

Biljana Mišić Ilić

NOT MY CUP OF TEA OR MUST HAVE:
BORROWING OF ENGLISH MULTI-WORD UNITS INTO SERBIAN*

Following the theoretical and methodological frameworks for the study of phraseological anglicisms and the pragmatic approach to the study of borrowing, this corpus-based study examines formal and functional aspects of several multi-word borrowings from English into Serbian. The examples include multi-word units *must have*, *all inclusive*, *doing business lista*, *stakleni plafon* ('glass ceiling'), *nema besplatnog ručka* ('there is no free lunch'), and *nije moja šolja čaja* ('it is not my cup of tea'), taken from three e-corpora of contemporary written Serbian, as well as a personal corpus of contextualized examples from the press. Structurally, they are classified into different syntactic types, while according to the type of adaptation process they may be direct borrowings, various types of hybrid borrowings, and indirect borrowings (loan translations, calques). From the pragmatic perspective, the qualitative analysis involves a discussion of genre, discourse, as well as cultural and social contexts relevant for the use of these multi-word anglicisms.

Key words: borrowing, phraseological anglicisms, Serbian, pragmatics.

У теоријском и методолошком оквиру проучавања фразеолошких англицизама и прагматичког приступа проучавању језичког позајмљивања, ово корпусно истраживање испитује формалне и функционалне аспекте неколико фразема из енглеског језика који се употребљавају у српском: *must have*, *all inclusive*, *doing business листа*, *стаклени плафон*, *нема бесплатног ручка* и *није моја шоља чаја*. Примери су издвојени из три е-корпуса савременог српског језика и личног корпуса контекстуализованих примера из писаних медија. У структурном смислу, ове фраземе су класификоване у више синтаксичких типова, док на основу процеса адаптације могу бити неадаптиране, делимично адаптиране, хибридне и преведене (калкови). Из прагматичке перспективе, квалитативна анализа укључује разматрање жанра, дискурса и културног и друштвеног контекста релевантног за употребу ових фразеолошких англицизама.

Кључне речи: језичко позајмљивање, фразеолошки англицизми, српски језик, прагматика.

1. INTRODUCTION. In the prolific literature on linguistic borrowing from English into other languages (GÖRLACH 2001; FISCHER – PUŁACZEWSKA 2008; FURIASSI et al. 2012; FURIASSI – GOTLIEB 2015, to list just a few collective volumes and literature cited therein), phraseological borrowing seems to remain an understudied area. Attempting to address this topic in relation to Serbian, this corpus-based study analyzes several multi-word borrowings from English into Serbian, which occur in oral and written communication and the media, in non-professional use. The examples include multi-word units *must have*, *all inclusive*, *doing business lista*, *stakleni plafon* ('glass ceiling'), *nema besplatnog ručka* ('there's no free lunch'),

* The article is a revised and extended version of a presentation at the 15th conference of the European Society for the Study of English (online, Lyon, August 31 – September 2, 2021). This study was supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-9/2021-14/200165).

nije moja šolja čaja ('not my cup of tea'), taken from three e-corpora of contemporary written Serbian, as well as a personal corpus of contextualized examples from the press. The aim of the article is to describe the specific nature of these phraseological anglicisms (PhAs) in Serbian in terms of their type and adaptation and to examine the genre- and register-related specificities and cultural implications of their use. In a broader perspective, the article also aims to show how Serbian data fit into the existing research on phraseological anglicisms in other European languages.

After the introduction, there follows the theoretical framework of the study. Next, Section 3 deals with the methodological framework, while the analysis with illustrative examples is presented in Section 4. The findings are discussed in Section 5, followed by concluding remarks, where the research on Serbian data is related to the previous studies of phraseological borrowing of some of these units in other languages and in general.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK. The theoretical framework includes the research on pragmatic borrowing in general, the studies on phraseology and phraseological borrowing from English, as well as research on Serbian in contact with English, and pragmatic aspects of it in particular.

2.1. The broadest theoretical framework of this article is set in the recent pragmatic turn in research on linguistic borrowing (ANDERSEN 2014; ANDERSEN – FURIASSI – MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017; PETERSON – BEERS FÅGERSTEN 2018; MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2019, MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2021). While most of the previous, dominantly structuralist studies were primarily lexicalist and focused on the borrowed items *per se*, examining their semantics, genre specifics and the degree of their morphological, phonological, and orthographic adaptation in the recipient language (RL), the pragmatic paradigm is primarily interested in the use of borrowings in the RL, the cultural, social and cognitive factors affecting that use, in particular motivating factors, the degree of transfer of discourse-functional properties, pragmatic effects of selecting a borrowed item instead of its native alternative, and indexing of particular social identities (ANDERSEN – FURIASSI – MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017).

Pragmatic borrowing, as defined in the seminal paper by Andersen (2014: 17), means “the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL)”. To deal descriptively with these features, i.e., the discourse-pragmatic products of borrowing, Andersen (2014: 18) uses the term ‘pragmatically borrowed items’: “[they] carry signals about speaker attitudes, the speech act performed, discourse structure, information state, politeness, etc.”. Andersen (2014) is credited with the introduction of an innovative theoretical concept in the study of pragmatic borrowing – the pragmatic function transfer. Similar to lexical borrowings, which sometimes undergo a *post hoc* semantic change in the RL, pragmatically borrowed items can undergo pragmatic function transfer, i.e., a change of discourse-functional properties. Andersen (2014: 24) distinguishes two main types of pragmatic function transfer – functional stability and functional adaptation. Functional stability means that there is no observable change in the pragmatic function of the borrowed pragmatic item, as for example is the case with calqued written public discourse formulas. Functional adaptation

includes three subtypes – functional broadening (the acquisition of new pragmatic functions); functional narrowing (the transfer of only one function or loss of some functions); functional shift (which combines the loss of some functions with acquisition of new ones or modification of the existing ones). Also significant was Anderson's (2014: 24) claim that "a comprehensive study of pragmatic borrowing must take into account sociolinguistic aspects and consider relevant demographic predictors and factors such as register and style". The data analysis and interpretation of findings in this study were done along these lines.

