

Ana Mikić Čolić, Ljubica Gašparević, Bernardica Domorad
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku
amikic@ffos.hr, ljgasparevic@gmail.com, bernardicadomorad@gmail.com

The influence of foreign languages on the urban vernacular of Osijek

Given the specific geographical location of Osijek, with its proximity to as many as three national borders, and considering its historical heritage, i.e. the influence of foreign languages due to socio-political circumstances, viz. German, Turkish, Hungarian, this paper aims to investigate the extent to which the elements of foreign languages are represented in the contemporary urban vernacular of the City of Osijek. To this end, research included 200 participants who have lived in Osijek since birth, classified into two age groups: 100 participants aged from 15 to 25, and 100 participants aged from 25 aged 45 to 55. The analysis aims to show the prevalent influences on the urban vernacular of Osijek, as well as to establish if age difference determines its use.

1. Introduction

A city is a place where people meet and talk, and it is language that characterizes the city and keeps it alive. The residents of the city, in their conversations, confirm and re-shape the terms used to define urban society (Halliday 1983). The adaptation of language to the needs of the urban culture, i.e. the ability of a language to adhere to the changes in the social life of the speech community that uses it, often implies opening up to the influences of prestigious foreign languages and activating its own expressive features, all of which contributes to the speed and ease of communication. These are the circumstances in which urban vernaculars start to form, characterized by lexical prolificacy and innovation, semantic expressivity, metaphoricity, and association, as well as ludic playfulness with the meaning. Urban vernaculars are therefore very complex idioms with multiple lexical and stylistic layers, and diverse grammatical structures, because they come into being when regional or dialectal features permeate elements of the standard language and other (foreign) languages.

Considering Osijek's particular geographic location – its proximity to as many as three state borders – its historical legacy, that is, the influence of foreign languages as a result of socio-political circumstances – German, Turkish, Hungarian – as well as its being subjected to the global influence of the English language during the past 20 years, the aim of this study was to explore the extent to which elements of foreign languages are represented in the modern urban vernacular of the city of Osijek.

2. From rural to urban dialectology

Rural dialectology has put the focus of its attention on studying speech communities – an idealized construction consisting of three basic concepts: the social group, communication network, and linguistically homogeneous population (Halliday 1983). Such an idealized and, from the point of view of traditional dialectology, “prestigious” speech community implies a group of people who are connected through some sort of a social organization, all of whom speak alike. Among the traditional dialectologists, the most popular individuals were mainly older, immobile, male speakers considered to have preserved an old, ideal, pure, and uncorrupted – while actually imaginary – speech variety of a certain rural area.¹ Although ground-breaking research began as early as the late 1920s as 1930s the members of the Prague School warned that language was socially and functionally fragmented in urban environments, the first systematic studies of urban vernaculars appeared with the sudden rise in the role, as well as the size of cities and the increase in the urban population. In the 1960s, William Labov, having studied varieties of American urban vernaculars, established that each form of speech implies “structured heterogeneity” (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 75), causing the disintegration of the classic (idealized) speech community and laying the foundations for a new linguistic discipline which is, to date, known as *urban dialectology*, *secular linguistics*, *Labov's school* (Mesthrie et al. 2009; Ivić 1983), *modern or social dialectology*² (Bugarski 2009), as well as *quantitative dialectology* (Jutronic 2010). Unlike traditional rural dialectology, which primarily takes interest in spatial differentiation of language, urban dialectology seeks to determine the extent to which the city can influence the structure of linguistic elements. Labov establishes that the residents of the city are much more linked with their language attitudes and strong prejudices than with their speech, which is, in fact, very diverse, and very unstable. Hence, the basic feature of the urban vernacular is its changeability or flexibility, and the image of the world that speakers of urban vernaculars possess is not one of order and stability. How-

1 Canadian linguist Jack Chambers described the ideal speaker for dialectological research of rural vernaculars with the abbreviation NORM: *non-mobile, older rural males* (Trudgill 2000: 26–27).

2 Jutronic (2010: 26) claims that *urban* and *social dialectology* are not synonyms. More precisely, urban dialectology implies a description of urban vernacular, whereas social dialectology insists that such a description systematically links linguistic and social variables.

ever, it contains one other quality, which is that various and numerous groups of people take part in creating such an image – and such speech (Halliday 1983). At this point it should be emphasized that the establishment of urban dialectology did not simultaneously mean negating traditional dialectology. Essentially, it was limited to discerning and describing the distribution of particular linguistic features geographically, or horizontally, while, on the other hand, urban dialectology introduced a vertical dimension into language description, or social space, as it was noticed that the use of language largely depends on age, gender, level of education of speakers, and numerous other social parameters (Bugarski 2009).

A very strong dialectological tradition in Croatia had “postponed” the sociolinguistic research into the speech of Croatian urban areas. This resulted in a later appearance of domestic research of this kind compared to the inception of urban dialectology in the rest of the world. A number of specific characteristics mark the development of urban vernaculars in Croatia. These include an explosive growth of cities during wartime, which saw speakers spreading their language specifics, a growing number of public, educational, cultural, scientific and art institutions, the building of large international trade corporations and other companies (Šojat et al. 1998). Considering the relative scarcity of their description, one can rightfully ask if there really are any urban vernaculars, i.e. if urban vernaculars possess enough distinguishing features which define them, all the while clearly differentiating them from the means of linguistic expressions not belonging to the city. Is the language of Croatian cities thus sufficiently authentic and shaped so that it could be deemed a true speech vernacular?

