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UDK 811.163.42'373.45:811.111

DOI: 10.4312/vestnik.15.79-97

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JUTUBER, JUTJUBER OR YUTJUBER: ADAPTED FORMS OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN THE WRITTEN PRODUCTION OF CROATIAN UNIVERSITY-LEVEL LEARNERS

1 INTRODUCTION

English lexis has become the most widely borrowed one in recent decades, as the UK and the US established themselves as leading economic powers in the 19th and 20th centuries. The English language thus established itself as a *world language* and international *lingua franca*, i.e. a means of communication between speakers of different languages. It is estimated that there are now between 1–1.5 billion English speakers in the world (e.g. Crystal, 2012; Horobin, 2016; Seidlhofer, 2010), and according to some estimates there will be more than 2 billion speakers by 2050 (Crystal, 2012). English is seen as a key factor in globalization mechanisms (e.g. Graddol, 2006). Its global status has primarily been achieved by the number of countries that have recognized English as a means of fulfilling

their desire for political, cultural, and commercial contact. Consequently, it has become the dominant language in the three most important aspects of human activity: education (e.g. Brannen et al., 2014), work (e.g. Gluszek & Hansen, 2013) and leisure (e.g. De Wilde et al., 2019). As a result, about a quarter of the world's population is considered fluent or competent in English, and this figure is constantly growing (Crystal, 2012).

New concepts are constantly being borrowed across cultures and languages. The influence of one language on another can occur on all linguistic levels, with lexis being the most sensitive (e.g. Hudeček & Mihaljević, 2005). When a language lacks an adequate word for a borrowed concept, either a new word is created from the existing linguistic elements, the meaning of an existing word is changed to accommodate a new concept, or a word is adopted from another language through the process of *linguistic borrowing* (Filipović, 1990, p. 15).

Croatian has become extremely receptive to borrowing from English (Mihaljević Djigunović & Geld, 2003), and the influence of English on Croatian has been documented in different functional styles (e.g. Bogunović & Ćoso, 2013; Jurič et al., 2013; Mihaljević, 2003; Mihaljević Djigunović et al., 2006). The prestigious status of English (e.g. Crystal, 2012), which reduces the likelihood that a borrowed element will adapt to the rules of the recipient language (e.g. McKenzie, 2010; Nikolić-Hoyt, 2005), is one of the reasons why English has become an inexhaustible source of new words for Croatian learners of English.

The present study is part of a larger investigation into the use of the most common English loanwords and their Croatian equivalents in Croatian (Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Ćoso, 2022). The study combined corpus-based data on the frequency of unadapted English loanwords in two Croatian web corpora with the translation task. The frequency data came from the recently created database of English words and their Croatian equivalents (Bogunović, Jelčić Čolakovac & Borucinsky, 2022). Analysis of the overall results of the translation task showed that the participants generally preferred the Croatian single-word equivalents when such equivalents were available in Croatian. When such an equivalent was not available the participants used the adapted forms of the words in their translations, along with unadapted forms and multi-word translations (Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Ćoso, 2022). For English loanwords without single-word equivalents, the participants chose the unadapted English forms significantly more frequently than the adapted forms (Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Ćoso, 2022). The aim of the present study was thus to analyse the adapted English forms used by the participants in the translation task, focusing on the nature and degree of their adaptation to Croatian.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In Croatian, borrowed words are categorized according to their degree of adaptation and/or inclusion in the recipient language. *Anglicisms* are words that originated in English but have adapted to the rules of the Croatian language, at least to a certain degree. For

example, anglicisms are words such as *ček* (n. nom. sg., ‘check’), *tim* (n. nom. sg., ‘team’) and *film* (n. nom. sg., ‘film’). Filipović (1990) notes that words that do not originate in English, but have fully adapted to the rules of English and become an integral part of its vocabulary, can also be called anglicisms. For example, words like *televizija* (n. nom. sg., ‘television’) and *radio* (n. nom. sg., ‘radio’), whose formative units come from Latin and Greek, are also anglicisms (Fink, 1992). Unadapted English words, on the other hand, unlike anglicisms, have not adapted to the Croatian orthographic, phonological or morphological rules (e.g. *e-mail*, *snowboard* and *freelancer*) unless when appearing in cases other than the nominative singular form (e.g. *freelanceri* (n. nom. pl.), *e-mailom* (n. instr. sg.) and *snowboarda* (n. gen. sg.)). Another category of English words are *pseudoanglicisms*. These consist of an English word stem and a Croatian affix (Filipović, 1990). One example is the English word *celeb* (n. nom. sg., ‘popular person’) and its plural form *celebovi* (n. nom. pl., ‘popular people’). The pronunciation of such words also varies, so *celeb* can sound like /sɫɛb/, /seleb/ or /celeb/. Görlach (2002) distinguishes between fully adapted words, where the word is no longer recognized as foreign even though it retains some properties of the donor language, words with limited use and words that are not part of the recipient language (calques or loanwords).

