

The Influence of English on Croatian Hip-Hop Language

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1 Abstract

Language changes and develops along with the contexts it is used in and the purpose it is used for. It has been a major part of American hip-hop culture since its beginning and has been thoroughly examined. Since the English language has been the staple of hip-hop nation language, Croatian artists heavily depend on it when creating their work. In the thesis, I provide an overview of the English words and the words influenced by English in Croatian hip-hop lyrics. The items are separated into two groups: foreign items, which are embedded into the lyrics in their original form and the borrowed items, which are adapted to a certain degree to the Croatian language. The focus is on the four linguistic levels: orthographic, syntactic, morphological and semantic, with the presentation of the most common forms used by the Croatian hip-hop artists. The orthographic analysis shows various examples of writing words, including the original English spelling and more integrated items influenced to differing degrees by the English pronunciation or the English spelling. The syntactic analysis focuses on the clausal switching of the English items, specifically of noun phrases within clauses, of clauses themselves and extra clausal items, such as interjections. It also gives examples of literal translations known as calques. The Morphological analysis shows the usage of Croatian inflections on English words. Finally, the semantic analysis provides an overview of the most prolific semantic domains from which Croatian artists tend to borrow.

Keywords: language contact, language transfer, foreign element, hip-hop language, code-switching

2 Introduction

Hip-hop culture is much more than mere spitting of rhymes which follow the rhythm while wearing baggy clothes. The meaning behind the lyrics gives us an insight into the mindset of the artists within a culture. Žanić (2016:287) claims that music in general is often a source for metaphors and idiomatic expressions that enter a language. Therefore, looking at the hip-hop language in its totality is essential. As Bean puts it (1996:135), rapping is an essential part of hip-hop culture and rapping in one's mother tongue is of great importance in search of one's identity. The mindset of hip-hop artists in Croatia, which is expressed through lyrics of their songs, has a great influence on the language they use. However, there are still many references to American hip-hop culture, usually through concepts expressed in Croatian. Therefore, analyzing the ways in which English influences Croatian hip-hop language shows that the artists are influenced by a foreign culture, even though the essence of this foreign culture is presenting one's true self. This phenomenon can be explained through the process of *transculturation* in music, which Kartomi (1981:233) defines as "the complete cycle of positive musical processes set in motion by culture contact". By allowing themselves to be influenced, Croatian hip-hop artists find themselves not only literally translating the concepts in the American hip-hop language, but also fitting them into the Croatian context. Through an analysis of the items deriving from English on different linguistic levels - orthographic, morphologic, syntactic and semantic - I will try to give an overview of the way in which the English language has influenced Croatian hip-hop artists, along with some core examples of their usage on each of the abovementioned levels and an extensive list of all the items in an appendix.

3 Hip-Hop culture

Hip-hop culture started in the United States of America in the African American community of the New York City neighborhood of Bronx. In her podcast “The South Bronx: Where Hip-Hop Was Born”, reporter Abbie Fentress Swanson (2010) mentions that “hip-hop's foundations were being laid in the 1970s, brick by brick, by DJs in the South Bronx, sometimes even in burnt out or deteriorating buildings.” The two main foundations are the culture of protest and freedom of expression, which the artists express through four major art forms: “breaking (i.e. break dancing); tagging or bombing (i.e., marking the walls of buildings and subways with graffiti); DJ-ing (i.e., collaging the best fragments of records by using two turntables); and Mc-ing (i.e., rapping)” (McLeod, 1999:135). Although the way of expressing themselves, in any of these art forms, can differ depending on the locality of the artist, one thing that must be respected is an artist's authenticity (McLeod, 1999:136). To be called authentic or real was, and still is, the biggest acknowledgment an artist can gain within the hip-hop community.

The actual spots of the first appearance of the sub-culture were house parties thrown by DJ Kool Herz in a building on the Sedgwick Avenue. As one of the pioneers of the style, DJ Kool Herz described the process of making the music: “I was noticing people used to wait for particular parts of the record to dance, maybe [to] do their specialty move” (History channel eds, 2009). He soon became a hip-hop icon with a following of artists who copied his work. This is described as the moment hip-hop started to spread as one of the mainstream popular cultures in America.

Another iconic moment in the history of hip-hop was the release of the movie “Wild Style”, directed by Charlie Arhear in 1983. It was described as “a low-budget film featuring the first generation of U.S. rappers, DJs, and breakdancers” (Tsuji-mura and Davis, 2009:179). The release of this particular movie signaled the start of the commercialization phase of hip-hop culture. The music and other aspects created around this time are regarded as real or old-school hip-hop. Mix Master Mike from the Beastie Boys said:

“...people do not have the right to make claims about what is real hip-hop unless they were brought up into hip-hop like way back in the day. If they know their history between watching Wild Style and all that then they'll know what real hip-hop is...If they just base it upon hip-hop today, what's being played on the radio, then they won't know what hip-hop really is.” (cited in McLeod, 1999:144.)

Up until the mid-80s, the hip-hop scene was mainly centered around New York City, which was considered the artistic hub of the East Coast. Towards the end of the decade, the

movement started to gain prominence on the West Coast and by the beginning of the 90s, the process of the commercialization of hip-hop finished. As Tummons (2008:78) says,

“starting in 1988 the largest record corporation charted substantially more hardcore rap songs than independent labels. In the eight years between 1988 and 1995, majors charted up to five and a half times as many hardcore rap singles as all their independent competitors combined.”

The number of hip-hop records released by major record labels started to grow and many other industries realized that hip-hop was going to be the next big thing. Even MTV, the biggest music channel and the trend-setter of the time, “devoted seven days of its programming to the music during its much hyped ‘Hip-Hop Week’” (McLeod, 1999:136). Hip-hop culture became a global language. Everyone wanted to listen to it, be like the artists who performed it, and be able to identify themselves with the lyrics. Tummons (2008:83) described the period, which has continued to this day, as the time when, “entrepreneurial side has spawned a multi-million-dollar global industry (which has dislocated rap from its social conditions of production and underground modalities.)”. Two problems hip-hop culture has encountered since are the hip-hop artists who are presented as violent criminals and the selling-out artists. According to Tummons (2008:78), “the major labels created an environment in which a rapper’s and label’s main focus became money, not music, and what is the best way for a rapper to make money in a society in which sex and violence sells? To rap about sex and violence”.

The problem of the artists who sold out is much deeper, with one of the most prominent examples being LL Cool J, whose case offers us a glimpse into the roots of the problem. McLeod (1999:142) explains it as the artist being faced with a lot of criticism on the account of introducing different pop styles into his music and opting for much less respected topic of love, which attracts mainly female audience. This kind of selling out is not accepted by the hip-hop artists who consider themselves to be authentic.

Hip-hop culture has made quite a progress over the years, developing from the culture which included only a handful of people in one specific part of New York City into a global movement. We cannot ignore the fact that hip-hop culture has become a global movement – it appears in almost every commercial, movie, or TV show. It has become a way to express oneself, one’s opinions, fears, without regrets and without the fear of being judged.

3.1 Hip-hop culture in Croatia

The state of mind within Croatian society has always been closely linked to the development of its artistic scene. By the mid-90s, the time of the “New Wave” movement and the Croatian

War of Independence, rock culture was going strong. It had its own unique voice, along with a strong following. Moreover, the rock scene in Croatia yielded numerous strong personalities who were, at the time, voicing the mindset of the public. However, rock music in Croatia soon entered its commercialization phase. Two new styles which at that point emerged onto the Croatian music scene, techno and rave, did not offer an adequate sentiment which young people could identify themselves with. According to Perković (cited in Jajetić, 2001:7), while techno and rave music did offer a quick escape from reality, they lacked the aspect of the written word, which has more power than the melody and rhythm. Perković (ibid.) claims that most artists believe that the lyrics and the messages those lyrics convey account for a great deal of the success of a genre. This is where hip-hop steps in, with its messages being conveyed directly, sometimes through metaphors, sometimes through a plain street language and refined sense of fairness (cited in Jajetić, 2001:8). Hip-hop is also the only type of African American music which is successful in Croatia, even though blues, funk and soul also made an appearance throughout the history. Hip-hop culture came to Europe from Great Britain, which is a logical sequence of events, especially when we look at the language connection between Great Britain and America. As Bosanac (2004:111) said, by the end of the 1980s, most of the major European cities had their own hip-hop scene with Zagreb being one of them). The development of hip-hop in Croatia can be separated into three stages. The first stage began in 1984, when *Electro Funk Premijera*, the first radio show featuring hip-hop music began its broadcast on the radio station *Radio 101* (ibid.). The main channels of expression for the first generation of Croatian hip-hop artists were breakdance and graffiti art, along with party and electro rap type of hip-hop music (Bosanac, 2004:112). There are no official recordings of these early editions, but we can assume that the main topics covered by the artists corresponded to the central topics in the American hip-hop culture – social problems. Perković (cited in Jajetić, 2001:8) claims that the reason for this was that only the stories experienced personally or by your friends and people you grew up with or passers-by could sound this genuine.

