The Americanization of the Croatian Language

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ABSTRACT

The USA is spreading their political, military, economic, scientific, artistic and cultural mission throughout the world. The aim of this paper is to bring to the attention the Americanization of the Croatian language particularly evident in the newly adopted language manners, in teenage language, in specialist languages, in the field of advertising and in political correctness. The spread of Americanization of the Croatian language has both negative and positive effects. Positive effects can be regarded as enrichment of the Croatian language, whereas the negative ones endanger its deep structure. Positive effects should be supported and negative minimized through the cooperation between experts in linguistics and politics.

Key words: Americanization, Angloamericanism, Croatian language, language manners

It is really rare for speakers to create completely new words. When a suitable word exists in another language, the easiest thing in the world is to adopt that word rather than to make up an original one from nothing... When new concepts, creatures, artefacts, institutions, religions etc. are encountered or introduced through contact with speakers of another language, the words for them from the source language tend to be retained.

(Katamba¹, 194–6)

Introduction

The infiltration of the English language on the Continent is closely connected with the so-called nineteenth-century discovery of England². Since then there has been a continuous linguistic relationship, or in other words linguistic Anglicisation between English and other European languages – and Croatian is no exception. The ways in which the English language has been influencing Croatian can be divided into general English influences going through specific and identifiable Americanisms to the sort of indirect influences leading to the appearance of pseudo-anglicisms.

Anglo-Croatian cultural relations showed some interesting features in the first half of the nineteenth century when the new Croatian literary language and modern Croatian literature were being created³. Croatian cultural history in that period was under the strong influence of primarily Austria followed by Germany, Italy and France. However, the study of this literary period proved that English influences on the Croatian literature of that time were quite remarkable⁴.

The intermediary function of certain European languages should be emphasized, especially of German and French. They transmitted a certain number of English words to Croatian. Although Croatia has a strong connection with the USA through a respectable number of Croatian immigrants (about two million of them) most English borrowings were in the British English (BrE) form. According to Görlach⁵ Americanisms normally date from the second half of this century and many of them were mediated through BrE and there is no sign that American English (AmE) will replace BrE in the near future. Opposed to the statement of Görlach, this paper proves a booming influence of omnipresent Angloamericanisms⁶,⁷,⁸,⁹, and at the same time the Americanization of the Croatian language under the influence of globalization and the expression of the cultural globalization¹⁰.

English language as a means of globalization should be differed from the previously mentioned linguistic Anglicisation, because in the English as a means of globalization the American influence prevails.

One may observe not only economic, political, and cultural but also linguistic globalization in the contemporary world. It is represented by global English being introduced and promoted especially as «the U.S. brand,» the embodiment of not only vocabulary, but also political, economic and other types of discourse connected with...
English as a Global Language

Global English is a part of globalization, the cause, the process, the product of globalization, a defining characteristic of linguistic globalization (S.K. Sonntag, 2003: 113, 117).

During the last six decades the number of English speakers has increased to such an extent that it largely exceeds the number of English mother-tongue speakers. It is worth mentioning that in the Shakespearean era English was mainly spoken by mother-tongue speakers, i.e. by just seven million people. Nowadays, native speakers make up only a sixth of the total number of English speakers. Thus, English can be defined as a universally spread or global language. According to Crystal, English users are all those who can use English in some way, even if very modestly. Regarding the number of English users – between 1.5 and 2 billion people and its global role, English is used for more purposes than ever before. It is the language of technological and scientific development, international commerce and trade, the international tourist industry, diplomacy, sports, popular culture or the popular media, pop music, advertising, the Internet, and of course, teenage slang. The reasons for such a situation are of a sociolinguistic and non-linguistic nature.

Closely associated with its global position of power is its economic, technological, cultural and linguistic influence upon other languages. David Crystal, for example, sees many reasons for linguistic concern because the public is still unaware that the world is facing a linguistic crisis on an unprecedented scale. The biggest threat would be English continuing to grow as it has been growing up to now. Maybe one day it will be the only language left to learn. From Crystal’s point of view such a scenario would be the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known. Crystal’s concern is expressed in his latter book entitled Language Death from 2004 which followed his book English as a global language published in 1997.