Kavgić (2013), on the other hand, distinguishes three groups of words borrowed from English. The first consists of *obvious anglicisms*, i.e., words that have been more or less adapted to Croatian, such as *gol* (n. nom. sg., ‘goal’). The second group, the *hidden anglicisms*, are words that are similar in form to the words of the recipient language, but whose meaning has been borrowed from the donor language, e.g. *star* (n. nom. sg., ‘popular person’). The last group are raw English words or words without orthographic adaptation, with partial morphosyntactic and phonological adaptation and complete semantic adaptation (e.g. *hat trick*). According to Sučević-Mederal (2016), borrowed words can be categorized according to the degree of inclusion into the recipient language. The first group are *foreign words* in the strict sense, i.e. words with orthographic properties of the donor language (e.g. *e-mail*). If necessary (e.g. case declension), such words may be given Croatian morphological suffixes (e.g. *e-mailom*, n. instr. sg.). The second group are orthographically adapted words with atypical phonological features such as *čips* (n. nom. sg., ‘chips’), which are called *foreign words*. The third group includes words such as *tenis* (n. nom. sg., ‘tennis’) and *tim* (n. nom. sg., ‘team’), i.e. fully adapted words. Words from the fourth group have also fully adapted, but are no longer perceived as foreign, such as *klub* (n. nom. sg., ‘club’). Finally, the fifth group includes *calques* or *literal translations*, e.g. *neboder* (n. nom. sg., ‘skyscraper’).

In our paper, we use the term ‘English loanwords’ to refer to lexical items borrowed from English into Croatian that have also undergone orthographic and/or morphological adaptations. The list includes both recognized anglicisms and loanwords that have entered the language through English media (e.g. *kapital*, *sistem*, *ekspres*, etc.) but whose etymological origin is not English. Since this paper is concerned with the speaker’s language

production, such an approach was deemed appropriate, as average language users are rarely concerned with the origin of the word and are more inclined to assign properties to words according to the language contexts which they are exposed to. This is to say that Croatian learners of English are expected to treat, for example, the loanword *kapital* (n. nom. sg., ‘capital’) in relation to the English word *capital* rather than in relation to its actual etymological source word in French.

2.1 Orthographic adaptation

The orthographic adaptation of English loanwords in Croatian is problematic and substitution cannot always take place because the number of English phonemes (44) is disproportionate to the number of Croatian graphemes (there are 30 letters in the Croatian alphabet). The Croatian graphemes *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* are used to represent the five English vowel phonemes /i:/, /e/, /ʌ/, /ɔ:/, and /u:/ (e.g. ‘baseball’ *bejzbol* /ˈbeɪsɒ:l/). The English phonemes /ɪ/, /æ/, /a:/, /ɒ/, and /ʊ/ are also replaced by the Croatian graphemes mentioned above, with /æ/ being transcribed in Croatian with both *e* and *a* (e.g. ‘jam’ *džem* /dʒæm/, ‘camp’ *kamp* /kæmp/, etc.) (Filipović & Menac, 2005, p. 21). The English phoneme /ɜ:/ is usually represented with the Croatian grapheme *er* (e.g. ‘jersey’ *džerzej* /dʒɜ:(r)zi/), while the phoneme /ə/ is represented with either *er* or *or*. Since the Croatian language does not contain diphthongs, the eight English phonemic diphthongs (/eɪ/, /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /aʊ/, /əʊ/, /ɪə/, /eə/, and /ʊə/) are usually represented with either monosyllabic (*ej*, *aj*, *oj*) or bisyllabic structures (*au*). The English diphthongs are sometimes also reduced to Croatian monophthongs (/əʊ/ as *o*, /ɪə/ as *i*, /eɪ/ as *e(r)*, and /ʊə/ as *u*) (Filipović & Menac, 2005, p. 22).

Croatian consonant graphemes are also readily used to represent 19 English consonant phonemes (/b/ as *b*, /g/ as *g*, /m/ as *m*, /n/ as *n*, /f/ as *f*, /v/ as *v*, /l/ as *l*, /h/ as *h*, /s/ as *s*, /z/ as *z*, /ʃ/ as *š*, /ʒ/ as *ž*, /tʃ/ as *č*, /dʒ/ as *dž*, /j/ as *j*, /p/ as *p*, /t/ as *t*, /d/ as *d*, and /k/ as *k*).

It is important to mention here a certain group of English loanwords that are unaffected by the orthographic rules of the recipient language since their form is identical in both languages, e.g. *laptop*, *blog*, *server*, *enter*, *desktop*, etc. These words are sometimes called *identical cognates*. The term is used for words from the two languages that share both form and meaning (see, for example, Carroll, 1992; Comesaña et al., 2016; Cristoffanini et al., 1986; De Groot & Nas, 1991; Peeters et al., 2013; Xiong et al., 2020). However, it usually refers to words from related languages, while its use in the context of loanwords is rare (e.g. Daulton, 2010, *loanword cognates*; Johns & Dussias, 2021; Otwinowska & Szewczyk, 2019). Although they are not orthographically adapted, identical cognates are phonologically adapted in spoken language, while their morphological adaptation occurs in both spoken and written language when they are used in sentential context where the inflected forms are required (e.g. *laptopa* (n. gen. sg./pl.), *laptopu* (n. dat. sg.), *laptopom* (n. instr. sg.), etc.).