The second generation of hip-hop artists developed during the Croatian War of Independence and the post-war years. That period was not optimal for the development of a new genre without an already existing audience and lyrics which were not focused on topics related to patriotism. Fortunately, a small group of individuals carried on with further development of the hip-hop scene and continued creating during that time. A special moment occurred in November 1993, when a show specialized in hip-hop and r'n'b music called *Blackout Rap Show* began its broadcasting. The creators and hosts of the show, DJ Filip *Phat Phillie* Ivelja

and Kristijan Frx Frković, had a strong influence on the development of the Croatian hip-hop scene. Moreover, they are also to be thanked for the creation of the connection between the Croatian artists and their European peers. They achieved so by inviting foreign artists to perform in Zagreb. (Bosanac, 2004:112) These years were also lucrative in terms of the appearance of some of the Croatian most prominent hip-hop artists such as Tram 11, West Side Click and MC El Bahattee. In the autumn of 1997, *Blackout crew*, a hip-hop crew which consisted of the most active Croatian hip-hoppers of the time, released the very first official recording in the history of Croatian hip-hop music. The record under the name of *Blackout Project – Project Impossible* featured artists like El Bahattee, Remi, Vein and was released by *Radio 101*. It was introduced with the single *Hrvatski velikani* by Tram 11, with the video broadcast on national television. (Bosanac, 2004:113) This marked the moment when hip-hop music started to penetrate the Croatian mainstream scene. Record companies started showing interest in the artists, with the majority of those featured on the aforementioned album having an open door towards the next level in their careers, which most of them took advantage of. The late 90s and early 2000s saw further development of hip-hop music across the country and an increase in the number of official recordings. This period is considered a start of the third stage in the development of the Croatian hip-hop scene. Four regions, all differing in the style of music and topics their texts covered, were created: Zagreb (the first and most developed), Dalmatia (covering the territory from Split to Dubrovnik), East Croatia (Osijek, Vinkovci and Nova Gradiška as its musical hubs) and Rijeka (Bosanac, 2004:115). However, we cannot treat Croatian hip-hop as anything else but a national phenomenon, since the real confrontation between the regional groups, like the one between the East and the West coast in America, never existed. The East group was closer to the original scene of Zagreb than that of Dalmatia, and Rijeka leaned towards old school hip-hop resembling the one in the early years in the US. However, the artists kept on collaborating regardless of the region they originated from. (Jajetić, 2001:10)

3.2 Hip-hop language

Journalist Davey D interviewed the famous Afrika Bambaataa of the Zulu Nation who, when asked how he would define hip-hop, answered the following:

„People have to understand what you mean when you talk about Hip Hop. Hip Hop means the whole culture of the movement. When you talk about rap you have to understand that rap is part of the Hip Hop Culture. That means the emceeing is part of the Hip Hop Culture. The Deejaying is part of the Hip Hop Culture. The dressing, the languages are all part of the Hip Hop Culture. So is the break dancing, the b-boys and

b-girls. How you act, walk, look and talk is all part of Hip Hop Culture. And the music is . . . from whatever music that gives that grunt, that funk, that groove, that beat. That's all part of Hip Hop.” (Davey D, 1996)

Hip-hop language has always played a central role in hip-hop culture and up to now has been defined differently, both by scholars and artists themselves. Scarface explained it to be “a code of communication, too... Because we can understand each other when we are rapping.” (Salim, 2006:72) The language used in hip-hop lyrics is often referred to as the Hip-Hop Nation Language (HHNL). It differs among artists who take elements from various linguistic sources like African American Vernacular and Spanish in the Latino communities. What remained common for all is taking pride in being the originators and innovators of terms that are consumed by a large number of speakers. They take pride in their ancestors, who were great speakers and they try to become like them. (Alim, 2006:31) Just like Fearless from group Nemesis says:

“I always looked up to great orators like Martin Luther King, Malcom X. Anybody who would ever stand up and persuade a group of young men or a nation... Just the way they were able to articulate. The way they emphasized their words. And the way they used pauses. They would actually use silence powerfully...” (cited in Spady and Alim, 1999:71)

The hip-hop language can be characterized in different manners, with one of them finding the roots of the hip-hop language in the Black language and communicative practices, with which “the newest chapter in the African American book of folklore” is still being written, according to John Rickford and his son Russell and their book “Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English”. (cited in Alim, 2006:71) However, the African American language has different varieties of its own used throughout the United States of America and a handful of them serve as the basis for the language hip-hop artists have created around the world. The hip-hop language is not only the written and spoken word with its own grammar and lexicon, but also includes the musical and poetical aspect. (Alim, 2006:71). The language is crucial to the identity of the hip-hop culture and the one cannot exist without the other. As Samy Alim (2006:viii) puts it,

“while scholars have made mention of the centrality of language to Hip Hop Culture, hiphopography presents language as not only central to the notion of a Hip Hop Nation, and to reading the HHN theoretically, but as central to its study in the field and the narration of its history.”

3.3 Hip-hop language research in Croatia

Some authors, like Filipović (1990) and Brdar (2010), focused on the research of English words in the Croatian language in general and others like Bosanac (2004), focused on the research of hip-hop culture in Croatia as a phenomenon. However, there is no literature extensive enough which focused on defining Croatian hip-hop language. Bosanac, in her paper *Transkulturaciona u glazbi: primjer hrvatskog hip hopa*, mainly stays in the realm of defining the most common topics Croatian artists use in their lyrics. She defines them as equal to those in the American hip-hop of the time, with Croatian reality having little or no influence on the lyrics. While she does touch upon the most prominent characteristics of the language, this does not go beyond mere enumeration of some of the most popular English phrases and technical terms used in the Croatian hip-hop lyrics. A talk given by Dijana Ćurković (2011) on the language used by the Croatian hip-hop group *Dječaci*, provides us with examples of semantic expansion and calque. The group *Dječaci* is not part of the corpus and the examples given will not be further discussed. However, the two linguistic phenomena will be included in my research, along with corresponding examples from relevant artists. Croatian hip-hop language has not been thoroughly examined up until now and although some authors have tried to outline some common characteristics, there is no common agreement as to what defines the language in general.

4 Methodology

4.1 Data Collection

For the corpus of this research I have chosen two books edited by Krunoslav Jajetić, who collected the lyrics of the most influential hip-hop artists from the beginning of the 1990s onwards. The books *Hrvatski Hip Hop Rokane Rime*, parts 1 and 2 contain the essential texts of Croatian hip-hop which we need to take into consideration when doing any kind of research on hip-hop culture in Croatia. The lyrics were written down by Alen Type08 Pavlović and *Nemresh Vjerovat*, with the preface of the first book written by Ante Perković, a Croatian musician and journalist, and the afterword of the second one written by journalist Velimir Grgić.

The two books contain lyrics by 22 artists in total, together with their 173 songs. Some of the artists appear in both books, with the first one containing the lyrics created up until the year 2001 and the second one presents the time period between 2001 and 2006. The artists will be presented in the alphabetical order.

A) Bolesna braća

Bolesna braća is a hip-hop duo made up of David Vurdelja, more famously known as *Baby Dooks* and Pero Radojčić, who goes under the name of *Bizzo*. Up until 2000, they performed under the name *Sick Rhyme Sayazz* with their debut being the song “One-O-One” in the famous compilation *Blackout Project: Project Impossible* in 1997 (Menart). Talking about their songwriting style, rock critic Ante Perković described them as funny and direct, but always in good taste. They switch between placing bizarre characters into everyday situation and simple characters into bizarre situations. He calls them “kings of imagination” and “the owners of the best tell tales”. (cited in Jajetić, 2001:9)

B) Connect

The group Connect was created in 2000 by *Dragi* and *Shalla*, who were joined by *Burazsel* and *Jura Blaze* two years later. They debuted in the TV show *Briljantin* with their song “Brige ugasim pjesmom”, but their first official recording *Prvo pa muško* did not see the light of the day until 2005. Their style speaks to the MTV generation and they try to speak for the generation, verbalizing their struggle to survive (Jajetić, 2006:2016).

C) Edo Maajka

Going by the name *Edo Maajka*, Edin Osmić is a Bosnian hip-hop artist who has settled in Zagreb and is a big part of the Croatian hip-hop scene. His first official record was published under the name *Slušaj Mater* in 2002 in Croatia, when he was given the award for the best newcomer of the year. During his career he has collaborated with a lot of regional artists, both in the realm of hip-hop and outside. He deals with social topics, focusing on war, nationalism, love and hate and people in general (Balkansko a naše: Edo Maajka).

