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A LOANWORD AS A MARKER OF SPATIAL MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF ŠPANCIRFEST

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Izposojenka kot znak gibanja v prostoru: primer Špancirfest

V prispevku je analiziran odnos med osnovnimi prostorsko-časovnimi in kulturnimi značilnostmi Špancirfesta, uličnega festivala, ki ga tradicionalno prirejajo v Varaždinu na severozahodu Hrvaške, in besedo, iz katere je izpeljano ime festivala – *špancir* ‘sprehod’. Prispevek sledi teoretični diskusiji o možnostih raziskovanja različnih tipov prostorov, ki so relevantni za sociolingvistično analizo, s tem pa ponuja pregled uličnih festivalov kot posebnih tipov javnega prostora, pa tudi vpogled v nemški jezikovni vpliv na severu Hrvaške, kar je osnova za analizo besede *špancir* kot nemške izposojenke. Korpus je sestavljen iz leksemov, povezanih s Špancirfestom, ki jih najdemo v časopisnih člankih iz let 2010–2016. Izvedena raziskava vključuje tudi uporabo vprašalnika med prebivalci Varaždina.

Ključne besede: prostor, gibanje, hrvaščina, nemške izposojenke, Špancirfest

A Loanword as a Marker of Spatial Movement: The Case of Špancirfest

This article analyzes the relationship between the basic spatiotemporal and cultural characteristics of *Špancirfest*, a street festival traditionally held in Varaždin in north-western Croatia, and the lexeme that the festival’s name is derived from: *špancir* ‘stroll’. Following a theoretical discussion of options for investigating various types of spaces relevant for sociolinguistic analysis, the article offers an overview of street festivals as particular types of public space, as well as insight into the German linguistic influence in north-western Croatia, serving as a basis for analyzing *špancir* as a German loanword. The corpus consists of lexemes related to *Špancirfest* found in newspaper articles in the period from 2010 till 2016. The conducted research also includes the application of a questionnaire among the residents of Varaždin.

Keywords: space, movement, Croatian, German loanwords, *Špancirfest*

1 INTRODUCTION

Space is culturally construed or produced, as Lefebvre sees it, and he “understands space as fundamentally bound up with social reality” (Schmid 2008: 28); it is produced by human beings “who enter into relationships with each other through their activity and practice” (Schmid 2008: 29). Space can be explained through different dimensions of the use of signs in space, where it is possible to distinguish between technical space (media like cameras, canvas), semiotic space (media become medial practice; semiotic space can build an immanent dimension of meaning) and cultural-pragmatic space (both technical and semiotic space existing in a changeable cultural setting; with the relationship between space, media and body being of interest) (cf. Dünne 2004: 2).

As Linke (2010) points out, body in space is both the source and product of interaction. Language communication is linked to body, which is again linked to a

space that is socially determined (e.g. social classes in the 17th and 18th centuries). Conversation is not only language interaction, as it involves other interactions as well, such as walking, playing music and cards, or dancing. This is especially true for social interaction of the 18th century. The social semiotics of space refers to vicinity and distance, and walking is a recreational social action.

Entering a particular physical space always implies some sort of engagement on the part of the individuals who are entering it. The engagement does not necessarily have to include communication by means of linguistic signs or even gestures. Such engagement includes communication by default just on the basis of one's entrance into a physical space. In his analysis of the different aspects of "language of space", Lawson (2001: 2) claims the following:

When we walk into a room, others are reading this spatial language long before we speak. What we wear, how we smell, the manner of our walk, our facial expression, where we choose to sit, the way other people look at us and acknowledge us.

This paper investigates the relationship between the basic spatio-temporal and cultural characteristics of Špancirfest, a street festival traditionally held at the end of August in Varaždin (north-western Croatia), and the lexical item, *špancir*, that the festival is named after. The first part of the theoretical overview provides the possibilities of investigating different types of spaces relevant for sociolinguistic analysis, notions of street festivals as particular types of public space, as well as an insight into the German language influence in north-western Croatia. The research includes the lexis related to Špancirfest found in newspaper articles in the period from 2010 till 2016 as well as the application of a questionnaire carried out among natives of Varaždin, who were asked to provide answers with regard to the evaluation of semantic and pragmatic differences between the loanword *špancir*, as well as the lexical items derived from the word, and the native, Croatian equivalents.

In our analysis Špancirfest is not perceived as a physically confined space, but rather as a particular type of public space in which something is communicated simply by individuals' presence in that particular space. The underlying spatio-temporal and cultural characteristics of Špancirfest as a particular type of space can be regarded as significant factors in evaluating the choice between loanwords and native words, as well as semantic and pragmatic differences that may be identified between them. In that sense, although it is not a physically confined space, there are still certain messages conveyed by participants simply being there and participating. This is the reason why something should also be said about festivals in general as a particular type of space which in itself communicates something, but in which participants are also communicating simply by participating in them.

2 ŠPANCIRFEST AS A SPACE?

