

GENDER-SENSITIVE LANGUAGE IN SLOVAK COMMUNICATION SPACE¹

Stanislava Moyšová

*PhD in Theory of Literature, Lecturer,**French Language and Literature Department, Faculty of Arts,**University Comenius in Bratislava, Slovakia**ORCID ID 0009-0004-3072-4031**stanislava.moysova@uniba.sk*

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In the last decade, gender-sensitive or inclusive language has entered the communication of many actors in Slovak civil society, be it the media, public institutions, various associations or individuals. It reflects feminist ideas that language is a tool of oppression and makes women invisible, especially in the professions and in various functions, and is involved in denying access to economic resources. Recent versions of inclusive language seek to take into account, within a post-binary conception of gender, so-called non-binary persons. The attempts to take into account the different subjects of speech are manifested in the Slovak language either by graphic signs, doubling (splitting) or the use of neuter nouns. This present review study examines the occurrence of inclusive language in the Slovak media, but also in political language, demonstrating its correlation with the progressive part of the political spectrum. It also addresses the pragmatic function of language and examines the impact of using inclusive language in different forms on making communication more or less difficult. Finally, it mentions a survey about how Slovak speakers perceive the inclusive language.

ГЕНДЕРНО ЧУТЛИВА МОВА У СЛОВАЦЬКОМУ КОМУНІКАЦІЙНОМУ ПРОСТОРИ

Станіслава Мойсова

*доктор філософії, доцент,**кафедра французької мови і літератури**Університет Коменського в Братиславі (Словацьчина)*

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За останнє десятиліття гендерно чутлива або інклюзивна мова увійшла в комунікацію багатьох суб'єктів громадянського суспільства Словацьчини, будь то ЗМІ, державні установи, різноманітні асоціації чи окремі особи. Вона відображає феміністичні ідеї про те, що мова є інструментом гноблення і робить жінок невидимими, особливо в професіях і при виконанні різних функцій, а також пов'язана з відмовою в доступі до економічних ресурсів. Останні версії інклюзивної мови намагаються взяти до уваги, в рамках постбінарної концепції гендеру, так званих небінарних осіб. Спроби врахувати різних суб'єктів мовлення проявляються у словацькій мові або графічними знаками, або подвоєнням (розщепленням), або вживанням іменників середнього роду. У цьому оглядовому дослідженні аналізується поява інклюзивної мови в словацьких ЗМІ, а також у політичній мові, демонструючи її кореляцію з прогресивною частиною політичного спектру. Також увага приділяється прагматичній функції мови і досліджується вплив використання різних форм інклюзивної мови на ускладнення чи полегшення комунікації. Насамкінець згадується опитування про те, як люди які розмовляють словацькою сприймають інклюзивну мову.

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Introduction. Inclusion as a socio-cultural and political concept began to emerge in public and academic discourse in the 1990s, when it was loosely confused with integration (Gembery, Džambazovič, 2011). The term *inclusion* referred to providing access to opportunities and resources necessary to participate in society. The focus was put on marginalised or variously disadvantaged groups. With the strengthening of feminist tendencies in philosophy and on the basis of psycholinguistic research, the notion of inclusivity has been extended to the field of language. According to these researches, the use of generic masculine nouns (functions, profession) has an impact on women's place and status in society; very often, the generic masculine forms of nouns render them invisible (e.g. Braun et al., 2005). According to feminist theses, language is ideologically influenced by patriarchal society and the struggle for power and control also takes place in the linguistic field (Slender, 1990).

In the Slovak academic and social environment, efforts to gender-sensitise language in the name of women's inclusion have only recently begun to emerge¹. This trend, which individuals, various public institutions, some media and activists are trying to promote in the public communication in the European Union, is reaching Slovakia with some delay. This trend finds its concrete realization in the introduction of gender equality rules into the language. First of all, in line with classical feminism of the 90s of the 20th century, this is manifested in the use of the masculine and feminine forms of nouns (splitting) in the case of functions and professions instead of the generic masculine form. Further, as some recent developments in certain groups of Slovak society show, we can notice a new tendency in creating inclusive language. In fact, according to some feminist philosophy currents, binary roles on the masculinity-femininity axis are seen as limiting the authenticity of the individual, as „gender stereotypes punish and limit people's authenticity“ (Jeffreys, 2014; Butler, 1993). For this reason, the most recent version of inclusive language has also begun to take into account so-called non-binary or genderfluid people. Therefore, some communicants use the neutral gender of mass and quality nouns (for example, *poslanectvo* instead of *poslanec* (deputy) or *učiteľstvo* instead of *učitelia* (teachers). This article

will describe some forms of inclusive language and the communicative context in which it is applied. We focus on the main periodicals and main information portals and on the political discourse. Then, we will analyze the perception of this kind of language by Slovak native speakers by means of a survey that was carried out in August 2024. Finally, we will discuss the comprehensibility and functionality of some forms of inclusive language.

