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LINGUOSTYLISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUSTIC PECULIARITIES OF GERMANISMS IN THE DEFINITIONS OF THE INTERNET SERVICE *VUKAJLIJA*

The article deals with the stylistic analysis of Germanisms and the synchronic dimension of their meaning in the particular Serbia-based slang dictionary *Vukajlija*. The corpus was excerpted from the internet service *Vukajlija* on the basis of sociolinguistic and linguostylistic criteria. The words are in most cases lexicalized, since a smaller number of occasionalisms (nonce words) were observed. The main objective is to identify and describe linguistic and stylistic features of Germanisms in *Vukajlija*. The purpose of Germanisms is to express amusing impoliteness. In our corpus, words excerpted from general jargon are the most represented, while an argot and youth jargon appear less often. Germanisms that are part of the argot and youth slang most often acquire a new meaning, however, in a smaller number of examples the meaning is unchanged, but their definitions are determined using slang dictionary. Linguistic and stylistic principles that we observe in the definitions of Germanisms in *Vukajlija* are hyperbole, irony, comparison, paraphrase, metaphor, metonymy, periphrasis, allegory, pun and folk etymology.

Keywords: linguostylistics, sociolinguistics, Germanisms, jargon, impoliteness

1. Introduction

Vukajlija is a Web 2.0 project launched in 2007 that represents „an internet service dedicated to the exchange of definitions of modern slang words (definitions) and photos with comments (posters) of a safe, fun, friendly and non-offensive character.“ (<https://vukajlija.com/o-sajtu/uslovi-koriscenja>). It is an open project that allows users to not only define of jargons and idioms, but also words from the standard language in a new, meaning-changing context.

The site of *Vukajlija* is organized like a lexicon (words are given in alphabetical order and are defined), but essentially it cannot be viewed as such because no linguistic review and verification by an independent authority are performed (VUJOVIĆ 2011: 124-129).

Vukajlija includes a large number of substandard linguistic phenomena, among which syntagms, phraseologisms, and sentences that represent the modern conversation-

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al style of the Serbian language represent the majority of the site's content, while slang is a characteristic of specific social groups, and hence the domain of its use is limited (DURBABA 2011: 436). *Vukajlija* is a specific form of media communication, a sociolinguistic phenomenon, which can be seen from different perspectives, including the perspective of the sociology of mass communication, a discipline that has experienced hybridization in recent times, due to its intertwining with other social-humanistic disciplines, among which is linguistics (JEVTOVIĆ, VULIĆ 2018: 107).

2. Methodology

Linguistic contact between the Serbian and German languages extends over several centuries due to historical, geographical, economic and cultural factors, but above all due to the geopolitical relationship of the Balkans to Central Europe, that is, to the Habsburg Monarchy (SATZINGER, STEFANOVIĆ: 2014). Linguistic ideology, the attitude towards the German language, which Serbian speakers most often perceive as ugly and rough, is „a key factor in understanding the process of language changes, language and identity, and language in a sociocultural context.“ (KOSTIĆ TMUŠIĆ, ĐUKIĆ 2021: 815). The interpretation of purpose of digital media content using linguistic means is interesting from the aspect of non-literary stylistics, but also from the aspect of the sociology of free time, because it reveals the specifics of modern forms of communication on the Internet (SPASIĆ 2019: 584).

Like other elements of intangible cultural heritage, language is not immutable and static, but subject to change (RAKIĆ 2021: 779). Hence in our language a lot of Germanisms are registered. Expressions excerpted from the lexicon of *Vukajlija* are of German or Austrian origin. The analysis was carried out using the comparative and descriptive methods, since we are comparing quasi-scientific explanations of the meaning of Germanisms, that are used as a slang or occasionallisms, with the meanings given by dictionaries. The choice of methods is determined by the type of material analyzed and the research objectives.

Over the past ten years, several works have been published on the language of the internet dictionary *Vukajlija* (VUJOVIĆ 2011; DURBABA 2011; 2013; PETROVIĆ et al. 2020). *Vukajlija*'s site was conceived as a dictionary of slang, but it has outgrown those frameworks, because it consists of words from the standard language, and therefore it is more accurate to say that it is „a collection of usually witty definitions and comments, which represent, it seems, mostly attitudes of young people, mostly from urban areas“ (VUJOVIĆ 2011: 123). In the research conducted a decade ago, the formal structure of the expressions in *Vukajlija* was analyzed, their stylistic and pragmatic analysis was given, and their pseudo-lexicographical character was highlighted, *Vukajlija* which consists mainly of multi-membered expressions, therefore could be considered a lexicon rather than a dictionary (DURBABA 2011: 436). Linguistic expressions of ethnic stereotypes were analysed on the example of the definitions of the conceptual categories *Nemac* (inhabitant of Germany), *Nemačka* (Germany) and *nemački* (relating to Germany) in the slang internet service of *Vukajlija* (DURBABA 2013). Modifications within new phraseological units that appear in *Vukajlija* but were not recorded in jargon dictionaries and descriptive dictionaries were examined in a recent study by young linguists (PETROVIĆ et al. 2020).