Current status of English

Spreading of English language throughout the world was influenced on the one hand by British colonial expansion from 17th till 19th century and on the other hand by the transformation of the USA into a world super-power and world model.

The main topic of our study is the influence of the USA on the Croatian language, because during the British expansion English was a lingua franca of the social elite in different countries and in the 20th and 21st century it is getting owned by the majority of users.

Considering the countries that were or still are under a direct economic and political influence of Great Britain and the USA and where English is used as a consequence of the British or American expansion – ethnocentered use, the current situation of English as a global language is not influenced by national affiliation or by historical colonial circumstances. It is indeed of non-ethnocentered nature and defined by the prestigious status of the English language and practical reasons such as business, technological progress or participation in global cultural and subcultural styles. English is, for example, also being used in countries like China or Arab countries which are ideologically totally opposed to the USA.

In spite of this, in various parts of the world the tendency is growing to reduce or weaken the incursion of the English language or words. Many countries where English is used on a very large scale (the Philippines, India) try to set limitations on the use of English on ethnically less encumbered subjects; or in other words on the area involving ethnic features to a lesser extent. As a consequence, in the Philippines, English is used for the teaching of mathematics and other natural sciences, while Pilipino is used for the acquisition of the culturally coloured curriculum like history, civil law, literature and others.

Regarding the situation with Croatian, the sociolinguistic context of language borrowing from English is of a completely different nature than borrowing from, for example, Hungarian, German or Italian with which Croatian was in direct contact. First of all, contacts with Hungarian, German and Italian belong to the past, because Hungarianisms, Germanisms and Galicism is very rarely borrowed nowadays, while the mass influx of Angloamericanisms into other languages and Croatian, as well, is a part of more recent history. The adoption of Hungarian, German and Italian elements was carried out on the regional and not on the global level. By contrast, Angloamericanisms are borrowed globally, i.e. on the level of the complete system.
The influence of English on Croatian is almost always motivated by cultural-civilizational and scientific-technical reasons, i.e. by the need for words defining new things and terms borrowed from the English language and civilization. On the other hand there are very many reasons closely connected with prestige and linguistic snobbery in borrowing the Angloamerican language and culture as an embodiment of the high quality, modern and, of course, more successful way of life. Through various media Angloamericanisms penetrate all the spheres of life and the presence of English is evident on the im-personal level, as well as in the area of international communication and new technologies and on the personal level especially among young people, the so-called global teenagers, in the urban environment.

Enrichment or endangering

The spread of English has both positive and negative effects. One part of the public is enthusiastic and even fascinated by its spread and the other is fearful of English. Native and non-native speakers of English share mixed feelings. Native speakers can be proud of their language being so widespread around the world. They also may be concerned about the changes, i.e. a decline in standards in their language caused by non-native speakers. Non-native speakers are, on the one hand, motivated to learn the global language because it facilitates communication with people around the world and it gives them access to information and knowledge. On the other hand, they can consider themselves at a disadvantage if compared with native speakers who can use the language more efficiently. Such feelings would always arise no matter which language emerged as a global one. It appears that, only full recognition of the complexity of the spread of English allows a correct and non-biased assessment of its full range of positive and negative effects.

Some authors like Crystal and Zimmer see potentially negative effects of the global spread of English in the following areas: the threat to existing languages, i.e. the reduction of the role of other languages, the rapid endangering and death of many minority languages across the world which is very closely connected with issues of cultural identity in an increasingly globalized culture. According to Crystal only 600 of 6,000 languages in the world are safe from the threat of extinction. The current crisis is also evident in the influx of a large number of English words into local languages with an impact on their structure and very probably leading to their decay. The latter can prove that the extensive use of English in everyday communication among non-native speakers sharing the same native language, could result in a new kind of fusion between English and other languages, which is very often a topic of the polemical process monitoring the influence of English on local languages. So far English has appeared in a disguised form in hybrids called: Spanglish, Chinglish, Finglish, Greeklish, Franglais, Denglish. Denglish combines Deutsch and English and is used, for example, when customers in a baby-store are bemused by the slogan «Let’s have intercourse» which is used in a completely wrong way and it sounds funny and sad at the same time, due to the fact that intercourse is used in the meaning of sexual intercourse and the old-fashioned meaning denotes communication between people, countries etc.