2.2 Morphological adaptation

Some English loanwords have undergone the process of morphological adaptation in Croatian, which is also known as *transmorphemization* (Filipović & Menac, 2005, p. 36). Transmorphemization takes place at three levels: *zero* transmorphemization usually occurs with nouns and sometimes with adjectives, but never with verbs (e.g. *bridž* ‘bridge’, *bos* ‘boss’, *šou* ‘show’); *partial* transmorphemization occurs with loanwords that have retained a phonologically adapted suffix atypical of the Croatian morphological system (the English loanwords ending in *-er*, *-or*, *-ing*, or *-ment*, such as *diler* ‘dealer’, *kursor* ‘cursor’, and *brifing* ‘briefing’, are the typical examples of such adaptation); and *full* transmorphemization (at this level, English morphemes are replaced by Croatian ones that have similar or identical meanings, e.g. *kloniranje* ‘cloning’, *liderstvo* ‘leadership’, etc.).

Since Croatian is a morphologically rich, inflected language, the Croatian inflectional morphemes are added to English loanwords when they are used in sentential context (Filipović, 1990; Sučević-Mederal, 2016). This applies to both adapted and unadapted English loanwords, especially in spoken language. However, due to the nature of the task in the present study (see § 3.2), no significant data on this type of adaptation can be expected.

3 METHODOLOGY

The English loanwords used in the translation task were selected because of their high frequency in Croatian in unadapted forms. This means that the adapted forms of these loanwords are not used as frequently as their unadapted variants, with some exceptions that have become part of the Croatian language standard, such as *bejzbol* ‘baseball’, *džez* ‘jazz’, *gol* ‘goal’, *džoker* ‘joker’, *kapital* ‘capital’, etc. Of the 392 English loanwords selected for the study, only 35 ($P = 8.9\%$) words had adapted variants that were standardized in Croatian, while for the other 357 ($P = 91.1\%$) words no such variant was available. This means that the participants would have to adapt the loanwords to their language on their own if they wanted to use an adapted form of the loanword in their translation.

Given the disproportion and qualitative differences between the phonemic systems of the two languages, variation in the orthographic adaptation of English words was expected. The highest degree of variation was expected in English words containing classes of phonemes that do not exist in Croatian, such as diphthongs and other vowels that do not directly correspond to any Croatian vowel (e.g. near-open front unrounded vowel /æ/, open mid-central rounded vowel /ɜ:/, mid-central vowel /ə/, etc.). In terms of morphological adaptation, for English words belonging to more than one word class (e.g. *hit* as a verb and a noun), variation in the choice of word class-specific suffixes is expected.

3.1 Participants

A total of 116 students from the University of Rijeka participated in the study. The participants studied at the Faculty of Maritime Studies and were enrolled in different programmes: 20 of them were students of Technology and Organization of Transport (female $N = 8$, male $N = 12$), 49 were students of Logistics and Management in Maritime Industry (female $N = 25$, male $N = 24$), while 47 of them studied Marine Electronic Engineering and Information Technology (female $N = 4$, male $N = 43$). The gender ratio was skewed, with 79 male and 37 female participants. All participants took part in the study voluntarily and received no course credit or other rewards for their participation. All participants were informed of the nature of their participation in the study and agreed to sign the Informed Consent Form.

3.2 Materials and procedure

The materials and procedures in the present study were identical to those described in Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović and Ćoso (2022). A total of 392 English words were extracted from *The database of English words and their Croatian equivalents* (Bogunović, Jelčić Čolakovac & Borucinsky, 2022), which consists of over 1,800 English loanwords found in the Croatian corpora *hrWac* and *ENGRI* (both corpora are easily available on the *Sketch Engine* platform). The translation task from the current study was designed to include only the most frequently used single-word loanwords from the corpora. Two words were later dropped from the study when the subsequent analysis revealed one was predominantly used as a German loanword (*gut* ‘good’) and the other as a proper noun for a text messaging application (*messenger*). Further analysis was carried out for the remaining 390 words.

The selected English loanwords were randomly distributed across six questionnaires: four of them contained 65 words, while two contained a total of 66 words. Each questionnaire was completed by an average of 19 participants ($M = 19.33$, $SD = 1.49$). The number of participants per questionnaire varied: questionnaire A ($N = 22$), questionnaire F ($N = 20$), questionnaires B and C ($N = 19$), and questionnaire D ($N = 17$). The full list of words in each questionnaire can be found in the supplementary material. The questionnaires were distributed through six different Google Form links. Each word was presented separately, out of context and in a randomized fashion, and responses were collected through open-ended questions.

Participants were asked to provide translations for the English words they were familiar with as accurately as possible. They were instructed to use any translations they thought appropriate, even if this meant using non-standard expressions in their responses. The questionnaires were successfully submitted only if all the questions were answered.