The works mentioned so far within the review of previous research deal with language forms on the website of *Vukajlija*, and when it comes to the site's methodological essence, one should bear in mind D. Vujović's statement: „The possibility that anyone can write anything has led to the fact that there are many examples in the internet service (of *Vukajlija*) that are individual creations that we doubt, according to our own linguistic competence, and also because no one has examined them, whether they are used by anyone other than their authors.“²(VUJOVIĆ 2011: 129).

3. Research results

3.1. Slang vocabulary of German origin in *Vukajlija*

Vukajlija was originally designed as a dictionary of slang, and even today in the name of its Facebook and Twitter accounts we can read that it is a dictionary of slang and idioms. The analysis of Germanisms that appears in *Vukajlija* shows that about half of Germanisms are jargons, while the other half are words from the standard language. The largest number of isolated jargon words coming from the German language belong to general jargon; here we provide a list of Germanisms from *Vukajlija* which, according to the *Jargon Dictionary*, belong to general jargon:

gastarbajter (ANDRIĆ 2005: 34; in Eng. a guest worker, from *Gastarbeiter*), gepek (ANDRIĆ 2005: 36; in Eng. a trunk, from *Gepäck*), glanc (ANDRIĆ 2005: 37; in Eng. a gloss, from *Glanz*), zalaufati se (ANDRIĆ 2005: 73; in Eng. to speed up, from *laufen*), kpirati (ANDRIĆ 2005: 102; in Eng. to understand, from *kapieren*), kifla (ANDRIĆ 2005: 109; in Eng. a croissant, from *Kipfel*), kliker (ANDRIĆ 2005: 110; in Eng. a marble, from *Klicker*), klippan (ANDRIĆ 2005: 110; in Eng. a blockhead, from *Klippen*), ler (ANDRIĆ 2005: 131; in Eng. empty, from *Leer*), majstor (ANDRIĆ 2005: 140; in Eng. a craftsman, from *Meister*), malo morgen (ANDRIĆ 2005: 141; in Eng. a little bit yesterday, never, from *morgen* – ironic use), pakovati (ANDRIĆ 2005: 180; in Eng. to pack, from *packen*), puter (ANDRIĆ 2005: 210; in Eng. butter, from *Butter*), rikverc (ANDRIĆ 2005: 218; in Eng. reverse, from *Rückwärts*), fajront (ANDRIĆ 2005: 271; in Eng. closing time, from *Feierabend*), frajer (ANDRIĆ 2005: 277; in Eng. a good looking guy, from *Freier*), frajla (ANDRIĆ 2005: 227; in Eng. a miss, from *Fräulein*), herc (ANDRIĆ 2005: 282; in Eng. a heart, from *Herz*).

Descriptive dictionaries of the Serbian language record the following meanings under the mentioned Germanisms:

gastarbajter, German, (originating from the German language) is „temporary worker in a foreign country, foreign worker (RSJ 2007: 186), gepek, German, is „1. trunk of a car, 2. luggage“ (RSJ 2007: 191), glanc, German. is “shine, brilliance (udariti glanc (in Eng. to hit a shine) - exp. to dress up, beautify“ (RSJ 2007: 198), kpirati, originating from the Italian language „to grasp, understand“ (RSJ 2007: 522), registered also as a Latinism according to Lat. *capere* (RSANU 1975: 234), kifla, German, „a type of fine pastry (usually sickle-shaped“ (RSJ 2007: 535), kliker, German, „a glass, metal or clay ball with which children play (ne rade mu klikeri (in Eng. the marbles don't work for him) - he doesn't understand; proradio mu kliker (in Eng. the marble worked for him) - he understood, it

² All translations of the cited passages are provided by the author.

