

The Impact of English on Bosnian: Anglicisms in Bosnian Press

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Abstract: *This study is mainly concerned with the presence of Anglicisms in and their influence on the Bosnian language, with a greater focus on Anglicisms in the media and web portals. The study investigates several local web portals in an attempt to determine which sections of the portals are adapting English words the most, and in what way the adaptation occurs. The study also explores the way in which journalists use Anglicisms in their work. The main goal of this research was to determine at what level Anglicisms are adapted into the Bosnian language the most, and what aspects of language contain most Anglicisms in use. This research helps us understand the importance of the English language in general, and particularly its impact on the Bosnian language.*

Keywords: *Anglicisms, adaptation, Bosnian language, media, portals.*

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INTRODUCTION

It is believed that today we have around 6800 languages across the world. Some of them went extinct, either because the people who spoke the language died, or because the language was assimilated into another language group. Around 880 million people currently speak the Mandarin language, which makes it the first language in the world taking into consideration the number of native speakers. In that sense, English is the second language in the list, counting around 380 million native speakers around the world. An interesting fact about English is that, in China, it is more frequently spoken than the Mandarin language, which has a greater number of native speakers. This tells of the importance of English today throughout the whole world. Even though linguists say that by year 2050 around 90% of languages we have today will go extinct, the English language had considerably changed through the past, but it is still widely spoken nowadays. English never went extinct; it only *changed* from Old, to Middle, to Modern English, nevertheless staying *English*. It has never died and it will never die based on how much influence English has on other languages today.

Studies indicate that there is no language that has not been affected by another language, and that did not, at some point, get in touch with another language. Some of the ways in which languages affect each other are colonization and military campaigns. When it comes to the Bosnian language, the main way through which English entered Bosnian is media and education. By media we mean social media, newspapers, television, and similar 'sources' of language, which proved to be the most influential sources of English among people who speak the Bosnian language (or Serbian and Croatian). As we already mentioned, English language has never died and it will never die based on the fact that it influences other languages in many different ways, particularly when it comes to borrowing. Anglicisms are words borrowed from the English language to other languages, making them the most frequent borrowed words among all of the world languages. This research paper will examine Anglicisms in the Bosnian language, with a focus on the usage of Anglicisms in media, and mainly newspapers and web portals.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Reasons for the introduction of Anglicisms

In this research, we consider that there are three main reasons why English words are borrowed and adapted at different levels into the Bosnian language. The first reason is that people are nowadays exposed to television containing mainly English TV content. Furthermore, given that individuals translating English to Bosnian sometimes cannot or choose not to find a lexical equivalent in Bosnian,

the translation often contains a number of borrowings. The words left in their original form are most frequently interpreted from the context if the original meaning is not immediately clear. This process represents a slow but safe way in which English words enter into Bosnian. The inability to find an equivalent in the Bosnian language is the second reason for the borrowing of new words, and that mainly happens when a concept from the English language simply cannot be fully explained in Bosnian, so the borrowing process occurs. However, we consider prestige as the greatest reason nowadays for borrowing and adaptation of English words into Bosnian, primarily because young people want to be more eloquent, and so they consider that knowing foreign words and using them as Anglicisms in Bosnian will make them sound and look smarter. This is increasingly the case with today's population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, given the fact that everyone, especially young people, is exposed to social media, printing press, and similar sources that present and serve English words adapted into Bosnian.

The transition of Anglicisms into any receiving European language is analyzed at the following levels:

- a) the phonological level (in order to determine the phonological changes in the transition model of Anglicisms),
- b) the morphological level (to register changes in the morphology of Anglicisms),
- c) the semantic level (in order to analyze changes in meaning that occur in the process of adaptation models of Anglicisms),
- d) the orthographic level (in order to determine ways of forming the topography of Anglicisms influenced by the model),
- e) the stylistic level (to detect stylistic features of Anglicisms in the recipient language) (Filipović, 1986, pp. 47-48)

Anglicisms in Newspapers Theory

Newspapers serve as the main source where people could find a lot of Anglicisms and borrowed words from other languages. We could find many words from the English language that are not officially accepted and introduced into Bosnian dictionaries, but that people nevertheless frequently use when writing news. People who read news slowly integrate foreign words written in newspapers into their idiolect, which in time is adapted into their own language on all levels. This then means that the words are not considered foreign anymore, but are adapted and considered Anglicisms in this case.