D) Elemental

Despite starting as a band of three members, today *Elemental* consists of seven people: Mirela Priselac *Remi*, Luka Tralić *Shot*, Erol Zejnilović, Konrad Lovrenčić, Davor Zanoški, Ivan Vodopijec and Vida Manestar. They describe their style as an eclectic mash-up of different genre without a clear definition. They have their own authentic style which is enriched by interesting music and sharp lyrics (Elemental: Službene stranice)

E) El Bahattee

Stiv Kahlina, better known as *El Bahattee*, is a Croatian hip-hop artist who refers to himself as an arrogant bastard (bahato đubre). He has been a part of the scene since its beginnings in the 1990s but has stopped performing in 2003. He is often referred to as the annalist of Croatian reality who, through his “straight-to-the-head” lyrics, invites us to rebel and fight any kind of oppression (Jajetić, 2001:10).

F) Nered & Stoka

Despite both artists publishing work on their own, Marko Lasić – *Nered* and Marin Ivanović – *Stoka* started as a duo. They published their first album in 1999, but they did not continue to work together after that. Before joining forces with *General Woo* in 2005, *Nered* managed to publish an album of his own. *Stoka*, on the other hand, published two albums, but he never found the success like the one when he was part of the duo (Discogs). Ante Perković describes them as dissolute and suggestive and using the lyrics as their most powerful tool (Jajetić, 2001:10).

G) Shorty

The name of *Shorty* hides Dalibor Bartulović, an artist who is described as Slavonian *Edo Maajka*. Velimir Grgić (cited in Jajetić, 2006:216) says that he is not a master of performing but does have an incredible skill of combining storytelling and rhyming, with the ability of bringing his texts closer to the public. His biggest inspiration was not only his birthplace Vinkovci, but the whole region of Slavonia. (ibid.)

H) The Beat Fleet (TBF)

The Beat Fleet are known as the epitome of the Split hip-hop scene. They tend to use a live band in their performances, which adds onto their politically inclined lyrics with a rhythm which is considered to be more rock than hip-hop. Like *Elemental*, they use various musical elements, which has made them more popular with the mass public and earned them more of a mainstream success (Jajetić, 2006:218).

I) Tram 11

As one of the first Croatian hip-hop groups, *Tram 11* was created in 1996 by Nenad Šimun (*Target*) and Srđan Ćuk (*General Woo*). The duo had published three albums by 2003, which is the year they stopped performing together. In the following years, they both continued to perform as solo artists. Members of *Tram 11* are known as one of the most prolific artists on the Croatian hip-hop scene. Ante Perković calls them a “social metaphor of the nineties”. Their topics range from a serious chronicle of the society to more casual social themes (Jajetić, 2001:9).

J) Others

Other artists are represented to a smaller degree, usually only with one or two songs, or are a part of a compilation or an album presented. In alphabetical order they are: *Dhirtee III Ratz*, *DJ Pimp*, *Doppler Efekt*, *Drill Skillz*, *Pol' Tone Rappa*, *Punk Rock Hrvati*, *Ugly Leaders* and *Tremens*.

4.2 Data processing and analysis

The aim of this thesis is to establish in what ways the English language influenced the lyrics created by Croatian hip-hop artists. The primary collection of the items included all the words which could have been influenced by the English language, which were then run through a Croatian dictionary – *Hrvatski jezični portal*. All the words and phrases found in this thesis were either not found or were found to be of English origin in the dictionary.

All the items were then examined on different linguistic levels. On the orthographic level, I will try to define different degrees to which the English language has influenced the spelling of the words. I will try to distinguish between the items in their original form from the English language, no matter how they are pronounced by the Croatian artists and the items integrated into the Croatian language. Secondly, I will show the difference which occurs between the two groups appearing on the syntactic level: the code-switching and borrowed items, which will then be presented through the morphological changes. The English language items will be referred to as the code-switching items and the altered forms as the borrowed items. The morphological overview will provide an insight into the changes that occur with a further integration of the elements into the Croatian language. The expectation is that the borrowed items can change their form morphologically to the same degree as the Croatian elements, conforming to the linguistic patterns of the Croatian language. The overview will be given on the example of different parts of speech. Finally, the semantic analysis will include the most important concepts in the hip-hop language and their use in the lyrics. The words will be presented through the most prolific semantic fields, where the biggest findings are expected to come from the realm of popular and hip-hop culture. The full overview of all the items collected is provided in the appendix, while the most common semantic categories will be presented in their entirety in the thesis.

5 Foreign elements

The items analyzed can be distributed into groups depending on whether they are part of the process of code-switching or borrowing. According to Clyne (2003:72), the difference between the two is that the former is “embedding other-language words or constituents into a clause”, while the latter refers to the terms which were altered and incorporated into the vocabulary of the receiving language. Another characteristic Clyne (2003:72) mentions is that the code-switching can only appear in the speech of a bilingual speaker, while borrowed words can also be used by the monolingual speakers. The third thing that makes a difference between the two according is that borrowing occurs only with the single word items, while the code-switching can influence both the single word items and the phrases (ibid. 2003:71).

Terminology is something that has proven to be problematic throughout history. Different linguists grouped the items they had researched differently and gave them various names. Filipović (1990:38) distinguished three different categories with the first one corresponding to code-switching, simply calling it *switching* (*prebacivanje*) and defined it as the items that are not assimilated into the language they are introduced to. The following two groups correspond to Clyne's borrowed items. They are separated into *interferences* (*interferencija*), or the ones that come to exist through the process of overlapping of the languages on whatever linguistic level and *integrations* (*integracija*), the words which are fully adapted into the system and are referred to as loanwords. (Clyne, 2003:72)

Hlavač (2003:40) mentioned Clyne's term *transfer* for the product of the process of transference, or incorporation of items into another language, and called it *borrowing*. He uses the word *transfer* for all items that are incorporated into the Croatian language, regardless of whether they have been integrated into the language on any of the levels.

5.1 Code switching

Hlavač (2003:47) categorizes code switching by the place of where the switch happens, and this is the framework I will be employing when dealing with the code-switching items. He distinguishes three different positions: 1) *intra-clausal switching* which occurs inside the clause, 2) *extra-clausal switching* which is "external to the grammatical unit of clause, as is the case with many discourse markers", and 3) *inter-clausal switching* which appears between clauses. He also mentions partially integrated items and compromise forms, which are a product of an *item-internal* switch (Hlavač, 2003:87). But I will not be dealing with the latter two, as it would imply examining the items on the phonological level, which is not the focus of this thesis.

5.2 Borrowed words or Anglicisms

There are various reasons for taking one or more terms from one language and importing them into another. On a daily basis, people are in contact with the English language all over the world. It mostly happens through the influence of the different aspects of the anglophone culture. Whether it is through American TV and movie production, ads and commercials or through the lyrics of an English-speaking artists, this fact cannot be denied. The strong influence of the anglophone cultures throughout the world has its roots in the historical circumstances under which English became the world's official second language: "After the demise of the Soviet Union, and with China's de facto capitalist, non-self-reliance policies, the number of people on this planet for whom the first foreign language is not English, is historically low." (Gottlieb, 2005:162).

A word borrowed from the English language is commonly known as an Anglicism. It is defined by Eva Sicherl (1999:12) as “a word borrowed from the English language which is adapted with the respect to the linguist system of the receptor language and integrated into it”. Gottlieb (2005:163) offers a somewhat wider definition which claims that an Anglicism is “any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English”. According to Gottlieb (2005:172), Anglicisms have three main roles – they tend to refer to a new phenomenon in the extralinguistic world (*additions*), they appear in the situations where their non-verbal referents already exist in the speech community in question (*replacements*) and may contribute to semantic differentiations (*differentiators*).

Due to the fast development of the world, Croatian is often not ready when it comes to filling up the empty slots in the language. If an appropriate Croatian term is not available, the foreign word becomes more and more accepted amongst the speakers (Brdar, 2010:218). Filipović (1990: 15) similarly claims that the three most common ways in which we try to fill up these slots in the language are 1) creating a word from the already existing elements in Croatian, 2) borrowing from another language and 3) the process of semantic expansion (Filipović, 1990:15). Croatian is a very open language and we can find Anglicisms not only in areas of popular culture like radio, TV, sport, fashion and many others, but also in everyday language (Filipović, 1990:16).

6 Results

6.1 Orthographic analysis

One of the levels on which the words can vary is in the orthography in the recipient language. The English words, when written in the Croatian language, can be more inclined either towards the spelling or the pronunciation (Filipović, 1986:69). The orthography of the words can be altered, or it can follow the original spelling of the word from the foreign language.

In the case of the corpus from this thesis, most of the words appear in their original English spelling, without any indication of the usual Croatian morphological markers. Filipović (1990:28) defines this process as the creation of the basic form according to the orthography of the model (the English word) and mentions it as one of the four main ways of noting down the borrowed words. The other three include the creation of the basic model according to the English pronunciation, the combination of the English pronunciation and the orthography, and the influence of the intermediary language (ibid.). Some examples are:

- (1) bum, bum, **gun** će opalit kojeg će isfurat Halid
- (2) svi ga vole, svi su **high**, viču: daj, Zelenka daj!