dawned on him)“ (RSJ 2007: 540), *Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary and Vernacular Language* (RSANU) under the term *kliker* records the slang meaning as a secondary, argot, „tiny, underdeveloped child“ (1975: 593), *klipan*, expressive „a. an uncouth, dull man; a simpleton. b. familiar, well-grown boy“ (RSJ 2007: 541), *ler*, German, „the state of the drive device, the machine, when the connection is not engaged, the coupling between the engine and the driven working part“ (RSJ 2007: 637), *majstor*, originating from the Greek language „one who has completed, studied a trade and passed a professional exam; craftsman in general“ (RSJ 2007: 670), *malo morgen*, colloquially „it is said when something is denied, rejected or when disbelief in something is expressed“ (RSANU 1984: 34), *pakovati* „1. to wrap object(s) in a package (*pakovati se* - prepare your things before going on a trip; *pakuj se* - leave, go, get lost). 2. falsely charge, accuse someone“ (RSJ 2007: 907), *puter*, German, „a dairy product obtained from cream or directly from milk, butter (*imati putera na glavi* (in Eng. to have butter on one's head) - to have an impure past)“ (RSJ 2007: 1097), *fajront*, German, „end of work, closing time of cafes or other establishments“ (RSJ 2007: 1431), *frajer*, German, jargon „1.a. frivolous young man; adventurer, bum, hooligan. b. superficial young man, fool. 2. darling, lover“ (RSJ 2007: 1447), *frajla*, German, „in the old civil society, the name for an unmarried female person (*stara frajla* - old maid)“ (RSJ 2007: 1447).

Germanisms belonging to the argot and the youth jargon are less common in *Vukajlija* than the general slang. In our corpus, we find the following argot words, characteristic of the speech of criminal groups, some of which have become part of the general jargon:

gilipter (ANDRIĆ 2005: 36; in Eng. a wastrel, from *Geliebter*), *gost* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 40; in Eng. a guest, from *Gast*), *kuferaši* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 127; in Eng. porters, from *Koffer*), *moler* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 149; in Eng. a painter, from *Maler*), *pehar* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 187; in Eng. a cup, from *Becher*), *tapkaroš* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 245; in Eng. a scalper, from *tappen*), *heftati* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 282; in Eng. to staple, from *heften*), *cinkaroš* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 288; in Eng. a traitor, from *zinken*), *špajz* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312; in Eng. food storage, from *Speise / Speisekammer*), *šparkasa* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312; in Eng. savings and loan association, from *Sparkasse*), *šrafčiger* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312; in Eng. a screwdriver, from *Schraubenzieher*).

In *Vukajlija*, we also find loanwords from the German language that are classified as youth jargon in the *Jargon Dictionary*:

auspuh (ANDRIĆ 2005: 6; in Eng. a car exhaust, from *Auspuff*), *Švabija* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 304; in Eng. Swabia, from *Schwaben*), *šminka* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 310; in Eng. make-up, from *Schminke*), *špek* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312; in Eng. bacon, from *Speck*), *knedla* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 111; in Eng. a dumpling, from *Knödel*), *korpa* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 117; in Eng. a basket, from *Korb*), *kurčslus* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 127; in Eng. a short circuit, from *Kurzschluss*), *ofinger* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 178; in Eng. a hanger, from *Aufhänger*), *ringla* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 218; in Eng. a hot plate, from *Ringel*), *flaša* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 275; in Eng. a bottle, from *Flasche*), *špricer* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312; in Eng. a wine spritzer, from *Spritzer*), *štrikati* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 314; in Eng. to knit, from *stricken*), *štrudla* (ANDRIĆ 2005: 314; in Eng. a type of layered pastry, from *Strudel*).

With the Germanisms that are defined in *Vukajlija* and confirmed in the *Jargon Dictionary* of D. ANDRIĆ, we distinguish between two cases. In the first case, jargon words of the German origin in *Vukajlija* acquire a meaning that is not recorded in the *Jargon Dictionary*, where the connection between the definiendum and the definiens is often associative. In the second case, the meaning of jargon in *Vukajlija* coincides with the meaning of jargon in ANDRIĆ's dictionary, with the following difference: in *Vukajlija* the definiendum is defined by a jargon dictionary through examples of the given jargon used in everyday speech.

Mainly, jargons that according to the *Dictionary of Jargon* (ANDRIĆ 2005) belong to argot speech acquire a completely new meaning in *Vukajlija*, and the same is the case with jargons from the youth jargon. The argot speech is the speech of closed, criminal groups, so it is constantly changing, and words from the speech of marginalized groups pass into general jargon. The youth jargon is also experiencing rapid changes, as each generation has its own jargons, in order to differ from other generations' language. Therefore, it is not surprising that there are additional peculiarities in the form of original definitions that site users, mostly young people, give to already existing jargons.