2.2. Since the research topic is phraseological borrowing, the study starts from the description and classification of structural types of phrasemes in general given by Granger & Paquot (2008: 41–43). They propose a classification of the phraseological spectrum into three major types, according to their function. Referential phrasemes are used to convey a content message and include lexical and grammatical collocations, idioms, similes, irreversible bi- and tri-nominals, compounds and phrasal verbs. Textual phrasemes are used to structure the content and include complex prepositions, subordinators and adverbials. Communicative phrasemes are used to express feelings and beliefs towards propositional content or address interlocutors and include speech act, attitudinal and commonplace formulae, proverbs and slogans.

With respect to phraseological anglicisms in particular, this article mostly relies on the classification by Fiedler (2017). Moving away from formal and semantic aspects, the study follows significant previous research in the field, by focusing on pragmatic and cultural aspects. Phraseological borrowing (of items such as communicative formulae, catchphrases, slogans and other multi-word items) is especially suitable for the study of pragmatic borrowing because these items are a product of the life of a speech community *par excellence* (FIEDLER 2017). What should be particularly stressed is the view that when phrasemes are borrowed across languages it is the case of not only linguistic, but also of cultural borrowing. This was convincingly stated by Fielder (2017): "... phraseological units have strong pragmatic implications because they are closely related to culturally influenced text patterns, discourse norms and speaker attitudes" and Marti Solano (2012: 214): "Multi-word loan translations represent not only a phraseological borrowing but also a cultural one as a new image or metaphor is imported into the recipient language."

2.3. There is a respectable body of research on Serbian in contact with English. Particularly significant is the seminal work *Engleski u srpskom* and some other studies by Prčić (2019; 2014), where he proposed the influential four-dimensional classification of anglicisms (according to type, formation, justification of use and status), as well as the contact linguistics framework for the study of anglicisms in Serbian. There are several dozens of papers by various authors, dealing either with particular types of anglicisms and/or particular registers in Serbian. From the pragmatic perspective, worth mentioning are the studies of pragmatic aspects of interpretation of anglicisms (PANIĆ-KAVGIĆ 2005) and stylistic markedness of anglicisms (MILIĆ 2013), whereas the work of Mišić Ilić in this area is devoted solely to pragmatic borrowing in Serbian (MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017; 2019, 2020a, b; 2021a, b). Mišić Ilić and Lopičić (2011) were the first to identify and analyze the calqued discourse formulas in Serbian, as a culturally significant phenomenon, not only

a linguistic one. However, there have been no particular studies on phraseological borrowing in Serbian though examples of borrowed phraseology were mentioned and discussed in some books and papers (PRČIĆ 2019; MIŠIĆ ILIĆ – LOPIČIĆ 2011; MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017, to list a few). The aim of this article is to shed more light on this phenomenon.

3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK. The methodological aspects of this corpus-based study are related to the materials and how they were selected and quantitatively presented, as well as to the details of the analytical model developed and used for the qualitative analysis.

3.1. The empirical study includes six multi-word Anglicisms in Serbian: *must have*, *all inclusive*, *doing business lista*, *stakleni plafon*, *nema besplatnog ručka*, and *nije moja šolja čaja*. They were chosen first for their pragmatic salience and then as the representatives of various structural types of phraseological borrowings.¹ Importantly, some of them were studied as phraseological borrowings in other languages (*glass ceiling*, *there's no such thing as a free lunch*, *not my cup of tea*, in German (FIEDLER 2014; 2017), and French (MARTI SOLANO 2012). The examples were taken from three e-corpora of contemporary written Serbian,² as well as a personal corpus of contextualized examples from the press. The e-corpora were checked for examples, distribution and frequencies. The meanings were first checked in several online monolingual English dictionaries, listed in the references section. Then, their inclusion and meaning was checked in English-Serbian dictionaries, both specialized and general (GERZIĆ 1994; KOVAČEVIĆ 2010; MILOSAVLJEVIĆ 2007; OED 2015), as well as in a Serbian dictionary of idioms (OTAŠEVIĆ 2012). It should be stressed that hardly any examples were found, which indicates that borrowed phrasemes (of any structural and adaptation type) are rarely recognized by lexicographers.

3.2. The study is primarily qualitative, though some quantitative data related to distribution in the three e-corpora are also presented and discussed.

For the purpose of the study, a special analytical model was developed, based on the existing literature. The following aspects were included:

¹ For the sake of illustration, we list a few more phrasemes belonging to the same types as the investigated ones: a) raw compounds, which can also be adapted, such as *after party/afterparti*, *animal print*, *fashion week/fešnik*, *fast food/fast fud*, *green room/grin rum*, *prime time/prajmtajm*, etc.; b) hybrid compounds such as *bomber jakna*, *desktop računar*, *discount/diskaunt klub*, *low cost/loukost kompanija*; c) calqued phrases, mostly NPs, such as *Crni petak* ('Black Friday'), *brza hrana* ('fast food'), *zona komfora* ('comfort zone'), *kultura otkazivanja* ('cancel culture'), *politička/i korektnost/korektno* ('political correctness/correct'), *predatorski časopis* ('predatory journal'), *pametni telefon* ('smart phone'), *socijalna distanca* ('social distance'); d) calqued idioms such as *mačka/maca ti je odgrizla/pojela jezik* ('cat got your tongue'), *biti/ući u nečije/tuđe cipele* ('be in someone's shoes'), *živeti u/na pozajmljenom vremenu* ('live on borrowed time'); e) calqued proverbs/sayings such as *kad ti život da limun, napravi limunadu* ('when you have lemons, make lemonade'), *trava je zelenija s druge strane ograde* ('the grass is (always) greener on the other side (of the fence)'), *mušterija/kupac/klijent je uvek u pravu* ('the customer is always right'), etc.