Participants' responses were first classified into several response classes according to language, form, and accuracy of translation (see Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Čoso, 2022). In this paper, only the responses that were classified as adapted English forms will be analysed and discussed. Therefore, the adapted English forms in the participants' responses were analysed according to their type and degree of adaptation: orthographic, morphological, and combined (orthographic and morphological). Given the nature of the translation task, the degree of phonological adaptation of the English loanwords could not be assessed directly and was therefore omitted from the present analysis.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The participants answered with a total of 198 adapted forms to the 153 ($P = 39.2\%$) English loanwords. For the remaining 237 English loanwords ($P = 60.8\%$) no adapted form was found in the responses. The adapted form was the most frequent response for the following 17 English loanwords: *band*, *blogger*, *boom*, *cool*, *display*, *ecstasy*, *goal*, *jam*, *leasing*, *rally*, *router*, *selfie*, *shopping*, *software*, *system*, *wellness*, and *youtuber*. For *inbox* and *smoothie*, both the adapted and unadapted forms were recorded as the most common response, while for *fair* both the adapted form and the Croatian equivalent were the most common responses from participants. The percentages of responses that included the adapted forms of these words are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: English loanwords with the adapted forms as the most frequent response class

English word	Croatian single-word equivalent	Adapted form	Adapted form (%)
system	sustav	sistem	94.7
band	grupa	bend	68.4
goal	cilj	gol	60
blogger	-	bloger	57.9
router	usmjerivač	ruter	57.9
boom	procvat	bum	47.4
youtuber	-	jut(j)uber, yutjuber	47.4
leasing	-	lizing	47.1
cool	-	kul	42.1
software	omekšje	softver	40.9
jam	-	džem, đem	36.4
rally	-	reli	35.3
wellness	-	velnes	35
selfie	sebić	selfi, selfij	31.6

English word	Croatian single-word equivalent	Adapted form	Adapted form (%)
shopping	kupovanje	šoping	29.4
fair	pošten	fer	26.3
smoothie	-	smuti, smutie	25
display	zaslon	displej	25
ecstasy	-	ekstazi, ekstezi, ekstazij	23.5
inbox	-	inboks	21.1

No English loanword was observed for which only responses containing adapted forms were collected. The word with the highest percentage of adapted forms in the responses was the word *system*, which was translated as *sistem* in all but one of the participants' responses (see Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Čoso, 2022, p. 7). The adapted form *sistem* is homonymous with the word *sistem* that had been borrowed into Croatian long before English took on the leading role in language borrowing. *Sistem* belongs to a lexical stratum that finds its origins in the classical languages (i.e., internationalisms) and it formed a part of the Croatian standard language until 1990's, when it was replaced by its native equivalent *sustav*. Even though all the participants were born a decade after the introduction of *sustav*, they might have been exposed to the word *sistem* as a remnant from recent linguistic history, rather than as the adapted form of an English word, which might have influenced their responses. The responses to identical cognates yielded only unadapted English forms and Croatian translational equivalents, i.e. no attempt at orthographic or morphological adaptation of the English cognates was recorded in the participants' responses.

Of the 198 adapted forms found in the participants' responses, 175 ($P = 88.4\%$) were orthographically adapted, five ($P = 2.5\%$) were morphologically adapted, and finally 18 adapted forms ($P = 9.1\%$) showed signs of both orthographic and morphological adaptation. These percentages show that the participants preferred orthographic adaptation. Although morphological adaptation is not uncommon in the context of English loanwords, these results are likely due to the specificity of the task in which the participants were asked to translate the English loanword isolated from the context. If the participants had been asked to use the word in a sentence, the morphologically adapted forms would probably have been used in a much greater number.

There were also several words for which the participants used orthographically as well as morphologically and orthographically adapted forms in their translations: *tjuning* vs. *tjunirat/tuniranje* 'tuning', *performans* vs. *performansa/permanca* 'performance', *striming* vs. *strimanje* 'streaming', *ekstrem* vs. *ekstreman, ekstremno* 'extreme', *ekspres* vs. *ekspresno* 'express', and *buking* vs. *bukiranje* 'booking'.

4.1 Orthographically adapted loanwords

An in-depth analysis of the responses indicated that the students followed the standard principles of orthographic adaptation. For example, they omitted a consonant from English double-letter words (e.g. *bas* ‘bass’, *blogger* ‘blogger’, *šoping* ‘shopping’, etc.) or they mostly stayed true to the word category of the English loanword in their translations. However, the analysis revealed several discrepancies that are atypical of the orthographic adaptation of English loanwords in Croatian.

As expected, the students’ translations revealed a variation in the responses for those English words containing the near-open front unrounded vowel /æ/. For loanwords containing the English vowel in question, the participants chose the Croatian grapheme *e* more often than *a* (see Table 2).

