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ENGLISH CULTURALLY EXPANSIVE WORDS WITH FIGURATIVE MEANINGS AND THEIR ADAPTATIONS IN SERBIAN: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC VIEW

This paper deals with transshaped anglicisms in Serbian resulting from English figurative *culturally expansive words* (e.g., *lajkouč*, *fandrejzing*, *čiklit*, *hotspot*, *spinovati*, ...). The paper provides a cognitive linguistic analysis showing the cognitive motivation of English figurative culturally expansive models and contrasts it with semantic opacity and consequently, lack of cognitive motivation of the resulting anglicisms. It also suggests possible translation equivalents functioning as translated and hidden anglicisms (e.g., *životni trener*, *mesto sa WI-FI-jem*), but points to the fact that everyday language use dictates language development, which clearly goes in the direction of choosing brief, yet non-transparent transshaped anglicisms. Overall, in the studied linguistic borrowing the principle of linguistic economy overrides the communicative principle of clarity, i.e., semantic transparency.

Key words: culturally expansive words, English, figurative meaning, cognitive motivation, Serbian adaptations.

Овај рад се бави преобликованим англицизмима у српском језику насталим од енглеских фигуративних културно експанзивних речи (нпр. *лајфкоуч*, *фандрејзинг*, *чиклит*, *хојсџој*, *сјиновајти*, ...). У раду је спроведена когнитивнолингвистичка анализа, у којој се приказује когнитивна мотивисаност енглеских фигуративних културно експанзивних модела, која се пореди са семантичком непрозирношћу и, сходно томе, когнитивном немотивисаношћу одговарајућих англицизама. Такође се предлажу могући преводни еквиваленти са функцијом преведених или скривених англицизама (нпр. *животни тренер*, *место са WI-FI-јем*), али се указује на чињеницу да свакодневна употреба језика диктира развој језика, што је сасвим јасно у корист кратких, али семантички непрозирних преобликованих англицизама. Уопштено, у овде изучаваном процесу језичког позајмљивања принцип језичке економије је превагнуо над комуникативним принципом јасности, тј. семантичке прозирности.

Кључне речи: културно експанзивне речи, енглески, фигуративно значење, когнитивна мотивисаност, српске адаптације.

1. INTRODUCTION. Language is very dynamic and undergoes changes constantly in line with general cultural trends. Bearing this in mind, it is important to stress that even the earliest research of language contacts highlights the link between language and culture, i.e., it even foregrounds cultural borrowing (e.g., SAPIR 1921; BLOOMFIELD 1933; WEINREICH 1953). Changes in different languages nowadays mostly come from the unprecedented global domination of Anglo-American culture, which dictates most new trends, especially cultural and technological. Crystal (2003: 7) explains that language is most closely associated with dominance and economic, technological, and cultural power.

By comparing different languages, we draw information about the specific elements of lexical, cognitive and cultural systems of two or more languages, and can get an insight into implications pointing to universality. Dirven and Verspoor

(2004: 135) claim that there are three important lexical elements in conducting contrastive research: culture specific words, cultural elaboration, key culture specific words. Filipović Kovačević (2021: 154) adds to this one more element, culturally expansive words (introduced by Prčić 2019: 175).

This paper deals with a particular subset of anglicisms in Serbian, which belong to the category of *culturally expansive words* whose English models have figurative meanings. Culturally expansive words were identified by Prčić (2019), who developed a modern a theory of English-Serbian contacts (2019; 2022). Prčić (2019: 175) defines these words as culturally marked since they originated in a particular culture, today the Anglo-American culture, but have the tendency to spread to other cultures because of their global significance and relevance. Culturally expansive words may belong to the general vocabulary (*browser, cornflakes*) or can be generic product terms (*camcorder, tablet*) or terminological words (from the fields such as computing, economics, economy, trade, sport, fun, ...). Many of these words are figurative in that they are either derived from existing words combined into compounds or phrasal lexemes (e.g., *hotspot* ‘a place where a wireless internet connection is available’) or present new uses of existing words (e.g. *spin* ‘give you an account of something that is untrue or only partly true’). Thus, they are creative, interesting and semantically transparent. Matras (2009: 2–3) stresses that speakers’ communicative goals and intentions, discourse strategies, language processing capacities and structural innovations are the basis of any language change involving contact-induced change. In this light, culturally expansive words merit to be considered since speakers opt to use them in order to address commonly new concepts of global relevance, which, as anglicisms, will remain more or less recognizable in form to speakers of various languages (e.g., *Internet, blog, android, ...*).

In this paper it is claimed that anglicisms stemming from English figurative culturally expansive words are mostly economical, but lack creativity, semantic transparency and cognitive motivation. This claim will be elaborated and illustrated by a cognitive linguistic analysis of the English models. We will look into the cognitive motivation of the English models (underlying conceptual metaphors and metonymies) and compare it with the semantic transparency of the resulting anglicisms. The studied anglicisms and their English models are, for example: *lajkouč, fandrejzing, blekfrajdej, čiklit, hotspot, buster, spinovati, fejslift*. Thus, the initial hypothesis is that the figurative meanings of English culturally expansive words are semantically transparent, cognitively motivated and largely predictable since they are associated metaphorically or metonymically with the literal senses of the words. Conversely, the anglicisms resulting from them are semantically non-transparent and cognitively unmotivated in Serbian.

The focus here is on culturally expansive words since their English models have obvious global relevance, and since the clear tendency in the borrowing process is to transshape them (e.g., *gosting* from *ghosting*) rather than to translate them (e.g., *neboder* for *skyscraper*).

1.1. PREVIOUS RELEVANT RESEARCH. The phenomenon of linguistic borrowing is an object of interest especially in lexicology, contact linguistics and sociolinguistics. Today the study of language contacts is mostly directed towards studying

the influence of Anglo-American culture on other languages of the world due to the massive economic, political and cultural domination of America on a global scale.

