

Poln, spols, and rodь in Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic

In Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic words poln, spols and rodь are analyzed. In Slovnik, the word poln 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 rodь 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 spols does not appear in Slovnik.

The entries rodь, polн, and spols have not yet been compiled in the Dictionary of Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic 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 spols. In four examples, the word appears with the adjective ženski (‘female’), and the Latin equivalent is feminine sexus (‘female sex’). In one example, it appears with the adjectives čovečki (human) and krhki (fragile). One example appears with the adjective mužaskь (‘male’) and with the Latin equivalent masculinum (‘male’). In one example, it appears with the adjective oboj (both). The Latin equivalent is uterque sexus (‘both sexes’). The word poln was attested 92 times. The word poln has more meanings than the word spols. Its equivalent is often sexus, sometimes masculus and femina. In one example, it appears with the adjective oboj (both). The Latin equivalent is uterque sexus (‘both sexes’). The word rodь appears approximately 380 times. It had mul-
multiple meanings and equivalents including: cognatio ‘blood relation’, generatio ‘generation’, natura ‘nature’, populus ‘people, nation’, progenies ‘race, family’, genimen ‘product, fruit’, stirps ‘race, lineage’, consanguneus ‘of the same blood, related by blood’, nativitas ‘birth’, natio ‘nation’, natus ‘birth, child’, naturaliter ‘inherently, by nature’ and Greek γένος ‘race, lineage’, stock, kin, φύσις ‘origin, nature’, ουγγένες ‘kinship, family’. In some examples, the Latin equivalent is genus, with the examples: clŏvečaski rodь (hominum genus ‘human race’), rods d(a)c(i)d(о)us (genus David ‘the descendants of David’), vi že rod’ izbran’ (vos autem genus elettum ‘you are the chosen nation’), s(i)n(o)-ve roda avaraamla ‘fili generis Abraam’ sons of the descendants of Abraham’, tvorac’ roda clŏvečaska(a)go (creator generis humili ‘creator of the human race’). In a few examples, the collocation rod ženski (‘female gender’) appears as a synonym of ženski pol’/spol (‘female sex’).

The Latin word sexus is in Logeion, defined as sex, male or female (of men and beasts). The word sex is derived from the verb sec(o) ‘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 ουγγένες is the 1849th most frequent word and has the following meanings: ‘kinship’, ‘kin’, ‘relationship’, ‘ties of kindred’, ‘family connexion’, ‘family influence’, ‘congenital character’, ‘kinsfolk’, ‘kinds’, ‘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 dictionary, the oldest Croatian dictionary from 1595, and in Kašić’s manuscript dictionary. In Habdelić’s dictionary, 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’). Mikalja 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, states that the Latin equivalent of the word spol is sexus (‘sex’) and gives examples: hermaphroditus is a person who has both sexes (človeč ki obadva spola ima), and male sex (mužki spol). Della Belli gives various Italian: feminella, 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 / spol. | pol. / pol. | rod. / rod. |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Old Church Slavonic             |             |             |
| **Latin equivalent**            |             |             |
| sexus (femineus, uterque, masculinum) | sexus (masculus, femina), masculinus, femininum, vir, femina, genus (feminimum) | cognatio, generatio, genus, natura, populus, progenies, cognatio, genimen, stirps, consanguineus, natius, natus, naturaliter |
| **Greek equivalent**            |             |             |
| **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'). Belosteneč18 gives Latin equivalents sexus ('sex') and genus ('gender') for the word spol, sexus masculinus for spol muški ('male sex'), and sexus foeminitus or foemineus for spol ženski ('female sex'). Jambresič19 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'). Voltič21 gives Italian equivalents genere ('gender') and sesso ('sex'), and the German equivalent Geschlecht ('gender, sex, race'). Ivecović 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' ('lent') and the Latin equivalent sexus ('sex'), and the German equivalent Geschlecht ('gender, sex, race'). In Vrančić's dictionary15, the Latin equivalent genus ('gender') 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 a 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, rodanasto, rodba, roden, rodbina, rodinik, rodbinski, rodbinasto, rode, rodača, rodenje, rodica, rodim, rodina, rodioci, rodionica, rodišan, roditelj, roditeljan, roditeljacija, roditeljka, roditeljski, roditeljka, roditelj, rodotvo, rodivsija, rodjak, rodiljivo, rodiljivost, rodbin, rodin, rodnik, rodnost, rodo, rododategor, rodom, rodovan, rodotvoran, rodovećit, rodovnica, rodovnik, rodska, rodstvenica, rodstvennik, rodstveno, rodstvo, roda, rodača, rodačica, rođaci, rodački, rodaj, rodak, rodaka, rodakati se, rodakinja, rodakov, rodakovkić, rodanasto, rodanje, rodaštvo, rodavati, rodbina, rode, rodenast, rodenica, rodenik, rođenka, rodenstvo, rodenje, rodica, rodo.