Germanisms have different meanings in *Vukajlija* compared to the meanings listed in the *Jargon Dictionary*: *kifla* (a croissant), *pakovati* (to pack), *heftati* (staple), *ringla* (a hot plate), *šnajder* (a tailor from *Schneider*). While *kifla* according to the *Jargon Dictionary* can mean „krivina“ (eng. a curve) (general jargon); „muški polni organ“ (eng. a male sexual organ) (familiar, general jargon); „otkaz; prekidanje veze“ (eng. dismissal; disconnection) (yout jargon) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 109), according to *Vukajlija* they mean „šut u fudbalu“ (eng. kick in football), „položaj za spavanje“ (eng. sleeping position), „veliki nos“ (a big nose), „izraz za teranje“ (expression for dismissal), or „nadimak za pogrbljenog lika/likušu“ (a nickname for a hunched-over person). *Heftati* in *Vukajlija* does not mean „obljubiti (argot)“ (eng. to take advantage of someone) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 282) but „ubiti nekog od batina“ (eng. kill someone by beating). *Ringla* is not used in the meaning „burma (youth jargon)“ (a wedding ring) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 218) but, as it is written in *Vukajlija*, „mera za veličinu bradavice devojaka“ (eng. a measure of girls' nipple size), „kružna pročelavost na temenu“ (eng. circular baldness on the crown), or „veliki ručni sat“ (a big hand watch). We have a complete transformation of the meaning in the example of *šnajder*, which used to mean „jare (arch.)“ in jargon (eng. a goat) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 314), and today, according to *Vukajlija*, it can mean a promiscuous guy, and it can also be „jako siromašan čovek (svaki pošten Srbin) koji krpa kraj s krajem, a kad napokon uspe u tome, ode u kafanu da se sašije“ (eng. a very poor man (every honest Serb) who makes ends meet, and when he finally succeeds, he goes to a pub to get drunk), „lik koji, gde god da sedne, automatski kreće da cupka nogom takvom brzinom da neodoljivo podseća na stare krojače za singericom“ (eng. a person who, wherever he sits, automatically begins to tap his foot at such a speed that he irresistibly resembles the old tailors for the sewing machine) or „kladioničarski naziv za ubojitog golgetera Galatasaraja, Veslija Snajdera“ (eng. bookmaker's name for Galatasaray's murderous goalscorer, Wesley Sneijder). The examples given above of quasi-scientific definitions of Germanisms used to denote persons with negative traits are examples of amusing impoliteness. The victim of amusing impoliteness is not a specific person, nor do the participants in the communication

necessarily have to be aware of whom the target is of linguistic impoliteness (CULPEPER 2011: 223).

The narrowing of the meaning in relation to the meaning that Germanism has in general or youth jargon occurs in *hundsfrajla* (a hipster woman walking a dog) and *noćna frajla* in relation to *frajla* – a girl, an old maid (general jargon) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 227) and in *štrudla*, what according to *Vukajlija* means „trudna devojka“ (eng. pregnant girl), but in the *Jargon Dictionary* just „devojka (youth jargon)“ (a girl) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 314).

Less often, Germanisms appear in the humorous definition in *Vukajlija* in its basic meaning that it has in the standard Serbian language, while the *Jargon Dictionary* states a completely different meaning, often with examples of usage. *Gost* (a guest) in the argot speech means „ubačeni zatvorski potkazivač, skriveni posmatrač“ (eng. a jail-house whistleblower inserted, a hidden observer) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 40), and *Vukajlija* gives humorous descriptions of *kafanski gost* (eng. a bar guest) and *gost u kući* (Eng. a house guest). *Špajz* (a food storage) in the argot speech means „zatvor; stomak“ (eng. prison; stomach) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312), while *Vukajlija* deals with the basic meaning of this Germanism. *Knedla* (a dumpling) is in the youth jargon „loša roba, bofl. (youth jargon)“ (eng. bad goods) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 111), and humorous descriptions in *Vukajlija* are related to the basic meaning of the words in the expressions *knedla u supi* (eng. dumplings in soup) or *gutati knedlu* (swallow a dumpling).