As sociocultural phenomena, festivals have been analyzed by sociologists and scholars working in related fields for a very long time. This is partly due to the fact that festivals have marked the lives of many communities across space and time. In relation to space, it could be argued that festivals both occupy and create space. They occupy a particular physical space which is, in turn, occupied by a specific community that has its own social and cultural characteristics. On the other hand, they create space which is offered to that community in order to create new social and cultural values or recreate the already established ones.¹

What is of special interest for our analysis is the scholars' approach to urban festivals. In analyzing festivals in relation to urbanity, Sassatelli (2011: 18) claims that they are "place specific, [...] and have a concentrated space–time frame". Although all types of festivals may be analyzed in relation to their cultural value, urban festivals are particularly interesting in that respect since contemporary festivals centred in a particular town demonstrate characteristics specific to that particular place. In that sense, urban festivals may be analyzed in relation to the extent to which they embody the cultural and historical aspects of the town, as well as the extent to which they symbolize that common heritage and serve as channels of expressing solidarity and unity of a particular place. Moreover, urban festivals are frequently analyzed as sites that may be used as expressions of subversive behaviour.²

Although not crucial for the purposes of the analysis conducted in this paper, it should also be noted that, besides occupying and creating space, festivals also have the role of promoting a particular place. With regard to the concept of 'place promotion', Gold and Gold claim that "place promoters generally treat the city as a multi-faceted product, in which the key selling proposition rests on the distinctive blend of advantages that the city in question is said to offer" (2016: 11). Since 1999 Špancirfest has taken place in Varaždin, and it is necessary to understand the historical and sociocultural relevance of this Croatian town. Historically speaking, Varaždin has always occupied an important place in Croatian history, from the economic and political perspective, and especially due to its rich cultural heritage (Mohorovičić 2006).

3 GERMAN LANGUAGE INFLUENCE IN NORTH-WESTERN CROATIA

German influence was strong in Varaždin and other nearby towns and places in north-western parts of Croatia. The first contacts between Croatian and German can be traced back to the 9th century, as the East Frankish Empire spread over the

1 Delgado (2016) provides a comprehensive and extensive insight into the ways in which festivals may be regarded as communities' assets, and Cudny (2016) places substantial emphasis on the urban dimension in his analysis of the functions that festivals perform in creating social and cultural spaces.

2 See, e.g. Kikaš et al. (2011) for an analysis of three Croatian urban art festivals from such a perspective.

Balcans (Žepić 1996: 66).³ An example is the word *škare* ‘scissors’, from the Old High German word *scari*, which is still part of the contemporary Croatian vocabulary (Jernej – Glovacki-Bernardi – Sulojdžić 2012: 330).

As Stojić and Turk (2017: 42) describe, migrations or intensive colonization of Croatian land began in the 12th century, as German migrants or *hospites* (king’s guests) came to northern parts of Croatia and stimulated economy and trade. They were also prepared to defend the border in case of war. They played an important role in establishing towns between the rivers Sava, Drava and Danube. The oldest German settlement in Croatia is found in Varaždin, a town which was given the title of a free king’s town in 1209 by king Andrew II. The citizens had the right to choose their own judge (or *rihtar*, as he was called by the use of the German loanword).

The influence of the German language (particularly of Austrian German) in northern Croatia was especially strong since the 16th century, as Croatia became part of the Habsburg Monarchy, and this bond lasted until 1918 (cf. Žepić 2002: 214). The 17th century was marked by immigration of craftsmen who came to Croatia from Austria and Germany. On the other hand, Croatian craftsmen went to Austria and Germany for apprenticeship, and the young Croatian intelligence studied in Graz and Vienna. The 18th century was characterized by good cultural and commercial relations (cf. Goldstein 2003: 140–145). During the time of absolutism, in the era of Joseph II, there were unsuccessful attempts, especially between 1787 and 1790, to introduce German as the only language of education in Croatian high schools. The education reform carried out by Maria Theresia and Joseph II, which made the school system a matter of the state, and no longer of the church, was successful. This reform regulated, i. a., construction of schools, compulsory education, curricula, teaching methods, etc. (Häusler 1993: 224–225). North-western parts of Croatia were multilingual, since Latin and German had prestige at that time, and Croatian Kajkavian developed „both as the language of every communication and the language of official communication (guild and administrative files, etc.)“ (Jernej – Glovacki-Bernardi – Sulojdžić 2012: 328). This historical period is most interesting with regard to language borrowing, because the Habsburg rule „enabled the sociolinguistic context (the co-existence of Croatian and German speakers in the same area)“, and Croatian was used by German native speakers in the 18th and 19th centuries „in the performance of various administrative duties“ (Jernej – Glovacki-Bernardi – Sulojdžić 2012: 329).

At the beginning of the 20th century, German immigrants bought large properties (cf. Goldstein 2003, 203), and in this way German-Croatian contacts lasted for a long time without disruption. Some German loanwords were borrowed in the 20th century, either through development of tourism and economy or through Croatian Gastarbeiter in the 1960s and 1970s (examples for that are *bauštela* ‘construction

3 Stojić and Turk (2017: 38) write about German loanwords that entered all Slavic languages already in the Germanic period, e.g. *bukva*, *hiža*, *kupiti*, *plug*, *knez*.

site', *autoban* 'motorway', *urlaub* 'vacation') (Horvat-Dronske 1995: 377–378). These contacts also influenced the fact that German was the most important mediator language in processes of borrowing from English (Muhvić Dimanovski 1996: 458). Examples can be found on the orthographic level (e.g. *keks*), or the phonological level (e.g. *šprintati* 'to sprint', *štrajkati* 'to strike'). On the morphological level there are numerous verbs with the suffix *-irati* borrowed from the German suffix *-ieren*, etc. (Muhvić Dimanovski 1996: 459–460).