This complex topic, narrowed down to the influence of English on Serbian, has recently been studied from different perspectives. Here just some authors with work illustrating different aspects in studying anglicisms will be mentioned. Prčić (2013; 2014; 2019; 2022) introduces the discipline of contact-contrastive linguistics, the notions like contact language culture, contact linguistic competence, English as *the* nativized foreign language, Angloserbian, sloppy “functional style”, pseudo-norm, and suggests classifications of anglicisms according to the following criteria: form, formation, justification and naturalization. Filipović (2003; 2005) deals with orthographic and phonological adaptations of anglicisms, whereas Filipović (2006) and Milić (2013) analyze aspects of semantic adaptation. The pragmatic analysis, which is introduced as a new approach in language contact studies, is done by Mišić Ilić and Lopčić (2011), Mišić Ilić (2014; 2017) and Panić Kavgić (2006). Finally, Rasulić (2008) and Filipović Kovačević (2011) introduce cognitive linguistic analyses of anglicisms. Anglicisms in professional registers are studied by the following authors: Milić (2013) in the sports register, Mičić and Sinadinović (2013) in the medical register and Silaški (2012) in the register of economics.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: LEXICAL BORROWING AND THE COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC VIEW OF FIGURATIVE MEANING. The theoretical background in which this paper is set encompasses two aspects, contact linguistic and cognitive linguistic, and as such falls in the domain of a most recent linguistic discipline, Cognitive Contact Linguistics, introduced by Zenner, Backus and Winter-Froemel (2019). At the centre of this sub-discipline is the usage-based approach, according to which language competence is based on language use (TOMASELLO 2003: 5–6), which has its methodological consequences in that we should study language use in order to understand language structure (ZENNER – BACKUS – WINTER-FROEMEL 2019: 3). The main aim of Cognitive Contact Linguistics is to analyze how the principles of Cognitive Linguistics apply to the mind in its dynamic bi- and multilingual environment and how we can understand the effects of the interaction between cognition and context in contact-induced variation and change (ZENNER – BACKUS – WINTER-FROEMEL 2019: 4). This type of research, for example, explains the factors that affect the borrowability of linguistic units, i.e., the likelihood of borrowing. For example, Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2014) empirically show that the entrenchment of the concept a word expresses lowers its borrowability. Namely, in a corpus-based study on the use of English person reference nouns in Dutch, they clearly established that there is an inversely proportional relationship between the success of the English nouns and the degree of coreness or entrenchment of the concept lexicalized by the loanwords. In the same vein, we might expect that culturally expansive words, not being part of the core vocabulary and thus not being entrenched, are quite borrowable. The present study thus contributes to cognitive contact linguistic research by providing information on the similarities and differences in the cognitive motivation and semantic transparency of English culturally expansive words and their adaptations in Serbian; it also provides evidence about their borrowability.

The topic of language contacts in modern contact linguistics was launched by Weinreich (1953) and is extremely important since it is essential for language development. Thomason (2001: 8) stresses that language contacts are everywhere and that no language has developed completely independently, i.e., without being influenced by another language. This claim has become especially significant at the end of the 20th century and in the 21st century, with the massive influence of Anglo-American culture manifested greatly via extreme borrowing of English words by all the languages of the modern world, including Serbian. Prčić (2019: 17) calls this phenomenon linguistic angloglobalization and points to the fact that English has gained a new type of status, that of *the* nativized foreign language in many languages of the world, including Serbian, since it supplements the communicative needs of native speakers in their native languages.

Filipović (1986: 38–39) claims that the process of linguistic borrowing involves the giving language and the receiving language in interference and specifies the aim of linguistic borrowing, which is to fully integrate the foreign word into the receiving language by substituting equivalent elements, i.e., adaptation, at the following levels of linguistic analysis – phonological, morphological, semantic and lexical.

There are generally two main reasons for borrowing. First, there might be lexical and conceptual gaps in the structure of the receiving language, when speakers spot a lexical unit not existing in their native language. In this way, cultural borrowings are created; they enrich the lexical and the conceptual systems of the receiving language. This is the communicative reason for borrowing (FILIPOVIĆ 2005: 10). The second reason for borrowing might be the prestigious status of the giving language; speakers take linguistic elements from a language belonging to a more powerful, dominant society, which results in prestigious or posh borrowings. This is the psychological reason for borrowing (FILIPOVIĆ 2005: 10) or status-driven use of anglicisms (PRČIĆ 2019: 149, 157). In great detail, Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) studied reasons for borrowing and instead of the traditional distinction between necessary and luxury loans, they proposed a differentiation into catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations on the basis of pragmatic effects of borrowings. Namely, catachrestic borrowings mainly bear I-implicatures (of informativeness) (e.g., *E-mail*), whereas non-catachrestic borrowings (e.g., *cool*) evoke M-implicatures (of manner) as marked lexical choices. Furthermore, they have seen usage-based evidence that I- and M-implicatures are often interwoven and that the pragmatic values of borrowings may change over time.