- (3) rime **kill, kill**, u pjesmama
- (4) il si mrtav **gringo**, ili dobar – pa si naš

6.1.1 Borrowed items

A) Single-item terms

The integrated items can be separated into two groups – single-item terms and phrases. The former are defined by the different level of orthographical integration of the word into the Croatian language. Hlavač (2003:87) defines them as “transfers that bear phones, morphemes and lexical elements from both languages”. This group is more inclined towards the English pronunciation of the word, as this influences the orthography of even the most basic forms of the terms (Filipović, 1990:29). The degree of the alteration of the spelling is different, and I will present the findings accordingly. Most of the words included in this group are spelled approximating the pronunciation of the terms in English:

- (5) o ovom bi mogao srati u nedogled, jer je **bed**
- (6) kada dođeš videt ćeš i ekipa mi je **kul**
- (7) uz tvorce novih puteva što **repaju** iz gušta
- (8) drito iz **ZiDiBi**, puno drugačiji!!

However, some exceptions need to be mentioned separately, even though they are still part of the abovementioned group. These words are usually noted down as they are pronounced, but the artists keep or even add an extra element of the English spelling. The reasons for their occurrence are not defined, as these examples appear randomly and not more than once throughout the whole corpus. However, we can presume that the need for rhyming was a great factor in the creation of such words. The need for orthographic rhyming can sometimes influence the choice for such spelling of the words, although this cannot be proved. I cannot make this claim with full certainty; however, it seems to be the case with some of the words. The words in (8) and (9) are prime examples of such mixed orthography.

- (8) nedostupan često jer sam jako **bizzy**
- (9) dečko ja sam cool, rješavam sve **eazy**

Some of the words are present in different forms throughout the corpus. They can be found in the forms that vary from their original English spelling to a form that is based only on the pronunciation. An example of this is the word *baby*, which can be found in various forms in different contexts.

- (10) **baby** ja u tvojoj sam rupi
- (11) distancirano fensi, sensai, woo, nered, **beybe**
- (12) ja nemam nikog, **bejbe**

B) Phrases

Phrases can be found noted down in different ways orthographically. Apart from the phrases in the original English or Croatian spelling, which will be discussed in detail later on in the thesis, phrases tend to appear as a combination of the orthographies of the two languages.

The most common versions of the phrases are a combination of the English and Croatian words (13), usually in a noun phrase or the Croatian spelling of an English phrase (14):

(13) zlatni šut, kiselina, **topli gun**

(14) ja sam **kontrol frik** – baš tvoj tip, ak niš, bar za noćas

Others include English phrases with a linking word (15), (16) or a preposition (17) taken from the Croatian language:

(15) neki, woo, ko **juice i gin**

(16) uzmem **puff ko puff**, pravi sam brad boy

(17) ... eli **this is the story od**

6.1.2 Language creativity in orthography

Orthographical language creativity can often be found in the texts of the Croatian hip-hop artists. One of the prime examples is the word **joint**, which can be found in various forms throughout the texts. The artists often take the original word and adapt it into slang derivatives which resemble the original form to various degrees:

(18) blago meni, strpo sam **joint** u usta, posvojio krila,

(19) **doint** je pri kraju, sada shotovi se daju,

(20) zato klinici nema **dane**, po pivčugu u Importanne

(21) samo da završimo ovu **doku**

(22) suci u ruci, veze vuci ko dim iz **doje**

(23) rolate sa nama, **duntu** šaljemo do vas

(24) kad skurim **doksu** do kraja i ispuhnem dim ko bong guru

6.1.3 Rhoticity

The rhotic phoneme, as Josipović (1999) says, includes different variations of r-like sounds and is written with letter 'r'. Rhoticity is interesting because “in English, just as in many other languages, the rhotic phoneme has a rather wide range of distinct phonetic realizations, which often depend on geographic, social or idiosyncratic factors” (ibid.:56). In the Croatian hip-hop lyrics, we often find phrases under the influence of the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) which makes a big part of HHNL. One of the features of AAVE is recessive rhoticity. Thomas (2007:453) says that “in AAVE, r-lessness is most common in unstressed syllables”, so the words like *motherfucker*, *nigger* and *bigger* become *muthafucker*, *nigga* and

bigga. The reasoning behind the usage of such feature could be the adoption of the American hip-hop culture and its language. Croatian hip-hop artists, influenced also by the pronunciation of English, present us with examples like:

(25) dužan pare, **muthafucka** viče: vrati!

(26) a ipak cure viču da vole taj **nigga shit**

(27) ja sam **bigga nigga**, prva liga, zlatom napisana knjiga

6.1.4 Reduplication

The reduplication process appears in several cases throughout the corpus. These are very simple examples of reduplication, where “some part of a base...is repeated, either to the left, or to the right of the word or, occasionally, within the middle of the word.” (Nadarajan 2006:40) The following expressions are English items, found in the English dictionary, created by the process of reduplication, used here in the middle of Croatian phrases:

(28) pjevaj s nama, **sing-song**, onda cipela u guzaru

(29) predstavljam **tag rag**, đak sam ulice kao nas

6.2 Syntactic analysis

Croatian hip-hop artists use different ways to introduce the English items into the constructions of the Croatian language in their lyrics. We can categorize them into single-item terms, which will be presented later, and multiple-item terms. While the former are known to be integrated into the language to various degrees, the latter are considered to be the code-switching items. They appear in three different positions: intra-clausal, inter-clausal and extra-clausal. Furthermore, the phrases are sometimes also translated in a word-for-word manner. These translations can include the whole phrase or a part of it. Multiple-item terms create new items that differ from their equivalents in the Croatian language in form but retain the same meaning.

6.2.1 Intra-clausal switching

Intra-clausal code-switching or an insertion is defined as “involving the embedding of a constituent, either a single-word or a multiple-word item, usually in a nested ABA structure (A and B designating the two languages)” by Muysken. (cited in Clyne, 2003:73) According to Hlavač (2003:48) such examples are defined by their position, which is internal to the clause and usually includes verbless utterances. For example, all the nouns appearing in their original forms and not carrying any Croatian case marker are included into this group. I will not list them here, as they are presented later in the thesis according to their semantic domain and listed in their original forms in the appendix in Figure 7. However, there is a great number of noun phrases which are inserted into the Croatian hip-hop language. They appear in the

form of two single items creating a noun phrase denoting a special concept in the English language, such as: *bad boy*, *Black son*, *chin check*, *dead bull*, *duty-free shop*, *game over*, *good idea*, *macho man*, *west side* and *small fish*. These also include phrases from hip-hop vocabulary like *battle beat*, *battle storytelling*, *ghetto blaster*, *ghetto superstar*, *jungle boogaloo*, *mic check*, *sex distributor*. Others are different phrases of different forms – adjective and noun, noun and preposition or adverb and adjective: *best of*, *chosen one*, *fancy cool*, *nigger-lover*, *sexy cool*, and *tampa sweet*. Other examples are listed in the appendix in Figure 1:

(30) po koji put imam **feeling** da smo tu da usporimo tempo velegrada

(31) papak ti si ništ, za mene si **small fish**, capish?

(32) za metropolu kaj je **sexy cool**

(33) di si, ako oćeš onda **kiss me**

6.2.2 Inter-clausal switching

The inter-clausal code-switching or alternation implies that the two languages in question remain relatively separated. Hlavač (2003:47) says they “occur at the boundaries of the clauses”. Therefore, I included verbal phrases like *check it*, *don’t worry* and *kiss me*. The clauses appear between instances of the Croatian language but have kept their meaning and form completely (see also appendix Figure 2):

(34) Sirija, **check it**, killa, killa

(35) **don’t worry**, Peace4 je spreman za poredak novi

In this section I also include phrases which usually appear on their own, as separate lines in the lyrics, independent of the rest of the text in Croatian and, less often, alongside a Croatian translation. They mostly appear in the choruses and intros of the songs and are often recited and not sung in the melody of the song. However, a group of phrases appears in the middle of the phrase, such as in (14). These include phrases such as:

(36) **kiss me and I’ll kiss you back**

(37) idemo, **bitches come on**, bit će po mom

(38) **take the money and run**,

uzmi novce I bježi, bježi, bježi

(39) imam spiku koja kaže:

we party hardcore!