German-Croatian contacts are evident in numerous German loanwords found in Croatian dialects (particularly in the Kajkavian group of dialects), but also in the standard language. Babić (1990: 219) distinguishes three periods of the German influence: (1) period up to 1527 (Habsburger Ferdinand I became Croatian king); (2) from 1527 until the beginning of national movement – Illyrism in 1835; (3) from Illyrism until today.⁴

The traces of the German influence in Croatian can best be found in the Kajkavian group of dialects spoken in north-western parts of Croatia. The influence is shown in a study of the dictionary of Varaždin Kajkavian by Pavić Pintarić (2010), in which she identified 1929 German loanwords, 401 of which are Austrian. Austrian influence is especially noticeable in the following areas:

FOOD AND KITCHEN *cukerpeker* (< Germ. Zuckerbäcker 'confectioner'), *ejnpreñ* (< Einbrenn 'roux'), *fašëranëc* (< Faschiertes 'minced meat'), *gërm* (< Germ 'yeast'), *gërmtejk* (< Germteig 'yeast dough'), *jauzn* (< Jause 'snack'), *kifl* (< Kipferl 'croissant'), *knëdl* (< Knödel 'dumpling'), *krëdënc* (< Kredenz 'hutch'), *krigl* (< Krügel 'pint'), *paradëjs* (< Paradeiser 'tomato'), *špëçeräj* (< Spezerei 'groceries'), *panëрати* (< panieren 'to crumb'), *dünstati* (< dünsten 'to steam'), *špikati* (< spicken 'to lard').

CRAFT *cokl* (< Sockel 'base'), *cvikcangë* (< Zwickzange 'nipper'), *kramp* (< Krampen 'cramp'), *špãga* (< Spagat 'string'), *špahtl* (< Spachtel 'scraper, spatula'), *endlati* (< endeln 'to border').

HOUSEHOLD *bihërkasl* (< Bücherkastl 'bookcase'), *brifkasl* (< Briefkastl 'mailbox'), *gelënder* (< Geländer 'handrail'), *karniša* (< Karnische 'cornice'), *luster* (< Luster 'chandelier'), *partviš* (< Bartwisch 'hand brush'), *plãhta* (< Plache 'tarpaulin'), *škrnecl* (< Stanitzel 'paper bag'), *štokrl* (< Stockerl 'stool').

CLOTHES *cifëršlus* (< Zippverschluss 'zip'), *hafil* (< Haftel 'hook and eye'), *kikla* (< Kittel 'tunic'), *mašl* (< Mascherl 'bow tie'), *pumpëricë* (< wiener. Pumphose 'bloomer'), *šôs* (< Schoß 'skirt'), *štramplë* (< Stramperl 'tights').

FESTIVALS *fašnik* (< Fasching 'carnival'), *Krampus*, *kriskindl* (< Christkindl 'Kris Kringle'), *ringlšpil* (< Ringelspiel 'roundabout').

4 The influence of German on the Croatian language has been the object of research in numerous linguistic studies, especially from the point of view of morphological and semantic adaptation of German loanwords (e.g. Ivanetić 1997; Žepić 1996; 2002; Piškorec 2005; Štebih 2003; 2008; Stojić – Turk 2017).

CHARACTER TRAITS *cvikeraš* (< „Zwickerträger“ from Zwicker ‘spectacles’), *falô*t (< Falott ‘swindler’), *hohštapler* (< Hochstapler ‘impostor’), *huncut* (< Hundsfutt ‘scoundrel’), *šmoklan* (< Schmock ‘shmock’).

PROFESSION *bęđinęrica* (< Bediener/in ‘attendant’), *draksler* (< Drechsler ‘turner’), *kasęr* (< Kassierer ‘cashier’), *šintęr* (< Schinder ‘flayer’), *špengler* (< Spengler ‘tinsmith’), *tapęciręr* (< Tapezierer ‘paperhanger, upholsterer’).

It is obvious that German loanwords in north-western Croatia appear in the lexis referring to everyday life. However, the issue of availability of German loanwords and native words as their synonyms is especially relevant for the purpose of the current analysis. In his analysis of four different possibilities with Slavic languages of the former Habsburg Empire, Thomas (1997: 343–344) provides data for several Slavic languages. Here it is interesting to compare the presented figures for two of the four scenarios – one which includes the choice between the frequently stylistically marked German loanword and a native synonym and the one where the choice is between a German loanword and the native synonym, neither of which are stylistically marked. As far as the Croatian language is concerned, Thomas (1997: 344) reports 81% of occurrences of the first situation, and as little as 3.5% of occurrences of the second situation. Thomas’ analysis did not include the lexeme *špancır*, but the presented ratio with regard to the extent of presence of stylistically marked German loanwords allows us to hypothesize about the chances of *špancır* identified as a stylistically marked lexeme in contrast to the native equivalent *šetnja/šetati se* (‘walk’/‘go for a walk’). The analysis of the research conducted for the purpose of this paper might provide information with regard to the stylistic markedness of the German loanword, as well as the semantic and pragmatic differences between the loanword and the native synonym. Naturally, speakers’ choices between loanwords and native words are primarily influenced by their exposure to the words. However, if we take into consideration the principle of language economy which stipulates that “one meaning [is] encoded by only one form” (Sinnemäki 2008: 71), we cannot regard loanwords and native words as absolute synonyms, but must look for semantic and pragmatic differences that govern the speakers’ choices. In this context, it is important to take into consideration the specific origin of a loanword and the sociocultural and political contexts of the contact between the two languages that have influenced both the linguists’ and the speakers’ attitudes towards the loanwords from that particular language. Within his analysis of puristic attitudes of four Slavic communities (including Croatian) towards German linguistic items in the period of the former Habsburg Empire, Thomas (2003, 201) emphasizes that such attitudes were marked by an aversion towards such items. Our current analysis will focus primarily on the contemporary situation with regard to a specific German loanword used in a specific sociocultural context, i.e., space.