² The Corpus of Contemporary Serbian (SC), about 122,000,000 words, mostly from quality press, and literary, popular science and administrative texts; Serbian Web Corpus (SW), 476,888,297 words; Serbian Tweet Corpus (ST), 174,235,555 words. The personal corpus (PC) includes some 100 examples gathered from various Serbian online and, to a smaller extent, printed sources (news platforms, newspapers, news portals, advertisements, forums, flyers, etc.) collected in the period 2020–2021.

- 1) Description and classification of the examples, which includes their distribution in the e-corpora, their structure and their adaptation type. According to the classification of phraseme types (GRANGER – PAQUOT 2008: 42–43) the analysed borrowings can be identified as compounds, idioms and proverbs/sayings. Compounds are defined as composed of two independent elements and can be written separately, with a hyphen or as one orthographic word. They resemble single words in that they carry meanings as a whole and have a high degree of inflexibility. Idioms are defined as phrasemes that are constructed around a verbal nucleus. They are characterized by their semantic non-compositionality, which can be the result of a metaphorical process, and a lack of flexibility. Proverbs belong to communicative phrasemes and express general ideas by means of non-literal meaning (metaphors, metonymies, etc.) They are equivalent to complete sentences but are often abbreviated.
- 2) The type of borrowing (FIEDLER 2017; PRĆIĆ 2011). According to this criterion, the analysed borrowings can be classified as:
 - a) Direct/raw/unadapted (*must have, all inclusive*)
 - b) Phonologically and orthographically adapted (*mast hev/masthev, ol inkluziv/olinkluziv*)
 - c) Hybrid (one part direct, other in Serbian) (*doing business lista*) and hybrid collocation (direct used in collocation with a native word) (*must have komad, all inclusive aranžman*)
 - d) Indirect (loan translation, calque) (*stakleni plafon, nije moja šolja čaja, nema besplatnog ručka*)
- 3) Syntactic specificities. It was examined what happens to multi-word anglicisms, in terms of how fixed or free is the relation between the elements. Usually, they are borrowed as inflexible items, regardless of the adaptation type, be it direct, adapted or translated (*stakleni plafon, must have, all inclusive*). However, there are cases of possible various (semantically appropriate) collocations and semi-fixed patterns,³ as in English. Finally, some PhAs exhibit a certain degree of freedom, allowing small changes and variations, while retaining the semantic meaning.⁴
- 4) Genre and register. It was examined whether a particular PhA is used in or even restricted to some particular genre/register/topic or not.
- 5) Cultural implications. The qualitative analysis included the speculation whether the particular PhA is specific to Angloamerican culture or is more general.

4. DATA ANALYSIS. This empirical research of phraseological anglicisms in Serbian is limited to an in-depth analysis of six items, which were chosen according to a combination of criteria. Due to the pragmatic focus of the study, the first

³ These are known as collocations, as defined by Stefanowitch and Gries (2003). An illustration how the notion is applied to the study of PhAs can be seen in Andersen (2020).

⁴ For example, the basic forms of phraseological anglicisms *to nije moja šolja čaja* and *nema besplatnog ručka* were found in the following variants: *moja šoljica čaja, nije moja šolja čaja, nigde nema besplatnog ručka, niko vam neće dati besplatni ručak, nema besplatnog ručka, nema takve stvari kao što je besplatan ručak, ne postoji besplatan ručak, ne postoji tako nešto kao što je besplatan ručak, besplatnog ručka (nigde) nema, ima li negde besplatnog ručka.*

criterion is discourse prominence, which can be considered both as pragmatic salience and pragmatic markedness.⁵ Next, the aim was to include representatives of various structural types, although some among the general types listed in GRANGER – PAQUOT 2008 are usually not borrowed (textual phrasemes, grammatical collocations, etc.) Moreover, the analysed PhAs illustrate various adaptation models – direct (unadapted), orthographic adaptation, hybrid, and indirect (calques). Finally, but also important for a more general comparative perspective is that at least some of them were studied as phraseological borrowings in other languages.

4.1. DISTRIBUTION IN THE ELECTRONIC CORPORA. The only quantitative aspect of this study deals with the distribution of the examined multi-word anglicisms in the three e-corpora of Serbian. Table 1 gives the numerical results, including the spelling/adaptation variants of some items.

Table 1. Distribution in the electronic corpora

	CORPUS					
	Contemporary Serbian (SC)		Web corpus (SW)		Tweet corpus (ST)	
	number of tokens	per million words	number of tokens	per million words	number of tokens	per million words
must have	6 (2) ⁷	/	344	0.62	1142	5.55
all inclusive	7 (5) [*]	/	493	0.89	311	1.51
ol inkluziv	0	/	59	0.11	31	0.15
doing business lista	1	/	1	/	6	0.03
duing biznis lista	0	/	2	/	/	/
stakleni plafon	0	/	12 (10) [*]	0.02	4	0.02
nema besplatnog ručka ^{**}	21		67	0.12	38	0.18
nije moja šolja čaja ^{***}	4		8+6	0.03	10+6	0.06

What can be seen at first glance is that these phraseological anglicisms are quite a rare phenomenon in Serbian, though their salience makes them seem more frequent. Their frequency is mostly well below 1%, with one exception going over 5%. Phraseological borrowings indeed are far less frequent than lexical ones, as was attested for the low quantitative impact of phraseological anglicisms in Italian in terms of both vocabulary and frequency (FURIASSI 2017). As expected, PhAs,

⁵ Following Furiassi (2018) and the references cited therein, pragmatic salience is taken to mean a property imposed by the speaker as a way of directing attention to particular aspects of discourse, the level of awareness of the social significance of the choice of a linguistic element. Pragmatic markedness is the feature of novel forms to convey M-implicatures (as defined and explained by Levinson (2000)). Here it is understood more broadly than in ONYSKO – WINTER-FROEMEL 2011, who restrict it only to non-catachrestic innovations, i.e., those that have semantic (near) equivalents.