Linguistic Contact between English and Croatian

Croatian, like most other European languages, first came into linguistic contact with the British variant of English. The situation can be compared with the case of the Slovene language described by Sicherl. With Britain’s rise to a major European political and economic power, the intensity of contacts increased, and English as a donor language to Croatian has remained a constant source of new vocabulary items ever since. Nowadays, the feeling prevails that the English element in Croatian vocabulary has reached remarkable proportions. The logical consequence is very often a felt need for the native language to be protected from the intense and omnipresent influence of English borrowings.

The topic of this study deals mainly with indirect or intermediary contact between Croatian and English as it has been taking place in the Croatian territory for many decades with varying intensity. Contact between the British or American variant of English and Croatian in Europe has been indirect, initially coming via German as the intermediary language, and later realized even more efficiently via the mass media (written media like newspapers, magazines, books, computers and then increasingly the spoken media such as the radio, television, film, multimedia, etc.). The other type of language contact between English and Croatian, direct contact, taking place when Croatian-speaking immigrant communities come into contact with the English language in countries where English has first-language status (mainly the USA and Australia) is not the subject of this study. If compared, an analysis of intermediary contact is more limited, as intermediary borrowing usually remains restricted to words, so that the central subject of research is the word. In this study we would like to point out that the influence is not only restricted to words, even language manners are changing. The notion «language manners» or «manners in language» is the translation of the German expression sprachliche Manieren and it is in fact the way we talk or more formally the language behaviour. Due to the fact that even language manners in Croatian are changing under the American influence, some authors speak about the Americanization of the Croatian language.

The influence of the German language on Croatian diminished gradually after World War II when the role of the intermediary was increasingly taken over by the mass media, with the spoken media becoming prevalent over the written as a result of technical development.

Some early anglicisms in Croatian vocabulary and also in Slovene vocabulary undoubtedly testify to German influence in their form and meaning. In certain English borrowings Croatian distinguishers double-
nological forms and double spellings for sport/sport and sprint/sprint. The pronunciations with /$p/$ are the result from the transfer from English via German and the direct spoken contact between German and Croatian.

Similarly, the morphological forms of some borrowed verbs show German influence sharing certain elements with their German counterparts which the original English verbs lack:

Eng.: camp Ger.: kamp-i-
Eng.: train Ger.: train-i-

The singular form of the noun keks follows the German model der/das Keks with the English plural form cakes misinterpreted as singular both in Croatian and German.

Some semantic changes were also influenced by the German language. Thus, the mentioned keks was adapted in the meaning of «a small thin dry biscuit» as it was in German, while in English cake denotes «a soft sweet food made by baking dough in an oven» as it is explained in Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2005.

The anglicism bar in Croatian is widely used in the additional sense of «a night-club», which was taken over from German and does not seem to be recorded in English dictionaries. The noun smoking is also used in the sense of a «dinner jacket» in Croatian and in German, whereas the English meaning of smoking jacket is quite different: «man’s comfortable jacket worn in the past, often made of velvet» according to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2005. In all languages, and Croatian is no exception, the need to designate new, unknown objects, persons, places or concepts arises when contact with another culture has been established, and with it the necessity to fill lexical gaps in the vocabulary. Lexical gaps may be filled by forming a new word out of already existing elements i.e. by resorting to the word-formational means of the language, by borrowing a word from a foreign language, or by changing the meaning of an existing word in the language or adding another sense to its old meaning. So, whenever the need for a new word appears, contact with another culture or speakers could just make one up. Yet, in most cases, instead of forming words and other vocabulary items using the resources of their own language, they simply add to the number of words in the lexicon by borrowing vocabulary from another language.

The rate of borrowing from foreign languages (in Croatian mainly from German, Italian, English, Latin, Greek and Serbian) depends on various historical, political, social and cultural factors, and has therefore rarely been constant. Loans from one language may come flooding in during one period and practically stop during another, so that they are quite often classified as linguis-tic trendiness and snobbery. Anglicisms trickled into the Croatian lexicon in the past but have come pouring since World War II to a very high extent nowadays.