Material and Methods. In this research, we use the analysis of discourse as a main method. We focus on the main periodicals (newspapers) and information websites. Our research is completed by quantitative analysis in the case of the survey.

Results and Discussion. Most Slovak information portals and newspapers use generic masculine form, the exception being the national daily periodical Denník N, which in the majority of cases applies the splitting (both genders). We compared two topics related to current social and political events, namely the subject of posts for teachers and PISA testing. The only newspaper that has replaced the generic masculine with the dual form for this topic is Denník N, not only in the texts of the articles themselves, but also in the headlines: „Regionálne príspevky pre *učiteľky a učiteľov*: dobrý úmysel, bezzubé riešenie (headline). Školy v niektorých častiach Slovenska už dlhšie zápasia s nedostatkom *učiteľiek a učiteľov*. Týka sa to najmä veľkých miest a bohatších regiónov na západe krajiny. Najťažšia situácia je jednoznačne v Bratislave. Ak však v školách nebudú kvalifikované *učiteľky a učitelia*, deti len ťažko dostanú dobré vzdelanie. Najprv treba zdôrazniť, že nedostatok *učiteľiek a učiteľov* je skutočný problém (text).“²

In the articles on the same topic, all others analyzed information portals or periodicals use the generic masculine form:

National newspaper SME: *Učiteľom* áno, tisíckam *asistentov* nie. Kedy a ako školy vyplatia regionálne príspevky?³

Information website Aktuality: *Učiteľom* budú vyplácať regionálne príspevky. Rezort školstva zavedie v tomto roku regionálne príspevky pre pedagogických a odborných *zamestnancov*.⁴

National newspaper Pravda: *Učiteľia* si prílepšia, dostanú regionálne príplatky, rezort prerozdeli 60 miliónov eur. Ministerstvo školstva zavedie regionálne príspevky pre pedagogických a odborných *zamestnancov*.⁵

¹ At the institutional level, various manuals or handbooks are being adopted to implement equality between men and women, and gender-sensitive language is one of the tools. For example, Comenius University in Bratislava has adopted the Gender Equality Plan 2022 (<https://uniba.sk/o-univerzite/plan-rodovej-rovnosti-uk/>); it was completed and renewed in 2025). It was developed as a part of the implementation of the EU project EQUAL4EUROPE and also responds to the current EU requirement that the participation of public research institutions in the Horizon Europe programme should be conditional on the existence of institutional gender equality plans.

² <https://dennikn.sk/3916221/regionalne-prispevky-pre-ucitelky-a-ucitelov-dobry-umysel-bezzube-riesenie/>, 2. 4.2024

³ <https://domov.sme.sk/diskusie/5307362/kedy-ucitelom-vyplatia-regionalne-prispevky-preco-nan-tisice-asistentov-nemaju-vobec-narok-otazky-a-odpovede.html>, 16.4.2024

⁴ <https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/YPM8AZN/ucitelom-budu-vyplacat-regionalne-prispevky/>, 14.3.2024

⁵ <https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/703032-ucitelia-dostanu-regionalne-priplatky-rezort-prerozdeli-60-milionov-eur/>, 14.3.2024

National newspaper *Hospodárske noviny: Učiteľom* sa finančne prílepí, otázne je, či dostatočne. Text: Pedagogickí a odborní *zamestnanci* na školách dostanú rozdielne regionálne príplatky⁶.

The website of the Ministry of Education, Research, Development and Youth of the Slovak Republic presents the report also with a generic masculine: Rezort školstva zavedie regionálne príspevky pre *učiteľov*⁷.

The same situation can be noted in the case of the second analyzed topic, the testing of Slovak pupils according to the international PISA programme, where Denník N inserts a splitting instead of a generic masculine form, not only in the headline of the article but also in the text itself.