⁶ The higher number is the number of actual hits, but some of them are repetitions, or segments of original English texts, or the literal meaning of the compound noun, so the real number of different tokens is the lower number, in brackets, indicated by (*). As the precise statistics was not the aim of this study but to see the general register distribution, such detailed check was not done for the corpus of tweets, due to the large number of tokens. (**) means that 15 out of 21 tokens were used metalinguistically, to explain the idiom, in texts related to economics. (***) means that the added number includes variations with different pronouns or other minor modifications.

especially non-adapted, are least frequent in the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian, which includes more formal versions of written language, originating from literature, quality press, popular science and administrative texts, most likely professionally proof-read and including older texts. The other two corpora, containing less formal, less controlled and more contemporary data, contain slightly more PhAs. Expectedly, non-adapted PhAs are most common in least formal communication, tweets (ST corpus). Translated PhAs are rare, but almost equally (un)common in all three corpora.

4.2. THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF PHRASEOLOGICAL ANGLICISMS. The analysis of the examined PhAs is done in the analytical model presented in Section 3 and includes four aspects: 1) formal aspects of general and adaptation type, 2) possible syntactic, collocational and collostructional variations, 3) genre/register/ topic restrictions, and 4) cultural aspects.

4.2.1. *MUST-HAVE*. According to the type, it is a compound, which can be used both as a noun (example 1) and as an adjective (example 2). It is used as a raw, direct anglicism, and is rarely adapted as *mast hev*.⁷ The spelling is mostly without a hyphen, while its ‘foreignness’ is sometimes indicated by writing it in inverted commas or in capital letters. It is fixed, but when used as an adjective, it can collocate with various nouns in Serbian, denoting fashion or generally desirable products, as illustrated in the example (2).

(1) ... i kao nezaobilazan element trenda, dakle, ono što se zove *must have*, jesu detalji od zlata: lančići, upadljiv nakit, veliko prstenje i alke. (SC)⁸

[...and as an obligatory element of the trend, that is, what is called *must have*, are the golden pieces: pendants, big jewellery, large rings and ring earrings.]

(2) “*Mast hev*” NAOČARE za ovu sezonu: 70-e zakucale na velika vrata, da li vam se dopadaju? (PC)

[‘Must have’ GLASSES for this season: 70s knocking at the door, do you like them?]

Must-have appears to be restricted to the fashion register, but is also found in lifestyle, gadget and health topics. It can be considered a result of cultural borrowing as well, as it highlights the Western, primarily American attitude of excessive consumerism and fashion consciousness, and manifests the need and wish of its users to be ‘in’ and ‘cool’, both style-wise and language-wise.

There is no native Serbian equivalent adjective or noun, but *must-have* can be translated roughly as ‘you must have it’, or as a NP ‘something that you must have’, which are felt as cumbersome in a sentence or an ad.

The English productive pattern is also borrowed, because variations *must read* and *must see* were also found in Serbian web and tweet corpora.

⁷ *A Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms* (PRČIĆ et al. 2021) gives the form *masthev* as the only correct adaptation, and translates it as ‘izuzetno važno/nužno/poželjno’. It also notes compound variants *mastrid* (*must-read*) and *mastsi* (*must-see*). Despite the normative correctness of orthographic adaptations, these variants are not likely to be really used, primarily because of lacking the visual, associative and emotive potential of their non-adapted counterparts and English originals.

⁸ Orthographic conventions: the examined PhA is written in bold. The examples are quoted as they appear in the corpus, with all the spelling and other simplifications and errors. The abbreviation in brackets indicates the source corpus. The English translation was done by the author and is given in a different font.

4.2.2. *ALL-INCLUSIVE*. According to the type, it is a compound, which can be used both as a noun (example 3) and as a predicative adjective (example 4). It is used as a raw, direct anglicism, and is rarely adapted as *ol inkluziv*.⁹ Its ‘foreignness’ is often indicated by placing it in inverted commas or in capital letters, or followed by translation in brackets (*sve uključeno*) (as in 3). It is fixed, but when used as an adjective, it can collocate with a limited set of nouns in Serbian, denoting tourist boarding options (as in 4). It is highly restricted to tourism topics, especially tourist information ads. It cannot be considered an item of any specific cultural borrowing because it belongs to the general modern tourism vocabulary, and as such is not specifically related to Angloamerican culture.

(3) Usluga u hotelu je polupansion uz mogućnost doplate za *all inclusive* (sve uključeno, na bazi švedskog stola, samoposluživanje) (SW)

[Hotel service is half-board, possible additional payment for *all inclusive* (everything included, self-service buffet)]

(4) Ovo je 10 najjeftinijih *ol inkluziv* letovališta: Evo koliko košta sedam dana odmora. (PC)

[These are 10 cheapest *all-inclusive* resorts: This is how much a 7-day vacation costs]

4.2.3. *DOING BUSINESS LISTA*. According to the type, it is a compound, used as a noun phrase, with the structure (V[-ing form] + N) + N. It is a hybrid, where the first two elements (with the internal structure V+N[direct object]) are direct borrowings and the third one in Serbian is an established adapted borrowed noun *lista*. Sometimes the whole compound is adapted as *duing biznis lista*. The spelling exhibits numerous variations, indicating its unstable, novel and restricted status. Examples were found when it was written in inverted commas, with varied capitalization of D and B (both, none, just D), sometimes with both direct and adapted versions in the same sentence (as in 5), and sometimes the explanation is parenthetically provided in the same sentence. It is fixed, but the Serbian hybrid collocation is different from English (S: *doing business lista* vs. E: *doing business (ranking/index)*).