Furthermore, Prčić (2019: 119–133, 138–140) develops a four-fold important classification of anglicisms according to their form, formation, justification and naturalization. Anglicisms according to formation can be transshaped (e.g., *imejl* from *E-mail*), translated (e.g., *neboder* from *skyscraper*, *brza hrana* from *fast food*), and mixed (e.g., *radoholičar* from *workaholic*). Anglicisms according to form can be obvious (e.g., *startup* from *startup*), hidden (e.g., *praviti novac* instead of *zarađivati novac* from *make money*, meanings and uses are typical of English, but in Serbian forms) and raw (e.g., *web site* from *web site*). As for the criterion relating to how justified anglicisms are, Prčić (2019: 186–187) developed a scale of justification: 1) a completely unjustified anglicism – if there is a word in Serbian expressing the same content (e.g., *implementacija – sprovođenje*), 2) an unjustified

anglicism – if it is possible to translate the content (e.g., *kol-centar – pozivni centar*), 3) a conditionally justified anglicism – if the anglicism expresses new meaning more briefly and economically than the translation (e.g., *PR – odnosi sa javnošću*), 4) a justified anglicism – if it introduces a new nuance of meaning (e.g., *hamburger – pljeskavica*), 5) a completely justified anglicism – if it introduces completely new meaning and fills lexical and conceptual gaps (e.g., *milkšejk*). Finally, according to naturalization, a criterion encompassing use, meaning, orthography, pronunciation, grammar and word-formation, anglicisms can be completely naturalized (e.g., *biznismen*), partially naturalized (e.g., *evro* or *euro*) or unnaturalized (e.g., *Sorry!*).

Since this paper is concerned with the issues of semantic transparency and cognitive motivation of meaning taking the example of English culturally expansive words with figurative senses and their related adaptations in Serbian (anglicisms), important issues in cognitive semantics, the other aspect of the theoretical background, will be explained in the following lines. According to the cognitive linguistic line of reasoning, transferred or figurative senses are motivated by the conceptual mechanisms of metaphor and/or metonymy. Also, meaning is at the level of concepts, while language acts as a prompt for unpacking whole scenarios, i.e., encyclopedic knowledge associated with a particular word in a specific context (on the guiding principles of cognitive semantics see EVANS – GREEN 2006: 157–163; FILIPOVIĆ KOVAČEVIĆ 2021: 42–51). Figurative meaning, which is not exotic, but rather natural and present in everyday communication is essentially motivated, i.e., it is extended from literal word meanings via conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Croft and Cruse (2004: 193) insist that there are reasons for which people use figurative language – to produce a particular communicative effect, such as attracting attention, creating a complex mental image or conveying a new idea. English figurative culturally expansive words as models of anglicisms in Serbian produce all the three effects, often at the same time – they either attract attention, create complex mental images and/or convey new meanings which can be logically apprehended due to motivation (e.g., *brainwashing* ‘the activity of forcing somebody to accept your ideas or beliefs, for example by repeating the same thing many times or by preventing the person from thinking clearly’, *blind date* ‘a meeting between two people who have not met each other before’, *skyscraper* ‘a very tall building in a city’). Consequently, there is a lot of scope for mental and linguistic creativity with figurative culturally expansive words.

One of the postulates in cognitive semantics is that meaning is essentially motivated. In what follows, metaphor and metonymy as cognitive mechanisms explaining the motivation of figurative and non-compositional meaning will be briefly presented. Conceptual metaphor and metonymy, related mechanisms, involve conceptual domains and mappings, i.e., matching equivalent conceptual elements, but in different ways and for different purposes. Conceptual metaphor is used for understanding abstract concepts through concrete concepts from our everyday physical and sensory-motor experience (‘A IS B’) (on conceptual metaphor see e.g., LAKOFF – JOHNSON 1980/2003; KÖVECSES 2010). For example, people often think of time in terms of money: TIME IS MONEY (*He is spending a lot of time gossiping*); we need to see something in order to understand it: UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING

(Do you *see* what I mean?).¹ On the other hand, conceptual metonymy allows one concept, the vehicle, to stand for another, the target, in the same conceptual domain providing mental access to an aspect of the same domain that is to be highlighted, which depends on communicative or referential requirements ('B for A') (On metonymy see e.g., LAKOFF – JOHNSON 1980/2003; KÖVECSES – RADDEN 1998). For example, in *We bought a Renault*, the metonymy PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT highlights the importance of the make of the car, or in *John drank a whole bottle (of wine)* the metonymy CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED highlights the quantity of the drink. Since words are typically polysemous, Brugman and Lakoff (2006) and Lakoff (1987) developed a model of lexical meaning based on categorization, prototype and conceptual metaphor, whereby words represent radial networks with more meanings. The central, prototypical or salient (GIORA 1997) meaning is at the centre, whereas others are more or less close to it and related to it via conceptual metaphor or metonymy. This theory is simplified by Tyler and Evans (2003), who specially point to conceptual leaps. Taylor (2003: 124–143) sees polysemy as category extension and stresses the importance of meaning relatedness, especially based on conceptual metaphor and metonymy.

After introducing this theoretical setting, the relevant contact- and cognitive linguistic aspects will be applied to the analysis of English figurative culturally expansive words and their Serbian adaptations (anglicisms), with contrastive focus on semantic transparency and cognitive motivation.

2.1. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY. The analysis in this paper is conducted on a corpus of 19 representative Serbian anglicisms, originating from culturally expansive English words with figurative meanings, extracted from *A Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms (Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama, SRNA; PRČIĆ, DRAŽIĆ, MILIĆ, et al. 2021)*, a dictionary which includes more than 4500 lexical entries, the most recent anglicisms in Serbian. The words in focus in the selection process were culturally expansive words, anglicisms, whose English models have figurative or transferred meanings. Next, in the selection and analysis processes, the most common general thematic areas of use were established: 1. new jobs and positions, 2. cultural notions, 3. new types of communication, 4. health and cosmetics, 5. computer and technology; from the specified thematic categories the most interesting anglicisms semantically were chosen for the analysis. This was followed by a cognitive linguistic analysis which shows the motivation of meaning of the English words, i.e., the models from which the anglicisms were created. Attention is drawn to the suspected ability of native English speakers to guess what the new word is about since it is motivated and at least partially semantically transparent, while Serbian speakers cannot get insight into the semantics of the resulting anglicisms since for them the anglicisms are semantically non-transparent and unmotivated. This is then compared with possible translated anglicisms in Serbian, as well as with certain existing hidden anglicisms, which are commonly used in Serbian.