6.2.3 Extra-clausal switching

According to Hlavač (2003:123) extra-clausal switching includes “discourse markers, interjections and lexicalized fillers... which are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions”. They appear outside of the clause, in different positions (before, between and after). Extra-clausal switching can be in the form of a single-word or a multi-word item. Sometimes they appear in more than one version of spelling, which is usually arbitrary to the creator of the lyrics. (see appendix Figure 3)

A) Interjections

The biggest group are interjections, where we can decipher several main English terms that are most commonly used as templates which then vary orthographically: *alright* (40), *damn* (41), *shit* (42) and *yeah* (43). The interjections *wow* (44) and *yo* (45) also appear although in a considerably smaller amount, as well as the negative *no* (46)

(40) star sam ko prvi rap single delight **aight!**

(41) **daaamm!** fakat ide nizbrdo kad jednom krene

(42) tic tic, **oooo shit**

(43) come on baby, od sumraka do zore, **yeah**

(44) **wow** šije hlače sa stilom, fina obleka

(45) u vodu, ja po vodi hodam, brate, ne pali se, **yo!**

(46) **no** sikiriki, sikiriki **no no**

There is just one example of a lyric containing extra-clausal switching in the form of a combination of more than one interjection and it appears two times in the same form:

(47) **bow wow, wow yipie yo, yipie ye**, nastavi prat **yei ye**

B) Sorry

The word *sorry* always appears alone, as it appears in the English language. It occurs in the extra-clausal switching position as an insert:

(48) ma nema šanse, **sorry**

(49) bit će sve u redu, ne volim te, **sorry**

(50) navikni se na život, puno ih ne može, **sorry**

6.2.4 Calque

While the Croatian hip-hop artist kept many of the original English hip-hop phrases in their original form, they also used their literal translations. All the calques come from popular culture, while most of them are characteristic of the hip-hop language in general (see appendix Figure 4). Therefore, their usage in the Croatian lyrics is not surprising (Bosanac, 2004:116). The literal translations can completely keep the form of the English phrase (51), (54) or they change a part of it in order to fit into the Croatian lyrics. The most common

changes refer to phrase to clause change (52) or vice versa (53). Sometimes the calque appears next to its original form from the English language (55).

(51) samo dobri umiru, ja sam **pokvaren do kosti** [bad to the bone]

(52) **dižem srednji prst u zrak**, pa si mislim ko ih jebe [middle finger up]

(53) neplaćeni računi, bogat, **bogat ili umri**, [get rich or die tryin']

(54) ili drugom riječju, **mi smo sad u kući**, di si ti? [we are in the house]

(55) **uzmi novce I bježi...** (Take the money and run)

6.3 Morphological analysis

The morphological level is another level on which words can be altered. Clyne (2003:76) would argue these words go through a process which he calls *lexical transference*, when words are transferred in form and content from one language to another. *Transfers*, as Clyne calls them, can vary in their form, depending on the word class and the syntactic function they carry within a phrase. Regarding the part of speech, the items can fall into the category of nouns and verbs, as adjective and adverbs appear in very small numbers.

6.3.1 Nouns

Nouns represent the biggest group present in the corpus. No matter what orthographic form they come in, they tend to take on the Croatian inflection, which is usually shown in the form of the morphological suffix in order to syntactically fit into the lyrics. The nouns can be found denoting various Croatian cases, in particular: *genitive* (1a, 1b), *dative* (2a, 2b) *accusative* (3a, 3b), *locative* (4) and *instrumental* (5a, 5b).

(1a) nema **beda** ja ko neznam šta je ljadro

(1b) jer mi je mala u grobu, nek donese **gunova** punu torbu

(2a) i ubo karte za vikend ko pravom **bossu**

(2b) svim **fejkerima** kad započne noćna mora

(3a) samo se zalagat za **peace** i voljet kurve ko krist

(3b) da na kooladeove **beatove** svi plešemo u kolu

(4) rolamo gotivu u **bluntu** kad chilamo na Blackoutu

(5a) s **walkmanom** na uhu u glazbenom poslu ko amateri

(5b) pjesmama gradim ugled, **battleovima** dižem slavu

(6) razbijeni ko auti, **blantovi i knockouti**

Filipović (1990:32) mentions one group of words which are considered innovations in the Croatian language. What makes them special is the fact that their suffix is not morphologically adapted to the Croatian language (ibid.) In the texts of the Croatian hip-hop songs this suffix is *-er*, while in some other cases it can also be *-ing*. One example of such a

word that appears in the texts is the word *breaker* which comes from the English word *breakdancer*:

(7) draga braćo, **mc-iji**, **dj-iji**, **brakeri**, reperi

In (7) we come across another two words which need special attention – *mc* and *dj*. These two words are acronyms, as they derive from the phrases *master of ceremony* and *disc jockey*, respectively. They are mostly found with the Croatian inflection, which includes a hyphen and an inflectional suffix, as shown above. Even though the acronyms should be written in upper-case letter (Hrvatski pravopis), in some cases the artists opted for the lower-case letters. Some of the other words in this category are *CD*, *DVD* and *TV*.

6.3.2 Verbs

There are various verbs taken from the English language in the texts. The most common form they appear in is the English verb that takes on the Croatian inflection without a hyphen, denoting its person and number. An exception is the verb *battle* in (4), which has a hyphen between the English root and the Croatian inflectional suffix, probably because the user is aware of the boundary between the two languages in this heteroglossic element:

- (1) tu sam **repam**, ordiniram
- (2) pljuvali smo đanere, danas se **šutiraš**
- (3) buraz tu se **chilla**, moja škvadra ima stila!
- (4) **battle-am**o ja i minea i pobjeda je slatka
- (5) **rolate** sa nama, đuntu šaljemo do vas
- (6) **partyjaju** do jutra pa su drugog dana koma

A) Imperative

While most of the verbs appear in the active form of the present tense, there are other forms as well. (7) shows us two different verbs that are present in the imperative mood, with both denoting the command to relax. They appear in the English imperative form and not the Croatian one:

- (7) daj **chill** glavu gore, **relax** opusti se

B) Infinitive

Another specific type of verbs is the infinitive form of the Croatian language which does not occur in its standard form (with a final *-i*) (Barić *et al.*, 2005:235) but the typical conversational *i*-less form:

- (8) neke se oće jebat samo ako znaš *repat*
- (9) imaš odjelce za fifija I laptop za *chatat* s društvom

6.4 Semantic analysis

Languages can borrow words from other languages when there is a need for naming new objects, concepts or ideas (Filipović, 1990:15). The words of English origin which can be found in the lyrics of the Croatian hip-hop music can be grouped semantically. Not all of them can be categorized, but the biggest domain that can be defined is the one of the popular cultures. This is a vast domain; therefore, I have sorted the findings into several sub-groups, with words that are more semantically connected, but at the same time have their roots in the realm of the popular culture. The words that are not presented in this category cannot be categorized with other elements. They are used in the middle of the phrase for a rhythmical or some other reason or for rhyming purposes, which we will not look into in this thesis.

6.4.1 Music vocabulary

6.4.1.1 Technical music vocabulary

The words from the first group can be further categorized into three different sub-categories. The first one contains different names for music genres. This is a fertile ground for innovations in the English language but has restricted Croatian in creating its own terms. Most of the music genres mentioned in the lyrics have their roots in America or another anglophone region. These terms had quickly spread and due to this fact, the English words became the preferred option even in other languages. This happened due to the lack of better terminology and the appearance of the need to fill in the empty slots in the language (Filipović, 1990:15). The English names for the music genre have been widely accepted and used in their original forms across the Croatian hip-hop language. This group includes words such as: *blues, bossa nova, dance, funk, hip hop, r&b, raggae, rap, rock'n'roll* and *techo*.

The second branch consists of the words that denote concepts related to the art of making music. These include terms *underground* and *hardcore*, which can be used to more clearly characterize the music genre. Furthermore, it contains lexemes used for the concepts in the process of the making and performing music – *beat, buffer, demo, groove, hype, jam, riff* and *synth*. Most of the words ¹ can be found on *Hrvatski jezični portal* in their original form or slightly modified to adapt to the Croatian phonological system.

The third category is the words referring to different parts of music equipment. These include words *performance, mic (microphone)* and *stage, singl, songovi* and *tejpovi*. The appearance of these terms can be explained with the process of transculturation of the hip-hop language in

¹ except for *hype* and *synth*

Croatia. A part of this process includes, as Bosanac (2004:116) mentions, the retention of the technical terms from the English hip-hop language.

6.4.1.2 Hip-hop vocabulary

Hip-hop vocabulary contains words for different styles of musical performances which occur in this setting – *battle*, *beatbox* and *freestyle*; along with nouns denoting a person and their connection to the culture, such as *breaker* (break-dancer), *crew* (a group of people formed around a particular interest) and *writer* (the one who produces rap lyrics). There are also words which are connected to an aspect of the hip-hop culture, besides rapping and writing – graffiti culture. The lexemes like *highlight* and *outline* are terms in the process of the making *graffiti* or *grafit* and *graff*, as found in the lyrics. Members of the hip-hop culture have a specific kind of fashion style, which includes *lejsice* (usually sports shoes tied with shoelaces) and a *hoody* (a hooded sweatshirt).