It is Zečević (2000) who suggests that the modern way of life influences the speech of Croatian cities, pointing out that changes in speech happen spontaneously and on a daily basis, influenced by schools and public media, i.e. that the first and foremost causes of language interference are social ones. Currently, the Croatian public space is increasingly filled nonstandard idioms, two of which could be identified as deemed more highly esteemed, *viz.* the urban vernaculars of Zagreb and Split. These exert a significant influence on both the use and the notion of standard practice in public communication (Kuna and Mikić 2008)

The vernacular of the capital has been described by a group of authors in the book *Zagrebački kaj* (The Zagreb kaj, 1998), who take into consideration the indigenous speeches of the majority of Zagreb’s suburban areas, and describe these from a diachronic viewpoint, but with a view of concomitant contemporary changes these had undergone. The Zagreb Kajkavian dialect was thus established to still reign supreme as the prestigious urban speech, one considered to serve as the identity marker of Zagrebians. Still, apart from the city Kajkavian, the mark of a distinguished city speech was also awarded to Zagrebian Štokavian, which features a replacement of a great number of Kajkavian features with Štokavian ones, influenced by the advent of newcomers as speech bearers of all three Croatian dialects. The Split vernacular was described by Jutronić (2010) in the eponymous book (*Split-*

ski govor). The author relies on Labov’s methodology to analyze the language of three generations of speakers and illustrates that younger speakers edge towards the standard much more than older ones and that there is a general move towards the standard regarding linguistic and dialectal change. One can, in this regard, no longer refer to the Split vernacular as Čakavian, but rather as some sort of half-Čakavian variety, witnessing a disappearance of primarily those dialectal features felt by the speaker to be socially unacceptable, i.e. marked. The position of the Rijeka vernacular between the standard and dialect was studied by Badurina and Matešić (2008).

Based on the above, one can argue that urban vernaculars are idioms used by the urban population in everyday life and communicative situations. These idioms have multiple lexical and stylistic layers, a diverse grammatical structure, and have ensued as a result of the overflow and overlap of linguistic phenomena with non-linguistic phenomena (Kuna and Mikić Čolić 2016). According to Žanić (2015), urban vernacular emerges from the interaction between the dialect and standard. By taking elements from both the standard and the system, or the dialectal background of the area in which it is spoken, urban vernacular does not take the physiognomy either of the system or standard, shaping itself as a separate idiom (Badurina and Matešić 2008) marked by the openness towards the influences of prestigious foreign languages and the employment of its own expressive possibilities. In such circumstances, productive and innovative varieties establish themselves, characterized by flexible grammar, and metaphorical and associative semantics, together with ludic playfulness with sound and meaning (Bugarski 1983). Shaping of the urban vernacular can be graphically represented, as is shown in Figure 1:

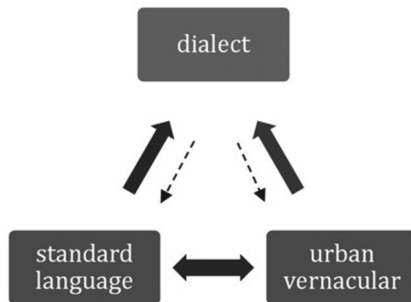


Figure 1. (Inter)influence of the dialect and standard language on the urban vernacular

In Figure 1 it is apparent that dialect, standard language, and urban vernacular are intertwined and influenced by one another, but to different extents, or in different ways. The dialect acts as a basis for both the standard language and urban vernacular. This dialectal basis differentiates one urban vernacular from all other (urban) vernaculars (Granić 1999). However, this is depicted by dashed lines because this influence ends here, or in other words, even though it is the basis for both idioms, neither of them actively takes elements from it anymore. On the other

hand, both the standard language and urban vernaculars have a significant influence on the dialect, especially when it comes to younger speakers. The prestige of the standard language stems from its supra-regional character, its normativity and the extent to which it is used in the area of public communication. However, the prestige of an urban vernacular depends on the size of the city – the larger the city, the greater the prestige. This is especially the case with the idioms stemming from the same dialectal background as the prestigious urban vernacular, which consequently disappear in such an environment. The standard language and urban vernacular actively complement and shape each other, demonstrated by the double-headed arrow in Figure 1. In other words, the standard language, or the explicit norm, influences urban vernaculars. Furthermore, the standard is no longer created in rural areas, but in cities, which act as true contemporary cultural melting pots (Ivić 1965). The size of the city, as has already been said, effects the prestige of its vernacular, as well as the extent to which it is used in the area of public communication, and, consequently, the influence of the urban vernacular on the explicit norm.

3. The urban vernacular of Osijek

The city of Osijek has a century-old tradition of a clearly identified urban vernacular. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Esseker* dialect was shaped, the German dialect named after the German toponym for Osijek – *Esseg*. This vernacular originated based on several Bavarian–Austrian dialects, with a strong influence from the Viennese dialect. Aside from the Austrian variety of the German language, the Croatian, Serbian, and Hungarian languages also had an influence on the *Esseker* dialect. Even though Croatian has been the official language since 1918, the *Esseker* dialect stayed firmly rooted as the language of communication among the lower classes of the German population. After World War II, the German population dramatically dropped due to the political situation. The survival of the *Esseker* dialect was impossible under such circumstances, so it disappeared by the mid-20th century (Petrović 2008: 5). The end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century again bring the recognizable identifying of the vernacular of Osijek at all levels of the linguistic description. Having explored the grammatical structure of five Slavonian urban vernaculars,³ Kuna and Mikić Čolić (2016) have established that only the vernacular of Osijek is characterized by a steady urban lexis, and the specifics are to some extent instilled in the grammar of that vernacular as well, which is primarily manifested in word formation. In addition to lexis and word formation, the semantic formation in the urban vernacular of Osijek was also explored (Kuna and Mikić Čolić 2017) and the research confirmed a semantic shift specific to the vernacular of Osijek. It can be concluded that Osijek, as a regional

3 The research included the analysis of urban vernaculars from five Slavonian counties: Osijek, Vinkovci, Požega, Virovitica and Slavonski Brod (Kuna and Mikić Čolić 2016).

educational, industrial, and economic centre has developed into a modern urban environment, which is reflected in the speech of its residents.

4. Research

4.1. Hypotheses and aims

The following hypotheses have been formulated bearing in mind Osijek's location in the proximity of three state borders, its rich socio-political history and its being subject to the increasing influence of the English language.

1. Foreign languages have had an influence in shaping the urban vernacular of Osijek.
2. In the modern vernacular of Osijek, the most powerful influence is that of the English language.
3. Through the agency of the dialectal background of the urban vernacular of Osijek, even today one can find elements of the German and Hungarian.