Table 2: The representation of the English phoneme /æ/ in the participants’ responses

/æ/ as e	/æ/ as a
trep ‘trap’ /træp/	baner ‘banner’ / ^l bænə(r)/
brend ‘brand’ /brænd/	kapital ‘capital’ / ^l kæp.ɪ.təl/
čempionšip ‘championship’ / ^l tʃæmpiənʃɪp/	faks ‘fax’ /fæks/
fleš ‘flash’ /flæʃ/	klasik ‘classic’ / ^l klæsɪk/
frontmen ‘frontman’ /frʌntmæn/	rankiranje, rangiranje ‘ranking’ / ^l ræŋkɪŋ/
hešteg ‘hashtag’ / ^l hæʃtæg/	taksi ‘taxi’ / ^l tæksi/
pek ‘pack’ /pæk/	pak ‘pack’ /pæk/
hetrik, het trik ‘hattrick’ /hætrɪk/	-
đekpot ‘jackpot’ / ^l dʒækpɒt/	-
džem, đem ‘jam’ /dʒæm/	-
džez, dez ‘jazz’ /dʒæz/	-
menadžment, menadžment ‘management’ / ^l mænɪdʒmənt/	-
menadžer ‘manager’ / ^l mænɪdʒə(r)/	-
peč ‘patch’ /pætʃ/	-
reli ‘rally’ / ^l ræli/	-

The analysis of the students’ responses showed they almost invariably used *er* instead of the English /ə/ (*baner* ‘banner’ /^lbænə(r)/, *čarter* ‘charter’ /^ltʃɑ:(r)tə(r)/, *gejmer* ‘gamer’ /^lgeɪmə(r)/, to name but a few), while *or* was used only once, in the case of the loanword *horor* ‘horror’ /^lhɒrə(r)/. In some cases, the participants responded with more than one adapted form, e.g. *blokbuster*, *blokbaster* ‘blockbuster’ /^lblɑ:k.bʌs.tə/ and *re-zort*, *razort* ‘resort’ /rɪ'zɔ:(r)t/. These spellings (*blockbuster*, *razort*) are unexpected and could be the result of mispronunciation or lack of knowledge of English pronunciation.

An alternative explanation is offered by Filipović and Menac (2005, p. 32), who point out that the English phoneme /ʌ/ is often represented with the graphemes *a*, *u*, and even *e* in the recipient languages, sometimes due to another language that has played a mediatory role between donor and recipient languages (in the case of Croatian, these languages are usually Italian and German).

The diphthong /eɪ/ was in most cases represented with the monosyllabic structure *ej* (e.g. *bejzbol* ‘baseball’ /^hbeɪsɔ:l/, *blokčejn* ‘blockchain’/blɔktʃejn/, *displej* ‘display’ /dɪˈspleɪ/, *gej* ‘gay’ /geɪ/, *mejkover* ‘makeover’ /^hmeɪkəʊvə(r)/, etc.). The following exceptions have been recorded in relation to the diphthong /eɪ/: *bas* ‘bass’ /beɪs/, *katering*, *ketering*, *kartering* ‘catering’ /^hkeɪtərɪŋ/, *emajl*, *mejł* ‘email’ /^hi:meɪl/, *ferplej*, *fer plej*, *fer play*, *ferplay* ‘fairplay’ / feə(r)pleɪ/, *mejł*, *meil* ‘mail’ /meɪl/, *matriks* ‘matrix’ /^hmeɪtrɪks/, *rege*, *regi* ‘reggae’ /^hregeɪ/).

The diphthong /aɪ/ was represented with *aj* (e.g. *sajber* ‘cyber’ /saɪ.bəʃ-/ , *fajł* ‘file’ / faɪł/, *lajk* ‘like’ /laɪk/, etc.) without exception, while /ɪə/ was represented with *ej* (e.g. *multiplejer* ‘multiplayer’ /mʌltipleɪə(r)/). The diphthong /ɔɪ/ was represented both with *oi* (e.g. *đoint* ‘joint’ /dʒɔɪnt/) and with *oj* (*plejboj* ‘playboy’ /pleɪ.bɔɪ/). The bisyllabic structure *au* in Croatian was used in the case of /aʊ/ (*akaunt* ‘account’ /əˈkaʊnt/, *brauzer* ‘browser’ /^hbraʊ.zər/). The diphthong /əʊ/ was simply reduced to the Croatian monophthong *o* in most loanwords (e.g. *kargo* ‘cargo’ /^hka:ɡəʊ/, *disko* ‘disco’ /^hdɪskəʊ/, *gol* ‘goal’ /ɡəʊl/, etc.), but there were two exceptions in the responses: the diphthong was represented with *ou* in *šou* ‘show’ /ʃəʊ/ and *oa* in *uploadati* ‘uploadati’ /^hʌpˌləʊd/ where the English verb was partially transmorphed and retained its original orthographic form. The reduction to a Croatian monophthong was also observed in the case of the English diphthong /ʊə/ (e.g. *sekjuriti* ‘security’ /sɪˈkjuərəti/, *tura* ‘tour’ /tʊə(r)/). Although /eɪ/ is usually represented as the monophthong *e(r)* in Croatian, our data showed that /eə/ is represented in a similar way (e.g. *hardver* ‘hardware’ /^hhɑ:d(r)weə(r)/, *softver* ‘software’ /^hsɒf(t)weə(r)/).