According to Senka Simeunović (2008), the adaptation of English words into the Bosnian language on the morphological level could be done in one of four ways:

1. In the original way as is written in the English language. (e.g. *websajt*)
2. Adapting English sounds and letters to the Bosnian Latin script which means transferring y to u, w to v, x to iks (e.g. show – šou)

3. The closest transcription to the Bosnian language which includes transferring voice variations of letters into the Bosnian language (e.g. apstrakt)
4. Translating, if possible (e.g. call center - pozivni centar) (Simeunović, 2008)

When analyzing our leading newspapers and portals in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "Dnevni avaz", "Klix.ba", "SportSport.ba", and some other portals, we concluded that there are many words that are used in writing which have not officially entered the Bosnian language yet. There are many different ways of adapting and using certain English borrowings right now, which leads us to the conclusion that the words, or expressions, are still in the process of entering the language. A perfect example for this is the previously mentioned example *call center*, since speakers of Bosnian are using it in many different ways, which results in the phenomenon of *hybrid* words. Hybrid words or hybridisms are words that etymologically derive from at least two languages. With reference to our example call center, in "Dnevni avaz" hybridism is often present, as in, for example, *shopping centar*, *call centar*, *fer play*, and so on. We could find many of these words by reading newspapers or portals in the Bosnian language, and most frequently in the newspaper "Dnevni avaz", and the news site "Klix.ba".

The Corpus for the present study

The corpus for this research was taken from samples of usage of Anglicisms in the Bosnian press. Different web portals were followed and examined, but the most frequent ones were "Dnevni avaz" and "Klix.ba", as well as "SportSport.ba". Words examined in the research are listed below:

Table 1. Corpus used in the study

WORD USED	WEB PORTAL/SOURCE	ARTICLE URL
Brend	"Dnevni avaz" Ana Vintur spašava modni brend koji niko više ne želi nositi. (2018).	https://avaz.ba/showbiz/jet-set/378473/ana-vintur-spasava-modni-brend-koji-niko-vise-ne-zeli-nositi
Miting	"Klix.ba" Olimpijska dvorana Zetra spremna za Erdoganov miting.	https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/olimpijska-dvorana-zetra-spremna-za-erdoganov-miting/180519023
Džojstik	"Klix.ba" Xbox dobija novi prilagodljivi kontroler za osobe s invaliditetom.	https://www.klix.ba/scitech/tehnologija/xbox-dobija-novi-prilagodljivi-kontroler-za-osobe-s-invaliditetom/180518107

Hardver	Klix.ba Na Twitteru objavljene nove fotografije specifikacije smartphonea HTC U12 Plus	https://www.klix.ba/scitech/tehnologija/natwitteru-objavljene-nove-fotografije-i-specifikacije-smartphonea-htc-u12-plus/180518103
Interfejs	"Klix.ba" Legove nove kockice omogućavaju sklapanje i programiranje Batmobilea	https://www.klix.ba/scitech/tehnologija/legove-nove-kockice-omogucavaju-sklapanje-i-programiranje-batmobilea/180518086
Startup	"Klix.ba" HaBeetat pobjednik jedinstvenog takmičenja startupa "Get in the Ring"	https://www.klix.ba/biznis/startupi/habeetat-pobjednik-jedinstvenog-takmicenja-startupa-get-in-the-ring/180507080
Portfolio, Screening process	"Klix.ba" Poslovni akcelerator 2018: Prilika za mala i srednja preduzeća u BiH	https://www.klix.ba/biznis/startupi/poslovni-akcelerator-2018-prilika-za-mala-i-srednja-preduzeca-u-bih/180316010
Crossover(e)	"Klix.ba" Testirali smo Infiniti Q30: Globalizaciji u čast	https://www.klix.ba/auto/testovi/testirali-smo-infiniti-q30-globalizaciji-u-cast/180413070
Shopping centar	Dnevni avaz "Drama u centru Sarajeva: Evakuisan shopping centar "Importanne", intervenisala i Hitna pomoć!"	https://avaz.ba/vijesti/crna-hronika/283334/drama-u-centru-sarajeva-evakuisan-shopping-centar-importanne-intervenisala-i-hitna-pomoc
Flashback scena	Klix.ba "Publika u Cannesu masovno napuštala projekciju filma zbog scena nasilja"	https://www.klix.ba/magazin/film-tv/publika-u-cannesu-masovno-napustala-projekciju-filma-zbog-scena-nasilja/180516002
Speed ikanabis	Klix.ba "Hapšenje u srednjoj Bosni zbog speeda i kanabisa"	https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/crna-hronika/hapsenje-u-srednjoj-bosni-zbog-speeda-i-kanabisa/180511067
Ofsajd, meč, korner	SportSport.ba "Nije bio ofsajd"	https://sportsport.ba/magazin/odemwingie-nije-bio-ofsajd/250842
Boksač	Klix.ba "Južnokorejski boksač Choi Yo-sam"	https://www.klix.ba/sport/umro-korejski-boksac/080102030