¹ For a comprehensive list of conceptual metaphors in English see LAKOFF et al. 1991 and KÖVECSES (2010). For a comprehensive list of conceptual metonymies in English see: KÖVECSES – RADDEN 1998 and KÖVECSES 2010.

3. ANALYSIS. English culturally expansive words with figurative meanings which have given transshaped anglicisms in Serbian have proved to be quite a productive category, i.e., they are borrowable. They present creative and economic ways of expressing new meaning, and this section provides explanations of their cognitive motivation in English and specific implications; it also contrasts them with the resulting anglicisms, as well as the existing or potential translation equivalents in Serbian in terms of cognitive motivation, linguistic economy and the resulting communicative effect.

3.1. THEMATIC CATEGORY 1: NEW JOBS AND POSITIONS. One thematic category with the anglicisms in focus is best referred to as *new jobs and positions*. For example: *lajfkouč*, n. (eng. *life coach*), *fandrežing*, n. (eng. *fundraising*), *outsorsing*, n. (*outsourcing*), *startup*, n. (eng. *startup*).

(1) *lajfkouč*, n. English – model *life coach* ‘a person who is employed by somebody to give them advice about how to achieve the things they want in their life and work’.² This meaning is related to the literal meaning of the word ‘a person who trains a person or team in sport’ in the domain of sports, so a metaphoric transfer from training the body, i.e. the physical part, to training or instructing the mind is achieved. The underlying conceptual metaphors regulating this semantic extension are the following: THE MIND IS A BODY, and its more specific realizations MENTAL FITNESS IS PHYSICAL FITNESS and MENTAL CONTROL IS PHYSICAL CONTROL. The implication of the word *life coach* in the figurative sense is that somebody can help us make our psyche strengthen and be fit by practising and directing our mind to think in positive ways similarly to our bodies trained to be fit and powerful. The English word is clearly motivated, but its anglicism in Serbian is just partially semantically transparent and semi-motivated for the native Serbian speaker, since the second element of the anglicism, *kouč*, is a word, an anglicism in Serbian, meaning ‘physical trainer or instructor’. The first element of the anglicism, *lajf*, is not a lexeme in Serbian and so does not have meaning. The suggested translation equivalents³ *životni instruktor*, *životni trener*, *životni savetnik* are figurative in Serbian; the conceptualization of the English model is transferred into Serbian.

(2) *fandrežing*, n. – English model *fundraising* ‘the activity of collecting money for a charity or organization, often by organizing social events or entertainments’. This figurative meaning is extended from the literal meaning of the verb *to raise (fundraising)* ‘to lift or move something to a higher level’, via the metaphors GETTING A PROPERTY IS GETTING A POSSESSION and EXISTENCE IS LOCATION UP HERE. Thus, if we want to get money, we have to invest some effort to find it and get it (up). The English model is semantically transparent, unlike the anglicism, whose constituent elements do not have the status of words in Serbian, and are thus meaningless for the native Serbian speaker. The suggested translation equivalent, *pribavljanje sredstava*, is not metaphorical, but rather directly describes the very activity.

² Word definitions are provided according to *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* unless otherwise specified.

³ The translation equivalents are taken from SRNA (*A Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms*).

(3) *outsorsing*, n. (word family: *outsorsovati*, *outsorsovan*, *outsorsovanje*) – English model *outsourcing* ‘the process of arranging for somebody outside a company to do work or provide goods for that company’. This word came from the phrase *outside resourcing*, literally meaning ‘providing something with the money or equipment that is needed from somewhere outside, i.e., not within the company’. The meaning is motivated by the following conceptual metaphors: PROBLEM IS A LOCKED CONTAINER FOR ITS SOLUTION, SOLVING A PROBLEM INVOLVES OPENING AN OBJECT, PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS DIRECTED MOTION TO A DESTINATION and STARTING A PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS STARTING OUT FOR A DESTINATION. Namely, the need for workers in a company is seen as a problem which is solved by finding a solution outside, i.e., from an outer source, not within the company itself. The translation equivalent for this English word is not suggested since it would be descriptive and too uneconomical, e.g., *poslovanje sa naručivanjem robe i usluga van sastava matične firme*.⁴

(4) *startup*, n. (word family: *startupovati*, *startaper*, *startaperka*, *startaperski*) – English model *startup* ‘a company that is just beginning to operate’. The meaning of the English model is motivated by the metaphors prompted by *up* associating a high point on the scale of verticality with the existence of new phenomena: EXISTENCE IS LOCATION UP HERE, OPPORTUNITIES ARE OPEN PATHS. There is also an implication of success due to the pervasiveness of the metaphors: HIGH STATUS IS UP and CAREER PROGRESS IS VERTICAL MOVEMENT. The proposed translation equivalents, *novoosnovana* or *novopokrenuta firma*, are non-literal, descriptive, completely transparent, but somewhat longer than the anglicism *startup*.

3.2. THEMATIC CATEGORY 2: CULTURAL NOTIONS. The second thematic category with the anglicisms in focus is *cultural notions*. It encompasses mainly recent trends in popular culture, as well as some traditional Anglo-American customs which have partly been immersed into Serbian culture. For example: *blekfrajdej* (eng. *Black Friday*), *dajžest* (eng. *digest*), *tizer* (eng. *teaser*), *čiklit* (eng. *chick lit*).