It is highly restricted as a particular economic term. Being restricted to terminological use, it cannot be considered specifically Angloamerican culture related, although it manifests the global economic trends, dominated by USA and Western economies and their institutions.

(5) Svetska banka objavila je svoju *Duing biznis (Doing Business) listu* za 2020. godinu, na kojoj je Srbija napredovala za četiri mesta (PC)

[World Bank published its *Doing Business ranking* for 2020, where Serbia moved four places up]

4.2.4. *STAKLENI PLAFON* (‘GLASS CEILING’). According to the type, it is a compound, used as a noun phrase, with the structure adjective + N. It is a translated borrowing, or a calque, and it is fixed as such. It is often written in inverted commas, which signals its metaphoric nature,¹⁰ rather than its foreignness, which is a primary reason direct PhAs are sometimes written in inverted commas. It is highly restricted to the specific socio-economic phenomenon of preventing women from

⁹ PRČIĆ et al. 2021 give the form *olinkluziv* as the only correct adaptation, explain the meaning and translate it as ‘sveuključni/sveuključujući’.

¹⁰ Examples of literal usage were also found in the corpora, never in inverted commas.

reaching the highest ranks and status in the professional and political world. It can be considered to be a manifestation of cultural borrowing, as the term was borrowed (and translated) together with the cultural metaphor.

(6) Za razbijanje “*staklenog plafona*” moraju da se uključe i država i privatni sektor i same žene. (PC, article entitled *The Cracking of the Glass Ceiling*)

[To break the ‘glass ceiling’, both the state, the private sector and the women themselves must get involved.]

4.2.5. *NIJE MOJA ŠOLJA ČAJA* (‘NOT MY CUP OF TEA’). According to the general type, this is an idiom, and syntactically it can be a sentence or a sentence fragment. It is translated from English, so it can be called a calque. It is borrowed as a semi-fixed pattern.¹¹ The possible changes of elements include possible changes of the possessive adjective (as in English, here seen in examples 8 and 9), verb form change (not only negative present tense, but also affirmative (8), past tense (9) and interrogative sentence), etc. As for its meaning, it retains the broad spectrum and is not restricted to a particular genre or register, but is used in talking about likes and dislikes in general. The PhA is used mostly by young urban public figures in media interviews and by urban educated speakers familiar with English.

(7) Dobro ona peva i slatka je ali *nije moja šolja čaja*. (ST)

[She sings well and is sweet but *is not my cup of tea*.]

(8) *Savremeni autori su*, ipak, *moja šolja čaja*! Nešto što vrlo dobro razumem i osećam, pa su češće moj izbor (SC)

[*Contemporary authors, are*, nevertheless, *my cup of tea*! Something I understand very well, so they are my choice more often.]

(9) I kad smo već kod te teme, pitam je da li je kad je film u pitanju, najsličnija svojoj majci koja je snimila film *Pas koji je voleo vozove* Gorana Paskaljevića, za tu ulogu dobila Žlatnu arenu i više nije želela da igra na filmu jer *to nije bila njena šolja čaja*. (SC)

[While we are at this topic, I ask her, whether when film is concerned she mostly resembles her mother who was in the film *The dog who loved trains* by Goran Paskaljevic, got the Golden Arena for that role and never again wanted to be in films because *it was not her cup of tea*.]

Pragmatically, this is a salient idiom, which marks the speaker as urban and cosmopolitan, but in a pretentious way. This can be considered a manifestation of cultural borrowing; the idiom is felt as foreign and culturally different, especially as there is no tea-drinking culture in Serbia, to the extent that negative and mocking comments are sometimes voiced related to its ‘modern and cool’ use.¹² Example 10 comes from a newspaper comment of a columnist against the use of this idiom by an actor in an interview, succinctly explaining the problem with its use in Serbian.

¹¹ Semi-fixed patterns can be more precisely viewed as collocations, defined as particular slots in a grammatical structure which prefer or are restricted to a particular set or semantic class of lexical items. (STEWANOWITCH – GRIES 2003)

¹² The online dictionary of Serbian slang *Vukajlija* (not curated, with elements of humour and profanity) notes this expression and defines it as following: “Bukvalno preveden engleski izraz “not my cup of tea”, a trebalo bi da znači da ne pronalazimo sebe u nečemu. Za naše podneblje bi mnogo prihvatljiviji izraz bio “nije to moja krigla piva” ili ako već mora da bude čaj, bar da se umetne pridev – šumadijski.” (<https://vukajlija.com/nije-moja-solja-caja/71982>)

(10) „Popularnost ... *nije to moja šolja čaja*.” Čitaoci estradnih tračeva, horoskopa i sličnih štiva verovatno su pomislili da glumac ima nešto protiv popularnosti čajeva. On, ustvari, izbegava popularnost. Frazem je plod jezika i mentaliteta ljudi povezanih osobenom kulturom i tradicijom. Doslovno preveden na tuđ jezik i uguran u tuđ mentalitet, frazem gubi draž i izražajnost. Metaforičan pogodak postaje rogo-batan promašaj. Englezi znaju i poredje čajeve. Većina nas zna jednu ili dve vrste – sa limunom ili bez njega. (PC)

[“Popularity... *that's not my cup of tea*.” The readers have probably thought the young actor has something against the popularity of teas. Actually, he is avoiding popularity. The phraseme is the result of language and mentality of people connected by a particular culture and tradition. Literally translated into a foreign language and squeezed into foreign mentality, the idiom loses its charm and expressivity. A metaphorical hit becomes an awkward miss. The English know and compare teas. Most of us know one or two kinds of tea – with or without lemon.]