To summarize, in accordance with the formulated hypotheses, the aims of this paper are as follows:

1. To determine which foreign languages influence the modern urban vernacular of Osijek
2. To determine the intensity of influence of each foreign language
3. To determine levels of linguistic description at which the influence of foreign languages is visible
4. To determine the level of adaptation of foreign words and elements.

4.2. Methodology

As was already mentioned in the theoretical part of this paper, the subject of study of urban dialectology is the language used by “ordinary” people in their everyday interactions. Such language is always variable, because it deviates depending on the interlocutor, speech situation, and the social context. Accordingly, urban dialectology is exempt from inherited purist attitudes and stereotypes of good and bad languages. Such an approach to linguistic material creates the need for careful planning of the methods of collecting and processing of data that will adequately present the speech habits of the members of a particular speech community. Basic methods in urban vernacular research are: determining language variations in the vernacular observed, developing a questionnaire that will encourage respondents to use informal linguistic forms, selecting suitable respondents (most often by age), collecting and analyzing data, and determining correlations between linguistic occurrences and social groups. In practice, such research is based on statements taken “from 40 to 150 respondents” (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 76). The material for this study was collected by means of a survey (written questionnaire) conducted in April and May 2019, in which 200 respondents who have been living in Osijek since

they were born took part. The respondents were divided into two age categories: 100 respondents aged 15 to 25, and 100 respondents aged 45 to 55. By carrying out the research in two age groups, we wanted to determine whether age difference impacted the use of the urban vernacular of Osijek. Special attention was paid to the selection of the categories that were included in the survey, in order to avoid the “observer’s paradox”⁴. To be more specific, the subject of this research was the language used by speakers in informal situations when they are not “under supervision”. To obtain the desired results, the respondents were asked to specify how they would informally name particular urban areas, occupations, clothing, footwear, interpersonal relationships, body parts, practical objects, and activities, as well as physical, character, and mental traits. In the survey, special emphasis was placed on the category of space, as we wanted to prompt and encourage the respondents to provide the informal names rather than the formal. Urban areas are not just mere landmarks to the residents of a city, to which they can remain indifferent. Based on their childhood, long-term stay in the city, and sharing similar experiences, a sense of attachment towards public spaces and a symbolic connection between area and people will inevitably ensue. Thus, the connection to an area becomes identity-related, personal, and historical (Uršić 2009).

The methodology of the language contact theory (Filipović 1986) will be applied in the analysis. This methodology implies two stages of adaptation: primary and secondary. The process of linguistic borrowing starts by adopting a model from the donor language into the recipient language. The word *model* signifies an element, or word, as spoken by the speakers of the donor language. The adaptation of the model takes place at several levels, and during this adaptation, a series of changes occur. The term *replica* signifies a borrowed element as spoken by the speakers of the recipient language. The analysis of the replica shows that its integration into the system of the recipient language does not complete the adaptation but is instead followed by a series of changes characteristic of the level at which they occur and in accordance with the system of the recipient language. A *compromise replica* would be the element that, during the transition into the recipient language, has kept some features of the language from which it originated. When it comes to types of changes, the first ones are those that occur from the transfer of the model into the recipient language to its integration or fitting the replica into the system of that language. Such changes are called primary changes. Furthermore, the term secondary changes presupposes those changes that occur in the replica, or the loanword, from the time of its introduction into the system of the recipient language. The primary adaptation period implies the stage of the compromise replica which may last longer or shorter. When it comes to the secondary adaptation period, only its beginning can be discerned, and it is the moment when the replica is fully integrated into the system of the recipient language and starts behaving like other

4 Labov coined this expression wanting to emphasize how important it is to ensure the spontaneity and informality of the respondents in gathering material for urban vernacular research (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 90).

domestic words. When it comes to both primary and secondary changes, Filipović (1986) states that they are regulated by two linguistic operations: substitution and importation. Each part of the model that is replaced by an equivalent from the recipient language is called substitution, while the acquisition of a foreign element is called importation. When adapting a model into a replica, substitution is much more frequent, and it occurs at the phonological and morphological levels for which the terms of transphonemization and transmorphemization are introduced.

4.3. Research results

A total of 294 tokens were obtained from the 200 respondents who were divided into two age categories. Based on word origin, the corpus of tokens comprised 198 Croatian (or completely domesticated) words, 68 words of English origin, 17 Hungarian words, and eleven German words. The share of words or elements of foreign origin in the urban vernacular of Osijek can be graphically represented as is shown in Figure 2:

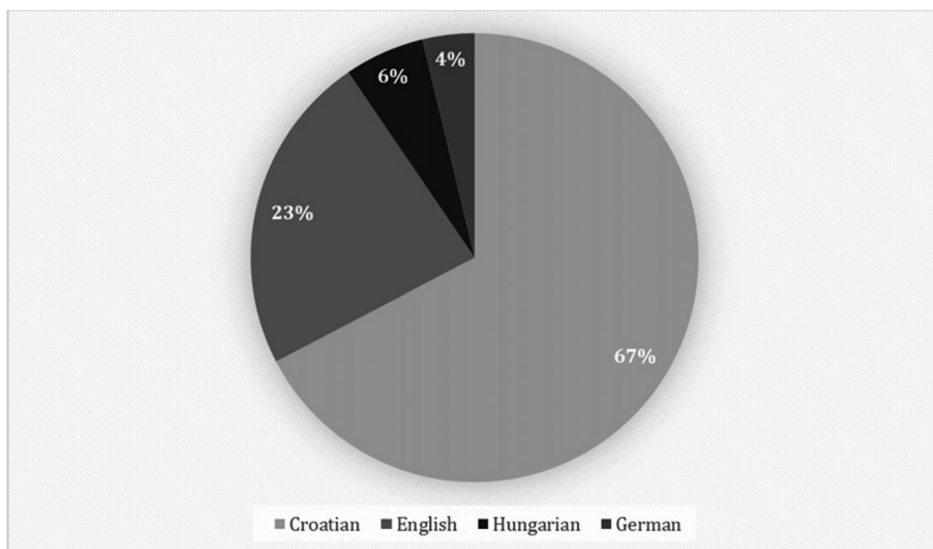


Figure 2. The share of words or elements of foreign origin in the urban vernacular of Osijek

If we look at the results across both age groups, we can see that the results are similar. To be more specific, the group of speakers aged 15 to 25 mentioned 153 tokens for the requested categories, whereas the group of speakers aged 45 to 55 mentioned 141 tokens. It is interesting that both age groups use both foreign words and elements more or less equally, and the only difference between the two age groups was observed in the category *clothing and footwear*: older speakers tend to use words for fashion items that are very rare and often unknown in the younger group of respondents, such as *vijetnamka* and *spitfajterica*.