(1) *blekfrajdej*, n. – English model *Black Friday* ‘the day after Thanksgiving in the US, the first day of traditional Christmas shopping, when stores have special offers to attract consumers’. In recent years the cultural concept of the Black Friday has been introduced into the Serbian popular culture, but only its economic aspect. Namely, at the end of November, in the designated period in Anglo-phone cultures, the trend of massive discounts in stores has been introduced, creating a shopping frenzy, which has been introduced in Serbia. The semantic and cognitive motivations of linguistic expressions with the adjective *black* feature an element of controversy since BLACK simultaneously has positive and negative meanings. On the one hand, conventionally, BADNESS IS BLACK (*black magic*, *a black mood*) as opposed to GOODNESS IS WHITE. Conversely, BLACK is also associated with elegance, luxury and privilege since we know from our world experience that on important, prestigious occasions, i.e., concerts, celebrations, important meetings, people commonly wear black clothes; also, powerful people with high status drive black sedans, etc. Furthermore, people with black credit cards have special conveniences and privileges. Filipović Kovačević (2014: 135–136) analyzes an advertisement for a black Visa credit card and identifies the metaphor LUXURY IS BLACK.

⁴ This is similar to the definition given in SRNA.

This metaphor, in a slightly modified form PRIVILEGE IS BLACK, explains the expression *Black Friday*; since numerous products are at a discount, buyers are privileged. Furthermore, there is a conceptual metonymy underlying *Black Friday* of the type NAME OF DAY OF THE WEEK FOR AN ACTIVITY/EVENT since Friday refers to something logically, temporally and causally associated with it, the day after Thanksgiving (the last Thursday in November), when there are shopping discounts. The transshaped anglicism *blekfrajdej* is completely semantically non-transparent, whereas the suggested translation equivalent, *crni petak*, is literal translation and has the same conceptual motivation as its English model. The translated anglicism is longer by one word from the transshaped anglicism, but its meaning is transparent.

(2) *dajžest*, n. (*dajžestirati*, *dajžestiran*) – English model *digest*⁵ ‘a short written report providing the most important parts of a larger piece of writing, or one containing recent news’. The meaning of the English model is motivated by the common conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS DIGESTING, as a submapping of the more general metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD. The implication is that this written genre provides information which is as short and as informative as possible, so that people can just understand the news straightforwardly, without much contemplation and analyzing. This transshaped anglicism is completely non-transparent, semantically. However, the proposed translation equivalents, *sažeta verzija*, *skraćena verzija*, are longer by one word, but transparent. They result from functional approximation as the translation mechanism, whereby the conceptualization is changed since the English model is metaphorical (the fact that this genre is short and presents ready-made crucial information is presented as digesting). On the other hand, the translated anglicism is not metaphorical, but literal.

(3) *tizer*, n. (word family: *tizovati*) – English model *teaser* ‘an advertisement for a product that does not mention the name of the product or say much about it but is intended to make people interested and likely to pay attention to later advertisements’. This meaning in English is motivated by the conceptual metaphor DIRECTING SOMEONE’S ATTENTION IS DIRECTING THEIR VISION, resulting from the extension of the literal meaning of the morphologically and semantically related verb *to tease* ‘to laugh at somebody and make jokes about them, either in a friendly way or in order to annoy them or make them embarrassed’. People who tease, attract and direct attention to the teased person; attracting attention is the essential element of a teaser, as a type of advertisement. This transshaped anglicism is completely non-transparent semantically, and SRNA does not propose a translation equivalent.

(4) *čiklit*, n. – English model *chick lit* ‘novels that are intended mostly for women, often with a young, single woman as the main character’. This meaning is motivated by the conceptual metaphor A YOUNG WOMAN IS A CHICK (e.g. *chick flick*, *side chick*) since it associates a young woman and a chicken, as testified by the listed figurative meaning in dictionaries: ‘an offensive way of referring to a young woman’, ‘a girl or young woman, esp. an attractive one’,⁶ with the associative features: slang and offensive. This metaphor has not yet been listed as conventional. A related metaphor has been identified by Kövecses (2010): SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS. The implication of the word in focus, *chick lit*, is

⁵ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/digest>

⁶ <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/chick>

that this literary genre is of somewhat lower quality, because of the associative feature of offensiveness, and because of the infantilization of women to being romantic and emotional. This transshaped anglicism is completely non-transparent semantically. The proposed translation equivalent, *književnost za devojke*, is the result of functional approximation. It has different conceptualization than the model since it is not metaphoric, but explains that this literary genre is for girls rather than chicks, metaphorically, with no negative implications associated with being romantic and emotional.

3.3. THEMATIC CATEGORY 3: NEW TYPES OF COMMUNICATION. The third identified thematic category with the anglicisms in focus covers new types of communication that developed in the modern world. For example: *spinovati* (eng. *to spin*), *čilovati* (eng. *to chill (out)*), *blajnd-dejt* (eng. *blind date*), *gosting* (eng. *ghosting*).

(1) *spinovati*, v. (*spinovan*, *spinovanje*, *spin*, *spindoktor*) – English model *to spin*. The figurative meaning is ‘to present information or a situation in a particular way, especially one that makes you or your ideas seem good’. This meaning is related to the literal meaning ‘to turn round and round quickly; to make something do this’. The figurative meaning, which is borrowed in Serbian with the anglicism, is motivated in English by the generic metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES and its specific realizations MANIPULATION IS PHYSICAL MANIPULATION, PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCE IS PHYSICAL INFLUENCE. When an object rotates and turns around, we see its other side, and by analogy, when a story is turned around, it is presented in a completely different way, which is solid ground for manipulation.⁷ The proposed translated anglicism could be *izvrtati priču* or *izokrenuti priču*,⁸ which is longer than the anglicism by one word, but is semantically transparent and motivated; it is based on the same metaphoric conceptualization as the English model.