Further evidence of strong and inappropriate cultural borrowing may be seen in the PhA variant *nije moja šoljica čaja*, where the diminutive of *cup* (*šoljica*) is used, as exemplified in (11). The diminutive *šoljica* appropriately collocates with the most common hot beverage in Serbia – coffee.

(11) Definitivno *ona više nije moja šoljica čaja* (ST)
[Definitely *she is no longer my cup* (diminutive) *of tea*]

In Serbia, traditionally, coffee is Turkish/Greek style, consumed as black from quite small cups, unlike various modern more elaborate coffee types, served in larger cups or mugs. It would be highly impractical to drink tea from such a small cup!

4.2.6. *NEMA BESPLATNOG RUČKA* (‘THERE IS NO FREE LUNCH’). According to the general type, this is a proverb, more precisely a saying, adage. Syntactically, it is a sentence, which can be part of another complex or compound sentence. It is translated from English, so it is a calque. It is borrowed as a semi-fixed pattern, similarly as the previous example *nije moja šolja čaja*. The possible small variations in the sentence structure are possible, all retaining the core phrase *besplatan ručak*, which were listed above in footnote 2. In this aspect the borrowed PhA is similar to the English phraseme.

(12) Za isto vreme Facebook na vama zaradi 1,26 dolara. *Nema besplatnog ručka*, pa ni besplatnih internet servisa ... (SW)

[At the same time Facebook makes 1.26 dollars on you. *There is no free lunch*, so there are no free internet services..]

(13) Pritisak kojem smo izloženi od početka krize potvrđuje izreku da *nema besplatnog ručka*. Nema ni besplatnog deficita. (SC)

[The pressure we have been exposed to from the beginning of the crisis confirms the saying that *there is no free lunch*. There is also no free deficit.]

As for the meaning, this PhA retains a relatively broad spectrum of the original and is not restricted to a particular genre, but is restricted to topics of evaluating the cost-efficiency of something in economy or in general. Attributed to the famous neoliberal economist Milton Friedman, it has gained a broader use than the original economic one. It is used as a popular adage communicating the idea that it is impossible to get something for nothing, not just in economy but in personal relations as well. The American origin of the saying, with the noticeable

underlying capitalist, neoliberal, individualist and profit-oriented ideology, is felt as culturally different from the basically socialist, collective, solidarity-oriented ideology that was dominant for decades in Serbia and ex-Yugoslavia. The new ideological and economic shift is manifested both in language and in social and economic relationships.

5. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

5.1. As an overview of six analysed phraseological anglicisms, the main comparative findings are presented in Table 2. They are the results of the analysis performed along the analytical and descriptive parameters indicated in Section 3.2.

Table 2. Analysed features of phraseological anglicisms

Phraseological anglicism						
	<i>Must-have</i>	<i>All-inclusive</i>	<i>Doing business lista</i>	<i>Stakleni plafon</i> [glass ceiling]	<i>X nije moja šolja čaja</i> [not my cup of tea]	<i>Nema besplatnog ručka</i> [there's no such thing as free lunch]
General type	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Idiom	Proverb/Saying
Type of borrowing	Direct (or Adapted)	Direct (or Adapted)	Hybrid	Translated	Translated	Translated
Syntactic characteristics	Fixed, or possible various collocations	Fixed	Fixed	Fixed	Possible minor variations	Possible minor variations
Genre/register topic restricted	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	partly
Cultural borrowing	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes

5.2. A detailed analysis of several phraseological anglicisms in Serbian, belonging to different structural types, has led to several important observations and conclusions, despite a limited number of analysed examples.

- 1) Regarding the possible correlation between the structural type of the PhA and the type of borrowing, it could be concluded that there are some tendencies:
 - Longer ones (idioms, sayings in the form of a sentence or sentence fragment) are translated, rather than adapted. They allow small grammatical and even lexical variations, so they are borrowed as semi-fixed collocations, rather than fixed items (*nije moja šolja čaja*, *nema besplatnog ručka*).
 - Compounds in the form of a simple NP (Adj+N) are also easily translated (*stakleni plafon*).
 - Compounds with a more complex inner structure, especially containing verbs, functioning as adjectives, are often borrowed as unadapted (raw) or only slightly orthographically adapted, as their translation can be long and often cumbersome in Serbian (*must have*, *all inclusive*).
 - Compounds allow hybrid collocations and collocations, with native nouns mostly (*doing business lista*, *must have proizvod*).

