

PIONEERING DISCUSSIONS ON GENDER AND LANGUAGE IN CROATIA

The first indications of the recognition of referential gender in grammar appear in the works of Croatian linguists on women's surnames and feminine forms of professional nouns.

MATE HRASTE. 1953. O ženskim prezimenima. *Jezik* 2/5: 136–140.

Hraste refers to *Jezični savjetnik* by Tomo Maretić (1924, pp. 197–198), where the author strongly opposes the customary omission of the declension for female surnames. He argued that instead of *Milica Nikolić, za Danicu Petrović, sa Zorom Vidović* we should write *Milica Nikolička, za Danicu Petrovičku, sa Zorom Vidovićkom* if a woman is married or *Milica Nikolićeva, za Danicu Petrovičevu, sa Zorom Vidovićevom* if a woman is not married.

Hraste stresses that when he was a secondary school teacher in 1921, his female students refused to sign as *Ankica Balogova, Gabrijela Kolarova* and *Ankica Prpićeva* (they wrote *Ankica Balog, Gabrijela Kolar* and *Ankica Prpić*). So, it is not surprising that at the time when Hraste wrote the article (1953) women didn't use this way of signing anymore.

Hraste concludes:

1. In recent years, our literary language follows western European languages, where women's surnames (for married and unmarried women) are similar to male surnames.
2. In recent years, women have achieved full equality with men in public life. Before that, woman who got married had to accept her husband's last name, which is not the case today.

ZLATKO VINCE. 1954. „Drugarica direktor, gospoda profesor ili drugarica direktorica, gospoda profesorica?“ *Jezik* 3/4: 113–118.

„Is it correct to use masculine form of professional nouns to address women?“

The first female doctor in Croatia appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century; the situation was similar in other academic professions. Between the two world wars women completely entered the public sphere; in World War II women performed and received the same duties and positions in the army as men. Today's society recognizes not only the women's ability to participate in the same professions as men, but it gives them the same rights.

Vince wonders how the language follows these changes and concludes that „the people regularly distinguish male from female in professional nouns“.

The question is why did we start to use the names of male professions for women. Vince gives two reasons for this practice:

1. feminine nouns derived with suffix *-ica* (*opančarica, majstorica, liječnica, doktorica, učiteljica*) used to refer to the wife of a man designated by the base noun;
2. to accentuate the equality of women with men (but Vince considered this practice superfluous „because today women are truly equal with men“).

Vince correctly concluded that the language community would get used to the feminine forms if they were used often enough and long enough in official documents, in the press and, generally, in public life „because people easily accept things which show up in the press, in the official language and in life practice“.

BABIĆ, STJEPAN. 1979–1980. Kako se kaže kad je žena sudac? Jezik 27: 86–87.

Babić stresses that „we must respect gender equality“, which can be achieved by using two equal nouns, „masculine for men and feminine for women“ (*sudac* for man, *sutkinja* for woman).

BARIĆ, EUGENIJA. 1987. Mocijski parnjaci i njihova upotreba. Rasprave Zavoda za jezik 13: 9–18.

BARIĆ, EUGENIJA. 1987–1988. Kada sudac a kada sutkinja? Jezik 35: 85–88.

BARIĆ, EUGENIJA. 1988. Tvorbeni status ženskog mocijskog parnjaka. Rasprave Zavoda za jezik 14: 43–49.

BARIĆ, EUGENIJA. 1989–1990. Ženski mocijski parnjak kao funkcionalna komunikacijska kategorija. Jezik 37: 12–21.

Barić distinguishes situations where the male form of professional noun is neutralized with regard to gender, because it is only the name of the profession, from situations in which gender of the referent is known or given, so female and male form of professional noun should be equally used with regard to the gender of the referent.

KRAMARIĆ, IVICA. 1987–1988. Još jednom o sucu i sutkinji. Jezik 35: 120–125.

Kramarić claims that Eugeniya Barić's text (1987–1988) has „extremely feminist intonation in relation to me as a male writer“ and it „represents an intellectual linguistic-philological rape performed by extreme feminist-oriented female editors“.

Barić aswers him: a female form is „evoked by the social reality“ and by the entry of women in some professions that have long been available only to men. The female form is

„unambiguous“ and it „facilitates communication“, so it should be used to show „respect to the real history of professionalization (...) and women's emancipation“.

After All, Discrimination Should Be Abolished! A Manual for the Analysis of Gender Stereotypes. Valerija Barada & Željka Jelavić, eds., Zagreb, 2004.