(2) *čilovati*, v. (word family: *čilaut*) – English model *to chill (out)*, slang ‘(a) to calm down or relax; (b) to pass time idly; loiter; (c) spend time with someone in a relaxed manner; hang out together’.⁹ The figurative meaning of being relaxed, not anxious or stressed, in general, is motivated by the conceptual metaphors opposite to INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT, encompassing, for example ANGER IS HEAT and LUST IS HEAT. Conversely, *to chill* is motivated by the metaphor we suggest: NOT HAVING INTENSE EMOTIONS IS BEING COLD and specifically, BEING RELAXED/ CALM/ NOT EMOTIONAL IS BEING COLD, which is supported by expressions like: *Chill out! Just stay cool and don’t panic. He’s as cool as a cucumber!* Another anglicism, (*is*)*kulirati*, v. (English model *to cool*, v.) with the same meaning is used. The Serbian translation equivalents proposed by SRNA for *kulirati* are *smiriti se*, *umiriti se*;¹⁰ they convey the meaning intended literally and economically, but without the associative feature indicating informal register and/or slang. Thus, we suggest another alternative *ohladiti (se)*, which is economical and preserves the metaphoric conceptualization of the English model.

⁷ There are also *spin-doctors* (anglicism: *spin-doktori*), masters of manipulation.

⁸ The translated anglicism is proposed by the author; SRNA does not suggest a translation equivalent for this English model.

⁹ <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/chill>

¹⁰ Translation equivalents for *čilovati* are not suggested by SRNA, but they are the same as for (*is*)*kulirati*.

(3) *blajnd-dejt*, n. (word family: *dejt*, *dejting*, *dabl-dejt*) – English model *blind date* ‘a meeting between two people who have not met each other before. The meeting is sometimes organized by their friends because they want them to develop a romantic relationship’. This meaning is motivated by metaphorically extending the meaning of the element *blind* ‘not able to see’ to the meaning ‘not noticing or realizing something’, which is based on the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, and more specifically, IMPEDIMENTS TO AWARENESS ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO SEEING and NOT BEING AWARE OF REALITY IS NOT SEEING REALITY. From our everyday experience of the world, we know that if we do not see something, there are smaller chances to understand it. Thus, the implication of a blind date is that it is unexpected, that it can be risky. The transshaped anglicism is semi-transparent since *dejt* is already established as a word in Serbian, but the first element *blajnd* is not. The proposed translation equivalents are *sastanak naslepo* and *izlazak naslepo*; they are longer than the anglicism by one word, but are semantically transparent and preserve the original conceptualization of the English model (*naslepo*).

(4) *gosting* (im.) (word family: *gostovati*, *gostovanje*) – English model: *ghosting* ‘the practice of ending a personal relationship with somebody by suddenly stopping all communication without explanation’. In English this figurative meaning is motivated since the word is associated morphologically and semantically with the word *ghost*, and we know based on our encyclopedic, cultural knowledge, that ghosts suddenly appear and vanish leaving no trace. Thus, the meaning of the word *ghosting* is motivated by the conceptual metaphors EXISTENCE IS VISIBILITY and EXISTENCE IS HAVING A FORM. The person who ghosted, or who uses ghosting behaves like a ghost, i.e. suddenly disappears with no words as if he/she had never been with us. The transshaped anglicism is completely non-transparent semantically in Serbian, whereas the proposed translated equivalent *iščezavanje iz veze*,¹¹ is transparent, and preserves the conceptualization of the English model, but is not economical.

3.4. THEMATIC CATEGORY 4: HEALTH AND COSMETICS. The fourth identified thematic category with the anglicisms in focus is concerned with new trends and notions in the domain of health and cosmetics. For example: *fejslift* / *fejslifting* (eng. *facelift* / *facelifting*) and *buster* (eng. *booster*).

(1) *fejslift* / *fejslifting*, n. (word family: *fejslift*, *lifting*) English model *facelift* / *facelifting* ‘a medical operation in which the skin on a person’s face is made tighter in order to make them look younger’. This figurative meaning is metonymic and is motivated by the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE or more precisely, as we propose in this paper, PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AGING FOR AGING, since we know from world experience that aging results in facial muscles drooping. Thus, people need lifting their faces, i.e., facial muscles, which is the PART FOR WHOLE link. Finally, we can suggest the existence of the metaphor GETTING/ HAVING A YOUNGER FACIAL LOOK IS LIFTING FACIAL MUSCLES. The transshaped anglicism is non-transparent semantically, while the suggested translation equivalents are semantically transparent but involve a different metaphoric conceptualization than in English: *zatezanje lica*, *zatezanje kože*, *zatezanje*, *peglanje lica*, *peglanje kože*, *peglanje*. In English

¹¹ The translation equivalent is not proposed in SRNA; it is suggested by the author.

accomplishing a younger looking face needs lifting muscles since an aged face has drooping muscles. However, in Serbian, a younger looking face needs to be tightened or, even more metaphorically, ironed, which implies that an older face is primarily seen as being creased, i.e., the focus is on wrinkles. Thus, the corresponding metaphor in Serbian is GETTING/ HAVING A YOUNGER FACIAL LOOK IS IRONING/ TIGHTENING.

(2) *buster*, n. (word family: *bustovati*, *bustovanje*) – English model *booster* ‘an extra small amount of a vaccine that is given to increase the effect of one given earlier, for example to protect you from a disease for longer’. This is based on the conceptual metaphor VALUE IS SIZE, i.e., BETTER IS BIGGER, grounded in the meaning of the verb *to boost* ‘to make something increase, or become better or more successful’. More specifically, A MORE EFFECTIVE VACCINE MEANS A GREATER QUANTITY OF THE VACCINE. The semantic transparency of this transshaped anglicism is open for discussion. Namely, SRNA lists *bustovati* as an accepted anglicism in Serbian; thus, for native Serbian speakers who know and use the anglicism *bustovati*, *buster* is semantically transparent and motivated by the same conceptual metaphor as the English model. On the other hand, for native Serbian speakers not acquainted with the anglicism *bustovati*, *buster* is non-transparent. The translation equivalents that we suggest, *dodatna doza vakcine*, *pojačana doza vakcine* or *ekstra doza vakcine*, are less economical, but semantically transparent.