Impact of modern technology on the Croatian language

Technology is an important driver of linguistic change. For decades English has dominated all the areas of information technology (IT). Modern information and communication technology (ICT) is the basis of globalization and has largely contributed to English becoming a global lingua franca. ICT has a great impact on people’s interaction, on their information exchange. Computer mediated communication (CMC) and the Internet are bringing some radical changes to the use of language, and they happen with unprecedented rapidity. One year on the Net is said to be the equivalent to seven years elsewhere, which explains the rapidity of language change introduced by new technology. Computers and the Internet are now among leading lexical growth areas.

The influence of modern technology (Internet, e-mail, SMS) has motivated a highly abbreviated communicative style as shown in the following typical examples:

«If I were u, i would pass the exam.»
«We didn’t know it B4.»
«Fees are paid @ the end of the course.»

Americanization of the Croatian language and language manners

The present situation in Croatia is characterized by an openness to Angloamericanisms such as there has never been before. The massive import of Angloamerican words can be a result of the wish to keep up, after a long period of relative isolation and one expression of the much desired westernization. The reaction to all this can be concern or disgust leading to demands to puristic language legislation, or to letters to the editor trying to tone down the concern emphasizing, often in an indirect and ironic way, that the danger is or is not as great as some people make it out to be and there is no real reason for worry. An extract from a Croatian newspaper article follows making fun of the topic:

Hrvatski jezik nije igračka za nadobudne dipl. ingove gramatike i pravopisa, već jedna vrlo serios syntax, koja traži i serious approach. Umjesto da, kao so far, o sibilari-zaciji i palatalizaciji odlučuju kojekakvi self declared stručnjaci, Ministarstvo znanosti i obrazovanja, Ministarstvo kulture, Akademija, Croatian Matrix i ostali na-tional institutions trebali bi na brain stormings (stormingmi, stormingovima?) okupiti naj bolje stručnjake i znanke, koji će na team-buildingu izabra-ti top-class team managera i suvremenim science-meto-dama pričati izradi pravopisa kao high-priority projectu.

Team manager trebao bi stoga izvući svoj expert-team iz prašnjavih bidermayer office Akademije na ulicu, gdje se tim jezikom govori i razgovara. Nakon creative meetinga naši bi language-manageri mogli, recimo, otći na squash ili, even better, na after work party, promociju nouvelle cuisine u nekoj trendovskoj fancy enotecii, launch nekog novog made-in-Croatia proizvoda ili kakav drugi social event, te uz krate coffee-breakove, finger-food i lagana lounge-mu-sic osluškivati zvonce hrvatski downtown-language, živi.
The adoption of American language manners is especially evident in young persons. Being different is a characteristic feature of the younger generation which they express through language\textsuperscript{21}. In the period after the eighties of the twentieth century the language of the younger generation can be defined as the projection and product of the media implemented in their communication. Americanization as the product of the media is particularly evident in the field of trivial culture finding expression in video-trash and superficial pop-music typical of the \textit{red-carpet} civilization. The younger generation especially is exposed to the media and is absorbing almost everything with no selection just in order to build their own (sub)culture and to be different.

The reason for concern lies in the fact that the younger generation of today will be a middle aged generation in a few decades and it is very probable that they will continue to use plenty a lot of Angloamericanisms.

Regarding language manners, the young generation uses the exclamation \textit{‑ops!} instead of the Croatian \textit{‑opa!}  Very common is also the typically American exclamation \textit{‑Wow!} expressing admiration or great surprise. If someone pays you a compliment and says, for example, \textit{‑You’re looking great today!} the answer in the American way and also Croatian will be \textit{‑Thank you!} instead of the old-fashioned one \textit{‑Oh, it’s just a new dress, the rest is all old stuff.} It can also happen that a shop-assistant wishes you \textit{‑a nice weekend} on Friday afternoon. Not rarely you can be asked when shopping \textit{‑How are you today?} without meaning that the shop-assistant is really interested in your condition. A very common greeting form when starting conversation among youth is \textit{‑Hi!} reminding us of American greeting \textit{‑Hi!} The Croatian form \textit{‑Uživajte!} very frequently used nowadays among the younger generation is the translation of \textit{‑Enjoy (yourself)!} and we assume that it is a replacement for \textit{‑Prijatno!} the previously used out-of-date form originating from Serbian. If we want to describe the lexis, it is almost impossible because it is constantly being changed. In teenage language there is a tendency to shared insinuations and hyperbolization\textsuperscript{34} and that through support of super, totalno, mega, as e.g.: super totalno cool.