As reported in Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović and Ćoso (2022), the English phoneme /dʒ/, usually transcribed into Croatian as *dž*, was often replaced by *đ*, as in the following examples: *đem*, *džem* ‘jam’, *đez*, *džez* ‘jazz’, *đoint* ‘joint’, *đoker*, *džoker* ‘joker’, *đambo* ‘jumbo’, *đekpot* ‘jackpot’, etc. The inconsistency in the transcription of this phoneme was interpreted as a reflection of the complexity of orthographic adaptation (ibid.), but could also be due to a rather low knowledge of the rules of Croatian spelling among younger learners.

The participants found compound nouns particularly challenging when it came to producing their responses. While for some they showed no variation in their answers (e.g. *blutut* ‘bluetooth’, *blokčejn* ‘blockchain’, *hešteg* ‘hashtag’, *mejkover* ‘makeover’), for others they gave more than one possible answer. For example, for the loanwords *fairplay* (*fer plej*, *fer play*, *ferplay*), and *hattrick* (*het trik*, *hetrik*) multiple responses were collected. In English, it is quite acceptable to spell some compound nouns in an either open (as two words), closed (as one word), or hyphenated way (with a hyphen (-) between words).

It is possible that the learners have encountered these loanwords in the source language in several spellings and consequently utilized their L1 linguistic knowledge in producing their responses.

4.2 Morphologically adapted loanwords

The analysis of the word categories of English loanwords and those used in the participants' responses revealed some interesting findings regarding the morphological suffixes added to certain word categories.

As expected, most of the loanwords in our study belong to the category of nouns, as they are the most frequently borrowed word category – over 75% of all borrowed words are nouns (Filipović & Menac, 2005). This fact is not surprising when we know that lexical transfer goes hand in hand with the transfer of objects and concepts from one language to another, which has been particularly evident in the field of information and communication technology in the recent decades (e.g. *akaunt* 'account', *blutut* 'blue-tooth', *inboks* 'inbox', etc.).

For the nouns ending in *-er*, a suffix that has the meaning of doer and is gender-neutral (e.g. *blogger* 'blogger', *influenser* 'influencer', *jutuber*, *jutjuber*, *yutjuber* 'youtuber', etc.), the participating students remained faithful to the original English nominal suffixes. Despite the fact that Croatian offers various suffixes for the feminine gender, no one responded with, for example, *blogerica*, *influenserica*, or *jutuberica*. This is probably the case because not only are the English loanwords almost identical in form to the Croatian masculine nouns, but there is also a tendency in Croatian to employ the masculine gender nouns in the generic sense.

However, morphological adaptation took place in the adapted English gerund nouns ending in *-ing* (Table 3).

Table 3: English loanwords ending in *-ing*

English noun	Recorded response(s)	Type of adaptation (orthographic, morphological)	Word category in English (-suffix)	Word category in Croatian (-suffix)
booking	<i>buking</i> <i>bukiranje</i>	orth., morph.	n (-ing)	n (-ing, -anje)
casting	<i>kasting</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
catering	<i>ketering</i> <i>catering</i> <i>kartering</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
gaming	<i>gejming</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)

English noun	Recorded response(s)	Type of adaptation (orthographic, morphological)	Word category in English (-suffix)	Word category in Croatian (-suffix)
kickboxing	<i>kikboksing</i> <i>kikboks</i>	orth., morph.	n (-ing)	n (-ing, - Ø)
leasing	<i>lizing</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
mobbing	<i>mobing</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
ranking	<i>rankiranje</i> <i>rangiranje</i>	orth., morph.	n (-ing)	n (-anje)
roaming	<i>roming</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
shopping	<i>šoping</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
streaming	<i>striming</i> <i>strimanje</i>	orth., morph.	n (-ing)	n (-ing, -anje)
styling	<i>stajling</i>	orth.	n (-ing)	n (-ing)
tuning	<i>tjuning</i> <i>tuniranje</i> <i>tjunirat</i>	orth., morph.	n (-ing)	n (-ing, -anje) v (-irat)

Morphological adaptations occurred with the nouns *bukiranje* ‘booking’, *rankiranje*, *rangiranje* ‘ranking’, *strimanje* ‘streaming’, and *tuniranje* ‘tuning’. Two English words that did not occur in the gerund form were adapted with the same suffix, namely *bordanje* ‘snowboard’ and *streamanje* ‘stream’. For *kikboksing*, *kikboks* ‘kickboxing’, some participants omitted the English nominal suffix *-ing*, while for *šop*, *šoping* ‘shop’ they added the suffix in their translations (see Table 4). One gerund noun was translated with both the infinitive form and the verbal noun: *tjunirat*, *tuniranje* ‘tuning’. It remains unclear, however, why the participants were more inclined to retain the English nominal suffix *-ing* where morphologically adapted forms clearly exist in Croatian (e.g. *gejming* instead of *gejmanje*, *šoping* instead of *šopingiranje*, etc.). One of the plausible explanations could be that the Croatian learners have been exposed to *-ing* nouns in Croatian texts, where they appeared more often with English suffixes than in their morphologically adapted forms.