4.4. Analysis

4.4.1. The influence of the English language

English is a powerful donor language because of the large number of its speakers, especially in the USA which has great economic power, a significant presence in the media, and vast global prestige. In this part of the paper, we will analyze the influence of the English language on the urban vernacular of Osijek, with a special emphasis on the orthographic, morphemic, and semantic adaptation of English words. According to Filipović (1986) and Menac et al. (2000), the orthographic adaptation of loanwords takes place based on the following four principles: according to pronunciation of the model (phoneme → grapheme), according to the orthography of the model (grapheme → grapheme), by combining the previous two principles, and through the language mediator. Due to the disparity between the phonemic and graphemic systems of the English and Croatian language, it is not always easy to adapt certain English phonemes to Croatian graphemes (e.g. diphthongs /eɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /aɪ/). Such phonemes are replaced in Croatian by graphemes which are closest to them: Engl. /eɪ/ > Cro. *ej*, Engl. /ɔɪ/ > Cro. *oj*, Engl. /aɪ/ > Cro. *aj*, Engl. /θ/ > Cro. *t*, Engl. /ð/ > Cro. *d*, Engl. /w/ > Cro. *v*, Engl. /ŋ/ > Cro. *ng*. From the corpus collected, it is apparent that the most frequent creation of Anglicisms in the urban vernacular of Osijek occurs according to the orthography of the model: *idiot*, *retard*, *hotel*, *pub*, *bar*, *tvigi*. Examples were found in which the initial part of the lexeme was adopted according to the orthography of the model, but with the addition of a suffix from the Croatian case system: *starke* – ‘sport shoes’ (from the iconic sport shoe model *All Star* by the Converse brand), *tvigica* – ‘a skinny person’ (from the name of the English model and singer Twiggy who was known for her slim and fragile figure). The lexeme *restač* is derived from the foreign lexeme *restoran* by shortening and adding the suffix *-ač*, which is most commonly used in word formation for nouns that denote the doer of the action. In naming neighbourhoods in the city and places of residence, there were examples in which the orthographic adaptation did not occur at all: *Bosut City* (Industrijska četvrt), *South* (Jug II), *house*. A slightly lower number of English loanwords were adapted according to pronunciation of the model: *fon* (cellphone), *plejgrand* (playground), *haus* (house) and by adding appropriate suffixes: *spitfajterica* (a jacket, from *Spitfire/fighter*), *šuze* (running shoes), *fiksanje* (doing drugs), *usnajpati* (to notice). Only two lexemes that have been adapted to the Croatian language by combining the previous two principles of orthographic adaptation have been recorded. The first one is *jaketa* (from *jacket* /'dʒæk.ɪt/) where the first part of the lexeme has been adapted according to the orthography of the model. The second is *klub* (from *club* /klʌb/) where the first part of the lexeme was adapted according to the pronunciation, and the second according to the orthography of the model.

On the morphemic level, transmorphemization refers to all the changes that the basic form of the donor language model goes through during adaptation and

transition into the basic form of the recipient language – Croatian, and all cases show that the laws of the Croatian language apply to this new basic form (Filipović et al. 1999: 16). According to Filipović's theory of languages in contact, this process is based on the fact that a word can be composed of a free and a bound morpheme, and that the bound morpheme can be a null morpheme. He lists three types of changes at this level: null, compromised or partial, and complete transmorphemization. Null transmorphemization occurs when the model is taken from a foreign language as a free morpheme, without a bound morpheme, after it has been adapted to the recipient language at the phonological level. In the Croatian language, such adaptation is "carried out according to the formula *free morpheme + null bound morpheme*" (Filipović et al. 1999: 17). In the urban vernacular of Osijek, a large number of lexemes of English origin have been found in which null morphemization has taken place: *fon, plejgrand, haus, idiot, retard, hotel, pub, klub, lokal, bar, tvingi*. All these lexemes fit into the Croatian case system in their original (transphonemized) forms, and therefore do not need additional suffixes. There are three lexemes that stand out which are not adapted on either an orthographic or morphemic level: *South, Bosut City, house*. Compromised or partial transmorphemization occurs when a loanword keeps the bound morpheme which has been adapted to the recipient language on the phonological, but not on the morphological level. In other words, it has not been replaced by the corresponding morpheme from the recipient language fund (Filipović et al. 1999: 36). In the corpus, there were no Anglicisms found where partial transmorphemization occurred. After complete transmorphemization takes place, the loanword is fully integrated into the system of the recipient language because it has been adapted phonologically and morphologically. The bound morpheme of foreign origin is replaced by the bound morpheme from the recipient language – *box-er > boks-ač*. A significant number of lexemes were recorded, in which complete transmorphemization took place: *spit-fajter-ic-a, šuz-e, farmer-ic-e, fac-a, rest-ač-ø* (shortening was the first change to occur – *restoran > rest-ač-ø*), *jaket-a, u-snajp-a-ti*. One should note that most of these lexemes originally had the following form: *free morpheme + bound null morpheme*, but the corresponding bound morpheme from the Croatian language was added to integrate them into the Croatian morphological system. In other words, there was no substitution of the English bound morpheme (e.g. *-er, -ing*) with a morpheme from the Croatian language, which is by definition the core of complete transmorphemization. However, by adding suffixes from the recipient language to these the lexemes have been fully adapted to its system. Hence the abovementioned examples are designated as completely transmorphemized.