4 LEXIS OF ŠPANCIRFEST

Špancirfest as a festival is related to space and movement, and is represented in newspapers. This overview of the lexis related to Špancirfest is based on newspaper reports on the festival found online in the newspaper *Večernji list* (2010–2016) and the local newspaper in Varaždin, *Varaždinske vijesti* (2013–2016). Regular activities or exhibits are named in such a way that the readers relate them to the festival.

The word *Špancirfest* is coined from two words. It is built as a compound of the borrowed noun *špancir* and the borrowed German noun *fest* (Fest⁵ for festival). The Croatian language is not very inclined to creating compounds, so this can also be viewed as German influence.⁶

The word *špancir* is derived from the German verb *spazieren* “to go for a walk” (the verb is dated,⁷ it is common to say *spazierengehen* “to go for a walk”). The German verb is linked to space; it comes from Middle German *spacieren*, *spazieren* < Italian *spaziare* < Latin *spatiari* from *spatium*. The verb in German means to go leisurely, without any special purpose, to stroll, e.g. *auf und ab, durch die Straßen spazieren; die Besucher spazierten in den großen Saal, durch die Ausstellung*. The verb is found in collocations like *spazieren gehen (jeden Tag zwei Stunden spazieren gehen; wir gehen gerne, viel, oft spazieren)*, or coll. humor. *etwas spazieren führen/tragen (ein neues Kleid spazieren führen)*.

The reflexive verb *špancirati se* is in Croatian also dated and regionally used in the following senses: (1) to move, to walk moderately for pleasure and leisure, (2) *fig.* to do nothing, to waste time, (3) *pejor.* to show off with sb. when discretion would be in order. The form of the verb *špancirati* (without the reflexive pronoun) is also used, as a durative verb. On the other hand, the prefix *pro-* in *prošpancirati* refers to a perfective aktionsart. It also refers to the fact that the participants of the festival move through a space or beside stands.⁸

In Croatian, the noun *špancir* is used in the sense of light walk for fun or relaxation, a stroll, and it is marked as regional and expressive.⁹ The movement on the festival can be also described as *španciranje*, as a verbal noun which denotes

5 *Fest* as a larger event or a Church feast day ([größere] gesellschaftliche Veranstaltung [in glanzvollem Rahmen]; einzelner hoher kirchlicher Feiertag (oder zwei auf einander folgende) (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Fest>, 13 Dec. 2017).

6 In Croatian, it is more usual that compounds are built with suffixes rather than as combinations of two words (Babić 2002: 366).

7 Duden online (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/spazieren>, 13 Dec. 2017): *spazieren*: gemächlich [ohne bestimmtes Ziel] gehen; schlendern; (veraltend) spazieren gehen.

8 The prefix *pro-* has several meanings: (a) passing of action through sth. (*prodrijeti, provući, propasti, proletjeti*), (b) the action went beside sth. (*prohujati, proletjeti, projahati*), (c) the beginning of the action of the stem verb (*procvasti, procuriti*), (d) the action lasted for a limited time (*promijesiti, pročititi*), (e) the action was fully done (*pročuti se, prokismuti*), (f) the action is done, the goal is achieved (*prosutiti, prozvati*) (cf. Babić 2002: 548). Some prefixes serve to change the aktionsart, the imperfective into a perfective verb, e.g. *baciti – dobaciti, izbaciti, nabaciti*) (cf. Babić 2002: 537).

9 (<http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>, 13 Dec. 2017).

an action that lasts. People who come to Špancirfest to enjoy the stroll through the old town and the programme it offers are called *špancireri*. The word is derived from *špancir* and the suffix *-er* in German Nomina agentis. It is not a usual Croatian suffix, it is used in loanwords denoting the agent, e.g. *frizer*, *hipnotizer*, *lakirer*, *monter*, and some of the words are stylistically marked, e.g. *fušer* ‘botcher’, *štreber* ‘overachiever’, *švercer* ‘black marketeer’ (Babić 2002: 359–360).

Women who dress up with crinolines are called *špancirke*: in this derivation, the noun *špancir* obtains the suffix *-ka* for singular, which in this case belongs to gender inflection. Participants on the festival can show their participation through clothes, thus they can communicate their affinity for the festival. Not only crinolines, but also make-up gives the impression of belonging. The word which is usually used in Croatian for make-up is *šminkanje*, derived from the noun *šminka* (German *Schminke*).

Participants need comfortable shoes for walking, so the local designers even made the so-called *špancir šuza*¹⁰ – built from the noun *špancir* and the noun *šuza* which belongs to slang and comes probably from English *shoes*. Croatian would normally demand the adjective form of *špancir*, i.e. *špancirska* as the attribute for *šuza*, but it seems that in this word the German tendency to build compounds can be seen. These shoes are made of natural materials and are colourful – which is referred to as *štih*¹¹ (“uz poseban šareni štih”, Večernji list, 19. 8. 2010), which is a German word *Stich* ‘tinge; stitch’.

Furthermore, women can buy “špancir pušleke za zbegecati se” (Večernji list, 19. 8. 2010). *Pušlek* is the diminutive form of *pušl* which is another German loanword (*Büschel*) and means ‘bunch’. Those are bunches of artificial flowers one can use beside purses as accessories. The verb *zbegecati se* or *zbigecati se* (to dress up) has its origin probably in the German verb *ausbügeln* (to iron out, to smooth out).