English compound nouns posed a challenge to the Croatian L1 speakers for another reason, in addition to their orthographic complexity, which was elaborated on earlier in the text. For some compound nouns the participants either added or redacted a single word constituent in their responses. For example, they redacted *shot* from *screenshot* (*skrinšot*, *skrin*) and *snow* from *snowboard* (*bordanje*, *bord*). It is possible metonymy took place, where, in the case of *snowboard* the sporting article (the board) was used to refer to the whole sport (snowboarding), and in the case of *screenshot* the tool (the screen) was used to refer to the product (a screenshot). On the other hand, some English

nouns were given Croatian morphemes (e.g. *kompanija* ‘company’, *tura* ‘tour’, *trejdat*, *trejdati* ‘trade’). While *kompanija* and *tura* are frequently used Croatian equivalents for the English loanwords *company* and *tour*, it remains unclear why the participants chose the verb *trejdat(i)* in the case of the noun *trade*, since most of the English nouns in the questionnaire, which have undergone the process of denominalization in English and can be used both as nouns and verbs, were translated as nouns in Croatian (see Table 4).

Table 4: The participants’ responses to English nouns which have undergone denominalization in the source language

English word (word category)	Response (word category in Croatian)	English word (word category)	Response (word category in Croatian)
band (n, v)	bend (n)	party (n, v)	parti (n)
boom (n, v)	bum (n)	patch (n, v)	peč (n)
brand (n, v)	brend (n)	play (n, v)	plej (n)
chip (n, v)	čip (n)	rally (n, v)	reli (n)
club (n, v)	klub (n)	resort (n, v)	rezort (n), razort (n)
copy (n, v)	kopija (n)	rock (n, v)	rok (n)
craft (n, v)	kraft (n)	roll (n, v)	rolati (v)
cross (n, v, adj)	kros (n)	screenshot (n, v)	skrin (n), skrinšot (n)
deal (n, v)	dil (n)	shop (n, v)	šop (n), šoping (n)
display (n, v)	displej (n)	show (n, v)	šou (n)
email (n, v)	emajl (n), mejl (n)	snowboard (n, v)	bord (n), bordanje (n)
express (n, v, adj)	ekspres (n), ekspresno (adj/adv)	stream (n, v)	strim (n), streamanje (n)
fax (n, v)	faks (n)	style (n, v)	stajl (n), stajling (n)
file (n, v)	fajl (n)	team (n, v)	tim (n)
grill (n, v)	gril (n)	text (n, v)	tekst (n)
group (n, v)	grupa (n)	tour (n, v)	tura (n)
help (n, v)	helpaj (v)	trade (n, v)	trejdat (v), trejdati (v)
interview (n, v)	intervju (n)	trap (n, v)	trep (n)
jam (n, v)	đem (n), džem (n)	vintage (n, v, adj)	vinid (n, adj)
like (n, v, adj, prep)	lajk (n)	pack (n, v)	pak (n), pek (n)
mail (n, v)	mejl (n), meil (n)		

The participants’ preference for nouns over verbs or other word categories is not unusual, considering that nouns account for over 75% of all borrowed words (Filipović & Menac, 2005). The Croatian students are thus more familiar with the nominal meaning of *club* (‘an association or an organisation’) than with the meanings of its verbal form (‘to

unite' or 'to strike someone with a club'). The familiarity and frequency of the meanings of the word are also the reason why no one has resorted to the other nominal meanings of the word ('a bat' or 'a playing card').

Some other exceptions such as *trejdat*, *trejdati* 'trade' can be seen in Table 4, namely *rolati* 'roll' and *helpaj* 'help', where the participants did not prefer nouns in their responses, but instead opted for verbs and added Croatian morphological suffixes for verbs (the 2nd sg. imperative *-j* in the case of 'help' and the infinitive suffix *-ti* in the case of *trejdat*, *trejdati* and *rolati*, each preceded by the root vowel *-a-*). In addition, four English loanwords that can be used as both nouns and verbs can also be used as adjectives in English (*cross*, *express*, *like*, and *vintage*). While all four were explained with nouns, the responses for *express* and *vintage* also included other word categories (the Croatian adjective/adverb *ekspresno* in the case of *express* and the noun/ adjective *vinid* in the case of *vintage*).

Some other interesting examples of morphological adaptations were also recorded in the responses. Some English loanwords ending in *-y/-ie* (*kari*, *kuri*, *karij-začin* 'curry' /'kʌri/, *ekstazi*, *ekstezi*, *ekstazij* 'ecstasy' /'ektəsi/, *selfi*, *selfij* 'selfie' /'selfi/) were added *-j* by the participants. Here, perhaps the intuition of the native speakers played a role – Croatian nouns do not usually end in vowel *-i* and therefore the participants felt the need to change the suffix from *-i* to *-ij* in order to adapt it to their own language. Another interesting example is the noun *crossover*, which was misinterpreted as a phrasal verb *cross over*, and accordingly morphologically adapted into a semi-calque *krosirati preko* 'cross over'. Finally, there were a few recorded cases where the students resorted to a semantically related loanword, namely *bodigard*, *sekjuriti* 'security', *plej lista* 'soundtrack', and *smuti*, *smutie*, *šejk* 'smoothie'.