3.5. THEMATIC CATEGORY 5: COMPUTERS AND THE INTERNET. The fifth identified thematic category can be entitled anglicisms in the domain of computers and the Internet. For example: *hotspot* (eng. *hotspot*), *smartvoč* (eng. *smartwatch*), *dark-veb* (eng. *dark web*), *selfi* (eng. *selfie*), *četrum* (eng. *chat room*).

(1) *hotspot*, n. – English model *hotspot* ‘a place in a hotel, restaurant, airport, etc. that is fitted with a special device that enables you to connect a computer to the Internet without using wires’. This meaning is extended metaphorically from the literal meaning of the word ‘a place that is very hot and dry, where a fire has been burning or is likely to start’ and is related to another metaphorical meaning ‘a place where there is a lot of activity or entertainment’. Thus, we propose in this paper that there are two metaphors: A PLACE FULL OF ACTIVITY IS HOT and A PUBLIC PLACE WITH WI-FI IS HOT, the latter metaphor being a special case of the former. There is a metonymic association between A LOT OF ACTIVITY, as part of the source domain in the first metaphor and WI-FI, from the second, since WI-FI contains, or from another perspective, enables a lot of entertainment. Thus, the metonymic links CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED and CAUSE FOR EFFECT are involved. This transshaped anglicism is semantically non-transparent. The translation equivalent that can be suggested is semantically transparent, but not economical: *mesto sa bežičnim Internetom*, *mesto sa WI-FI-jem*.

(2) *smartvoč*, n. – English model *smartwatch* ‘a small computing device that you wear on your wrist’. The metaphoric meaning of this English model is centred around the element *smart*, the literal meaning of which relates to people’s intelligence. This meaning is extended via the conceptual metaphor MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, i.e., more specifically, its special case COMPUTERS / PROGRAMS ARE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE WITH INDEPENDENT WILLS. We may suggest the existence of an even more specific metaphor: COMPUTER PROGRAMS OPERATING GADGETS ARE BRAINS. The implication

is that this type of watch is special because it performs very complex functions. The semantics of the transshaped anglicism is partially transparent since the anglicism *smart* is already established in Serbian, while the second element of the English model, *voč*, is not a word in Serbian. It is worth noting that there is a series of anglicisms with *smart* as the first element, such as: *smartbuk*, *smartfon*, *smart-tabla*, *smart-televizor*. SRNA suggests the following translation equivalents as substitutes for *smartvoč*, and they are all based on the same underlying metaphor as the English model: *pametni sat*, *pametni časovnik*, *inteligentni sat*, *inteligentni časovnik*.

(3) *dark-veb*, n. – English model *dark web* ‘the part of the World Wide Web that you can only get access to with special software, allowing users and website owners to remain secret, used especially for criminal activities’. The English word is motivated by the following conceptual metaphors IMPEDIMENTS TO AWARENESS ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO SEEING and DECEPTION IS THE PURPOSEFUL PREVENTION OF SIGHT, which are special cases of the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, and the related metaphor DARKNESS IS A COVER since criminals want to hide their activities, and if something is in the dark, it is hidden best. Another metaphor is present here: BADNESS IS DARKNESS. Hence, activities on the dark web are not only secretive, but also bad or negative. This transshaped anglicism is partially transparent since *veb* is an established lexeme, i.e., an anglicism in Serbian.

(4) *selfi*, n. – (word family: *selfać*, *selfovati* (*se*), *selfovanje*, *selfistik*) English model *selfie* ‘a photo of yourself that you take, typically with a smartphone or webcam, and usually put on social media’. In English *selfie* is associated morphologically and semantically with the word *self* ‘the type of person you are, especially the way you normally behave, look or feel’. The meaning of *selfie* is motivated by two conceptual metonymies: A PERSON’S PHOTO FOR PERSON (REPRESENTATION FOR REPRESENTED) and A PERSON’S PERSONALITY FOR HIS/HER LOOKS (CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER and PART FOR WHOLE). This implies that people present themselves as personalities the way they want to by showing their own photos in a particular style.

(5) *četrum*, n. (word family: *čet* / *čat*, *četovati* / *čatovati*, *četovanje* / *čatovanje*) – English model *chat room* ‘an area on the Internet where people can communicate with each other, usually about one particular topic’. The basis of this figurative meaning is the conceptual metaphor related to the conceptualization of the Internet: INTERNET IS A SPACE, where spontaneous communication is presented as spontaneous speech in a room. Thus, a semantically transparent Serbian equivalent would be *časkaonica*, which is both semantically transparent and economical.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS. The conducted research has proven that anglicisms resulting from English culturally expansive words with figurative meanings are generally non-transparent semantically as well as unmotivated cognitively, with a few semi-transparent exceptions, in which one element in the anglicism is already an established anglicism in Serbian (e.g., *blajnd-dejt*). The studied anglicisms are short and as such in line with the principle of linguistic economy. On the other hand, they are semantically non-transparent, cognitively unmotivated, and consequently not creative. The suggested translation equivalents that could be used instead of them are semantically transparent and cognitively motivated; they belong to one of the following categories: (1) (a) translation equivalents are figurative, retaining the same conceptualization as their English models (e.g., *lajfkouč* – *životni*