A special perfume was made for Špancirfest, the so-called *špancirski miris – Parfem 18*. Here the Croatian suffix *-ski* for deriving adjectives is used in *špancirski*.

Špancirfest is situated in the old town centre and has many stands: *štanđovi* (street stands for selling food or craft). The word comes from the German *Stand* (booth). There is also an example where *špancir-kućica* was used to refer to the stands used during Špancirfest. Some events take place in smaller spaces, like *Španciraonica*, which is an art workshop. The suffix *-onica* denotes a room where an action denoted by the stem verb is being done (e.g. *blagovaonica*, *čekaonica*, *čitaonica*, *radionica*) (Babić 2002: 194). Visitors of the festival can use the buses reserved for this occasion, called *špancirbus*. This is not a usual compound in Croatian; it is coined after the word *autobus* (bus).

¹⁰ Special shoes made for Špancirfest are also called *špancirke* (cf. the website of the school in Varaždin where students made the shoes as souvenirs (http://os-sesta-vz.skole.hr/o_skoli/nasi_ucitelji/dario_mijac?news_hk=7000&news_id=2497&mshow=3400, 14 Dec. 2017).

¹¹ *Štih* refers to a recognizable feature as part of all features or general impression in mentality or appearance (*dalmatinski štih*, *europski štih*).

The lexis related to Špancirfest contains the word *špancir* as a determinant, which helps to denote special objects or concepts related to movement, be it verbs denoting strolling and enjoying the festival programme or nouns denoting preparations made by the participants in order to be seen during the stroll.

5 EVALUATIONS OF LOANWORDS AND THEIR USE – THE CASE OF ŠPANCIRFEST

5.1 Methodology

This part of the paper presents the results of the research conducted among thirty-three Croatian informants regarding the evaluations of loanwords connected with Špancirfest and their use. The research was conducted in the period from September 2017 to March 2018 via a questionnaire designed in Croatian and sent to the informants' email addresses with a request to participate in the research, with their anonymity and confidentiality guaranteed. In the first part of the questionnaire the informants were asked to state their gender, year of birth, educational level, and place of birth and residence. In the second part of the questionnaire they were asked whether they follow the events on Špancirfest and whether they attend it. Then they were asked to state whether they consider Špancirfest boring, interesting or whether they had no opinion regarding the event. What followed was a question whether Špancirfest has a special meaning for them and, if yes, why, and whether the festival has a special meaning for Varaždin. The third part of the questionnaire included language-related questions. The informants were asked to provide the meaning of the word *špancir*. Then they were asked to evaluate the possible differences between different pairs/sets of words (loanwords and native words) and to state the contexts in which they would use each word. The pairs/sets of words included the following: *špancir* – *špancirung* – *šetnja*;¹² *špancirati* – *šetati*;¹³ *špancirštok* – *štap za šetnju*;¹⁴ *šetači* – *špancireri*;¹⁵ *cipele* – *špancirke* – *špancir šuza*.¹⁶

5.2 Analysis of the results

5.2.1 Analysis of non-linguistic data

The age variable is not taken into consideration in the analysis of the results because more than half of the informants (eighteen of them) did not provide their year of birth (or age). As far as the educational level is concerned, two of the informants have

12 A walk or a stroll.

13 To walk or stroll.

14 A walking cane.

15 Walkers or strollers.

16 The expression *špancir šuza* refers to walking shoes. The lexeme *špancirke* is included here because it also appears in the same meaning in the collected corpus (http://os-sesta-vz.skole.hr/o_skoli/nasi_ucitelji/ru_ica_trogri_news_id=2497). In other sources it is used in the meaning of female walkers.

ISCED 4 level, three are students at the level ISCED 6, one has the level ISCED 8, whereas eleven informants have ISCED level 7, and sixteen the level ISCED 5. With regard to the place of birth variable, twenty-six informants were born in Varaždin, six were born in other Croatian places near Varaždin, and one in an Austrian town. With regard to the place of residence variable, twenty-eight informants are residents of Varaždin, and five of them are residents of other nearby places.

Among the thirty-three informants, nine were males. Only one male informant said he did not follow the events on Špancirfest, and all male informants said they attend it. Out of twenty-four female informants, four of them said they did not follow the events on Špancirfest, while twenty said they did. Only four female respondents answered the question regarding whether they attended Špancirfest, and all their answers were affirmative. Two out of nine male informants consider Špancirfest boring, while seven of them consider it interesting. Three female informants consider Špancirfest boring, and three do not have an opinion about it. Eighteen female respondents consider it interesting.

One male respondent has no opinion whether Špancirfest has a special meaning for him, but he indicated that the festival was important for the town for economic reasons and tourism. Four male respondents claim that the festival is not personally important to them, but two of them emphasized its importance for the promotion of the town. One male respondent, who said it does have a special meaning, stated the following: “It is the time of year when I am most relaxed. I met my girlfriend there.”¹⁷ Another male respondent stated the following: “Besides interesting events, the town lives to its fullest, and those are the days when we can see people we usually do not see”. He also stated that it is important for the town because “it becomes recognisable widely and during those days all its resources and beauty are made full use of”. Another male respondent provided the following reason for Špancirfest having a special meaning for him: “It is the first festival I visited as a child.” One male respondent claimed that it has a special meaning for him because, “by volunteering on it, I was able to use my knowledge of German and history”, and that “it is a period when the town comes to life.” Three female informants claimed that they had no opinion about whether Špancirfest was important for them. Twelve female informants responded that Špancirfest does not have a special meaning for them, but one of them claimed that it is important for the town “because there are many tourists and it is what the town is recognizable for”, and another stated that “it attracts foreign performers and tourists”. Nine female informants claimed that it does have a special meaning for them. One of them said it is because “the town comes to life and there are many different contents”. Another female respondent put forward the same argument, and added that “Varaždin is dead throughout most of the year”. This respondent was also the one to point out the cultural, financial, and touristic importance of the festival. Other female respondents also emphasized the cultural

¹⁷ Informants’ responses were translated from Croatian to English by the authors of this paper.

and social importance of the festival, and one of them specifically referred to the fact that it is the period of year when traditional customs come to life.