The adaptation of the models taken from foreign languages at the semantic level may be the most diverse aspect of adaptation of foreign words to the recipient. Expanding Hope's classification, Filipović (1986: 161) lists the following types of semantic changes: changes in semantic extension (which include zero semantic extension, extension and narrowing of the meaning), ellipsis, eponymization, pe-

ization, and euphemisms, as well as metaphor. In the corpus collected, examples of eponymization, narrowing of meaning, zero semantic extension, extension of meaning, and metonymy were found. Lexemes created by eponymization (by converting personal names into common nouns) of originally English words are: *tvigi* – ‘a skinny person’, *spitfajterica* – ‘a jacket’ (Engl. *Spitfire/fighter* – combat aircrafts whose pilots are recognizable by wearing a specific jacket model) and *starke* – ‘sport shoes’. The example *tvigi* is interesting because it only came up in the group of older respondents (45 – 55 years of age). Considering the fact that Twiggy peaked in the 60s and 70s, this time overlaps with the time youth of the older respondents and so it is logical that the younger respondents are not familiar with this example.

Narrowing of meaning, which “implies the change of multiple meanings into one (narrowing of meaning by number), or from a general meaning to a specialized meaning (narrowing of meaning in the field)” (Sočanac et al. 2003: 175) occurred in a couple of words. The word *šuze* (from Engl. *shoes*) refers to running shoes, and not to shoes in general as is the case in the English language. *Fiksanje* is one of many recorded lexemes that refer to doing drugs. In the urban vernacular of Osijek, the mentioned lexeme carries only that one meaning, while originally, the verb *fix* has multiple meanings and can mean ‘fixing’, or ‘fault clearing’, ‘setting up a meeting’, etc. In the lexemes *idiot* and *retard* (‘an unintelligent person’) apart from the narrowing of meaning, another thing that occurs is pejorization. From the beginning of the development of psychology and its intertwining with the field of medicine, the above-mentioned terms were used for persons with certain mental illnesses. Today, these terms are no longer used in the medical jargon due to their characteristic insensitivity and incorrectness, but they have remained in colloquial language as insulting terms.

Zero semantic extension, in taking words from foreign languages, refers to the cases in which the word taken from a foreign language in the recipient language retains all the meanings it had in the donor language. Zero semantic extension most commonly occurs in lexemes that have a few meanings or just one meaning (Sočanac et al. 2003: 125). There was a significant number of examples in which there was no change in semantics: *fon* (Engl. *phone*), *plejgrand* (Engl. *playground*), *haus*, *house* (Engl. *house*), *hotel* (Engl. *hotel*), *bar* (Engl. *bar*), *restač* (Engl. *restaurant*), *jaketa* (Engl. *jacket*), *klub* (Engl. *club*).

Extension of meaning which occurs during the adaptation of loanwords implies giving meaning to a certain lexeme that that lexeme did not originally have. Such examples include words like: *faca* and *tip* – ‘a handsome young man’, *pub* – ‘a bar’ (originally a *pub* is a place in which food is also served), *farmerice* – ‘jeans’ (in the past, this word only referred to denim overalls). What emerges as peculiar are the lexemes *South* and *Bosut City* which stand for the districts Jug II and Industrijska četvrt in the city of Osijek. These examples can also be considered cases of extension of meaning because the lexemes *south* and *city* carry a meaning specific to the city of Osijek.

Metonymy is characterized by “the change of meaning based on the closeness or real relations between the lexemes” (Kuna and Mikić Čolić 2017: 87–88). One such example was noted, *viz.* the lexeme *usnajpati*, which means ‘to notice’. A change in the meaning occurred because of the similarity between the verb *snipe* (‘to shoot someone with a firearm with a great precision’) and the act of “noticing” something or someone with the naked eye.

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the English language is a very prolific source of loanwords when it comes to the urban vernacular of Osijek. Although, as the analysis has shown, loanwords mostly went through some kind of adaptation coming into the Croatian language system. Most of them retained features by which they can still be recognized as elements of foreign origin.

4.4.2. The influence of the Hungarian language

The 9th century is the time when the Hungarians migrated to the area where they still live nowadays, and it is also the time in which a two-way process of cultural and linguistic exchange started taking place. Hungarisms have been appearing in the Croatian language since the twelfth century with the founding of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which lasted for eight full centuries. Considering the geographical proximity, political connection, and intensity and duration of the contact between the Croatian and Hungarian language, one would expect the Hungarian language had a more significant influence on the Croatian language. However, it is important to emphasize that most Hungarisms belong in the sub-standard layers of the Croatian language, or in other words, we are talking about dialectisms, regionalisms, archaisms, and jargon. Therefore, loanwords mostly belonged to the local, dialectal layers of the Hungarian language corpus (Sočanac et al. 2003: 127).

Although the analysis of the corpus of tokens obtained through the research for this work has shown that there is not one word of Hungarian origin to be found, this does not mean that the Hungarian influence on the urban vernacular of Osijek is non-existent. Let us elaborate. Linguistic borrowing was traditionally defined as taking words from another language, while structural elements were considered to be resistant and unborrowable (Turk 2013). Newer literature refutes this theory and talks about how linguistic contacts interfere with all linguistic levels. Clyne (as cited in Turk 2013) differentiates the following types of transferences: lexical, semantic, morphological, phonological, prosodic, syntactic, and orthographic. With regard to the corpus of tokens, which is the subject of the analysis in this part of the paper, we will be interested in morphological transference, or the transfer of bound morphemes from one language into another. As has already been said, at first glance it seems that there are no Hungarian loanwords in the urban vernacular of Osijek, but the morphological analysis of tokens confirms structural, or more specifically, morphological borrowing. Examples from the urban vernacular of Osijek that induce such conclusions are: *Gundika*, *Mekika*, *Pejika*, *Štrosika*, *Vukika*, *Srednjika*, *Poljošica* (‘Poljoprivredna škola’) and *frajkoš* and *mengoš* (‘handsome young