Denník N: Čo môže za horšie výsledky v testovaní PISA? Pandémia a zrejme aj iné zloženie *žiakov a žiakov*. Navyše za prepád našich výsledkov oproti roku 2018 zrejme môže aj iné zloženie testovanej vzorky *žiakov a žiakov*.⁸

SME: *Slovenskí žiaci* v medzinárodnom testovaní prepádli⁹.

Pravda: Drucker: Výsledky *slovenských žiakov* v medzinárodnom testovaní PISA 2022 sú tragické¹⁰.

Aktuality: Dôvodom zlých výsledkov *15-ročných žiakov* v testovaní PISA bola aj pandémia, tvrdí Tomáš Drucker¹¹.

Hospodárske noviny: *Slovenskí žiaci* sa výrazne prepádli, Drucker otvorene hovorí o národnej tragédii¹².

The inclusive language in its splitted forms is also present in Slovak political discourse. After the analysis of the election programme of the main political parties in Slovakia, we can see that it is used mainly by the representatives of the progressive or neo-liberal party, while representatives of the left, classical liberal or centrist parties or right-conservative groups use the generic masculine; the splitting is used only when addressing the public.

Thus, for example, the political party Progresívne Slovensko (Progressive Slovakia) uses the splitting systematically in its electoral programme, even in cases of idiomatic expressions where only a masculine form figures: „Základom na Slovensku (...) je silná motivácia a nasadenie veľkého počtu našich *pedagógov a pedagogičiek, vychovávateľov a vychovávateľiek*, aktívnych rodičov, mládežníckych a športových *organizátorov a organizátoriek, vedcov a vedkýň, technikov a techničiek, pracovníkov a pracovníčok* neziskového sektora a mnohých iných“; „Ak človek ochorie a musí ísť k *lekárovi či lekárke*“, „jasné nároky *pacientov a pacientok*“, „zdravotné poisťovne budú súťažiť o *poistencov a poistenky*“¹³. Similar or parallel texts (election programmes) of the political parties SMER, HLAS (classical leftist parties), or KDH (Christian Democrats, conservative party), contain exclusively generic masculine forms and no splitting („*Dôchodcovia* si zaslúžia vyšší dôchodok“, „*Lekári* majú voči Slovensku povinnosti“, „Zvýšime kapacitu *študentov* medicíny, aby slovenskí *študenti* boli uprednostnení pred zahraničnými“)¹⁴. In the election programme of the party Progressive Slovakia is used the inclusive language present in the Anglophone cultural area (Great Britain especially), i.e. language that takes into account other „genders“ than men and women: „Zámerom zakotvenia voľna pri spontánnom potrate alebo narodení mŕtveho plodu je pomôcť *tehotnej osobe (pregnant person)* a jej blízkemu človeku pri zotavovaní sa z neplánovaného ukončenia tehotenstva. [...] Zavedieme právo na menštruačné voľno pre *pracujúce osoby, ktoré pociťujú menštruačné bolesti (working persons with menstrual pains)*“¹⁵.

The inclusive language in the splitted version (masculine and feminine form) instead of the generic masculine form is also systematically used by individual members of the Progressive Slovakia party on social networks: „Nechápem, prečo má toľko *politikov a političiek* potrebu prihovárať sa v bielych

⁶ <https://hnonline.sk/slovensko/96136699-ucitelom-sa-finančne-prilepsi-otázne-je-ci-dostatočne-ozývajú-sa-aj-nespokojne-hlasy>, 18.03.2024

⁷ <https://www.minedu.sk/rezort-skolstva-zavedie-regionalne-prispevky-pre-ucitelov-prerozdelenych-bude-60-milionov-eur/>, 14.3.2024

⁸ <https://dennikn.sk/3795889/co-moze-za-horsie-vysledky-v-testovani-pisa-pandemia-a-zrejme-aj-ine-zlozenie-ziakov-a-ziakov/>, 26. 1.2024

⁹ <https://domov.sme.sk/c/23252890/vysledky-slovenskych-ziakov-v-merani-pisa-2022-su-tragicke-vyhlasil-drucker.html>, 5.12.2023

¹⁰ <https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/690960-drucker-vysledky-slovenskych-ziakov-v-medzinarodnom-testovani-pisa-2022-su-tragicke/>, 5.12.2023

