

ENGLISH IN MONTENEGRO: EXAMINING THE PERCEPTION OF ANGLICISMS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN MONTENEGRIN

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1. Introduction

As in many other languages, the global influence of Anglo-American culture and English has resulted in a great number of Anglicisms in Montenegrin. They are indispensable to various fields such as technology, fashion, sports, music, show business, tourism, and science, which is why their usage is widespread in both professional and colloquial speech. Moreover, English instruction is compulsory throughout the entire primary education in Montenegro. In addition to that, English language courses are either compulsory or optional in preschool, secondary, and higher education. Despite the widespread presence and influence of English in Montenegro, research on Anglicisms in Montenegrin is scarce. It therefore comes as no surprise that studies of non-linguist, average speakers' perceptions of them are non-existent. That is why the paper at hand investigates how Montenegrin speakers see English loanwords and their Montenegrin equivalents. For this purpose, a questionnaire-based study was conducted among Montenegrin students, who were asked to provide associations for given loan-native word pairs. Associations obtained in this way provide insight into the differentiation between Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a theoretical overview of Anglicisms and English influence worldwide. Section 3 introduces previous research on Anglicisms, with special attention to the context of BCMS¹

1. BCMS is an alternative designation for the Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian languages, or four mutually intelligible national varieties of the pluricentric Serbo-Croatian, which was the official name of the language before the disintegration of Yugoslavia. A widely spread opinion that the splitting of the former Serbo-Croatian into Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin was political and not linguistic in its nature resulted in *The Declaration on the Common Language* (<http://jezicinalizmi.com/declaration/>), stating that these (political) languages embody one common standard language of the polycentric type. By 2019, the Declaration was signed by over 9,000 people from the BCMS region and beyond, including some of the leading linguists like Noam Chomsky and Peter Trudgill (Bugarski).

languages, as this is the context on which linguistic studies in Montenegro are based. Section 4 offers a detailed description of the methodology and aim of the study centered on the perceptions of Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms. Section 5 discusses the results obtained from the study, which demonstrate that English loanwords in comparison to their Montenegrin synonyms are dominantly seen as modern, informal, and suitable for different professional domains. Finally, Section 6 presents our conclusions.

2. Anglicisms

As undoubtedly the most influential language, English has become a global lingua franca. The rise of English as a global language has occurred as a direct consequence of the absolute political, military, economic, technological, and socio-cultural power of the United Kingdom and the United States. While their growth into the world's most powerful nations was caused by various factors, these all ultimately stem from British colonialism between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries as well as the rapid technological development and economic growth of the United States after World War II. Although its global presence influences a massive transfer of words to other languages now, English itself has many loanwords from different languages. In support of this claim, David Crystal states that "English has borrowed words from over 350 other languages, and over three quarters of the English lexicon is actually Classical or Romance in origin" (23). English has remained open to borrowing from other languages, but due to its power as a global language Anglicisms have now become an inseparable part of languages worldwide.

Many definitions have been proposed for the term Anglicism. Broadly speaking, Anglicisms refer to linguistic elements transferred from English (directly or indirectly) into another language. In support of that, Onysko defines Anglicism as "any instance of an English lexical, structural, and phonological element in German that can be formally related to English" (90–91). The leading researchers from this field in the BCMS context have similarly defined Anglicisms. Rudolf Filipović explains an Anglicism as "an English word adopted from the English language as a foreign word which must adapt in order to be integrated into the system of the receptor language and acquire the status of a loanword," adding that an Anglicism is also "every word taken from the English language which defines an object, idea or concept forming constituent parts of the English civilization; it need not be of English origin, but must be adapted to the English language system as well as integrated into the English vocabulary" (*Anglicizmi* 16–17). The questionnaire-based study in this paper will deal solely with Anglicisms as lexical elements originating from English.