Kup	Dnevni avaz "Na 8. Međunarodnom turniru „Šampion junior kup 2018“	https://sport.avaz.ba/omladinski-nogomet/364748/zeljini-talenti-dominirali-naturiru-%E2%80%9Ešampion-junior-kup%E2%80%9C
Hit	Dnevni avaz "Glumica Emma Watson ima novi potencijalni filmski hit"	https://www.klix.ba/magazin/film-tv/emma-watson-ima-novi-filmski-hit-u-kojem-se- pojavljuje-u-drugacijoj-ulozi/170421126
Ajpod	Dnevni avaz "I Ajpod neophodan za obrazovanje u Švedskoj."	http://avaz.ba/vijesti/kolumne/298322/prvacici-dobro-dosli-u-proslost
Fer-plej	Dnevni avaz Svjetska fudbalska federacija (FIFA) uvođenjem kriterijafer-pleja u rangiranju reprezentacija željela je izbjeći lutriju, rečeno je novinarima u Moskvi.	https://www.klix.ba/magazin/kultura/pidzama-za-sestero-na-sceni-narodnog-pozorista-sarajevo/130227103
Hevi metal	Dnevni avaz Nakon punih 37 godina svoga postojanja, američki hevi metal bend "Metallica" dobio je prestižnu nagradu	https://avaz.ba/globus/svijet/389130/hevi-metal-grupi-metallica-urucena-muzicka-nobelova-nagrada
Vaterpolo	Klix.ba "Hrvatska je u finalu Svjetskog prvenstva u vaterpolu u Budimpešti savladala Mađarsku"	https://www.klix.ba/sport/vaterpolo-hrvatska-savladala-madjarsku-i-osvojila-drugu-titulu-prvaka-svijeta/170729086
Dribler	Klix.ba "Messi postao najbolji dribler u historiji SP-a i dokazao da je on glavni, a ne Sampaolo"	https://www.klix.ba/sport/nogomet/messi-postao-najbolji-dribler-u-historiji-sp-a-i-dokazao-da-je-on-glavni-a-ne-sampaoli/180627026
Trening	Klix.ba "Centar za poslovnu edukaciju organizuje dvodnevni interaktivni trening "Upravljanje radnim učinkom" u Sarajevu"	https://www.klix.ba/biznis/upravljanje-radnim-ucinkom-trening-u-sarajevu-i-tuzli/180228003

Čarter	Klix.ba "Izražen je interes za uspostavljanje čarterleta u ljetnoj sezoni, dva puta sedmično"	https://www.klix.ba/biznis/moguće-uspostavljanje-carter-leta-banja-luka-solun/160426071
Tim	Dnevni avaz "Posebno, imamo tim koji, dok u angio sali obavljamo razne procedure, besprijeckorno funkcionira."	https://avaz.ba/vijesti teme/359313/tim-koji-za-odmor-ne-zna
Lizing	Dnevni avaz "Vlada Federacije BiH danas je na sjednici utvrdila i Parlamentu FBiH uputila Prijedlog zakona o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o lizingu"	https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/252778/vlada-fbih-za-programe-razvoja-turizma-dva-miliona-km

RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

Adaptation of English Words on a Semantic Level

When it comes to the adaptation of English words to Bosnian on a semantic level, we could say that there are many words that are borrowed from the English language as synonyms for some Bosnian words which connote denote the same phenomenon. Adaptation on a semantic level is essentially adaptation of words based on their meaning in the source language. The meaning could, but not necessarily need, be changed in the recipient language. The word borrowed could mean the same thing as in the source language, but it could also mean something entirely different. Here we will mostly mention words that are synonyms for certain words in the recipient language, because Anglicisms in the Bosnian language mostly mean the same thing in Bosnian and English. We do not have such exceptions of Anglicisms in Bosnian which in the recipient (Bosnian) language mean something different than in the source (English) language. These synonyms are used alternately in an attempt to maintain or display prestige. A perfect example for this would be the usage of the word meeting, which is used in Bosnian newspapers in the form *miting*. In "Dnevni avaz" web portal this word was used together with the word *skup* to express the same thing. We also have an example of the usage of words such as brand - *brend*; hardware - *hardver*; joystick-*džojstik*, and so on. These kinds of adaptations of English language words in our media and newspapers are becoming more frequent. People writing news are adopting English words and spelling them in the way they are pronounced in the Bosnian language (as can be seen with the

word *miting*). The aforementioned hybrid words, are to a large extent borrowed and adapted to the Bosnian language. For instance, English fair play is adapted on the semantic level as *fer-plej* (example in the news article: "Svjetska fudbalska federacija (FIFA) uvođenjem kriterija **fer-pleja** u rangiranju reprezentacija željela je izbjeći lutriju, rečeno je novinarima u Moskvi." ; heavy-metal is adapted as *hevimetal* (example in the news article, "Nakon punih 37 godina svoga postojanja, američki **hevi metal** bend "Metallica" dobio je prestižnu nagradu."); waterpolo is adapted as *vaterpolo* (example in the news article: "Hrvatska je u finalu Svjetskog prvenstva u **vaterpolu** u Budimpešti savladala Mađarsku.")

Adaptation of English Words on a Phonological/Orthographic Level

When it comes to the adaptation of English words to the Bosnian language on a phonological/orthographic level, we are talking about adaptation based on the sound system. For instance, the English word punch, which is borrowed into Bosnian and transcribed as *punč*, contains an affricate, because the English consonant cluster *ch* has the equivalent *č* in the Bosnian language, so the word punch is adapted on an orthographic level so that it is written as *punč*, with the Bosnian version of the affricate *ch/č*. In further reading you will be provided with more examples of semantic, phonological and morphological adaptations of new words and sounds from English to Bosnian.

As we know, many languages today are open to foreign influences, and the Bosnian language is not an exception. Bosnian and English are structurally quite different languages, so that many differences and changes may be found. At this point, it is important to introduce the concept of transphonemization (Filipović, 1990), which can be divided in three parts:

1. Complete transphonemization
2. Partial or compromise transphonemization
3. Free transphonemization

Complete Transphonemization

In complete transphonemization, the phonemes of the giving language are replaced by the corresponding phonemes of the receiving language. An example for complete transphonemization would be the English *monitor* taken into the Bosnian as *monitor*; or English *team* borrowed as *tim* (example in a news article: "Posebno, imamo **tim** koji, dok u angio sali obavljamo razne procedure, besprijekorno funkcionira."); English *leasing* borrowed to Bosnian as *lizing* (example in a news article: "Vlada Federacije BiH danas je na sjednici utvrdila i Parlamentu FBiH uputila Prijedlog zakona o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o **lizingu**.")

Partial or Compromise Transphonemization

In partial transphonemization, phonemes of the giving language are substituted by analogue ones of the receiving language, but their description is only partially identical to the description of the phonemes of the model (Bojčić & Plavša, 2012). An example of partial transphonemization would be the English noun *disco* borrowed and adapted to Bosnian as *disko*, or English *box* adapted as *boks*, as well as English *charter* borrowed as *čarter* (example in a news article: "Izražen je interes za uspostavljanje **čarter** leta u ljetnoj sezoni, dva puta sedmično."), or *training* borrowed and adapted as *trening* (example in a news article: "Centar za poslovnu edukaciju organizuje jednodnevni interaktivni **trening** "Upravljanje radnim učinkom").