In both Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic, the words polb and rodb are attested. The word spolb is attested only in Croatian Church Slavonic but not
consistently differentiated and are sometimes used as synonyms even in anthropology. 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 differentiated. 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 hihjarhija, we see that these terms are not consistently differentiated and are sometimes used as synonyms even in anthropology.

**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 differentiated. 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).

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 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) 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**

| Croatian | spol | rod  |
|----------|------|------|
| Latin equivalent | sexus (virilis, femineus, femininus, masculinus) | familia, stirps, gens, genus, progenies, proles, origo, feracitas, generatio, natales, ortus, soboles, cognatio, propinquitas, parentela, gentilis, oriundus, cognatus, consanquinitas, 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**

| Croatian term       | Definition                                                                 | English definition                                                                 |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| rodna hijarhija     | različito vrednovanje rodno obilježenih aktivnosti i svojstava s obzirom na razdoblje resursa, ugleda i moć napomena: Zbog nedovoljno jasnoga razdjeljivanja uporabe naziva rod i spol, spolna hijarhija često se upotrebljava kao istozičnica rodnoj hijarhiji | 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         | 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     | 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)\textsuperscript{20}: biol. a set of characteristics that distinguish a male and a female individual and *Veliki rječnik standardnoga hrvatskog jezika* (Big Dictionary of Standard Croatian) \textsuperscript{11}: 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. arh., c. 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 criteria, 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 spojni correspond to the meaning of nouns from which they are derived. In Croatian School Dictionary the adjective spojni 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 spojni and rodni as defined as relating to birth and gender. *VRH* has the entry-word spoljan and under it the meaning ‘relating to sex’ and the entry-word rodan and under it the subentry rodnij with the meaning ‘relating to birth and gender’.

From the word spol, the words dvospolac, dvospolni, spolni, spolovico (bisexual, bisexual, sexual, genital) are derived, and from the word rod, the following words are derived: dvorodni, rodnji, rodbina, rodak, rodakinja, rodenje (‘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 (rodnji) and spol. This can be seen from the corpus and translation memory\textsuperscript{2}.

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.\textsuperscript{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 (13\textsuperscript{th} 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 |
Sex and gender in Mrežnik and Jena – applying the results

The results of the conducted analysis are reflected in the entries rod, spol, rodn, spolni in Croatian Web Dictionary – Mrežnik3 and entries spolno/rodno nediskriminirajući jezik, spolno/rodno neutralni jezik, spolno/rodno diskriminirajući jezik, spolno/rodno pris-tran jezik, spolno/rodno obilježeni jezik (gender-non-discriminatory language, gender-language, gender-blind language, 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 koji se može poklapati sa spolnim identitetom ali se 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 rodn 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 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 ikakvoga 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 rodn neutralni jezik (gender-neutral language) is unclear in many contexts. Croatian is a gender-language because it has grammatical genders. Therefore it cannot be rodn 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.

Acknowledgements

This paper is the result of the work on these projects: Croatian linguistic terminology – Jena, Croatian web dictionary – *Mrežnik*, Male and female in the Croatian language, Retro-digitization and Interpretation of Croatian Grammar Books before Illyrism – RETROGRAM IP-2018-01-3585, Dictionary of Croatian Church Slavonic Language of the Croatian Redaction.

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

**SAŽETAK**

Uporaba riječi *rod* i *spol* u hrvatskome jeziku povezana je s mnogo nedoumica, što se ponajviše očituje u pitanjima zbuđenih 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.