3. Previous Research on Anglicisms

Due to the absolute dominance of English on the world stage, Anglicisms have been a popular topic in loanword research ever since they started gain-

ing global prominence. Although traditionally they have been explored in terms of their classifications and integration processes,² research on Anglicisms from the perspective of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics has become increasingly common in recent years.³ However, studies on Anglicisms and their recipient language (RL) synonyms are still scarce, even though they would bring to light how these words differ in terms of their meaning and use. Joanna Rączaszek-Leonardi explains that psycholinguistic experiments can enable “the idiosyncratic characterization for loan-native word pairs and therefore attempt generalizations about certain features of loanwords or about the contrast between loanwords and their native synonyms” (7–8). Bearing in mind the unavailability of large electronic corpora in many languages, A. Backus emphasizes the importance of psycholinguistic measurement and other alternative methods for investigating loanwords (18–19). Such electronic corpora are also missing in Montenegrin, which disables quantitative corpus-based studies similar to the ones that have already been carried out in many European languages.⁴ That is why in our research on Anglicisms we have decided to rely on the available psycholinguistic techniques, contributing thus to the unexplored field of English loanwords and their semantic equivalents in Montenegrin.

Although generally scarce, there are studies on Anglicisms and their synonyms in BCMS languages from sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives. Particularly valuable is the study of Branka Drljača Margić that deals with Croatian university students’ attitudes and perceptions of Anglicisms and their equivalents in Croatian. The findings reveal that the majority of respondents describe Anglicisms as modern and popular, therefore associating them with informal and private language use, as opposed to the Croatian equivalents, which they found to be more appropriate in a formal context (Drljača Margić, “Croatian” and “Contemporary”). A similar study of Anglicisms and their Croatian counterparts in the field of marketing shows that respondents not only prefer English loanwords but also believe that these words convey professional concepts better than their Croatian counterparts (Jurić, Krampus, and Račić). The same results are obtained in a study on the attitudes of agricultural experts toward Anglicisms and their equivalents in Serbian: the majority of respondents favor Anglicisms because of their internationality and simplicity in terms of both form and meaning (Đorđević). Although these studies shed light on the perceptions of English loanwords and their RL

2. See Filipović, *Teorija jezika and Anglicizmi*; Prčić, *Engleski*; Lopez Zurita; Leonardi; Rodriguez Diaz; Francuski; Vuletić; Balteiro; Pulcini and Andreani; Pop and Sim; Blažević and Vaić.

3. See Belaj and Tanacković Faletar; Drljača Margić, “Leksički paralelizam”; Panić Kavgić; Mišić-Ilić and Lopičić; Winter-Froemel.

4. See Zenner, Speelman, and Geeraerts 2011; Meurs, Hornikx & Bossenbroek 2013; Daems, Heylen & Geeraerts 2015, Serigos 2017.

counterparts in the context of BCMS languages, further explorations in each of these languages would enable cross-national comparative research both within and beyond the BCMS linguistic context.

4. The Present Study: The Perception of Anglicisms and Their Montenegrin Equivalents

This paper investigates speakers' perceptions of Anglicisms and their counterparts in Montenegrin in order to provide an insight into their differences in meaning. To that purpose, associations for word pairs composed of an Anglicism and its Montenegrin synonym were gathered in a questionnaire-based study that was conducted among Montenegrin university students in April 2019.

Students were chosen as the target population because of their proficiency in English and their active use of Anglicisms. With the aim of forming a representative group from the population under study, we chose students from different fields of study: Sociology, History, IT, Law, English, and others. In order to get statistically significant results for this specific population, we calculated a sample size based on the total number of 20,000 students at the University of Montenegro and their respective faculties/departments, the margin of error of 5 percent, and the confidence level of 95 percent. That is how the total sample comprised 377 University of Montenegro students from the Faculty of Philology (number (n)=31: English Language and Literature Department; n=20: Montenegrin Language and Literature Department), Faculty of Philosophy (n=24: Teacher Education Department; n=14: History Department; and n=14: Sociology Department), Faculty of Economics (n=100), Faculty of Law (n=93), Faculty for Information Technology (n=61), and Faculty of Sport and Physical Education (n=20).

Although the questionnaire covered different aspects of borrowing from English, only the part related to the distribution of associations for Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms has been considered in this paper. The participants were offered ten word pairs, each consisting of an Anglicism and its Montenegrin synonym. They were asked to provide free associations for each Anglicism and its Montenegrin synonym and/or to describe them with one or more words given.⁵ Their selection was based on the fundamental aspects of the associative meaning⁶ of words in general and the "unnecessary"⁷

5. These given words are: precise, imprecise, neutral, positive, negative, clear, unclear, unnatural, modern, obsolete, formal, informal, suitable/unsuitable for (the language of sport, technology, economics, etc.).