Except for the technical terms, the English hip-hop vocabulary contains some concepts and ideas, which are usually just taken into the Croatian hip-hop language (Bosanac, 2004:116). These concepts are difficult to translate, therefore, they are used in the Croatian lyrics in their original form, or a slang form of the term in question.

A) Beef

First of them is the term *beef*, defined as a “conflict between rappers for media attention and street credibility” (Rose, 2008:6). Although Rose (2008:6) claims that this term is “generally considered a hip-hop phenomenon”, today it can refer to any type of confrontation in the media or even in everyday life, thus crossing the border of hip-hop culture.

B) Brother

The term *brother*² and its derivatives is another term we can categorize as a hip-hop term. It is not only used in the hip-hop lyrics, but also in the conversational language, with speakers referring to each other as brothers. In her paper on Brazilian hip-hop, Jennifer Roth-Gordon (2005:72) compares the concept of “Black brother” with the Brazilian figure of the “*mano*”, which she says, “draws on the global power and prestige of African Americans and the U.S. racialized ghetto to embody masculine toughness, Black pride, and favela loyalty.” The term *brother* in the Croatian hip-hop lyrics tends to be substituted with the Croatian equivalent, with the same semantic expansion, where the word denotes somebody who is a friend and a close associate. Spady (1999:xix) explains it by saying, “I’m not really your brother. Me and your blood aren’t the same, but I’m your brother because we’re brothas. That’s slang . . .”

² also found in the forms *brotha* and *bro* in the corpus

C) Gangster

The term *gangster*³ is mainly associated with the type of rap music hip-hop artists produce – *Gangster rap*. With a deeper analysis of *Gangster rap*, or as it is more commonly known as *gangsta rap*, it became clearer that today it is on the commercialized side of hip-hop culture. Another conclusion that can be made here is that there are many different definitions of a *gangster* and what it denotes. Rose (2008:4) mentions the “Trinity”, made of the “black gangsta, pimp, and ho” as the staple of commercialized hip-hop. However, others have a more positive view of the concept. Rapper K’Naan says “in my view, a *gangsta* is the one who would be revolutionary, who is dying to survive, and awaits the opportunity to change” (Robbins, 2001:2), while Scarface explains how,

“anything White America can’t control they call “gangsters.” Shit! I get real. Politicians is gangsters, goddamn. The presidents is the gangsters because they have the power to change everything. That’s a gangster to me. That’s my definition of gangster” (Spady et al., 1999:xix)

D) Ghetto and neighborhood

Ghetto and *neighborhood*⁴ are two terms which serve as a localization tool in hip-hop music. These terms are used when artists want to express their belonging to a community which is not always hip-hop related. Some of the researchers of hip-hop culture equalize the two terms. Roth-Gordon (2005:65) says, “the ghetto (or “the ‘hood”) is arguably one of U.S. Hip Hop’s most visible exports”. The views of the *ghetto* and the *hood* depend on the perspective from which you are look at it. Rose (2008:12) argues that “fans consume lopsided tales of black ghetto life with little knowledge about the historical creation of the ghetto; some think the ghetto equals black culture”, while Roth – Gordon (2008:66) gives us the artists’ perspective by saying there are “direct parallels between their (rapper’s) situation and that of the U.S. ghetto (including drugs, structural violence, and social inequality)”. Rapper E-40 gives us the most personal description of all by announcing “I feel that I *am* the ghetto” (Spady et al. 1999:290).

E) Respect

Respect is another common notion in hip-hop lyrics and music. It is an aspect of the African American English language, which is the basis of the American hip-hop language. Christina Higgins (2008:105) says that it “has been studied as a discursive phenomenon with unique

³ also found in the form *gangsta* in the corpus

⁴ in the lyrics found as *hood*

importance among African Americans...and is a common theme in the American hip-hop music.”

F) Nigger

One word that needs special attention in this last branch is the word *nigger*. In the corpus, the word has appeared in different forms and different contexts. *Merriam-Webster dictionary* marks this as “word (that) now ranks as almost certainly the most offensive and inflammatory racial slur in English, a term expressive of hatred and bigotry.” However, it must be mentioned that this word is not used in its primary, extremely offensive meaning when found in the texts. As Cecilia Culter (2009:89) mentions in her paper published in the book *Global Linguistic Flows* “its use has expanded so that it is now used as a general, (usually) male gendered address term for young people of diverse ethnic backgrounds in homogenous groupings”. Recently, the word and all its forms have become more of “a discourse marker that more generally encodes the speaker’s stance to his or her current addressee(s)—a stance that is cool, urban, usually male, and streetwise” (Cutler, 2009:89). The use of the term could get complicated when used in interracial communication; however, in the Croatian hip-hop lyrics it is not used in its primary meaning, but more as a marker of belonging to a specific culture, in this case hip-hop culture.

6.4.2 Drugs

This was a prolific category for the Croatian hip-hop artists, since most of the vocabulary used in this category was taken straight from English or derived from an aspect of it. The first batch of words are terms all carrying the meaning ‘marihuana cigarette’, such as *blunt*, *doobie* and *joint* and their respective altered forms (see appendix Figure 6). Besides *grass*, *dope*, *shit* or *ganđ* (deriving from the hindu word *ganja*) - all terms referring to marihuana which are used in the lyrics - we come across other names for popular illegal drugs like *crack*, *LSD*, *meth* and *speed*. Another group includes verbs used for the action of creating a marihuana cigarette and for the inhalation of the drugs – *rolati* (from an English expression *to roll a joint*), *pass*, *puff* and *snuff*; and injecting in the form of *shot* and its derivation in the combination with the Croatian language – *šutiraš* (eng. *shoot* plus a suffix for Croatian 2nd person singular). The remaining terms are words for a water pipe (*bong*), a term for taking too much drugs – *overdose* (*overdoz* [sic]) and an adjective for describing a state of intoxication (*high*).

6.4.3 Technology

This group of words is relatively small, but it can be considered as being important, since a great deal of the vocabulary consists of terms connected to innovations in the world of

technology. The first two are *cd*, *dvd* and *tv* which can be found in various forms of spelling. They all derive from English abbreviations (*compact disc*, *digital video disc* and *television*) which are widely accepted as the primary term for the product in question. The group also includes the lexemes *receiver* and *joystick*, both of which exist in the Croatian dictionary, where the former is used for creating rhyme, while the choice of the latter is unknown.

6.4.4 Personal names

Personal names are a prolific area in the Croatian hip-hop lyrics. This includes the names of popular TV and movie characters, both alive and animated, as well as actors and actresses (*figure 1*). Famous musicians and artists from other areas are also present, along with other historical figures (*figure 2*). Most of them appear in the lyrics of multiple artists and differ in spelling and form. Sometimes they appear in their original form and sometimes they are integrated into the Croatian language. They tend to take on Croatian suffixes denoting the case. I will present them in the original form of the term.

Figure 1. TV and movie actors/actresses and characters

actors and actresses	characters	animated
Jodie Foster	Fox Mulder	Snoppy
Bruce Lee	Dana Scully	Mickey
Ice-T	Mad Max	Minnie
(Robert) De Niro	Spock	Tom
Pamela (Anderson)	Rocky Bilboa	Jerry
Jackie Chan	Batman	Godzilla
leonardo di caprio [sic]	Sherlock (Holmes)	Pink Panther
(Timo) hoffman [sic]	robin hood	Alien
attack [sic] (Massive Attack)	(Theo) Kojak	superhik [sic]
Kim Besinger	Freddy Kruger [sic]	
Jean Claude van Dame	Sledge Hammer	
jean-claude van damme	prljavi (Dirty) Harry	
	spiderman [sic]	
	james bond [sic]	
	gandalf [sic]	
	hanibal lecter [sic]	
	Toni Montana / tony montana [sic]	
	hochenberger nancy	

Figure 2. Famous musicians, artists, people and historical figures

famous musicians	famous artists	historical figures and famous people
2 pac [sic]	coupland douglas [sic]	Bill Gates
50 cent [sic]	Edgar (Allan) Poe	Billom Clintonom
Afrike Bambate (Bambaataa)	louise hay [sic]	Chuang Tzuovu
antrax (Anthrax)	Martin Scorsese [sic]	(David) Copperfieldov
Beatlesa	Picassova	Cosa Nostra
biggie [sic]	shakespeare	(Joe) Frasier [sic]
Brintey (Spears)	(Quentin) Tarantino	Hilary (Clinton)
bruce springsteen [sic]		(Michael) jordan [sic]
cher [sic]		Ku-Klux Klan
clash [sic]		Louis Pasteur
Elvis Presley / Elvia		Margaret Thatcher
Eminem		(John) McEnroem
him [sic]		Monica (Lewinsky)
ice cube [sic]		Muahammad Ali
Janet Jackson		Neil (Armstrong)
Jenifer Lopez [sic]		(RICHARD) nikson [sic]
Jimija (Hendrix)		Pancho Villa
johnny cash [sic]		Pelea
KRS - Onea		Rudi Voellera
(John) Lennon		(Mike) Tyson
lil kim [sic]		
(Bob) Marley		
Michael (Jackson)		
Mick Jagger		
missy [sic] (Elliot)		
nelly [sic]		
r.e.m.		
Samantha Fox		

SeanPuffy/Puffyjevog		
(Frank) Sinatra		
snoop [sic]		
Tommy (Lee)		
Toni Braxton		
van basten [sic]		
Whitney (Houston)		
Wu Tang (Clan)		

6.4.4.1 Croatian musicians

Most of the Croatian artist mentioned in the English hip-hop lyrics are a part of the hip-hop scene. Their names, as we can see in *figure 3* are often influenced by the English language. The reasons for this can be various. Maybe this happens because of the process of transculturation, which started when the Croatian artists started developing their own identity within the hip-hop culture that came from the US (Bosanac, 2004:116). As Bosanac (2004:116) mentions, the early stages of the transculturation of hip-hop could have included the domination of the English language over the Croatian which could have contributed to artist opting for the English version of the name.