*instruktor, životni trener, životni savetnik; spinovati – izvrtati priču, izokrenuti priču; čilovati – (is)kulirati, ohladiti se; blajnd-dejt – sastanak naslepo, izlazak naslepo; gosting – iščezavanje iz veze; gostovati – iščeznuti iz veze, smartvoč – pametni sat, pametni časovnik, inteligentni sat, inteligentni časovnik; četrum – časakaonica); (b) translation equivalents are figurative, with a different conceptualization than in the English models (e.g. *fejslift / fejslifting – zatezanje lica, zatezanje kože, zatezanje, peglanje lica, peglanje kože, peglanje*); (2) translation equivalents are not figurative, but literal and descriptive (e.g. *fandrejzing – pribavljanje sredstava; autorsing – poslovanje sa naručivanjem robe i usluga van sastava matične firme; startup – novoosnovana, novopokrenuta firma; dajžest – sažeta verzija, skraćena verzija; buster – dodatna doza vaccine, pojačana doza vaccine, ekstra doza vaccine, hotspot – mesto sa bežičnim Internetom, mesto sa WI-FI-jem*). The translation equivalents most commonly consist of two words (sometimes three), whereby one of them narrows the scope of reference of the head word – if it is a phrasal noun the function of specifying the reference of the head noun is performed by: (a) a premodifying adjective (e.g., *životni trener*), (b) an adverb in postmodification (e.g., *sastanak naslepo*), a noun in genitive (object) in postmodification (*zatezanje / peglanje lica*) or a prepositional phrase in postmodification (e.g., *mesto sa WI-FI-jem*). Verbs as translation equivalents commonly preserve the conceptualization of the English model (e.g., *kulirati* or *ohladiti se*), sometimes with the addition of a structure narrowing the scope, like modification, often in the form of a prepositional phrase, (e.g., *iščeznuti iz veze*) or an object (e.g., *izokrenuti priču*). These translation equivalents are optimally appropriate since they are still economical, but semantically transparent at the same time. However, it seems that in everyday use transshaped anglicisms with their brief forms win since common usage dictates the changes and the direction of language development. Overall, anglicisms resulting from English figurative culturally expansive words do enrich the lexical system of Serbian and contribute to the principle of economy in communication, but at the same time they lead directly to the related borrowing effects of semantic opacity and lack of cognitive motivation of meaning, two of the five effects of the anglicization of Serbian at the semantic level as identified by Filipović Kovačević (2018). Thus, the anglicisms in focus here violate the communicative principle of clarity, related to semantic transparency.*

SOURCES

- CD: *Cambridge Dictionary*: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/> January – March, 2023
 CED: *Collins English Dictionary*: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/> January – March, 2023
 FD: *The Free Dictionary*: <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/> January – March, 2023
 OLD: *Oxford Learner's Dictionary*: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/> January – March, 2023
 SRNA: *Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama (A Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms)* (red. Tvrtko Prčić, Jasmina Dražić, Mira Milić, Milan Ajdžanović, Sonja Filipović Kovačević, Olga Panić Kavgić, Strahinja Stepanov). Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2021. (<https://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2021/978-86-6065-636-2>) January – March, 2023.

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Соња Филиповић Ковачевић

ЕНГЛЕСКЕ КУЛТУРНО ЕКСПАНЗИВНЕ РЕЧИ СА ФИГУРАТИВНИМ ЗНАЧЕЊИМА И ЊИХОВЕ АДАПТАЦИЈЕ У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ: КОГНИТИВНОЛИНГВИСТИЧКА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА

Резиме

Овај рад се бави преобликованим англицизмима у српском језику насталим од енглеских културно експанзивних речи са фигуративним значењима (нпр. *лајфкоуч – life coach, фандрејзинг – fundraising, чиклић – chick lit, хојспот – hotspot, спиновајти – to spin, ...*). Ове речи потекле су из енглеског језика и англоамеричке културе, али са тенденцијом ширења у друге културе због свог глобалног значаја. Показало се да су овакви англицизми бројни у српском језику, а посебно су интересантни они чији енглески модели имају фигуративна значења, будући да омогућавају разматрање односа и тенденција у погледу семантичке транспарентности, когнитивне мотивисаности и језичке економије на релацији језик давалац (енглески) и језик прималац (српски) у језичком позајмљивању, као и утицаја на обогаћивање лексичког фонда и појмовних структура у српском језику. Когнитивнолингвистичка анализа спроведена је на примеру 19 репрезентативних англицизама проистеклих из енглеских фигуративних културно експанзивних речи; корпус је одабран из *Српског речника новијих англицизама, СРНА (A Serbian Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms, 2021)*, а анализирани англицизми подељени су у пет тематских области, за које је уочено да најчешће обухватају културно експанзивне англицизме: 1. нови послови и позиције, 2. културолошки појмови, 3. нови типови комуницирања, 4. здравље

и козметика, 5. компјутери и технологија. У раду је спроведена когнитивнолингвистичка анализа у којој се приказује когнитивна мотивисаност енглеских фигуративних културно експанзивних модела, тј. констатовање појмовних метафора и/или метонимија у основи значења, која се пореди са семантичком непрозирношћу и, сходно томе, когнитивном немотивисаношћу одговарајућих англицизама. Такође, предлажу се могући преводни еквиваленти са функцијом преведених или скривених англицизама (нпр. *животи́ни ѿрeнер, мeсто са WI-FI-јeм*). Указује се на чињеницу да свакодневна употреба језика диктира развој језика, што сасвим јасно иде у правцу одабира кратких, али семантички непрозирних преобликаних англицизама, иако су предложени преводни еквиваленти оптимално решење јер су релативно економични (састоје се из 2 до 3 речи), а семантички прозирни. Уопштено, у овде изучаваном процесу језичког позајмљивања принцип језичке економије превагнуо је над комуникативним принципом јасности, тј. семантичке прозирности.

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