Authors in *Vukajlija* often give multiple definitions of the same word. Germanisms that belong to jargon often have a new meaning in *Vukajlija* in addition to the meaning stated in the *Jargon Dictionary*. Such are Germanisms *zalaufati se* (to speed up), *kapirati* (to understand), *rikverc* (a reverse), *frajer* (a good looking guy), *moler* (a painter), *kanta* (a bucket), *korpa* (a basket), *ofinger* (a tab), *štrikati* (a knitting), *cvikati* (to get scared), *cimer* (a roommate). We will illustrate this phenomenon with several examples. The Germanism *rikverc* (a reverse) in *Vukajlija* has the meaning stated by ANDRIĆ „(as-soc.: german) vožnja unazad (general jargon)“ (eng. driving backwards) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 218), but also the meaning „nezaštićen polni odnos“ (eng. unprotected sex) (*Vukajlija*, *rikverc*). *Kanta* (a bucket) in our corpus also means „zadnjica, stražnjica (general jargon); nos“ (a backside; a nose) or „kompjuter (youth jargon)“ (a computer) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 102), and the meaning is extended to „stari auto“ (old car), „stari kompjuter“ (old computer), „TV“ (Television), therefore it is „sinonim za nešto što je šlj kvaliteta“ (eng. a synonym for something of very bad quality) while in other definitions it means „osoba koja pojede sve ono što ostane u tuđim tanjirima“ (eng. a person who eats everything left on other people's plates) (*Vukajlija*, *kanta*). *Štrikati* (a knitting) in *Vukajlija* means „brzo ići, bežati (youth jargon)“ (eng. to go quickly, to run away) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 314), but it also means „biti poremećen“ (eng. be disturbed), associative („Osnovni vid terapije u dnevnoj bolnici su štrikanje, gobleni i ostali ručni radovi.“ (eng. The basic type of therapy in the day hospital is knitting, tapestry and other handicrafts.) (*Vukajlija*, *štrikati*)). There are several witty definitions for the term *cimer* (a roommate) that match the meaning „(as-soc.: German) sobni sustanar (youth, general jargon)“ (eng. room subtenant) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 288, from *Zimmerkamerad*), but there is also a new meaning „lik koj' te cima na svaki minut“ (eng. a person who calls you every minute) (*Vukajlija*, under *cimer*).

A smaller number of Germanisms that fall into the jargon lexicon have the same

or similar meaning in *Vukajlija* as in the *Jargon Dictionary*, but a humorous description is additionally given in *Vukajlija*'s definition. Such are Germanisms *potrefiti* (eng. to guess), *špic* (a spike), *šuster* (a shoemaker), *pehar* (a cup) and *pedala* (a pedal). For example, according to the *Jargon Dictionary*, the German term *špic* means „dnevni period najvećeg prometa (u saobraćaju, trgovini i sl.)“ (eng. daily period of highest traffic, rush hour, from *Spitz*) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 312), and the same meaning is given in *Vukajlija* through a witty description:

„Najveći neprijatelj koji vreba ujutro od sedam do devet i popodne od četiri do šest, kada su Beograđani bunovni pre, odnosno premoreni posle posla. Naravno, kad pada kiša, počinje s prvom i ne završava se s poslednjom kapi. Ne daj Bože da sedneš u kola, možeš da se pozdraviš sa benzinom koji si planirao da koristiš za vožnju uveče do grada. A ni gradski prevoz nije najbolje rešenje, potući ćeš se sa nekom babom, ostaćeš bez novčanika ili će prevozno sredstvo da crkne na pola puta, pa ćeš morati peške.

- Pa, pooooooooomerite se malo ka sredini, pogledajte kol'ko mesta ima, aman! (Saobraćajni kolaps - špic, *Vukajlija*, in Eng.: The biggest enemy that lurks in the morning from seven to nine and in the afternoon from four to six, when the citizens of Belgrade are riotous or tired after work. Of course, when it rains, it starts with the first drop and doesn't end with the last drop. God forbid you get into the car, you can say goodbye to the gas you planned to use for the evening drive to town. And public transport is not the best solution either, you will fight with some old woman, you will run out of wallet or the transportation will break down halfway, so you will have to walk.- Well, move yourself a little towards the middle, see how many places there are, God!)” (Traffic collapse - rush hour).

3.2. Stylistic peculiarities of words used in *Vukajlija*

The analyzed Germanisms represent lexicostyles, because they are decontextualized words (vocabulary units) (VUKOVIĆ 2000: 80). Linguistic and stylistic features that we observe in the definitions of Germanisms in *Vukajlija* are hyperbole, irony, comparison, paraphrase, metaphor, metonymy, periphrasis, allegory, pun and folk etymology.