Figure 3. Croatian hip-hop musicians

Target
(General) Woo
Mad Woo Skillah
Blackout (ekipa/izdavačka kuća?)
Shot (Elemental)
Ink (Elemental)
Phillie / Phillija
Dash / Dasha
Koolade / Kooladea
Baby Dooks / Dooksa / dooksa
DJ Pimp
Phlaggma
Ugly Leaders (crew/ekipa)

Mason
MC Condom X
Pol' Tone Rappa
DJ Knockout
Buffalo
Wort-X
Drill Skillz
Boom Squad
Suicide
Dhirtee III Ratz (Dr Byter)
looka
Connect
shorty

Bizzo
Wocas
Jimmi (đimi – bolensa braća)

Drill Skillz
Peace4
TBF – The Beat Fleet

6.4.4.2 Brands

Different brands create a special group in the category of names. The brands used differ in many ways and cannot be categorized as belonging just to popular culture. Surely, we can find words carrying the names of TV stations (*al jazeera*, *cnn* and *mtv*) and video game players (*Gameboy*, *Nintendo* and *Playstation*). They include brands of various drinks, both alcoholic and soft (*whiskey*, *tequila* and *Coca Cola*) and the fast-food restaurant *McDonald's*, as well as a football club *chelsea [sic]* and a reference to the most famous English hip-hop song, *Rapper's Delight*. (see *appendix*)

6.4.5 Semantic expansion - *rokati*

Filipović mentions two different semantic expansions. The first one refers to the expansion of the semantic field after the word has been accepted into the Croatian language, while the second denotes the change in the number of meanings (Filipović, 1990:40). In the texts of the Croatian hip-hop lyrics we come across the latter, with the prototype example of the verb *to rock*.

First of all, an exact equivalent to the verb cannot be found in the Croatian dictionary (Hrvatski jezični portal), but instead we can find the noun *rock* which corresponds to the same noun found in the English one: “popular music usually played on electronically amplified instruments and characterized by a persistent heavily accented beat, repetition of simple phrases, and often country, folk, and blues elements”(Merriam-Webster). The noun is then used to form the verb *rokati*, which in the Croatian hip-hop lyrics denotes various meanings:

A) *to sing, dance to or play rock music*

In the lyrics this does not necessarily refer to performing of rock music exclusively, but rather to performing music of any kind

- (1) **rokaj**, snimaj, glavom klimaj,
- (2) tamo i tu ja **rokam** dabrovu pedalu
- (3) di si, šta si, **rokam**, sviram sve po starom, komponiram

B) other meanings

The next examples show how verb *rokati* replaces several verbs, often very different and unpredictable, but they usually express a more positive attitude than the ordinary verb in

question. The meanings behind each of the usages could be said to be *to live* (4), *to eat* (5), *to do* (6), *to pass an exam* (7) and *to kill* (8) (only in the perfective form):

(4) **rokamo** život velikog grada!

(5) tolko mu je uzo da je mogao **rokat** žlicom

(6) vidi me sad, **rokamo** po svom

(7) **rokam** ispit svaki tjedan, do diplome osto mi je jedan

(8) briješ da ćemo te **roknut** (bang, bang), ma već jesmo...

7 Conclusion

The influence of English in the Croatian language is extensive, whether we are looking at code-switching patterns or borrowed words. Therefore, the fact that the English language appears in the language of popular culture deriving from the anglophone area, such as hip-hop culture, is not surprising. The research done on the Croatian hip-hop language up to this point has mainly been focused on semantic concepts brought from foreign branches of the culture. However, it has always been clear that the items deriving from the English language had the biggest influence on the lyrics written by Croatian hip-hop artists. The reasons for their appearance have not been explored in this thesis, but an overview of the items originating from or influenced by the English language has been provided. It can be concluded that the forms of the words and phrases used differ among artists, but there are some common representations of the items which are generally preferred. Looking at the corpus on the orthographical level, the artists' preference of the spelling of the items cannot be claimed with certainty. The usage of both the English spelling and the one adapted to the Croatian language are common and it often depends on the context needs and the author's preference. The code-switching items are a common appearance, especially when it comes to the original forms taken from the English hip-hop vocabulary, which do not have their equivalent in the Croatian language. The three main positions where the switch occurs have been defined while providing an overview of the most important calques, which are found in a smaller number. Looking at the data on the semantic level, it can be concluded that the words influenced by the English language predominately derive from the fields closely connected to popular culture, specifically the ones denoting concepts from hip-hop culture. Another group worth mentioning semantically are names. Personal names and names of brands make a great deal of the English words represented in the corpus. English has influenced Croatian hip-hop artists in such a way that they chose their stage names in accordance to it. Finally, it can be concluded that even though the essence of hip-hop culture is in the notion of representing one's 'true self', Croatian artists do not hesitate when it comes to using items deriving from or influenced by a foreign language, which suggests that the *ours-theirs* dichotomy in terms of nation states needs to be reassessed. American culture and the English language always have been and probably will be one of the pillars of hip-hop culture and therefore cannot be examined separately in any context. Although Croatian hip-hop artists are not in any way less authentic than the American ones, the influence of the English language on their lyrics is evidently significant and worth further research.

8 Appendix

Figure 1 Intra-clausal switching

I <i>battle beat</i> iz duletovog yuga prebacim ih u stil, <i>battle storytelling</i> <i>Black son</i> , odabran pravi sam <i>bad boy</i> <i>chin check</i> – provjera bradice ukleto proročanstvo, <i>chosen one</i> a ja budem jedan stripteaser I <i>dead bull</i> pljuge ko <i>duty-free shop</i> jer mi izdajemo <i>best of</i> u glavi <i>game over</i> iman, bolesne snove još uvijek <i>ghetto superstar</i> ja sam <i>sex distributor</i> za metropolu kaj je <i>sexy cool</i> papak ti si niš, za mene si <i>small fish</i>	izvor <i>good idea</i> mi casa es su casa <i>inkognito-shuttle</i> nasa <i>jungle boogaloo</i> vlak ću-ću što puši bamboo <i>Kvarner bay area</i> , Rijeka, <i>ladies and gentleman</i> <i>mic check</i> pacifisti bankrotiraju sve što je <i>made in usa</i> drito s Kvarnera, <i>man-Adriatic</i> za nama su skinsi vikali: <i>nigger-lover</i> <i>payback time</i> ja sam <i>Satellite Dish</i>
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Figure 2 Inter-clausal switching⁵

A big question is where is the money
idemo, *bitches come on* bit će po mom
Sirija, *check it*, killa killa
come on baby, od sumraka do zore
don't worry
sad *hello there military mama*
di si, ako oćeš onda *kiss me*
kiss me and i'll kiss you back
nowhere to run...nowhere to hide
so let me ride
Take the money & run
the millennium is on it's way
imam spiku koja kaže: *we party hardcore*
whutup nikson, *you know i got your back*

Figure 3 Extra-clausal switching

<i>aaa shit!</i> <i>aajt!</i> <i>aight!</i> <i>boom</i> <i>boom!</i> <i>daaamm!</i> <i>jea!</i> <i>jeah!</i>	<i>oh shit!</i> <i>OK</i> <i>okej</i> <i>oooo shit</i> <i>wow</i> <i>yeah</i> <i>yo!</i>
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⁵ phrases standing alone are found alone in the lyrics

Figure 4 Calque

<i>baco bombe</i>	<i>drop bombs</i>
<i>bježi van</i>	<i>get out</i>
<i>bogat ili umri</i>	<i>get rich or die tryin'</i>
<i>dame biraju</i>	<i>ladies' choice</i>
<i>dižem srednji prst u zrak</i>	<i>middle finger up</i>
<i>ima prazan prostor među ušima</i>	<i>having nothing between the ears</i>
<i>izgubljena generacija</i>	<i>lost generation</i>
<i>mi smo sad u kući, di si ti?</i>	<i>we are in the house</i>
<i>nemoj stat</i>	<i>don't stop</i>
<i>pokvaren do kosti</i>	<i>bad to the bone</i>
<i>rokni ga</i>	<i>rock it</i>
<i>ruke u zrak</i>	<i>put your hands up</i>
<i>svaki pas ima svoj dan</i>	<i>every dog has its day</i>
<i>uvijek na vrhu</i>	<i>always on top</i>
<i>uzmi novce i bježi</i>	<i>take the money and run</i>