- 2) Writing often indicates ‘foreignness’
 - It is most obvious with direct, non-adapted borrowings.
 - It is also possible to use inverted commas, less often italics, bold or unusual capitalization in Serbian.
 - Translation is sometimes offered for raw PhAs, and the explanation for the translated ones, as metalinguistic comments.
- 3) Regarding the issues of the medium, register and genre, it can be noticed that the PhAs thrive in mass media and social media. Direct ones are more frequent in informal media and registers (tweets, web comments, ads), while the translated ones are more present in mass media of relatively non-trivial orientation.
- 4) Lexicographic treatment of the PhAs in Serbian and English-Serbian dictionaries is almost non-existent. There is hardly any mention¹³ and neither the raw ones nor the translated ones are included in English-Serbian specialized dictionaries (GERZIĆ 1994; MILOSAVLJEVIĆ 2007; KOVAČEVIĆ 2010). The translated ones are not present in Serbian phraseological dictionaries (OTAŠEVIĆ 2012), which indicates they are foreign, still not felt as part of Serbian phraseology.
- 5) The relationship between the PhAs and the native Serbian equivalents is such that it cannot be considered a rivalry, when the borrowing may oust out the native lexical item. Actually, there are hardly any Serbian equivalents, except for some direct (raw) ones. Even then Serbian versions are felt as too cumbersome to be syntactically and stylistically used as broadly as the (direct) PhAs. Translated PhAs indicate that this is a case not only of linguistic but also of cultural borrowing.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS. Moving beyond the analysed PhAs, and viewing these particular cases in the light of pragmatic borrowing in general and the understudied area of phraseological borrowing, there are two possible generalizations:

- 1) PhAs are mostly cases of both linguistic and cultural borrowing, even if the source culture is not straightforwardly Angloamerican but international.¹⁴
- 2) Pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of PhAs are similar to those of other pragmatic borrowings. In most cases they may serve as indexing devices, to mark users as ‘cool’, ‘in’, urban, cosmopolitan, and aware of modern trends in economy and society, even when some PhAs may be strictly terminological (as is the case with *all inclusive*, *doing business lista*, *stakleni plafon*).

Finally, placing Serbian data into the context of research on phraseological borrowing in other languages, it can be said that Serbian data confirm the findings for other languages (FIEDLER 2014; 2017; MARTI SOLANO 2012). There may indeed be general tendencies in phraseological borrowing regarding structural types and types of borrowing, and the cultural influence in various European languages, ‘anglobalization’. Borrowed phraseological items often introduce novel language

¹³ One notable exception is *SRNA* (PRČIĆ et al. 2021), which lists *masthev* and *olinkluziv* as the correct adaptations of *must-have* and *all inclusive*.

¹⁴ A piece of evidence to support this claim comes from MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017. She examined calqued discourse formulas in Serbian and in particular those in public service written communication. They are the prime example of functional stability in pragmatic transfer as they are used either instead of the native ones or to fill a discourse void where Serbian previously had no discourse formulas.

content, but also serve as vehicles through which novel communication and cultural patterns/behavior/policies from the Angloamerican globalizing culture get adopted in a social environment.

To borrow from the title of the seminal volume *The Anglicization of European Lexis* (FURIASSI et al. 2012), it can be claimed that there is also the anglicization of European (and not only European) phraseology. Although the quantitative impact of this phenomenon seems low in terms of the range and frequency of borrowed phrasemes, their influence in the RL goes beyond lexicology, and is often an indication of the substantial influence of Angloamerican cultural models. Therefore, the topic is worth further study as more attention should be given to borrowed phraseology, in particular in cross-linguistic studies, and including the pragmatic and socio-cultural perspective.

SOURCES

E-corpora

Corpus of Contemporary Serbian <<http://korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs/prezentacija/korpus.html>>
Serbian Web Corpus <https://www.clarin.si/noske/run.cgi/corp_info?corpname=srwac>
Serbian Tweet Corpus <https://www.clarin.si/noske/run.cgi/corp_info?corpname=tweet_sr>

Monolingual English e-dictionaries

Cambridge Dictionary <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>
Collins English Dictionary <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>
Macmillan Dictionary <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/>
Merriam-Webster Dictionary <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>
Oxford English Dictionary <https://www.oed.com/>
The Free Dictionary <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/>
The Idioms <https://www.theidioms.com/>
Dictionary of English Idioms and Phrases <https://www.usingenglish.com/reference/idioms/>

REFERENCES

- ANDERSEN, Gisle. Pragmatic Borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics* 67 (2014): 17–33.
- ANDERSEN, Gisle, Cristiano FURIASSI, Biljana MIŠIĆ ILIĆ. The Pragmatic Turn in Studies of Linguistic Borrowing: Introduction to Special Issue on Pragmatic Borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics* 113 (2017): 71–76.
- ANDERSEN, Gisle. Three Cases of Phraseological Borrowing: A Comparative Study of *As if*, *Oh wait* and the *ever* Construction in the Scandinavian Languages. *Ampersand* 7 (2020): 100062, s. 1–9.
- FIEDLER, Sabine. *Gläserne Decke und Elefant im Raum – Phraseologische Anglizismen im Deutschen*. Berlin: Logos, 2014.
- FIEDLER, Sabine. Phraseological Borrowing from English into German: Cultural and Pragmatic Implications. *Journal of Pragmatics* 113 (2017): 89–102.
- FISCHER ROSWITHA, Hanna PUŁACZEWSKA (eds.). *Anglicisms in Europe: Linguistic Diversity in a Global Context*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.
- FURIASSI, Cristiano. Pragmatic Borrowing: Phraseological Anglicisms in Italian. Cecilia Boggio, Alessandra Molino (eds.). *English in Italy: Linguistic, Educational and Professional Challenges*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2017, 38–60.
- FURIASSI, Cristiano. Macaroni English Goes Pragmatic: False Phraseological Anglicisms in Italian as Illocutionary Acts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 133 (2018): 109–122.