man’). The suffix *-ika* is a typical suffix in Osijek, which is commonly accepted by all age groups, and is used in the derivation of many semantic groups. It is unavoidable in the (re)naming of areas such as the following streets: *Štrosika*, *Vukika*, *Keršika*, *Feđika-Svačika* (from the name of the former and present street: Street of Feđo Milić and King Svačić). The suffix *-ika* is also used in referring to the following city blocks: *Đemika* – used to be the neighbourhood of Đemal Bijedić, *Donjika*, *Gornjika* – districts Donji and Gornji grad; secondary school: *Đurika* – School of Đuro Đaković; the promenade *Promika* – ‘promenada’; the playground and recreation centre *Kopika* – Copacabana. Apart from its use in the (re)naming of spaces, the suffix *-ika* can be found in the formation of hypocorisms such as: *bracika* – ‘a friend’ and *ponika* – ‘a bicycle’. Since the same suffix is very as prolific in the formation of diminutives and/or hypocorisms in the Hungarian language – e.g. *Enikő*⁵, *Rózsika* (derived from *Rózsa*), *Marika* (derived from *Mária*), *Zsoltika* (from the men’s name *Zsolt*), *Csabika* (derived from a men’s name *Csaba*) (Hajdú 1970: 108–109) – as it is in the vernacular of Osijek, we can justifiably link its use in Croatian with the influence of local Hungarian dialects. The fact that this suffix more frequently occurs in the southern dialects of the Hungarian language (the area of Croatian Baranja and Vojvodina) is also confirmed by dialectological research (Bartha 1952; Penavin 1986). Another example of morphological transference from Hungarian to the vernacular of Osijek can be found in the words *Poljošica*, *frajkoš*, *cajoš* and *mengoš*. At the time of intense contact with Hungarian, Hungarian suffixes *-aš*, *-oš* and *-aroš* came into the Croatian language. It is certain that the suffixes were not taken as stand-alone formative units, but probably with Hungarian loanwords. Over time, these suffixes became independent in the Croatian language, and began to be used with domestic bases (Sočanac et al. 2005: 70). In his treatment of the suffix *-oš*, Hadrovics (1985) notes its uneven distribution across the entire Štokavian area, which supports the thesis behind this paper of the suffix *-oš* as a specific feature of the Osijek vernacular. The suffix *-oš*, as well as the suffix *-ika*, are very productive in the urban vernacular of Osijek. Because of their pronounced productivity in the urban vernacular does not coincide with their productivity in the standard language, we can again justifiably say that their use in the urban vernacular of Osijek is also encouraged by direct geographic contact.

4.4.3. The influence of the German language

The German language has had a long-lasting and intense influence on the Croatian language. The Croatian language was in intense contact with German, or more precisely, with its Austrian variety, during the centuries of contiguity and political

5 Although the ending in the example does not match the suffix *-ika* in formal terms, they still are still seen to match, since the sound *ő*, which only appears in the end position gets discarded and replaced with the ending *-a*, marking the feminine gender *s* in the course of its adaptation into Croatian (Sočanac et al. 2005: 64). In a vein similar to *-oš*, the suffix *-ika* found its way into Croatian via Hungarian loanwords (e.g., *karika*, *pantljika*) which were initially borrowed together with the base. With time, the suffixes „earned their independence“ and started to be used with/on Croatian bases.

unity. Contacts began in the early Middle Ages, at the time of the Franconian conquests in the 8th and 9th centuries, lasting with a varying intensity until the first half of the 20th century. Most of the Germanisms in Croatian were borrowed in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries with the terms related to cultural enrichment and objects of the industrial revolution (Turk 2013). Unlike the Hungarian language, which influenced the vernacular of Osijek on a structural level, the German influence is evident at the lexical level. In the corpus, eleven German loanwords were found that have been adapted to different degrees.

Orthographically, Germanisms in the vernacular of Osijek are adapted almost exclusively according to pronunciation: *plac* (Germ. *Platz*), *markt* (Germ. *Markt*), *haus* (Germ. *Haus*), *grunt* (Germ. *Grund*). Such adaptation is proof that the words were taken as part of informal communication situations and were written down as they were heard. Interesting examples, are *kirvaj* and *bircuz*, which in German go by *Kirchweihe* and *Wirtshaus*. Because of the lack of knowledge of German, in direct contact with native speakers, the mentioned examples were, only partially transferred into the Croatian system. Namely, because certain parts of the German expressions were either spoken with softer intensity or were not understood by the Croatian speakers they were not recorded and were omitted. It is interesting that in both examples the sound *h* was omitted, which does not exist in the Slavonian dialect and is realized as *j* (*oraj* compared to the standard *orah*), *v* (*kruv* compared to the standard *kruh*) or is not realized at all (*sna* or *snaja* compared to the standard *snaha*). Therefore, these examples are interesting because influences of dialectal background with foreign influences can be seen in their formation.

All the listed words can be morphologically placed at the level of zero transmorphemization, which implies taking the free morpheme without bound morphemes. The group of Germanisms affected by compromise transmorphemization is comprised of replicas of models of masculine gender with the suffix *-er* (Sočanac et al. 2005: 104). In the corpus we can find one such example – *šljaker*. A complete transmorphemization which encompasses models whose replicas in the Croatian language replace the German suffix can be identified in the following examples: *lojtra* (Germ. *Leiter*, substitution of the German suffix *-er* with the Croatian suffix *-ra*) and *birtija* (Germ. *Wirtshaus*) in which the whole German compound part (*haus*) is replaced with the Croatian suffix *-ija*.

Germanisms in the vernacular of Osijek are also interesting from a semantic standpoint, and in the examples we can also recognize the extension of meaning and metonymy. Extension of meaning can be seen in *plac* which, apart from its original meaning 'square; place/seating, standing/location', also gets the meaning of 'green market' and 'building land'. Meaning was also extended in the word *kirvaj* which, apart from standing for 'church celebration' in the urban vernacular of Osijek also takes the meaning of 'marketplace'. We can assume that the extension of meaning in this word was prompted by the fact that the church celebration included *vašar* where gingerbread and sweets were sold as well. We can see the metonymic shift in the example *lojtre* which, according to the respondents, also stands for 'a tall person'.