Free Transphonemization

Phonemes of the giving language do not have articulatory equivalents in the receiving language. They are substituted freely, without any limitations. This type of transphonemization is not carried out in accordance with the phonetic principles, it is carried out according to the principle of orthography combined with pronunciation (Bojčić & Plavša, 2012).

For instance, the word *iPod* is adapted in a way that sometimes in Bosnian portals we could find it written as *Ajpod* (example in news article: "I **Ajpod** neophodan za obrazovanje u Švedskoj. Sve besplatno. Njena obaveza je samo da void računa o bateriji.")

Based on our research, we could conclude that there are many borrowings and adaptations of English words into the Bosnian language on a phonological level. In the Bosnian press there are many examples of all three forms of transphonemization, although more recently, with the progress of technology, we find many words adapted through the free transphonemization process.

Adaptation of English Words on a Morphological Level

Adapting words on a morphological level means that we are behaving towards English words in such a way that we follow the grammar rules that indicate something in the English (source) language and we adapt the word in the same way in the Bosnian (recipient) language, using the same grammar rules if available. An example for one way of borrowing and adapting English is the word *cup* to Bosnian *kup* (example in news article: "U FK Željezničaru su izuzetno zadovoljni nastupom svojih mlađih kategorija na 8. Međunarodnom turniru „Šampion junior **kup** 2018“, gdje su selekcije kluba s Grbavice bile najuspješnije u tri konkurencije."); as well as the English word **hit** which is the same adapted word in the Bosnian language: "Nakon velikog uspjeha koji je postigla u dosadašnjim filmovima te posljednjem Disneyevom remakeu "Ljepotica i zvijer", glumica Emma Watson ima novi potencijalni filmski **hit**." Here is further explanation to simplify the morphological adaptation of Anglicisms and to explain further ways of adapting English words on a morphological level: for instance, the word in English *jazz* is adapted to Bosnian in the form *džez*. As

such, this word was adapted on a phonological level in the first place, which was done by replacing English *j* with the Bosnian *dž*. After the word was phonologically adapted, it is also adapted on a morphological level: in the English language, a jazzer is a musician who specializes in jazz music, and the agentive suffix *-er* here indicates that it is *a person*. Adapting this word into another language, in this case Bosnian, means that we are applying the same rules that indicate agency, in this case a person who is a musician and specializes in jazz music, making the suffix *-ist* in the Bosnian language which indicates a person of a certain profession a logical corresponding choice. As such, we have *pianist*, *gitarist*, *džezist*, and many other similar examples. Additionally, the word *dribbler* is also adapted to Bosnian as *dribler*, keeping the English suffix *-er* indicating a doer of a certain action: "Messi postao najbolji dribler u historiji SP-a i dokazao da je on glavni, a ne Sampaoli." One more example would be *boxer* adapted to Bosnian as *boksač* (example in a news article: "Južnokorejski **boksač** Choi Yo-sam, kojije pao u komu prošli tjedan dok je branio naslov prvaka u muha kategoriji po WBO-u, službeno je proglašen mrtvim, izjavili su u srijedu bolnički dužnosnici.") Boxer is adapted according to the formula **free morpheme + Bosnian bound morpheme**, much like *džezist* and *gitarist*.

Thus, one way in which morphological adaptation could be done is by borrowing English words and cutting all the English suffixes and affixes from the stem, then borrowing the English stem word and simply adding the recipient (in this case Bosnian) suffixes and affixes to the borrowed English stem word (*boxer* – *boksač*; *jazzer* – *džezist*). One more way is to leave English suffixes in the borrowed words (E: *dribbler* – B: *dribler*). Finally, we have the case of borrowing on a morphological level with zero affixes, for which we already provided examples (*cup* – *kup*, *hit* – *hit*).

Examples of Anglicisms in Newspapers

Through reading different sections in newspapers, such as sport, culture, education, lifestyle, science, and others, we noticed that in some of them English words were so frequent that we needed to search for certain words and concepts in order to get the meaning of the text. The sports section and the science section are the ones that include the majority of found English borrowings, primarily because there are certain concepts and words in English that do not have an equivalent in the Bosnian language so the authors feel free to use the original English word without translating it into Bosnian.