What may be observed in this part of the analysis is that the great majority of the informants follow the events on Špencirfest, attend it, and find it interesting. When it comes to whether the festival has a special place for them, the informants who gave a reply focused primarily on personal reasons for why it has a special place for them. On the other hand, those who provided reasons for why the festival is important for Varaždin mostly put forward the arguments related to the promotion of the town, for attracting tourists, as well as for economic and cultural reasons. The informants' responses were similar regardless of the gender variable.

5.2.2 Analysis of linguistic data

In this section, informants were asked to state whether they understand the words of German origin and to explain their meanings. The words were found in newspaper texts about Špencirfest.

All informants understand the word *špencir* as *šetnja*. However, only a few provided a response to explain the meaning of the word *špencir*, putting forward the following feedback for the meaning of the word: “*šetnja*”; “a slightly archaic Germanism for strolling/walking for recreational purposes”; “a festival that takes place in Varaždin at the end of summer”; “a festival of walking through the town and observing the offered contents”; “walking through the town and having a good time”; “traditional social activity”; “a period when the streets are filled, when the town is full of great foreign tribute bands that I eagerly expect this year as well”; “a walk or Špencirfest, depending on the context”.

On the basis of the last response, it is evident that the word is interpreted in two different senses – one referring to a synonym of *šetnja*, and the other referring to the festival itself. One of these senses is revealed in other informants' responses as well. It is also interesting to note that one informant indicated the origin of the word and, in identifying it as a Germanism, did not identify it as a mere synonym for *šetnja* (walk), but indicated that it refers to a specific type of walk, for recreational purposes.

Informants were asked to explain the difference between the set of words *špencir* – *špencirung* – *šetnja* and the contexts of use. Nine informants believe that there is no difference in the meaning between these words (one of them stated that the only difference is the origin of the words), e.g. “I do not think that there is a difference, but I do not use the word *špencir* instead of *šetnja*.” Eleven other informants emphasize that they use the words *špencir* and *špencirung* when referring to Špencirfest, e.g.: “When I say I go for a walk, I do not use the word *špencirung*. I do not use *špencir* either, except for the event Špencirfest.”; “The word *špencir* denotes the festival, and I use *špencirung* only to refer to a walk in the period in which Špencirfest takes place or when we talk about it.”; “There is a difference in meaning, i.e., I use *špencir* only when talking about

Špancirfest, the word *špancir* has the same meaning as *Špancirfest* for me. I do not use that word to denote a walk. I do not use the word *špancirung*, but I would use it to denote some sort of sightseeing, while the word *šetnja* denotes simply ‘a walk’, without any purpose of seeing something”; “I do not think that there is a difference between these words. I associate the word *špancir* with Špancirfest. I use the word *šetnja* when, e.g., I go for a walk after work. I use the word *špancir* more frequently during Špancirfest.”

Other informants who believe that there is a difference in meaning provided an explanation. The identified differences have to do with distinguishing between different types of walking activities related to social and cultural aspects. *Šetnja* is most frequently identified as a general type of movement, while *špancir* and *špancirung* have an added, specific value associated with Špancirfest; e.g. “The difference is in that *špancirung* means to attend a street festival or programme that is held in the town. The programmes are held till late in the night, and it is possible to see especially decorated buildings, which is interesting. *Špancirung* lasts longer than *šetnja*. *Šetnja* can be any day, and *špancirung* during the street festival.”; “*Špancir* would be more a walk with the aim of showing yourself.”; “*Špancir* includes meeting other people, while this does not have to be the case with *šetnja*.”; “*Špancir* means to walk very slowly inspecting everything around you with great interest.”

In that sense, it could be argued that the borrowed words are less neutral in meaning and hold a stronger cultural and social value as they are primarily associated with the festival itself, although, as one informant observed, the difference is primarily linguistic in the sense that the origins of words are different. Such responses illustrate the extent to which social and cultural activities such as festivals influence the modification of the meaning of words. It is also worthwhile noting that one respondent associated the foreign words with comic or ironic situations, which also attests to the fact that foreign words are, in comparison to their native equivalents, less neutral in meaning.