Figure 5 Musical vocabulary

<i>hip-hop</i>	<i>music genre</i>	<i>music culture</i>
<i>battle-amo</i>	<i>(nema) rocka</i>	<i>audio system</i>
<i>battleovima</i>	<i>big bop</i>	<i>bas</i>
<i>beat-box</i>	<i>big bopam</i>	<i>beata</i>
<i>beef</i>	<i>bluesa</i>	<i>beatove</i>
<i>betlam</i>	<i>boogie</i>	<i>beatu</i>
<i>breaker</i>	<i>bossa nova</i>	<i>bit</i>
<i>bro</i>	<i>dance</i>	<i>buffer</i>
<i>crew</i>	<i>electric boogie</i>	<i>demo</i>
<i>flow</i>	<i>funk</i>	<i>DJ</i>
<i>freestaylat</i>	<i>funky</i>	<i>dj</i>
<i>freestaylova</i>	<i>hip hop</i>	<i>groove</i>
<i>freestyle</i>	<i>hip hopa</i>	<i>groovy</i>
<i>gangsta</i>	<i>hip hopom</i>	<i>gruv</i>
<i>geto</i>	<i>hip hopu</i>	<i>hajp</i>
<i>graff (it)</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>hajp (na bini)</i>
<i>grafit</i>	<i>mikrofon roka</i>	<i>hardcore</i>
<i>highlight</i>	<i>pop lock</i>	<i>hardkor</i>
<i>hiphop</i>	<i>pop lockam</i>	<i>jam / jamovi</i>
<i>ho - hoe</i>	<i>r&b</i>	<i>korus</i>
<i>hoody</i>	<i>ragga</i>	<i>live</i>
<i>hoodyje</i>	<i>raggae</i>	<i>live bend</i>
<i>lejsice</i>	<i>rap</i>	<i>majk</i>
<i>lirikalno - lyrically</i>	<i>rapom</i>	<i>MC</i>
<i>nejbrhud</i>	<i>repaju</i>	<i>mc-iji</i>

<i>niger</i>	<i>repali</i>	<i>MC-ja</i>
<i>nigga</i>	<i>repam</i>	<i>mc-ja</i>
<i>outline</i>	<i>repat</i>	<i>mc-jam</i>
<i>respecta</i>	<i>reper</i>	<i>MC-jev</i>
<i>stajlat</i>	<i>reperi</i>	<i>MC-ji</i>
<i>writer</i>	<i>reperice</i>	<i>MC-ju</i>
<i>brotha</i>	<i>reperska</i>	<i>mic</i>
	<i>rock</i>	<i>performance</i>
	<i>rock'n'roll</i>	<i>records</i>
	<i>roka</i>	<i>rifovi</i>
	<i>roka</i>	<i>samplovi</i>
	<i>rokaj</i>	<i>scratch (DJ)</i>
	<i>rokaj</i>	<i>semplovi</i>
	<i>rokam</i>	<i>singl</i>
	<i>rokam</i>	<i>songova</i>
	<i>rokam (lagano)</i>	<i>stageu (na)</i>
	<i>rokam (lagano)</i>	<i>synth</i>
	<i>rokam live</i>	<i>tejpovi / tejpove</i>
	<i>rokamo</i>	<i>underground</i>
	<i>rokamo</i>	
	<i>rokamo</i>	
	<i>rokanja</i>	
	<i>rokanje</i>	
	<i>rokaona</i>	
	<i>techo</i>	

Figure 6 Drugs and technology

<i>drugs</i>	<i>technology</i>
<i>alko-narko</i>	<i>cd</i>
<i>blant</i>	<i>DVD</i>
<i>blanta</i>	<i>inča</i>
<i>blantanja</i>	<i>joystick</i>
<i>blanter</i>	<i>receiver</i>
<i>blantovi</i>	<i>tvom</i>
<i>blantu</i>	<i>torrente</i>
<i>blunt</i>	
<i>bluntu</i>	
<i>bong</i>	
<i>crack</i>	
<i>đanere</i>	
<i>đanki</i>	
<i>đankoza</i>	
<i>đointom</i>	
<i>đoje</i>	
<i>đoksu</i>	

<i>đoku</i>
<i>doobie</i>
<i>dop (dope)</i>
<i>dopa</i>
<i>doping</i>
<i>drugs</i>
<i>đuntu</i>
<i>džoint</i>
<i>filis i dačis trava</i>
<i>gandža</i>
<i>gandžu</i>
<i>gras</i>
<i>grass</i>
<i>high</i>
<i>joint</i>
<i>kracka (crack)</i>
<i>ksanaksa</i>
<i>lsd-a</i>
<i>meth</i>
<i>narko</i>
<i>overdoza</i>
<i>pass</i>
<i>puff</i>
<i>rola</i>
<i>rolam</i>
<i>rolate</i>
<i>sensie</i>
<i>shot</i>
<i>shotovi</i>
<i>snuff</i>
<i>speed</i>
<i>šutiraš</i>

Figure 7 Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs

<i>nouns</i>	<i>verbs</i>	<i>adjectives and adverbs</i>
<i>baby</i>	<i>chatat</i>	<i>agressive</i>
<i>backpacker</i>	<i>chila (se)</i>	<i>antihangover</i>
<i>bed</i>	<i>chilamo</i>	<i>bizzy</i>
<i>bed (je)</i>	<i>chilat</i>	<i>cool</i>
<i>bedove</i>	<i>chill</i>	<i>deluxe</i>
<i>(u) bedu</i>	<i>examo</i>	<i>duty free</i>
<i>bejbe</i>	<i>fightaju se</i>	<i>eazy</i>
<i>bestseler</i>	<i>kill</i>	<i>enough</i>
<i>beybe</i>	<i>partyjaju</i>	<i>fake</i>
<i>(bez.) beda</i>	<i>relax</i>	<i>fancy</i>
<i>blef</i>	<i>stajlat</i>	<i>fat</i>

<i>blefer</i>	<i>trejdat</i>	<i>fensi</i>
<i>bossu</i>	<i>zapatijam</i>	<i>fine</i>
<i>cash</i>		<i>ful</i>
<i>casino</i>		<i>full</i>
<i>chat</i>		<i>good</i>
<i>cherry</i>		<i>happy</i>
<i>cocktail</i>		<i>hepi</i>
<i>connector</i>		<i>kul</i>
<i>deal</i>		<i>lost</i>
<i>disco</i>		<i>non-stop</i>
<i>espresso</i>		<i>OK / ok</i>
<i>faker (faker)</i>		<i>old school</i>
<i>fakeri (fuckers)</i>		<i>piercani</i>
<i>faxu</i>		<i>pink</i>
<i>feeling</i>		<i>rough</i>
<i>feelingi</i>		<i>sexy</i>
<i>fejkeri</i>		<i>skuliran</i>
<i>fight</i>		<i>the best</i>
<i>fighter</i>		
<i>filing</i>		
<i>frendice</i>		
<i>frendove</i>		
<i>frendovi</i>		
<i>frik</i>		
<i>frikove</i>		
<i>friut</i>		
<i>fuka</i>		
<i>gringo</i>		
<i>gun</i>		
<i>gunova</i>		
<i>hot-line</i>		
<i>hunter</i>		
<i>innuendo</i>		
<i>jackpot</i>		
<i>jeepom</i>		
<i>joker</i>		
<i>keša</i>		
<i>knockout</i>		
<i>leadera</i>		
<i>loksa (locks)</i>		
<i>loverman</i>		
<i>luzer</i>		
<i>millennium</i>		
<i>missy</i>		
<i>party</i>		
<i>peace</i>		
<i>petting</i>		

<i>policemana</i>		
<i>protector</i>		
<i>raver</i>		
<i>rookie</i>		
<i>row</i>		
<i>saker</i>		
<i>sector</i>		
<i>security</i>		
<i>sensie</i>		
<i>seks</i>		
<i>sexa</i>		
<i>shit</i>		
<i>skit</i>		
<i>starter</i>		
<i>stripteaser</i>		
<i>stuff</i>		
<i>suckeri</i>		
<i>superstar</i>		
<i>suši (sushi)</i>		
<i>taxi</i>		
<i>tribe (tetovaža)</i>		
<i>troublestarter [sic]</i>		
<i>vip</i>		
<i>voodoo</i>		
<i>vudu</i>		
<i>war</i>		
<i>yoga</i>		
<i>zero</i>		
<i>hit</i>		

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