5. Conclusion

The results and analysis of foreign elements in the urban vernacular of Osijek have confirmed the first research hypothesis, that is, they showed that it is most certainly being expanded and enriched by elements from foreign languages. Furthermore, the results have confirmed the second research hypothesis as well – the domination of Anglicisms – because the number of elements from the English language is several times higher than the number of Hungarisms and Germanisms. The third hypothesis – the presence of Germanisms and Hungarisms in the contemporary urban vernacular of Osijek – has been confirmed. To be more specific, Germanisms and Hungarisms in the urban vernacular of Osijek were presupposed due to many centuries of direct contact with these languages and because of political and socio-historical events. Thus, these elements were expected, although not as a result of synchronic, or newer borrowing, but as a dialectal legacy. The analysis applied two seemingly unrelatable methodological frameworks, those of sociolinguistics and a systematic linguistic analysis. The sociolinguistic methodology managed to yield an interesting corpus to analyze. Moreover, the most important and most interesting conclusion resulting from the application of the abovementioned standpoint is that one can be fully justified in describing the Osijek vernacular as different from the vernaculars of other larger urban areas. In this regard, it is interesting to note that no significant differences were observed in the use of urban lexis in the two age groups – at least with regard to our corpus. On the other hand, the fact that the examples of foreign elements are not age-, profession-, culture-, or education-limited, but are used evenly, confirms the assumption about the constancy and rootedness of a separate urban vernacular of Osijek, which represents a sort of a treasury of knowledge about its speakers and their lifestyle accordant with the spirit of time.

In the theoretical part of this paper, it was emphasized that the urban vernacular grows on a dialectal background and draws elements from all linguistic levels. Slavonian lexis is marked by foreign influences, among which the German is most prominent, especially in the field of material culture. Hungarian influence is more significant in the Baranja area, and it left a most visible mark on the toponymy and anthroponymy (Lisac 2003). This is precisely why we expected more Germanisms and Hungarisms, but the research has shown that in the urban vernacular of Osijek there are very few Germanisms, and that lately, only formative elements are being taken from the Hungarian language in place of whole lexemes. If we look at the examples of Germanisms from the corpus, based on a systematic linguistic analysis, we can see that most of them changed their meaning in relation to the source language (e.g. *plac*, *markt* and *kirvaj* – ‘marketplace’, *lojtra* – ‘tall person’, *špajz* – ‘house’). This means that the expressions were secondarily adapted, or in other words, they have spent enough time in the language to change their meaning. This, again, points to the conclusion that these words were borrowed a long time ago,

that this process is currently passive, or, that at the synchronic level, the urban vernacular of Osijek is not being enriched with elements from the German language.

Regarding the aims of this paper, apart from the established list of languages whose elements can be found in the urban vernacular of Osijek, one can suggest, based on the number of foreign tokens, that the influence of the English language is currently the most intense. However, looking at the levels at which elements are borrowed, we cannot neglect the Hungarian influence either. That is, Thomason and Kaufman (as cited in Dabo–Denegri 2007) have created a scale of different degrees and types of borrowing, and found that structural borrowing, more specifically borrowing of derivative suffixes, which is in our case confirmed with the Hungarian language, represents a more intense influence than lexical borrowing, which is confirmed with the English language. When it comes to the degree of adaptation of foreign elements, they are orthographically adapted to the Croatian language (except when it comes to the words *south* and *city*) and are integrated into the Croatian morphological system. The fact that they changed meanings shows that most of the examples passed the primary adaptation stage and were also secondarily adapted.

Given the fact that the research hypothesis about foreign influences in the urban vernacular of Osijek has been confirmed, it is necessary to revise the *dialect – standard language – urban vernacular* triangle we talked about in the theoretical part of this paper, whereby it becomes a rectangle as is shown in Figure 3:

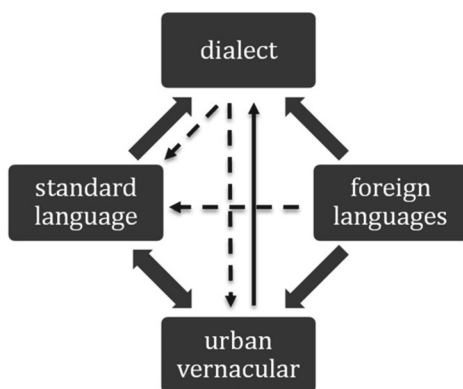


Figure 3. (Inter)influence of foreign languages, dialects, and standard language on urban vernacular

In summary, foreign languages have an intense influence on organic idioms, including dialects and urban vernaculars. Foreign languages have a somewhat weaker influence on the standard language due to purism and stiffness of the explicit norm that “keeps” and “protects” it from such influences, and hence this relationship is represented by a dashed arrow. In this way, we get a complex network of organic and inorganic idioms that, in an actual communication moment, unravels, then

displays again, a number of crosslinks, and the result is witty, creative, diverse, yet still economic and efficient communication.