In our corpus, one of the basic devices for achieving a humorous effect is irony. In *Vukajlija*, the jargon *pedala* (a pedal from *Pedal*), which in the argot and youth jargon means „otkaz, raskid“ (eng. dismissal/separation) (ANDRIĆ 2005: 185), is defined using irony as „nagrada za tvoj ružan izgled, loš prilaz i uzaludan trud“ (eng. reward for your ugly appearance, bad approach and wasted effort) (*Vukajlija*, under *pedala*). The definition of the jargon-used Germanism *puter* (a butter) also has an underlying irony:

„Poređenje koje se koristi za spuštanje osobe koja pokušava da vas oduševi pitajući vas da pipanjem isprobate koliko su joj čvrsti (nedovoljno razvijeni) bicepsi u stegnutom stanju. Suprotno od „ko kamen“ (*Vukajlija*, *puter*, in Eng.: A simile used to put down a person who is trying to wow you by asking you to feel how tight (underdeveloped) their biceps are when they are clenched. Opposite of “like a stone”).

The developed quasi-scientific definition of the term *klipan* (a blockhead) is given in an ironic tone, with a division into subgroups and their description. We only list the

beginning of the definition³:

„Deo muške populacije nastao kao posebna podgrupa pod snažnim uticajima mešavine muških hormona koji se nalaze u međucelijskom prostoru sivih ćelija (u narodu poznatijeg kao „izliv hormona na mozak“). Najčešće uzrasta od 17 do 25 godina, mada ih je moguće naći i u uzrastima preko 25 godina, sve do zrelog ili starijeg doba. (*Vukajlija, klipani*, in Eng.: Part of the male population arose as a special subgroup under the strong influence of a mixture of male hormones that are located in the intercellular space of gray cells (commonly known as the “hormonal surge on the brain”). Most often, they are between the ages of 17 and 25, although it is possible to find them at ages over 25, all the way to adulthood or old age).”

Online communication on internet services due to the anonymity of users, the use of pseudonyms, nicknames and the absence of photos and visual identification can lead to increased verbal aggression and abusive language (NECIĆ, MILOSAVLJEVIĆ 2022: 562). For Germanism *gasterbajter* (a guest worker), we find several definitions of similar content characterized by a greater or lesser degree of sarcasm, because in them we find merciless mockery and reproach with mockery (POPOVIĆ 2007: 649). Here is one of the definitions of the term *gasterbajter*:

„Pasionirani ljubitelj španskih zidova, uzgajivač gipsanih lavova, labudova i orlova, kao i zadovoljni vlasnik crnog Mercedesa 124-e. Otac svoga sina Kristijana i ćerke Laure (komšijina je, samo on ne zna) i veliki vernik, o čemu svedoči spondiloza koju je zaradio noseći poveći komad krsta na zlatnom lancu. (*Vukajlija, gasterbajter*, in Eng.: Passionate lover of Spanish walls, breeder of plaster lions, swans and eagles, as well as the satisfied owner of a black Mercedes 124e. The father of his son Christian and daughter Laura (she's a neighbor's, only he doesn't know) and a great believer, as evidenced by the spondylosis he earned by wearing a larger piece of the cross on a gold chain).”

Hyperbole is one of the most represented stylistic figures in the definitions of Germanisms in *Vukajlija*. Overemphasizing the characteristics of beings, objects or phenomena stresses the affective relationship of the definition author towards the definiendum. We will illustrate the use of hyperbole for the function of expressing affectivity, along with numerical rhetorical manipulation that highlights a specific communication code (BAGIĆ 2012: 140):

„Ubacivanjem u *rikverc*, auto automatski postaje spejs šatl sa nepredvidivom linijom kretanja i 12338 različitih komandi u kabini. Ubacuje se u warp speed. Naravno, viđeno očima mnogih žena vozača a i ponekog dečaka. (*Vukajlija, rikverc*, in Eng.: By putting it in *reverse*, the car automatically becomes a space shuttle with an unpredictable line of motion and 12338 different controls in the cabin. Enters warp speed. Of course, seen through the eyes of many women drivers and some boys)”

The comparisons or similes within the definitions more vividly represent the term marked by Germanism, and the unexpectedness of the established connection between the term being compared and the term with which it is compared aims to maintain

3 Most of the definitions in *Vukajlija* are given in the Latin alphabet without diacritical marks, but in the paper we list them in Cyrillic.

the reader's attention:

„Sleng koji se koristi u situacijama kada se ne slažeš sa govorancijom kojom baron pokušava da te obasipa. Spust na zemlju liku koji ubija u pojam i čija *priča preljeva ko patriotski govor Bogoljuba Karića*. Način kojim daješ do znanja ortaku da mu je spika *trula ko list u jesen*, a da su šanse da se ostvari san koji ti prepričava *toliko velike, da ih ni metuzalem neće doživeti*. Malo morgen služi za gašenje radioaktivnih gluposti koje ni Gajgerov brojač ne može da izmeri, gluposti koje *se šire kao tifus među našom vojskom u I svetskom ratu*. Priloška odredba za nikad. (*Vukajlija, malo morgen*, in Eng.: Slang used in situations where you don't agree with the talk the baron is trying to throw at you. The descent to earth of a character who kills the concept and *whose story overflows like the patriotic speech of Bogoljub Karić*. The way you let your friend know that his spike is *as rotten as a leaf in the fall*, and that the chances of realizing the dream he's telling you about are so great *that even Methuselah won't live* to see them. A little bit but morgen serves to extinguish radioactive nonsense that even a Geiger counter can't measure, nonsense *that spread like typhus among our army in World War I*. Adverbial clause for never).”

In our corpus, we observe the presence of lexical metaphors, the most common linguistic form of metaphor in speech in general, that introduces connotative semantic components and creates an image (KOVAČEVIĆ 2000: 29). One of the definitions of the Germanism *штыкла* (eng. high heels) expands into a developed allegorical description:

„*Pomagalo* koje koriste zdrave i prave ženke Homo sapiensa kako bi ostavile utisak ranjene gazele koja nemoćna šepa po savani. Ovaj ritual se sprovodi kako bi privukao *mužjake grabljivce*, koji će daleko pre nasrnuti na *ranjenu i zanemoćalu gazelu, odvojenu od čopora*, nego na *zdravu koja može i hoće da se brani*. Ovaj ritual je naišao na toliku primenu, da se u novije vreme *stada ženki* na gradskim ulicama uglavnom sastoje od *ćopavih jedinki* koje vapi da budu uhvaćene pa je *mužjacima* postalo izazovno da ponekad pojure i neku koja može i da pobegne. (*Vukajlija, štikla*, in Eng.: *An aid* used by healthy and real Homo sapiens females to give the impression of a wounded gazelle limping helplessly across the savannah. This ritual is carried out in order to attract *male predators*, who will attack *a wounded and weakened gazelle, separated from the pack*, rather than a healthy one that can and will defend itself. This ritual has been used so much that in recent times *the herds of females* on the city streets mostly consist of *shaggy individuals* that cry out to be caught, so it has become challenging for the males to sometimes chase one that can run away).”

Metonymy is less common in our corpus. We will cite an example of possessive metonymy in the term *flaša* (a bottle, from *Flasche*), in which the content of the definition, given in the form of a periphrasis, can be reduced to the term *pijanac* (a drunk). In the definiens, we also see antonomasia, a figure of speech in which a personal name is used instead of a common noun or a common noun or a paraphrase is used instead of a personal name (KOVAČEVIĆ 2000: 77), because the common noun is used as a nickname (*Flaša*):

„Gospodin iz kraja koji samo i isključivo pije. Obično pivo. Najčešće ispred zadruga/ dragstora ili u njenoj neposrednoj blizini. Uvek iz flaše. Taj nadimak je dobio jer bi bilo suludo da je dobio bilo koji drugi. Za njegovu ličnost bi uvreda bila ne nazvati ga Flašom. Jer je kroz njegove ruke prošlo previše hiljada flaša. (Vukajlija, *flaša*, in Eng.: A gentleman from the area who only and exclusively drinks. Regular beer. Most often in front of the cooperative/drug store or nearby. Always from the bottle. He got that nickname because it would be crazy if he got any other. It would be an insult to his personality not to call him Flasha. Because too many thousands of bottles have passed through his hands).”

In one of the definitions in *Vukajlija*, the Germanism *kapirati* (eng. to understand) is defined as „staviti kapu na nešto“ (eng. to put on a hat), which is an example of folk etymology in which the meaning of the word is modified while the form of the word is unchanged. Another witty definition of the same term is illustrated in the example of the use of the Germanism *kapirati* in which the humoristic effect is achieved by one type of pun etymology in which the decomposition of the word produces an associative play of the components meaning that is not contained in the undecomposed lexeme (KOVAČEVIĆ 2000: 222), with graphostylistic emphasis: „Izgledate KA' PIRATI!!!” (eng. you look like pirates).

4. Discussion

Among the Germanisms defined in *Vukajlija*, the most common words are words from the general jargon, while the argot and the youth jargon appear somewhat less frequently. In the largest number of definitions, jargon of German origin acquires a new meaning, different from the one it has in the *Jargon Dictionary* of D. Andrić. Words from the argot and youth jargon have a different meaning, and most often we see associative connections. In a smaller number of examples, the meaning of the jargon remains unchanged, but is defined by a jargon dictionary.