Regarding the difference between the pair of words *špancirati* – *šetati* and the contexts of use, the following answers were obtained. Out of twenty-one informants who provided a feedback regarding this issue, fourteen explicitly stated that there is no difference between the meaning of these words. However, some of them added additional explanation that indicates that they actually do distinguish between them, but primarily from the pragmatic point of view, i.e., from the point of view of contexts of use. Thus, among the fourteen informants there were indications regarding the fact that some of them used *špancirati* only in the context of Špancirfest, i.e. during the festival, e.g. “There is no difference. I use *špancirati* for Špancirfest.” One informant who made no difference in meaning made a distinction between colloquial speech and literary language and associated *špancirati* with colloquial speech. Among the fourteen informants who did not identify any difference in meaning, one also associated the use of the words with different generations by claiming that *špancirati* is used more frequently by older generations: “I use *špancirati* solely

in connection to Špancirfest. I do not think that there is a difference in meaning between these words. I suppose that older generations use *špancirati* more frequently in everyday language.” This indicates the identification of the word as an archaism. An informant who did not explicitly state that there is a difference provided a pragmatic difference in the sense that *špancirati* would be used in comic situations. This may be related to the identification of the word as an archaism and, in this case, it would mean that the younger generations might use the word in comic situations precisely because of this characteristic. Other informants who did not explicitly claim that there is no difference in meaning also pointed out the pragmatic difference, i.e., that *špancirati* would be used only during Špancirfest and in conversation regarding the festival. Among the informants who made a difference in meaning of these words, there is a clear pattern according to which *šetati* is associated with movement with no particular purpose (similar to strolling),¹⁸ while *špancirati* is associated with movement with a particular purpose (sightseeing, attending an event or going from one programme to another),¹⁹ and in one informant’s response it was identified as movement through town. Similarly to the previous analysis, this analysis also shows that there are differences in both semantic and pragmatic values of these words. Borrowed words are less neutral in meaning and hold a stronger cultural and social value as they are primarily associated with the festival itself. Such responses illustrate the extent to which social and cultural activities such as festivals influence the modification of the meaning of words, as well as speakers’ choices of either of them in different contexts of use.

The next difference in use that we were interested in was the pair of words *špancirštok* – *štap za šetnju* and the contexts of use. Among the twenty-one informants who provided a response to this question, only three of them explicitly stated that there is no difference between the meaning of these words. Most of the informants stated that they are not familiar with the word or that they would never use *špancirštok*. This suggests that, in comparison to informants’ responses regarding previous sets/pairs of words, *špancirštok* is not frequently heard in use, and that is why the association between this word and Špancirfest is also low. Only one informant associated *špancirštok* with Špancirfest as a context of its use (“I use the word *špancirštok* only during Špancirfest and when we talk about it.”). Among those who claimed that they never use it, one said that he/she would use it in the context of discussing Germanisms (“I do not use *špancirštok*. I would use it in the context of discussing Germanisms.”). One informant made a semantic difference by claiming that *špancirštok* refers to a special type of walking cane and identifies

18 “There is a difference in meaning, in the sense that I use the word *špancirati* when going for a walk, together with sightseeing, attending an event, while *šetati* means more like strolling without any purpose of sightseeing”; “The word *špancirati* is used here for people who are bored so they go for a walk, and for those who visit a place for sightseeing.”

19 “*Špancirati* – to attend some interesting events, go from programme to programme; *šetati* – strolling without a purpose.”

it more as an accessory. This is comparable to informants' responses regarding the semantic differences between *špincerati* and *šetati*, as *špincerati* was identified as movement with a purpose in a particular public space (the town) where one is engaged in sightseeing and is seen by others. In that context, *špincerštok* would be more of an accessory rather than exclusively a walking aid (“Špincerštok – special walking cane, because of the accessory.”)

The following are the informants' responses regarding the difference in meaning between the pair of words *šetači* – *špincereri* and the contexts of use. Out of twenty-eight informants who provided an answer to this question, ten of them explicitly stated that there is no difference in meaning between these words. However, some of them provided additional explanation that indicates that they actually do distinguish between them, but primarily from the pragmatic point of view, i.e., from the point of view of contexts of use. Thus, there is an association of *špincereri* with the visitors of Špincerfest, i.e. people who walk through the town during Špincerfest, while *šetači* is associated with individuals who go for a walk in the nature, e.g., by Drava, as indicated by one informant. There were other similar distinctions made with regard to movement through specific space, but these included associating *špincereri* with movement through Varaždin during Špincerfest, while *šetači* included movement through any town (“I have never used the word *špincereri* in talking to others. For me, it would refer to men and women walking through the town during Špincerfest. I would replace it with the words *šetači* and *šetačice*. I would use *špincereri* only during Špincerfest, and *šetači* on all other occasions.”). Among the rest of the informants, *špincereri* was associated with people who attend Špincerfest, and *šetači* with people who are not walking with the purpose of sightseeing or attending an event, but are walking for recreation (“*Šetači* – when you do not have a specific goal and a programme to see, but you stop somewhere where it is interesting.”). In that sense, *šetači*, as a native word, has a more neutral meaning. From the pragmatic point of view, there is also emphasis on the social dimension in the sense that *špincereri* is more closely associated with the type of movement that includes social exchange, i.e., meeting people and showing oneself off (“*Špincereri* and *špincerke* are people who are involved in *špinceranje*, i.e., walking through the town to show themselves and see what is going on.”). This analysis also indicates the relevance of different types of space in the interpretation of semantic and pragmatic values of words. Moreover, it also shows the importance of sociocultural values and customs in such interpretations that goes beyond the purely linguistic distinction between native words and Germanisms (which is the only distinction that one of the informants indicated in this part of the analysis).²⁰

The following are the informants' responses regarding the difference between the pair of words *cipele* – *špincerke* and the contexts of use. Among the

²⁰ “There is no difference because we frequently use Germanisms in everyday language”.