¹¹ <https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/tlWnyd/dovodom-zlych-vysledkov-15-rocných-ziakov-v-testovani-pisa-bola-aj-pandemia-tvrdi-tomas-drucker/>, 23.12.2023

¹² <https://hnonline.sk/slovensko/96119037-pisa-2022-slovenski-ziaci-sa-vyrazne-prepadli-drucker-otvorene-hovori-o-narodnej-tragedii>, 5.12.2023

¹³ Electoral programme of Progressive Slovakia, parliamentary elections 2020, <https://progresivne.sk/dokumenty>, p. 35-36

¹⁴ Electoral programme, political party HLAS (<https://www.silnystat.sk/#section—priorities>), Christian democrats, KDH (<https://kdh.sk/volebny-program-kdh/>) and SMER, left democracy (<https://www.strana-smer.sk/program/>), consulted 1st May 2024

¹⁵ <https://progresivne.sk/programy/rovnost/>, consulted 1st May 2024. It is worth noticing that the inclusive language of this type was introduced into public health institutions in Great Britain (NHS, National Health System) thanks to transactivist movements, but has recently been abolished as a result of the work of women's rights organisations. According to the decision of the Secretary of State for Health, apart the drawback from the inclusivity language (“chestmilk” will be replaced by “breastmilk”, “birthing person” will be replaced by “parent”), transsexual women (biological men) will not be admitted to women's wards and female patients will have the right to be treated by biological women. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2024/04/30/nhs-sex-biological-landmark-shift-against-gender-ideology/>, 30.4.2024, consulted 1st May 2024.

rukavičkách špeciálne veriacim. Čo my, *ateisti a ateistky*? A čo ľudia s iným vyznaním? Kto zastupuje nás?“¹⁶, „Mrzí ma, že Robert Fico a ďalší koalíční predsedovia sa opäť zľakli možnosti diskutovať. Je to od nich zbabelé a neúčtivé voči všetkým *voličom a voličkám*“¹⁷.

From the functional and pragmatic point of view, the splitting, i.e. the systematic introduction of masculine and feminine forms of nouns, lengthens the text and slows down the reading and reception of the text. That's why, the graphic signs started to appear in certain texts. The application of graphic signs as for example asterisk enables to amalgamate masculine and feminine nouns, pronouns or adjectives. This trend has come to the Slovak language from other European languages; for example, the so-called *écriture inclusive* (inclusive orthography) in French uses median dots (*points médians*), which compress masculine and feminine nouns into a single lexical and graphical unit¹⁸. While in French this version of gender-balanced language has spread to the administrative documents of some municipal and local councils and in some educational institutions¹⁹, in Slovak, the use of graphic features that compress pronouns, adjectives or nouns into a single lexical unit is rare in public discourse.

Within the Slovak public discourse, graphic signs to achieve inclusivity are used in communication channels mainly by activist groups focusing on the promotion of the LGBTI agenda, but also by state-funded institutions, such as the Academy of Fine Arts in Bratislava or the Kunsthalle gallery in Bratislava, or the Open Culture platform. The asterisk has the same function than the median dot in French: „Stojíme v bode, keď skúsení, rešpektovaní *profesionáli*ky, akademici*čky, umelci*kyne, pedagógovia*ičky, kurátori*ky a kultúrni pracovníci*čky* čelia obvineniam z toho, že propagujú hodnoty, ktoré ohrozujú budúcnosť detí na Slovensku. [...] Hrdosť sa hlásime k *umelcom*kyniam*, a vážime si všetkých našich *návštevníkov*čky, ktorí*é* nás podporujú“²⁰.

In fact, the use of these graphic signs hampers the pronunciation and comprehensibility of the phrase. That's the reason why, when this status was adopted and published by most Slovak media, as well as by the Slovak national news agency (SITA), the amalgamated forms were replaced by asterisks by generic masculine nouns: „Stojíme v bode, keď skúsení, rešpektovaní *profesionáli, akademici, umelci, pedagógovia, kurátori a kultúrni pracovníci* čelia obvineniam z toho, že propagujú hodnoty, ktoré ohrozujú budúcnosť detí na Slovensku“²¹.