6. Associative meaning has a number of classifications; the one adopted here comprises stylistic, expressive and connotative components (Prčić, *Semantika*).

7. A controversial distinction between necessary loanwords (which do not have semantic equivalents in the recipient language) and unnecessary ones (which do have equivalents in the RL) stems from their traditional classifications as "necessary" and "luxury" (Tappolet; Danesi

loanwords in particular, which is a type of meaning that has long been overlooked within traditional classifications of loanwords (Galinsky; Rodriguez-Gonzalez). It is precisely these words and free associations that will provide us with a better insight into the semantic differentiation between the Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms in our study. We will also be able to show that the Anglicisms in our study are not unnecessary words in Montenegrin, but words that have stylistic, expressive, and connotative components different from their Montenegrin synonyms. Designed in a way that gives freedom to choose between free and offered associations, the study is, therefore, a combination of the open-ended and closed-ended questionnaire types. This was done because of the general shortcomings of open-ended questions, which would risk obtaining excessive observations for each element of the target word pairs.

The Anglicisms in this study were selected from a corpus of 100 highly frequent Anglicisms⁸ that had been previously compiled and used for our doctoral thesis. The selection of ten specific Anglicisms for the purpose of this questionnaire was random. As for Montenegrin synonyms, we chose one-word expressions closest in meaning to the target Anglicisms. Apart from our native speaker's intuition, the selection of Montenegrin synonyms was also based on various bilingual and monolingual dictionaries. In the absence of such dictionaries for the Montenegrin language,⁹ we used dictionaries of Serbian, Croatian, and Serbo-Croatian.¹⁰

5. Results and Discussion

When collecting data for the analysis, we noticed that not all respondents approached the task with the same attention, which is why there is a large number of missing observations, especially for the Montenegrin synonyms. The frequent repetition of the words "suitable" and "unsuitable" was observed,

and Rocci), "cultural" and "core/prestigious" (Myers-Scotton; Haspelmath; MacKenzie), or "functional" and "modern" (Melchers and Shaw). The importance of the stylistic components of "unnecessary" loanwords' meanings was, however, emphasized as early as the mid-twentieth century (Galinsky).

8. They were chosen from the total number of five hundred Anglicisms that we had previously collected from the news portal *Vijesti* and the corpus *Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts* for the purposes of our doctoral thesis. The extraction of the most frequent Anglicisms was made possible with *Vijesti's* electronic search engine and the corpus's *File Seek* program, both of which search for a certain word, count the number of its occurrences, and provide all the contexts in which it occurs.

9. It was only after Montenegro's declaration of independence in 2006 and the ratification of the new Constitution in 2007 that Montenegrin became the country's official language. Prior to that, the official name of the language in Montenegro was Serbian. Although the first Montenegrin grammar and orthography were adopted by 2010, the process of standardization and the creation of a dictionary of the Montenegrin language still remain unfinished.

10. See Bujas; Ristić, Simić, and Popović; *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*; Klajn and Šipka; Vujaklija; Vasić, Prčić, and Nejgebauer; Klaić; Filipović, *Anglicizmi*; and Ćirilov.

too, even though the words were supposed to be used as part of the phrase “suitable/unsuitable for the specific thematic field,” for example, “suitable for the language of sport.” We also noticed similar frequencies in the occurrence of antonymous words in descriptions of the same element pairs (usually Anglicisms): the Anglicism *cool* is both “imprecise” (10) and “precise” (9), as is the Anglicism *mix* (15 and 13, respectively). Although speakers can have different perceptions of the same words, similar frequencies of the diametrically opposed associations may identify either the presence of inattentive respondents or the lack of their familiarity with some Anglicisms. In the end, rather than providing free associations for the word pair elements, respondents associated Anglicisms and their Montenegrin counterparts with the words offered in the questionnaire. Free associations, on the other hand, mainly include personal evaluations of the target words (mostly Anglicisms), their synonyms, and in some cases their definitions.

The results are presented in Table 1. Although the questionnaire was formulated and conducted in Montenegrin, we translated it into English together with the associations we obtained for all twenty stimulus words (Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms), which are given on the left. Associations for the Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms were sorted according to the frequency of occurrence, from the most to the least frequent. The number of occurrences is given in parentheses; free associations are given in italics.