References

- Badurina, Lada, and Mihaela Matešić (2008). Riječka jezična zbilja: Urbani govor između sustava i standard. *Sveti Vid, Zbornik XIII*, 111–120
- Bartha, Katalin D. (1952). *A szlavóniai nyelvjárás szóképzése*. Debrecen: A Debreczeni Kosuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Intézetének Kiadványai
- Bugarski, Ranko (1983). *Lingvistika o čoveku*. Beograd: Prosveta
- Bugarski, Ranko (2009). *Evropa u jeziku*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek
- Dabo–Denegri, Ljuba (2007). *Hrvatsko–francuski jezični dodiri s rječnikom galicizama u hrvatskom standardnom jeziku*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus
- Filipović, Rudolf (1986). *Teorija jezika u kontaktu*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Školska knjiga
- Filipović, Rudolf et al. (1999). Transmorfemizacija modela šest europskih jezika u hrvatskom. *Filologija* 33: 15–54
- Granić, Jagoda (1999). Gradski idiomi i eksplicitna norma – dvosmjerni proces. Badurina, Lada et al., eds. *Teorija i mogućnosti primjene pragmalingvistike*. Zagreb/Rijeka: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 244–253
- Hadrovics, László (1985). *Ungarische Elemente im Serbokroatischen*. Colonge and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag
- Hajdú, Mihály (1970). *Magyar Becézőnevek (1770–1970)*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Halliday, Michael A. K. (1983). Jezik u urbanoj sredini. *Argumenti* 1–2: 171–178
- Ivić, Milka (1965). Jezička individualnost grada. *Izraz* IX, 8–9: 740–747
- Ivić, Milka (1983). *Pravci u lingvistici*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije
- Jutrović, Dunja (2010). *Splitski govor; od vapura do trajekta*. Split: Naklada Bošković
- Kuna, Branko, and Ana Mikić (2008). Hrvatska narječja i reklame u elektronskim medijima. Bilić, Anica ed. *Šokačka rič* 5. Vinkovci: ZAKUD, 9–23
- Kuna, Branko, and Ana Mikić Čolić (2016). Slavonski gradski govori – poveznice i razlike. Stipe Botica et al., eds. *Zbornik radova sa 6. Hrvatskog slavističkog kongresa*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 133–146
- Kuna, Branko, and Ana Mikić Čolić (2017). Semantička tvorba u osječkom gradskom govoru. *Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 43(1): 79–94
- Lisac, Josip (2003). *Hrvatska dijalektologija 1*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga
- Menac, Antica et al. (2000). Ortografska adaptacija modela šest europskih jezika u hrvatskome. *Filologija* 34: 139–174
- Mesthrie, Rajend, Joan Swann, Ana Deumert, and William L. Leap (eds.) (2009). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: University Press
- Penavin, Olga (1986). *Nyelvjárás és köznyelv*. Novi Sad: Forum Könyvkiadó
- Petrović, Velimir (2008). *Esekerski rječnik. Essekerisches Wörterbuch*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Press

- Sočanac, Lelija et al. (2003). Adaptacija modela šest europskih jezika u hrvatskom na semantičkoj razini. *Filologija* 41: 119–184
- Sočanac, Lelija et al. (2005). *Hrvatski jezik u dodiru s europskim jezicima*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus
- Šojat, Antun et al. (1998). *Zagrebački kaj; govor grada i prigradskih naselja*. Zagreb: Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje
- Trudgill, Peter (2000). *Sociolinguistics*. An introduction to language and society, 4th edn. London: Penguin Group
- Turk, Marija (2013). *Jezično kalkiranje u teoriji i praksi*. Zagreb/Rijeka: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci
- Ursić, Sara (2009). Mjesta i nemjesta u suvremenim konceptualizacijama prostora. *Društvena istraživanja* 18(6): 1131–1151
- Zečević, Vesna (2000). *Hrvatski dijalekti u kontaktu*. Zagreb: Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje
- Žanić, Ivo (2015). Standardni hrvatski i njegovi neposlušni gradovi (ili o jednoj anticipaciji hrvatske sociolingvistike). *Croatica: Časopis za hrvatski jezik, književnost i kulturu* 39(50): 107–119

Utjecaj stranih jezika na urbani osječki govor

Prilagodba jezika potrebama urbane kulture, odnosno sposobnost jezika da prati promjene u društvenom životu govorne zajednice koja se njime koristi najčešće podrazumijeva otvaranje prema utjecajima prestižnih stranih jezika te aktiviranje vlastitih izražajnih mogućnosti što pridonosi brzini i lakoći komunikacije. U takvim okolnostima nastaju urbani govori koje obilježuju leksička plodnost i inovativnost, semantička ekspresivnost, metaforičnost i asocijativnost te ludičko poigravanje značenjem. Gradski su govori, dakle, veoma su složeni idiomi koji su leksički i stilski višeslojni, a u gramatičkoj strukturi raznoliki jer nastaju prožimanjem regionalnih, odnosno dijalektnih obilježja s elementima standardnog, ali i drugih stranih jezika i pod utjecajem društvenih čimbenika.

S obzirom na specifičan geografski položaj grada Osijeka – blizinu čak triju državnih granica – ali i s obzirom na povijesno nasljeđe, odnosno utjecaj stranih jezika zbog društveno–političkih okolnosti – njemačkoga, turskoga, mađarskoga – postavljene su sljedeće hipoteze: 1. osječki gradski govor oblikuje se i na temelju inojezičnoga utjecaja; 2. u modernom osječkom gradskom govoru trenutno je najsnažniji utjecaj engleskoga; 3. posredstvom dijalektnih podloge osječčkoga gradskog govora i danas se u njemu mogu naći elementi njemačkoga, mađarskoga i turskoga jezika. Dakle, u skladu s postavljenim hipotezama, ciljevi su ovoga rada sljedeći: 1. utvrditi koji strani jezici utječu na suvremeni osječki gradski govor; 2. utvrditi intenzitet utjecaja pojedinog stranog jezika; 3. utvrditi na kojim je razinama jezičnoga opisa vidljiv utjecaj stranih jezika; 4. utvrditi stupanj prilagodbe inojezičnih riječi i elemenata.

U tu svrhu provedeno je istraživanje na 200 ispitanika koji žive od rođenja u Osijeku te su svrstani u dvije dobne skupine i to: 100 ispitanika u dobi od 15 do 25 godina te isto toliko ispitanika u dobi od 45 do 55 godina. Materijal za ovo istraživanje prikupljen je pisanim upitnikom, a u njegovoj analizi bit će primijenjena metodologija teorije jezika u kontaktu (Filipović 1986).

Cilj je analize u ovome radu pokazati koji utjecaji prevladavaju u urbanom osječkom govoru te postoji li dobna razlika u njihovoj primjeni.

Keywords: foreign languages, languages in contact, foreign words, urban vernaculars, Osijek, Croatian
Ključne riječi: strani jezici, jezici u kontaktu, tuđice, urbani govor, Osijek, hrvatski jezik