The main phenomenon noticed through reading newspapers and portals is the way authors are behaving towards foreign words, in this case English. In the "Klix.ba" web portal, we could find many words written in the English form with an added Bosnian suffix to express a plural form or to change the case of the word. This is the most frequent phenomenon that could be found through reading newspapers and web portals in Bosnian. An interesting finding is that on the same web portal we could notice many different variations of a certain English word. "Dnevni avaz" is more faithful in using English words as foreign

by not adding Bosnian suffixes on them, which is not the case with “Klix.ba” where we found the same word written in different forms in the same text. For instance, the word *startup* was written as *startup*, *startup-i*, *startupa*, *startup-a*. So, here we have a case of using the word *startup* in a nominative case, plural form (“Kroz ovaj trening *startup-i* su dobili dragocjene savjete”), and accusative case (HaBeetat pobjednik jedinstvenog takmičenja *startupa* “Get in the Ring”). We could see that the authors of the texts are sometimes behaving towards the word as if it is a Bosnian word by just adding the suffix *a* to put the noun in an accusative case, while on the other hand we could see that they are, actually, using this noun as an English word and putting it in the genitive case with a hyphen so the readers know that the word is *borrowed*. Many other similar examples could be found, for instance a word *crossover* was used in the form of *crossovera*: “Mercedes-Benza GLA pa samim tim *spade i u crossover.*”; *speed* (*Hapšenje u Srednjoj Bosni zbog speeda i kanabisa*). So there are many English words that are treated as Bosnian words which leads to the confusion regarding the real *sourceword*, and even its meaning.

Experts have different opinions when it comes to the usage of English words in web portals in the Bosnian language. The main point of argument, most frequently, is the spelling of English words in Bosnian web portals. Many experts claim that English words must be written in their original shape because we do not have the right to just ‘steal’ the word from other languages and use it as if it is our own word. On the other hand, we have experts who consider that if we are using English words in articles that Bosnian people are reading, we should spell them in the way they are pronounced. They consider that the most important thing is to put the word in the right context, so the people would be able to guess the meaning from it. One of the examples for this problem among experts is, for instance, the word *interface* used as *interfejs*: “Novi *interfejs* za programiranje će se pojaviti kasnije ove godine”. Here it would be important to mention that these kinds of ‘adaptations’ are most frequent in sports sections of web portals and newspapers. Words such as *offside*, *corner*, *score*, *match*, and other words in the world of sports are mainly, and almost on every web portal, written as *ofsajd*, *korner*, *skor*, *meč*. This would be the spelling of English words in Bosnian in the way it is pronounced, contrasted with the example of other usages of English words, in their original shape: *Flashback scena*: “...a *flashback scena* prikazuje kako dječak...”; *Screening process*: “*Screening proces: Screening i odabir kompanija za ulazak u program.*” For some reason, authors avoid writing this word as *skringing process*, and we believe it is because of the fact that the expression itself would lose its original ‘importance’ and ‘sense’. Here we also have adaptation on a phonological level; double *ee* in English is *i* in Bosnian, so it is adapted phonologically to the Bosnian language.

CONCLUSION

It is very noticeable that the most frequently borrowed words are nouns. Nouns are adapted to the Bosnian language on different levels: adapting the

English word as an actual Bosnian word, adding Bosnian suffixes and characteristics to it, or using it as an English word in Bosnian by adding proper symbols such as hyphens in using the word in different contexts in order to acknowledge the origin of the word. Reading web portals in Bosnian language becomes an adventure full of Anglicisms, especially in sections related to culture, science, and business. Anglicisms in these sections are so frequent that readers have to use dictionaries and web browsers to fully get the message that is being sent to them. English language has a very strong impact on many languages nowadays, Bosnian language included. We are exposed to many words from the English language through media, web portals, advertisements, and newspapers, and that could be a problem for somebody who is not familiar with English language because it would be hard for them to get the message and the meaning of what is being said. We could conclude that it is important to know the English language in order to know how to read the language of media today in Bosnia and Herzegovina. English words are used liberally in Bosnian texts and discourse, and who knows, maybe that will lead to disappearance of actual Bosnian words.

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