Table 1: Associations for the synonymous loan-native word pairs: Anglicisms and their semantic equivalents in Montenegrin

<i>benefit</i>	modern (71); precise (56); clear (41); formal (33); positive (31); the language of economics (16); imprecise (14); unclear (13); suitable (13); professional language (10); neutral (9); unnatural (7); obsolete (6); informal (5); negative (3); <i>value</i> (2); <i>unuseful (word)</i> (2); <i>useful</i> (1); <i>imposed (by English influence)</i> (1); <i>good, valuable for people</i> (1); <i>adaptable</i> (1); <i>privilege</i> (1); <i>asset</i> (1); <i>help</i> (1).
1. (<i>English: benefit</i>)	
<i>korist</i>	precise (80); clear (69); formal (23); obsolete (18); neutral (16); suitable (15); positive (15); informal (7); imprecise (6); modern (4); negative (2); <i>advantage</i> (1), <i>when we do something good for ourselves, but to the detriment of other people</i> (1); <i>natural</i> (1); <i>less formal</i> (1); <i>profit</i> (1).
<i>faul</i>	modern (64); (suitable for) the language of sport (41); clear (38); precise (33); suitable (22); negative (22); informal (16); imprecise (9); formal (9); unnatural (7); unclear (4); positive (4); <i>mistake</i> (2); <i>unsuitable</i> (1); <i>football – when something was not OK</i> (1); <i>probably unknown by some people</i> (1); <i>unallowed</i> (1); <i>dominant</i> (1); <i>unallowed physical contact in sport</i> (1); <i>an act against the rules in sport</i> (1).
2. (<i>English: foul</i>)	

<i>prekršaj</i>	clear (58); precise (57); obsolete (30); formal (26); suitable (11); neutral (10); imprecise (10); negative (9); unsuitable (6); unclear (5); informal (4); the language of sport (3); modern (2); <i>usable (2); the language of sport but also present in other fields (1); unsuitable for the language of sport (1); mistake (1); done in a wrong way (1); prohibited (1); suitable for the professional language (1); an act that is not in accordance with the norm of conduct (1).</i>
3. (<i>English: cool</i>)	<i>kul</i> modern (171); informal (42); positive (38); unnatural (10); imprecise (10); precise (9); clear (8); suitable (7); negative (7); neutral (6); unsuitable (5); unclear (4); obsolete (3); <i>super (2); trending (2); in (1); irritating (1); slang (1); frequent (1).</i>
<i>dobar</i>	positive (56); clear (47); precise (43); obsolete (38); formal (31); neutral (17); suitable (10); natural (6); imprecise (4); informal (3); unsuitable (2); unclear (1); <i>original (1); pleasant, nice (1); positive characterization (1).</i>
4. (<i>English: teenager</i>)	<i>tinejdžer</i> modern (137); precise (31); clear (26); informal (24); positive (10); unnatural (8); suitable (8); neutral (8); imprecise (6); formal (5); negative (4); unclear (4); unsuitable (3); <i>a young man (2); an adolescent (2); entrenched (1); American (1); foreign (1); imposed (1); best years (1); developmental period (1); slang (1); 13–18 years old (1); kid (1); someone who is going through puberty (1).</i>
<i>maloljetnik</i>	formal (56); precise (49); obsolete (44); clear (42); positive (12); suitable (10); neutral (7); imprecise (7); informal (6); <i>a child (4); correct (2); negative (2); someone who is younger than 18 years of age (3); natural (2); unnatural (2); native (1); Serbian (1); adequate (1); kid (1).</i>
5. (<i>English: clear</i>)	<i>meč</i> modern (57); clear (40); suitable (36); the language of sport (32); precise (28); neutral (14); informal (14); formal (12); positive (10); imprecise (8); unclear (6); unsuitable (3); negative (1); <i>maybe we started using this word because of its length (1); competition between two teams (1); match, duel (1); martial arts (1); loanword (1); tournament (1).</i>
<i>utakmica</i>	clear (64); precise (38); formal (27); suitable (26); obsolete (18); neutral (14); (suitable for) the language of sport (13); positive (5); imprecise (4); unsuitable (3); informal (2); unclear (1); <i>normal (1); everyday (word) (1); matchup (1); team sports (1); traditional (1); same as match (1).</i>
6. (<i>English: basketball</i>)	<i>basket</i> modern (104); informal (38); clear (27); precise (25); (suitable for) the language of sport (21); suitable (16); unclear (10); positive (8); unnatural (7); unsuitable (6);