RADA BORIC, „Inequality in language. More than stereotypes“

Problematic claims:

→ „the power of grammatical agreement (...) makes language structure petrified in a manner that is unfavorable for women“

→ because of the suffix *-ica* that forms nouns for women „smallness of the objects and living beings (*kuć-ica* ‘little house’, *ptič-ica* ‘little bird’, *rib-ica* ‘little fish’, *žab-ica* ‘little frog’) moves to the female ministers (*ministr-ica*), doctors (*doktor-ica*), secretaries (*tajn-ica*)“

Thanks to Maja Bratanić, Zrinjka Glovacki-Bernardi and Mislava Bertoša gender linguistics did not pass under the radar in Croatian academic community. I shall concentrate on Mislava's works, and she will introduce you to Maja's and Zrinjka's contributions.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA. 2014. *Od monarhijske reklame do queer lingvistike. Semiološki i jezikoslovni ogledi (From Monarchical Reclame to Queer Linguistics. Semiological and Linguistic Essays).* Zagreb: Antibarbarus.

→ chapters „Feminizam u lingvistici – lingvistika u feminizmu: odabrane teme“ („Feminism in linguistics – linguistics in feminism: selected topics“) and „O queer lingvistici: teme, modeli, prijepori“ („On queer linguistics: topics, models, controversy“)

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA. 2001. *Linguistic Changes and the Feministic Critique of Language. Revija za sociologiju* 32: 63–75.

The text examines the theoretical and activist ways on which the feminist critique approaches linguistic changes. One of the important features of language are its variability and subjection to constant change. Feminism approaches the changes in language by reexamining the validity of linguistic hypotheses taking into consideration the gender perspective, by looking at linguistic changes from different aspects and by consciously affecting grammar and vocabulary with the aim of changing the sexist structures and meanings. The author presents a review of the feminist approach to various linguistic changes: the so-called changes in progress, contextual and unconscious changes, with an

emphasis on the activistic introduction of conscious changes and on the suggestions for a feminist linguistic reform in the English speaking world, but with an attempt to outline the attitudes towards the sexist nature of Croatian language in the Zagreb feministic milieu. Comparing the introduction of changes coloured by feminism into the English and Croatian languages the author concludes that the specific features of Croatian grammatic structure make it impossible to simply take over the English model and that they ask for a different elaboration of the problem.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA. 2006. On the language transgression of the sex/gender binary and linguistics: a very brief overview. U: J. Poštić – A. Hodžić (ur.) 2006. *Transgresija roda: spolna/rodna ravnopravnost znači više od binarnosti*: 223–235. Zagreb: Ženska soba – CESI.

The aim of this paper is to stress the fact that until recently the linguistic disciplines which study issues of relationship between language and sex / gender identities – sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, feminist linguistics, anthropological linguistics and discourse analysis, among others – often marginalized, or even ignored the manifestations of language constructions of identities transgressing the dominant male / female model, as well as the fact that the relatively recent inclusion of these topics into linguistic study demanded more intensive changes in approach and perspective which have now resulted in new areas of inquiry in the study of language.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA. 2008. Sociosemiotic Bricolage: the Analysis of the „Perfect Couple“. *Društvena istraživanja* 17/6: 1109–1132.

This article gives an analysis of discursive constructions of the notion of "a perfect couple" in the theoretical and analytical framework of social semiotics. The analytical model was composed as a bricolage, in accordance with the nature of semiotic analysis, consisting of two assumptions within social semiotics and another two within queer studies. Within social semiotics the author has used (1) the notion of multimodality, and (2) the concept of meaning as a dynamic and unstable action which produces change and transformations, a constant process of re-defining available semiotic resources. Within queer studies the author has used (3) the concept of historical construction of heterosexuality as a self-evident, desirable and privileged category, and (4) the concept of non-normative sexualities and identities as potential threats to heterosexual hegemony. The analysis of the corpus affirmed multimodal texts, which constructed their meaning from two different semiotic modes – verbal and visual.

The results of the analysis suggest a connection between the stereotypical image of the "perfect couple" and the social construction of desire. They also indicate that different semiotic resources function as powerful means of social control, as well as an instrument of resistance practices.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA; ANTULOV, SANDRA. 2011. "Beyond Morality." Discourse on Homosexuality in Croatian Newspapers from the Sociosemiotic Perspective: Comparison of Two Periods. [sic] – časopis za književnost, kulturu i književno prevođenje 1/2: 1–15.