Stylistic figures implement additional peculiarities, maintain attention, and make unusual quasi-scientific, humorous definitions of terms marked as Germanisms. The most common means of achieving a humorous effect when defining Germanisms in *Vukajlija* include irony and hyperbole, and in quasi-scientific definitions, irony sometimes turns into sarcasm. Comparisons or similes introduce a humorous tone with an unexpected connection between the terms being compared, a metaphor brings a more vivid presentation of abstract phenomena through concrete images, and sometimes the definition of a Germanism turns into an allegory. Examples in which metonymy, antonomasia, pun, and folk etymology occur are not frequent, but they are distinctly stylistic.

The analyzed Germanisms in *Vukajlija* belong to the colloquial speech and the speech of the subculture, so it is important to highlight their sociolinguistic function in the *Vukajlija* internet service. From the aspect of sociolinguistics, Germanisms are often associated with phenomena or behaviors that are considered inappropriate and are not generally accepted in society. Therefore, the use of Germanisms with a derogatory undertone in *Vukajlija* reflects negative attitudes towards Germans, due to past experiences. Given that society is depicted in language, any social change, as well as values and attitudes in society, produce a linguistic change that corresponds to them.

5. Conclusion

Users of the *Vukajlija* internet service express their worldview through witty definitions, most often with a hint of irony, exaggeration or associative links between definiens and definiendum. Germanisms that are widespread in general use take on a new, jargon meaning, often offensive. Computer-mediated communication in *Vukajlija*'s internet service of slang is most often, from a sociolinguistic point of view, an example of amusing impoliteness. Unlike a real dictionary of slang, the goal is not to collect material and form a list of words and expressions that belong to slang, but to express linguistic creativity. The main goal of the authors of *Vukajlija* is to come up with a witty definition that will appeal to a large number of visitors.

All examples of analyzed definitions (terms), except for those that give literally the same meaning that a Germanism has in the standard language, have stylisticity, because in the process of defining them, we notice various linguistic and stylistic peculiarities. Most often, hyperbole and irony appear, that sometimes turns into sarcasm. To achieve a humorous effect in the definition of Germanisms, the authors of *Vukajlija* often also use metaphor, metonymy and similes. However, not all definitions of Germanisms have the same degree of stylogenicity, because some of the definitions do not have a more pronounced stylistic effect. Allegory, tmesis and folk etymology belong to the rare but distinctly stylistic processes of alienation in *Vukajlija*'s definitions of Germanisms. Definitions in which the definiens is a story, a developed metaphorical description that turns into an allegory stand out according to their stylogenicity.

Pictorial and witty interpretations of Germanisms that belong to jargon have the function of attracting attention, gaining more followers, but also identifying certain social groups, primarily young people. Germanisms used in slang in *Vukajlija* are part of urban dialects, which are the subject of sociolinguistics study, and by analyzing them, we contributed to the study of the hybridization of social media languages from a sociolinguistic point of view.

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ЛИНГВОСТИЛИСТИЧКА И СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧКА ОНЕОБИЧЕЊА ГЕРМАНИЗАМА У ДЕФИНИЦИЈАМА ИНТЕРНЕТ СЕРВИСА ВУКАЧЛИЈА

Резиме

Рад се бави стилистичком анализом германизама и синхронијском димензијом њиховог значења у својеврсном речнику сленга *Вукачлија*. Корпус је ексцерпиран из интернет сервиса *Вукачлија* на основу социолингвистичког и лингвостилистичког критеријума. Речи су у већини случајева лексикализоване, будући да је уочен мањи број околинализама. Циљ рада је да се идентификују и опишу језичко-стилски поступци у оквиру дефиниција германизама у *Вукачлији* чија је сврха исказивање забавне неучтивости. У нашем корпусу најзаступљеније су речи из општег жаргона, док се шатровачки и омладински жаргон јављају ређе. Германизми који су део шатровачког и омладинског жаргона најчешће добијају ново значење, а у мањем броју примера значење је непромењено, али је дефиниција срочена жаргонским речником. Језичко-стилски принципи које уочавамо у дефиницијама германизама на *Вукачлији* су хипербола, иронија, поређење, парафраза, метафора, метонимија, перифраза, алегорија, каламбур и народна етимологија.

Кључне речи: лингвостилистика, социолингвистика, германизми, жаргон, неучтивост