	imprecise (6); neutral (2); formal (3); negative (1); <i>throwing the ball into only one hoop; foreign (word), imposed; unuseful; with friends; old; basketball.</i>
košarka	precise (59); clear (54); formal (38); suitable (20); obsolete (15); neutral (11); (suitable for) the language of sport (10); positive (8); unsuitable (1); informal (1); <i>10 players (2); adequate (1); game with two teams 5-5 players, two basketball hoops (1); basket is a game with 6 players (1).</i>
7. (English: party)	parti modern (152); informal (41); unnatural (26); positive (16); clear (10); negative (7); unclear (7); unsuitable (6); neutral (6); formal (4); suitable (2); <i>it's not old-fashioned; useful; entertainment; foreign; fun; dancing.</i>
	žurka clear (65); obsolete (44); precise (36); positive (23); formal (16); neutral (14); modern (12); suitable (10); informal (7); natural (4); <i>drinks and music; music and friends; adequate.</i>
8. (English: timeout)	tajmout modern (80); (suitable for) the language of sport (40); precise (30); clear (30); suitable (24); unclear (14); informal (13); unnatural (8); formal (6); neutral (5); imprecise (4); positive (4); <i>a break in a game/sport (3); unsuitable (3); imposed in the language of sport; foreign; innovative; interruption; it is used more than the word 'pauza'; match interruption.</i>
	pauza clear (73); precise (35); obsolete (29); formal (29); neutral (13); suitable (10); positive (7); natural (5); unsuitable (5); modern (5); imprecise (3); unclear (3); informal (3); <i>obsolete (because of the word 'timeout'); stop; our word; adequate; suitable for the language of sport; suitable for everyday things; traditional; interruption of the action in progress.</i>
9. (English: fan)	fan modern (162); informal (22); clear (19); unnatural (15); positive (14); precise (12); suitable (7); unclear (6); imprecise (6); neutral (5); unsuitable (5); negative (4); <i>admirer/admiring (2); foreign; imposed; ideal; positive reaction; supporter; contemporary.</i>
	obožavalac obsolete (65); clear (45); precise (37); formal (19); neutral (14); positive (13); suitable (12); modern (5); informal (3); unnatural (3); unsuitable; <i>inadequate; media word; nonsense; natural; fan; co-singer; TV-series; a devotee of someone's work; adequate; correct.</i>
10. (English: mix)	miks modern (98); clear (22); neutral (21); informal (19); unnatural (17); unclear (15); imprecise (15); precise (13); suitable (10); positive (8); unsuitable (7); negative (3); formal (3); <i>mixture (2); imposed; mixed; foreign; suitable</i>

for e.g. mix of songs; (suitable for) the language of informatics.

mješavina

clear (57); obsolete (54); precise (32); formal (19); neutral (19); suitable (8); positive (7); imprecise (5); unclear (4); natural (4); modern (3); informal (3); unsuitable (3); negative (2); *purposeful, a drink; a lot of different things; it is less used than 'mix'; composition of different ingredients.*

benefit (Eng. benefit)—korist

The Anglicism *benefit* is in most cases (as many as 71) described as a “modern” word. This cannot be said for the Montenegrin equivalent *korist* (4), which is mainly perceived as a “precise” word (80). Certain associations were similarly frequent for both members of the lexical pair, so both *benefit* and *korist* are generally seen as “clear,” “precise,” “formal,” and “positive” words. It seems, however, that the Montenegrin synonym *korist* can have a negative connotation, because it has also been described as “negative” and defined as “when we do something good for ourselves, but to the detriment of other people.” The associations also revealed the difference between the thematic fields to which these words belong. While the Montenegrin word *korist* has not been associated with any thematic field in particular, the Anglicism *benefit* has been linked to professional language (10) and is said to be predominantly used in the language of economics (16).