Another way to express the inclusivity (in this case the non-binarity) in the language appears to be the use of neutrum forms of nouns, instead of a generic masculine noun. The Slovak language has, in addition to the masculine and feminine gender, a neutral gender of nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Substantives of the neutral gender, whether qualitative or collective, which are supposed to replace the generic masculine, can be found in the texts of predominantly activist-oriented subjects: „Hľadáme *novinárstvo* s aspoň dvojročnou skúsenosťou, ktoré píše pre mladšie publikum“²².

According to some modern feminist currents of thought, binary gender is seen as limiting²³, and according to this statement, labelling a person in terms of gender or sexual orientation becomes a form of oppression and stigmatisation. That is the explication of why the letter *x* began to be used instead of the gender suffix in the texts of activist communication channels: „Budeme *radx* za akúkoľvek podporu“, „nie sme tak úplne *samx*“, „Sme totiž *presvedčenx*“, že sex, ku ktorému došlo bez súhlasu zúčastnených, je znásilnením“²⁴, „Vyjdime preto do ulíc a ukážme, že spolu sme *hlasnejšx*“²⁵. The inspiration might come from the North America academia, from the field of „latinx studies“, where the masculine noun Latino is replaced by Latinx.

In August 2024, an online survey was realized by the research team VEGA 1/0142/24 Linguistic inclusivity: between restrictive and inclusive communication of Faculty of Arts, University Comenius. 364 respondents were confronted with 4 versions of a phrase: the first version with generic

¹⁶ Facebook status from 26th June 2022, Beáta Jurík

¹⁷ Facebook status from 30th April 2024, Michal Šimečka

¹⁸ An example of this type of orthography (writing) is the sentence „Grâce aux agriculteur·rice·s, artisan·es et commerçant·e·s, la Gaule était un pays riche“. More about inclusive orthography (*écriture inclusive*) in French Moyšová, S. (2024), pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ In 2017, Hatier, the largest educational publishing house, published a history and geography textbook for primary school level 1 written in this kind of orthography (Entre Magellan et Gallilée – Questionner le monde). In 2021, the French Minister of Education banned the teaching of *écriture inclusive* in schools (<https://www.education.gouv.fr/bo/21/Hebdo18/MENB2114203C.htm>), arguing also that inclusive spelling, contrary to its name, excludes disadvantaged learners or readers from understanding the text. There is also the problem of the difficult spelling of the French language, the reform of which, after thirty years, has been problematic to put into practice (cf. Puchovská, 2023, p. 135)

²⁰ Facebook status by the gallery Kunsthalle, 16th January 2024

²¹ <https://sita.sk/kunsthalle-bratislava-sa-presuva-pod-sng-a-riaditel-konci-kroky-ministerstva-kultury-su-znepokojive/>

²² Facebook status PRIHLÁSTE SA NA REZIDENCIU PRE NOVINÁRSTVO, the Facebook profile of information website Kapitál, 21th December 2024

²³ For example, according to J. Butler, the theorist who developed queer theory, "the notion of queer allows one to break free from simplistic labels of gender identity and sexual orientation and brings a broader repertoire of activity and emotional experience" Glosár rodovej terminológie, <https://glosar.aspekt.sk/default.aspx?smi=1&ami=1&vid=166>

²⁴ Facebook status of the non governmental organisation Amnesty International, 18th November 2023

²⁵ Facebook status of the LGBT student's association Light, Faculty of Arts, University Comenius, 18th November 2023

masculine nouns, the second version with splitting, the third version with the neuter gender noun with an *-stvo* suffix and finally the noun with the *x* replacing the suffix. 76% of respondents prefer the generic masculine form of nouns, arguing that this form stands for both masculine and feminine gender. Furthermore, they are convinced that the splitting prolongs the reading. A slightly higher percentage (78%) finds the version with neuter nouns incomprehensible. Only 6% of respondents understands the use of *x* instead of a gendered suffix.

As for the splitting, the systematic use of doublets in informative journalistic text does meet the requirements of correct expression according to feminist postulates, but this use contradicts the principle of brevity and functionality that is implicit in longer informative text.

The avoidance of the generic masculine and the systematic use of splitting instead of generic masculine nouns overload the text and disturb the flow of reading, as the author of the book, coincidentally published by Denník N (i.e. the periodical which uses the splitting systematically), has also realised, as she makes the following editorial comment in the preface: „For the sake of a better flow of the text, we use the term client, partner (generic masculine form), but we always mean both male and female partner or client (...), the questions and answers cover all genders“²⁶.