5 CONCLUSION

The results indicate that the Croatian student population is familiar with the possibility of using the loanwords in the adapted forms. They are also mostly familiar with the principles of orthographic and morphological adaptation of English loanwords. However, the overall percentage of adapted forms in the responses was lower than the percentage of unadapted forms (see Pavlinušić Vilus, Bogunović & Čoso, 2022), suggesting that the adapted forms were a less preferred option in the translation task. The results of the present study show that there is some variation in the production of the adapted forms among students, reflecting underlying differences in the phonemic systems of the two languages. This could be one of the reasons why learners tend to avoid the adapted forms and prefer their unadapted variants. The fact that the unadapted English loanwords used in the study were selected on the basis of their frequency of appearance in the web corpora further underlines their lexical status in Croatian.

In addition, the study revealed some interesting results for which no explanations could be found in our current research. Additional investigations could be carried out in the field of semantic adaptation, which might shed some light on the lexical substitutions recorded in this study (for example, why some participants felt inclined to translate *security* as *bodigard*, etc.). It would also be interesting to further explore the status of English-Croatian identical cognates, a category of loanwords that has been shown to be impervious to changes at both orthographic and morphological levels. The status of such words in Croatian has yet to be determined and should definitely become a focal point of the future studies on the nature of English loanwords in Croatian.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study outlined in this paper has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ) under the project number UIP-2019-04-1576.

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POVZETEK

***JUTUBER, JUTJUBER* ALI *YUTJUBER*: PRILAGOJENE OBLIKE PREVZETIH BESED IZ ANGLEŠČINE V PISNIH IZDELKIH HRVAŠKIH ŠTUDENTOV**

Med jeziki nenehno poteka izmenjava novih pojmov. Vpliv enega jezika na drugega se lahko odraža na vseh jezikovnih ravneh, najbolj izrazit pa je na področju besedišča. Hrvaščina je postala zelo dovzetna za prevzemanje besed iz angleščine in vpliv angleščine na hrvaščino je opazen v različnih funkcijskih jezikovnih slogih. Prestižni položaj angleščine, ki zmanjšuje verjetnost za prilagoditev prevzete prvine pravilom ciljnega jezika, je eden od razlogov, da je angleščina postala neizčrpen vir novega besedišča za hrvaške učence jezika. Cilj pričujoče raziskave je proučiti rabo hrvaških prilagojenih oblik prevzetih besed iz angleščine, pri čemer posebno pozornost posvečamo vrsti in stopnji njihove prilagojenosti. Zaradi razlik med fonemskima sistemoma obeh jezikov smo pričakovali, da bodo hrvaški učenci angleščine podali različne predloge prilagoditev prevzetih besed. Prevajalsko nalogo s 392 najpogostejše rabljenimi neprilagojenimi prevzetimi besedami iz angleščine v hrvaščini je opravilo 116 dodiplomskih študentov Fakultete za pomorstvo. Rezultati analize odgovorov kažejo, da študenti dajejo prednost neprilagojenim oblikam prevzetih besed iz angleščine. Poleg tega se pogosteje odločajo le za pravopisne, ne pa za hkratne pravopisne in oblikoslovne prilagoditve prevzetih besed. Opažene razlike v pravopisnem prilagajanju odražajo razlike med fonemskima sistemoma proučevanih jezikov. Na splošno rezultati analize kažejo, da so se v hrvaščini uveljavile neprilagojene oblike prevzetih besed iz angleščine, ki so priljubljenejša leksikalna izbira med mlajšimi rojenimi govorniki hrvaščine.

Ključne besede: prevzete besede iz angleščine, prilagajanje besed, jezikovna produkcija, izposojanje besed, hrvaščina

ABSTRACT

***JUTUBER, JUTJUBER* OR *YUTJUBER*: ADAPTED FORMS OF ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN THE WRITTEN PRODUCTION OF CROATIAN UNIVERSITY-LEVEL LEARNERS**

New concepts are constantly being borrowed across languages. The influence of one language on another can occur on all linguistic levels, with lexis being the most sensitive. Croatian has become most receptive to borrowing from English, and the influence of English on Croatian has been documented in different functional styles. The prestigious status of English, which reduces the likelihood that a borrowed element will adapt to the rules of the recipient language, is one of the reasons why English has become an inexhaustible source of new words for Croatian learners. The aim of the present study is to investigate the use of adapted forms of English loanwords in Croatian, with

particular attention to the type and degree of their adaptation. Due to the differences between the phonemic systems of the two languages, it was expected that the Croatian learners would show diversity in their responses regarding loanword adaptation. A translation task with the 392 most frequently used unadapted English loanwords in Croatian was given to 116 undergraduate students at the Faculty of Maritime Studies. The data showed that the participants preferred the unadapted forms to the adapted forms of English. They were also more inclined to orthographically adapt a loanword, than to adapt it both orthographically and morphologically. The differences observed in orthographic adaptation reflect the underlying differences in the phonemic systems of the two languages. Overall, the results suggest that the unadapted forms of English words have become established in Croatian and are a preferred lexical choice among younger L1 speakers of Croatian.

Keywords: English loanwords, word adaptation, language production, lexical borrowing, Croatian