faul (Eng. foul)—prekršaj

As with the previous lexical pair, the most common associations of the loan-native members *faul* and *prekršaj* are also “modern” (64) for the Anglicism, and “clear” (58) and “precise” (57) for its semantic equivalent in Montenegrin. The results have also revealed that Montenegrins tend to use the Anglicism and its Montenegrin synonym in different domains—while *faul* is predominantly related to the language of sports (41), *prekršaj* is said to be used across various thematic fields. Unlike *faul*, *prekršaj* is also perceived as “obsolete” and “formal.”

kul (Eng. cool)—dobar

The Anglicism *kul* has been described as “modern” as many as 171 times, which makes it the most popular modern Anglicism in our study. In addition to that, *cool* is mainly perceived as “informal” (42) and “positive” (38). The Montenegrin synonym *dobar*, on the other hand, is not described as “modern” and “informal”—it belongs to the formal style, and it is perceived as “clearer” and “more precise” than the Anglicism *kul*. Moreover, *dobar* does not evoke the same unfavorable associations as *cool*, which is also described as “unnatural,” “irritating,” and “negative”—probably due to its foreign origin. A small

number of respondents consider both of these words “vague” and “imprecise,” which can be attributed to their rich polysemic structures.

tinejdžer* (Eng. *teenager*)—*maloljetnik

The Anglicism *tinejdžer* is predominantly characterized as a “modern” (137), “precise” (31), “clear” (26), and “informal” (24) word. Its Montenegrin counterpart *maloljetnik*, on the other hand, is perceived differently—the most frequent associations were “formal” (56) and “obsolete” (44). Both *tinejdžer* and *maloljetnik* evoked associations of “precision” and “clarity”; however, their frequency is higher for the Montenegrin word (49 and 42, respectively, compared to 31 and 26). Although both words are twice described as “unnatural” and “negative,” it is the Anglicism that is perceived as inappropriate and even forced: “unsuitable” (3), “foreign” (1), “imposed” (1).

meč* (Eng. *match*)—*utakmica

The most common associations for both of these words are “clear” and “precise.” As with previous Anglicisms, *meč* is predominantly perceived as “modern,” while its Montenegrin synonym *utakmica* is mainly described as “obsolete” (18). The Anglicism is more suitable for the language of sport (32) than the Montenegrin synonym (13), and it is also perceived as more practical due to its brevity—one of the respondents, for instance, believes: “Maybe we started using this word because of its length.” Unlike *utakmica*, *meč* has a broader meaning and can also be used for different types of martial arts and sports competitions between two people or teams.

basket* (Eng. *basketball*)—*košarka

High-frequency associations reveal that both of these words are perceived as “clear” and “precise.” However, the Anglicism *basket* is predominantly seen as “modern” (104) and “informal” (38), and its Montenegrin synonym, on the other hand, is an “obsolete” (15) and “formal” word (38). Although *basket* and *košarka* are often used interchangeably in Montenegrin, less frequent associations reveal a difference in meaning—*basket* is a game with three players on each team and one basketball hoop (2), and *košarka* is a game with five players on each team and two basketball hoops (1). Unlike *košarka*, *basket* is described as “negative” and “imprecise,” which can be attributed to its foreign origin.

parti* (Eng. *party*)—*žurka

The Anglicism *parti* is primarily seen as “modern” (152), “informal” (41), and “unnatural” (26). Its Montenegrin equivalent *žurka* is, conversely, “obsolete” (44), “formal” (16), and not described as “unnatural.” Moreover, *žurka* is “precise” and “clearer” than *parti*, and it is associated with “drinks, music and friends.” Similarly, *parti* connotes “dancing, fun, and entertainment.”

tajmout (Eng. timeout – pauza)

Tajmout and *pauza* are generally seen as “precise” and “clear,” highly frequent associations for both members of the pair. However, while the Anglicism *tajmout* is exclusively characteristic of the language of sport (40), its Montenegrin synonym *pauza* has the general meaning of “a pause, break” and is therefore used within various thematic fields. The Anglicism is also more “modern” (80) than its Montenegrin counterpart, which has been described as “obsolete” in a considerable number of responses (30), even though the word is by no means archaic in Montenegrin. This can be attributed to the popularity of *tajmout*, as explained in one of the free associations. Like previous Anglicisms, *tajmout* is also described as “unnatural,” which is, again, possibly because of its foreign origin.