As for the use of the neutral gender nouns with the suffix *-stvo*, which replaces the generic masculine, it deviates fundamentally from the established usage in Slovak, because the word-forming suffix *-stvo*, *-tvo* in Slovak expresses an abstract, inanimate, i.e. dehumanized concept (examples: *študujem učiteľstvo*, i.e. I'm studying to be teacher, or I'm studying teaching, *mám slovenské občianstvo*, i.e. I have Slovak citizenship)²⁷. The sense of massiveness or countability of nouns is only one category of the spectrum of the signification of the suffix *-stvo/-tvo* (cf. nouns as *obyvateľstvo*, *ľudstvo* etc.). In the case of some nouns created by this suffix, this signification is absent (for example, *rodičovstvo*, parenthood denotes the quality, not the countability). Therefore, the systematic replacing of the generic masculine nouns with a neutral gender noun with the suffix *-stvo* can lead to incomprehensibility of the text, as in this case: „Škola môže v rámci vytvorenia inkluzívnejšieho priestoru pre *študentstvo*, ktoré sa stalo *rodičovstvom* a *zamestnanectvom*, ktoré je *rodičovstvom*, disponovať nielen možnosťou voľby individuálneho študijného plánu (v prípade *študentstva*), ale aj zriadením priestoru určeného pre deti“²⁸.

²⁶ Monika Kompaníková, Ján Hrustič, *Umenie blízkosti*, N Press, Bratislava, 2023.

²⁷ Cf. HORECKÝ, Ján, *Slovotvorná sústava slovenčiny*, s. 141.

²⁸ Literal translation: „In order to create a more inclusive space for studentship who have become parenthood and staffship who are

Conclusions. Inclusive language in Slovak reflects various postulates about gender that have been taking shape in feminist discourse for four decades. As we saw by analyzing the statuses of Slovak political representatives and the parallel texts (election programmes), the occurrence of inclusive or gender-balanced language at this point correlates with certain political beliefs.

Among the media and political entities, it is mainly used by those on the progressive spectrum, while the graphic signs and the neuter, which is supposed to replace the generic masculine, are used more by entities on the fringes of the progressive spectrum. To a much greater extent than splitting, they interfere with the fluency of reading and reception of the text²⁹, and do not meet the prerequisites for facilitating communication. Although the communication universe is changing radically in today's world as a result of digitalisation and the fourth wave of the information revolution³⁰ and the pictorial character of a sign begins to prevail over the scriptuality of the written text, the pragmatic function continues to prevail in the language of the media. Inclusive language in written form, and especially its version with graphic signs and *x* which replaces the gendered suffix, departs from the phonetic form of the language, makes it difficult to read, and does not take into account morphological constraints or stylistic propriety; as such, it is more a demonstration of a certain philosophical or political conviction. It is therefore comprehensible only to informed readers or insiders and bears signs of a sociolect. This fact confirms the paradox of its exclusivity. Graphic experiments in any language, not just Slovak, exclude others, especially disadvantaged language users (readers or communicants with dyslexia, dyspraxia, or foreigners who are learning the language), from understanding. In a sense, this is the paradox of a language that wants to be inclusive (from the Latin word *includere*), i.e. to include all. Instead of inclusion, it has the potential to exclude (*excludere*) the vast majority of „uninitiated“ or disadvantaged language users (children, learners, foreigners, people with dyslexia, apraxia, etc.). On the other hand, splitting, even if it slows down the reception of the text and leads to semantic redundancy, is not a distortion of the phonetic form of the language and, as

parenthood, the school may not only have the option of choosing an individual study plan (in the case of studentship), but also by establishing a space dedicated to children“. Information website Kapitál, <https://kapital-noviny.sk/manual-kritickeho-studentstva>, the text was published with the support of the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), consulted 5th April 2024

²⁹ Hviezdičky vo vete „Pedagóg*ička nie je tvoj*a psycholog*ička“ (citovaný Manuál kritického študentstva) spôsobujú jej nezrozumiteľnosť, pričom nezasvätenému používateľovi nie je jasné, prečo je lexikálna jednotka pedagogička a psychologička rozdelená grafickým znakom a je v nej dlžej navyše.

³⁰ Cf. HORVÁTH, s. 5

a political symbol, is likely to continue to appear in the communications of subjects of (mainly) progressive orientation.

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