Sociosemiotics is, among other issues, focused on the modes in which different social discourses construct, legitimate, recognize or attack systems of values and beliefs, as well as relations of power and domination in the society. It aims to examine their ideological effects, hegemonic processes, and to point out their discursive and semiotic nature. Sociosemiotic perspective emphasizes the importance of meanings and values as necessary for the effectiveness of ideological processes and actions: this implies the impacts of the social discourses in spreading, circulating, cultivating and subverting these ideas and values. In this paper we focus on two examples that show how such social discourses in their historic specificity affect the establishing and acceptance of heteronormative meanings and values. We aim to analyse heteronormativity as a discursive principle which organises sexuality in general, including the gay population who is part of its paradigm. In the context of social and historical processes, it changes its discursive strategies, utterance aspects and visual representations, retaining, however, its hegemonic position and normative character. Focusing on ideas and perspectives developed in the field of Greimasian French and Italian sociosemiotics, this paper aims to analyse and to compare two Croatian newspaper articles on the gay population in Croatia dating from two different periods: one from 1992 and the other from 2008. Sociosemiotic analysis integrates both verbal and visual elements of the two articles, and it explores the differences in the discursive strategies of the construction and representation of homosexuality, analyses the differences in aspects of utterances and utterance actors involved, as well as tries to examine how particular meanings are used for the critique or support of the dominant system of beliefs and values. This analysis shows that these concrete representations of homosexuality transform their discursive strategies moving towards empowering and more decisive types of discourses, but that in their deep (semiotic) level still remain in the setting of the dominant heteronormative paradigm.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA; ANTULOV, SANDRA. 2012. „These are Our Four Walls“ : Zagreb Pride Slogans as a Tactic of Space Appropriation. *Društvena istraživanja* 21/3: 771–791.

Spatial placement of signs, discourses, and human actions is not only crucial for their understanding but also indicative of the social positioning and relationships of power in the social arena. In this paper, we focus on semiotic practices that are socioculturally unauthorized, that violate expectations and conventions, that are transgressive. Following Shugart's definition of appropriation, we analyse the means of the appropriation of urban space taking place during Gay Pride parades in Zagreb. We focus on slogans and approach them as bottom-up tactics used by a marginalized group to wrench power and prestige away from dominant groups, adjusting the city centre to its own needs and purposes. Here, space is used as a semiotic resource for symbolic and real appropriation, employed to communicate political meanings and to struggle for the group's own rights. The written discourse of slogans interacts with the visual semiotic mode that we also take into consideration. We analyse them combining critical discourse analysis and the semiotic analysis of space and landscapes.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA; ANTULOV, SANDRA. 2015. A walk from Victims of Fascism Square to Pride Park: Semiotic analysis of symbolic street renaming at Zagreb Pride as memory practices. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 52/2: 139–161.

In this paper we analyze the act of symbolic renaming of streets included in the Zagreb Pride route, which has so far happened only once, in 2010. We view it as practice that helps to construct and communicate collective memory of a marginalized group. The perspective in this paper is semiotic: the act of renaming is observed within the framework of relations among the constructions of meaning, history and memory. Using the examples of renamed streets, squares and parks, we show which elements of meaning are included in this construction. On the one hand, we observe the evocation of different significant events in the global LGBT history, and, on the other, we discern local (Zagrebian, national, Mittel-European) elements. We also explore the ways in which the local and global elements are intertwined and recontextualized in today's context and the relationship they create with history and space (the centre of the capital of the Republic of Croatia) into which they are inscribed.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA; KRISTIAN NOVAK. 2014. The Concept Of Same-Sex Orientation in Croatian Psychiatric Narratives (1879–1945). *Riječki filološki dani. Zbornik radova* 9: 613–622.

The paper introduces the investigation of the concept of same-sex orientation in Croatian psychiatric narratives in the period from 1879 to 1945, based on a linguistic and discourse-historical approach. The year 1879 is a year of paramount significance in the history of Croatian psychiatry, being the year of establishment of the first mental health facility in the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the Royal National Institute for the Mentally Insane in Stenjevec (today's Psychiatric Clinic Vrapče). Thus, the foundation of the Institute in Stenjevec overlaps with the introduction of psychiatry as an individual branch of medicine in Croatia. The corpus for the analysis includes personal medical records, presently held in the Archive of the Vrapče Psychiatric Clinic. It is a multilingual corpus composed of texts written mainly in Croatian and German language, and to a lesser extent of texts written in Hungarian, Italian, Slovenian, Serbian and English. This article defines research goals and the investigation scope and provides a brief outline of the theoretical and methodological framework. Finally, some of the preliminary results are demonstrated: 1. lexemes and syntagmas which were used to refer to same-sex orientation in the investigated period; 2. some of the discursive strategies used for re-contextualisation of the investigated concept.

BERTOŠA, MISLAVA. 2016. Discourse and the Other: on some characteristics of the psychiatrist – patient language interaction from the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century. *Drugi. Zbornik radova 44. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole: 11–33.*

This paper aims to research the ways in which psychiatrists wrote about individual cases of homosexual practice in medical histories and about patients/homosexual persons as individuals, as well as the ways in which homosexual patients positioned themselves within psychiatric communicational processes. The research is based on the analysis of individual medical histories dating from the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, from the Archive of the Vrapče Psychiatric Clinic. How was the relationship and communication between the psychiatrist and the patient established? What characteristics can be attributed to this relationship, considering the multiple pre-existing inequalities (in class, education, status, economic status, language) and the polarized distribution of power between the two participants? In what ways did the patient and the psychiatrist establish and present themselves in discourse? In order to reconstruct the characteristics of these relationships, the semiotic and discourse analysis of individual medical histories was used.