fan (Eng. fan)—obožavalac

The main difference between these words is that the Anglicism *fan* is perceived as “modern” in as many as 162 responses, whereas its Montenegrin equivalent *obožavalac* is described as an “obsolete” word (65). Moreover, while *fan* is associated with the “informal” register (22), *obožavalac* is seen as “formal” (19). Unlike *fan*, *obožavalac* has not been described as “unnatural,” “imprecise,” “negative,” or “obscure.”

miks (Eng. mix)—mješavina

As in the case of previous lexical pairs, the Anglicism *miks* is perceived as “modern” (98), “informal” (19) and “unnatural” (17), whereas its Montenegrin equivalent is, in contrast, described as “obsolete” (54) and “formal” (19). Less frequent responses reveal that *miks* is linked with the domains of music and computer technology, possibly as a consequence of the media’s influence. The Montenegrin *mješavina*, on the other hand, seems to have a broader meaning, as it refers to the mixture of “different things.”

Conclusion

This paper has investigated Montenegrin speakers’ perceptions of Anglicisms and their Montenegrin counterparts. The distribution of speakers’ descriptions and free associations to the given loanword-native synonyms has provided a valuable insight into how these words differ semantically and stylistically in Montenegrin. Based on our study, we can conclude that English loanwords are predominantly seen as modern, informal, and suitable for different professional registers. While their popularity and informal status mostly result from the influence of mass media, the use of Anglicisms in different professional discourses can be attributed to their brevity, simplicity, and international usage resulting from English as a lingua franca. Anglicisms in our study have been frequently described as negative, too, which we believe stems from their foreign origin—that is, their generally lower fre-

quency of use—as well as individual respondents' lower English proficiency and, therefore, their insufficient familiarity with the meanings of some Anglicisms. In comparison to Anglicisms, their Montenegrin equivalents are described as formal, obsolete, and neutral. They do not evoke negative associations, and due to their wider scope of meaning, they are not exclusively reserved for certain types of professional discourse but may be encountered in both general and specialized language. The associations of obsolescence that have been given to the Montenegrin equivalents in a considerable number of responses are not, however, accurate as they are generally understandable and actively used in the contemporary Montenegrin language. Montenegrin words in our study were supposed to be compared and contrasted to their semantic equivalents originating from English, and it is precisely because of the unprecedented popularity, modernity, and prestige of English loanwords on a global level that their Montenegrin synonyms have been described as less modern and popular—in other words, as obsolete.

The analysis of results shows that associative meaning plays a major role in the differentiation between Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms, particularly their stylistic (chronological: “obsolete,” “modern”; thematic: “the language of sports, economics, IT, etc.”; interpersonal: “formal,” “informal”) and connotative components (“positive,” “negative”). It is therefore thanks to the associative components of meaning that loanwords cannot be perceived and categorized as unnecessary when they have a semantic equivalent in the recipient language, which has long been the case in traditional studies. In this way, we have also highlighted the fact that loanwords are important not only because they fill lexical gaps in the RL but also because of the different usages.

As stated above, research on Anglicisms in Montenegrin is generally very scarce, which is why a more active engagement is necessary in this field. Dealing with the perceptions of Anglicisms and their synonyms in Montenegrin, this study attempted to contribute to the contemporary loanword studies that are now being conducted from a multidisciplinary perspective. Although the study at hand has provided insight into the differentiation between Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms from a language user's perspective, further research is needed to unveil their usage, perception, and reception within various types of discourse and different demographic groups.

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Abstract

Given their presence and importance on a global level, English loanwords have been extensively studied in various linguistic communities. Apart from the traditional studies focusing on their classification and integration processes, multidisciplinary research on speakers' perceptions of Anglicisms has received considerable attention in recent years. This is not the case in Montenegro, however, where Anglicisms have largely been neglected. This paper seeks to explore Montenegrin speakers' perceptions of English loanwords as opposed to their native equivalents. The questionnaire-based study was conducted among 377 university students with the aim of observing their associations of both Anglicisms and their Montenegrin synonyms. Close observations obtained in this way will enable certain generalizations and conclusions about the differentiation between Anglicisms and their counterparts in Montenegro.