twenty-two informants who provided feedback to this question, only one of them explicitly stated that there is no difference in the meaning of these words. However, even this informant added the association of *špancirke* with Špancirfest. Most of the informants claimed that they do not use the word *špancirke* or that the word is unfamiliar to them. Similarly to informants' response regarding the unfamiliarity of the word *špancirštok* and the fact that they do not use it, this also suggests that the word *špancirke* is not frequently heard in use, and that is why the association between this word and Špancirfest is also low. Among the informants who made a distinction between the two words, there was the identification of *cipele* as a broader, more general concept that could be applied to any type of shoes used for different activities (work, ceremony, etc.), and *špancirke* as a comfortable type of walking shoes, casual shoes ("Yes, there is a difference. *Cipele* is a general concept. *Špancirke* – comfortable footwear for walking."; "*Cipele* – footwear in which you cannot walk for too long, going for a coffee, to the movies, to visit someone, to the theatre, etc."). One informant associated *špancirke* with females who are engaged in the activity of *španciranje*. Twelve informants claimed they do not know or use the word *špancir šuza* although four of them guessed that those are special shoes for walking. One informant explains: "I associate the word with a shoe which is not made to be comfortable but to appear nice." This analysis also proves that there is a close connection between a space in which an event takes place and the interpretation of semantic and pragmatic values of words, regardless of the fact that not many informants explicitly associated the word *špancirke* with Špancirfest.

6 CONCLUSION

Špancirfest, as an urban festival, can be perceived as a particular type of public space in which new concepts in the lexis are developed. Participants of this festival use special vocabulary, which can not only be heard and used among them, but can also be read in newspaper articles regarding the festival. Words of German origin such as *špancir* and its derivations, used in north-western parts of Croatia, have become new concepts. Thus, *špancir* is not only used for walking but primarily as a shorter substitute for Špancirfest. The word has also gained new senses, referring to strolling in order to be seen, strolling to amuse oneself at the festival, i.e. strolling with a purpose. Participating in the festival has marked some people's lives. In that physical and sociocultural space they meet dear people they have not seen in a long time, and one informant even met his girlfriend at the festival. The festival creates not only good vibes in the town, but also contributes to lexical changes. New derivations (which were not included in the questionnaire), such as *špancir pušlek* or *špancirbus*, have been coined, and everything that has *špancir* as the determinant part of the new word refers to the festival and thus to a new cultural value.

Thus, the research conducted for the purpose of this paper reveals several interesting results. Firstly, there is the obvious semantic difference between the meaning of native words and German counterparts. This is revealed by the fact that informants make a distinction between two different types of movement in cases of analyzed pairs of words whose meaning refers to a particular type of movement. The analysis has revealed that native words have a more neutral meaning and broader application than the foreign counterparts. Secondly (and perhaps more importantly for the purpose of our research), the explanations that the informants have provided for the semantic differences between the meaning of native words and German counterparts reveal that such distinctions made by the informants (users of the analyzed words) are motivated by the pragmatic differences between the words. Thus, the activities that take place during Špancirfest have a direct influence on how the informants distinguish between the meaning of words such as *šetati* and *špancirati* or *šetači* and *špancireri*, but also on their feedback regarding the contexts of their use of either the native word or the German loanword. Finally, the conducted analysis clearly illustrates the relevance of interpreting different sociocultural events situated in a particular physical context, such as Špancirfest, as specific types of spaces. In turn, such spaces present themselves, among other things, as extralinguistic frameworks that enable the participants in such events to perceive the semantic and pragmatic values of different lexical items in particular ways connected to the characteristics of the events themselves. Hopefully, the results of this research might serve as an incentive for future investigations that would include the analysis of the complex relationship that holds between different types of public spaces and events and the evaluation of semantic and pragmatic values of linguistic items associated with such spaces and events.

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POVZETEK

Izposojenka kot znak gibanja v prostoru: primer Špancirfest

Koncept prostora je postal predmet čedalje večjega zanimanja za različne discipline. Komunikacija ni le vprašanje uporabe jezikovnih znakov ali gest, saj predstavlja proces, ki poteka v določenem sociokulturnem okolju. To je določeno s fizičnim okoljem sogovornikov, pa tudi s fizičnimi omejitvami posameznikov, ki so udeleženi v pogovoru, tj. s svojimi fizičnimi telesi.

V prispevku je predstavljena analiza razmerja med osnovnimi prostorsko-časovnimi in kulturnimi značilnostmi Špancirfesta, uličnega festivala, ki se tradicionalno odvija v Varaždinu (severozahod Hrvaške), in besedo, po kateri se imenuje – *špancir*. Po predstavitvi teoretične osnove, ki se nanaša na možnosti proučevanja različnih tipov prostorov, pomembnih za sociolingvistično analizo, je v prispevku prikazan ulični festival kot poseben tip javnega prostora, pa tudi vpogled v vpliv nemškega jezika na severozahodu Hrvaške, saj to predstavlja osnovo za analizo nemške izposojenke *špancir*. Korpus sestavljajo leksemi, povezani s Špancirfestom, ki jih najdemo v časopisnih člankih v letih 2010–2016. Izvedene raziskave vključujejo uporabo vprašalnice med hrvaškimi informatorji, večinoma prebivalci Varaždina, ki je bila uporabljena za preučevanje razmerja med razlago semantične in pragmatične vrednosti avtohtonih besed ter nemških izposojenk, ki izhajajo iz besede *špancir* in dajejo sociokulturni kontekst. Analiza razkriva pomen koncepta prostora ter vpliva družbenih in kulturnih dejavnikov pri vrednotenju podatkov, ki jih o raziskovanih leksikalnih enotah posredujejo informatorji.