- FURIASSI, Cristiano, Virginia PULCINI, Felix RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ (eds). *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012.
- FURIASSI, Cristiano, Henrik GOTTLIEB. *Pseudo-English. Studies on False Anglicisms in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015.
- GERZIĆ, Borivoj. *Englesko-srpski rečnik fraza i idioma*. Beograd: Orbis, 1994.
- GÖRLACH, Manfred. *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms: A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- GRANGER, Sylviane, Magali PAQUOT. Disentangling the Phraseological Web. Sylviane Granger, Fanny Meunier. *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008, 27–50.
- KOVAČEVIĆ, Živorad. *Frazeološki rečnik: englesko-srpski*. Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2010.
- LEVINSON, Steven. *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicatures*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2000.
- MARTI SOLANO, Ramon. Multi-word Loan Translations and Semantic Borrowings in French Journalistic Discourse. Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini, Félix Rodríguez González (eds.). *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012, 199–215.
- MILIĆ, Mira. *Anglicizmi kao sinonimi u srpskom jeziku*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2013. <https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2013/978-86-6065-166-4>
- MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, Boško. *Englesko-srpski frazeološki rečnik*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana. Pragmatic Borrowing from English into Serbian: Linguistic and Sociocultural Aspects. *Journal of Pragmatics* 113 (2017): 103–115.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana. Fenomen jezičkog pozajmljivanja iz teorijske pragmatičke perspective. Vesna Lopičić, Biljana Mišić Ilić (eds.). *Jezik, književnost, teorija*. Niš: Filozofski fakultet, 2019, 67–80.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana. Playful *Pleas(E)*: Formal and Functional Adaptations of English *Please* in Serbian. Magdalena Szczyrbak, Anna Tereszkiwicz (eds.). *Languages in Contact and Contrast. A Festschrift for Professor Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2020a, 277–293.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ Biljana. *WTF is this? Formalne i funkcionalne karakteristike anglicizma fuck u srpskom*. Tatjana Trajković, Nadežda Jović (eds.). *Na temeljima narodnih govora – Zbornik radova posvećen prof. dr Jordani Marković*, Niš: Filozofski fakultet, 2020b, 429–446.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana. On Some Socio-Pragmatic Dimensions of Borrowing from English into Serbian. *Nasleđe* 48 (2021a): 133–150.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana. *Sorry Doesn't Seem to Be the Hardest Word: Pragmatic Adaptation of English Sorry in Serbian*. *Nasleđe* 50 (2021b): 323–339.
- MIŠIĆ ILIĆ, Biljana, Vesna, LOPICIC. Pragmatički anglicizmi u srpskom jeziku. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 54/1 (2011): 261–73.
- OED: *Oxford English Serbian Student's Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP, 2015.
- ONYSKO, Alexander, Esme WINTER-FROEMEL. Necessary Loans – Luxury Loans? Exploring the Pragmatic Dimension of Borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43/6 (2011): 1550–1567.
- OTAŠEVIĆ, Đorđe. *Frazeološki rečnik srpskog jezika*. Novi Sad: Prometej, 2012.
- PANIĆ KAVGIĆ, Olga. *Koliko razumemo nove anglicizme*. Novi Sad: Zmaj, 2006.
- PETERSON, Elisabeth, Kristy BEERS FÄGERSTEN. Introduction to the Special Issue: Linguistic and Pragmatic Outcomes of Contact with English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 133 (2018): 105–108.
- PRČIĆ, Tvrtko. *Engleski u srpskom*. 3rd, e-edition. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2019. <<https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2019/978-86-6065-512-9>>
- PRČIĆ, Tvrtko. Building Contact Linguistic Competence Related to English as *the* Nativized Foreign Language. *System* 42 (2014): 143–154.
- PRČIĆ, Tvrtko, Jasmina DRAŽIĆ, Mira MILIĆ, Milan AJDŽANOVIĆ, Sonja FILIPOVIĆ KOVAČEVIĆ, Olga PANIĆ KAVGIĆ, Strahinja STEPANOV. *Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2021.
- STEFANOWITSCH, Anatol, Stefan Th. GRIES. Collostructions: Investigating the Interaction Between Words and Constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8/2 (2003): 209–43.
- VASIĆ, Vera, Tvrtko PRČIĆ, Gordana NEJGEBAUER. *Du you speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama*. 3rd e-edition. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2018.
- <https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2018/978-86-6065-451-1>

Биљана Мишић Илић

НИЈЕ МОЈА ШОЉА ЧАЈА ИЛИ *MUST HAVE*:
ПОЗАЈМЉИВАЊЕ ФРАЗЕМА ИЗ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ ЈЕЗИКА У СРПСКИ

Резиме

Упркос богатој литератури о језичком позајмљивању из енглеског у друге језике, позајмљивање на нивоу фразеологије чини се да није довољно испитано. У намери да се ова тема детаљније испита у односу на српски, у овом корпусном истраживању анализирано је шест фразама позајмљених из енглеског у српски, које се срећу у усменој и писаној комуникацији и у медијима. Фраземе *must have*, *all inclusive*, *doing business лисџа*, *сџаклени џлафон*, *нема бесџлајној ручка* и *није моја шоља чаја* издвојене су из три е-речника савременог писаног српског језика, као и из личног корпуса контекстуализованих примера из онлајн штампе и других онлајн извора и, у мањој мери, штампаних извора. На основу теоријског и методолошког оквира за проучавање фразеолошких англицизама и прагматичког приступа проучавању језичког позајмљивања (FURIASSI – PULCINI – RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2012; FIEDLER 2014; 2017; ANDERSEN – FURIASSI – MIŠIĆ ILIĆ 2017; FURIASSI 2018), у раду су обрађени формални и функционални аспекти анализираних фразама. По структури, ове фраземе припадају различитим морфосинтаксичким типовима, а по типу адаптације могу бити директни (неадаптирани), ортографски адаптирани, хибридни или индиректни (преведени, калкови). Из прагматичке перспективе, квалитативна анализа обухвата разматрање жанра, регистра, као и дискурсни, културни и друштвени контекст који може бити релевантан за употребу и разумевање ових фразама у српском.

University of Niš
Faculty of Philosophy
Department of English
Ćirila i Metodija 2, 18105 Niš, Serbia
bmisicilic@gmail.com