\textit{‑To ti je fuuul zabavno.} (\textit{‑That’s fuuul funny.})

Changes of the meaning are also quite widespread. If someone is called bonsai, the person’s small stature is meant and not the plant.

The syntactic level abounds in code-switching, i.e. some English elements are inserted within the sentence.\textit{‑Ti me stresiraj s tim tvojim baby licem.} (\textit{‑You’re stressing me with your baby face.})

\textit{‑Nakon radnog dijela ćemo se minglati.} (\textit{‑After the official part we are going to mingle.})

\textit{‑Tinkali smo o tome cijelo vrijeme.} (\textit{‑We’ve been thinking about it all the time.})

One of the basic reasons for the use of Angloamericanisms in teenage language is as mentioned above the wish to be different. Augenstein\textsuperscript{25} thinks that \textit{‑Anglicisms are used in the most efficient way in relation to...}
grown-ups with no or poor competence of English. Through Angloamericanisms the young want to demonstrate mostly their cultural or some other specialist knowledge. Angloamericanisms should on the one hand show that they are original, which cannot be opposed. Their originality lies in the exotic presentation of trivial things. Here we can differentiate between the examples with the general influence of English and those which reproduce the specific speech patterns of Anglophone teenagers.

The language of technology and scientific development and the economics comprises, in fact, specialist languages which we are not going to analyze one by one in this paper. The fact is that specialist languages in Croatian are and will continue to be and to come under strong American influence.

Here are examples from the Croatian language of medicine.

«Frovatriptan predstavlja pogodan izbor za pacijente koji imaju često rebound glavobolje.» (Medix, 07/05, 59, 61) («Frovatriptan is a convenient choice for patients with frequent rebound headache.»)

«Doziranje je već dobro prihvaćeno.» (Medix, 12/04., 56/57, 28) («Genzyme company has published that the results of 4. stage (post approval) are well accepted.»)

«Potrebno je izbaciti triggere, izbjegavati stresove i provoditi ujednačeni ritam života.» (Medix, 07/05, 59, 95) («It’s necessary to throw out the triggers, to avoid stress and to perform a balanced life rhythm.»)

«To su pacijenti koji boluju od »border line« tipa poremećaja osobnosti.» (Medix, 07/05, 59, 83) («Those are the patients suffering from »border line« type of troubled personality.»)

In the area of diplomacy the current situation in Croatian is riddled with pseudoanglicisms, which is a result of the indirect American influence.

«Zahvaljujući monitoringu nema opasnosti od neželjnih efekata.» (Dnevnik, Croatian TV, 14.02.06) («Thanks to monitoring there is no danger of side effects.»)

«Tijekom screeninga bit će ovo pod stalanom nadzorom nadležnih tijela u Bruselju.» (Daily newspaper Novi List, 17.02.06.) («During the screening we’ll be under the permanent supervision of the authorized bodies in Brussels.»)

The tourist industry being one of the most important economic factors in the global market also tries to attract potential customers through a lot of of Angloamericanisms which are expected to achieve recognizability, a high quality supply and service and profitability on the very competitive tourist market.

«Efikasan room service treba počekati posude nakon završenog boravka.»
The usage of political correctness is in fact the application of inoffensive language whose goal is multifold:

1. The rights, opportunities, and freedoms of certain people are restricted because they are reduced to a stereotype.

2. Stereotyping largely is implicit, unconscious, and facilitated by the availability of pejorative labels and terms.

3. Rendering the labels and terms socially unacceptable, people then must consciously think about how they describe someone unlike themselves.

4. When labelling is a conscious activity, the described person’s individual merits become apparent, rather than his or her stereotype.

The Croatian examples that follow are not directly American input, but they are created under the influence of political correctness of the American origin:

«Romi» is used instead of «Cigani»,

«djeca sa samo jednim roditeljem» («children with just one parent») instead of «vanbračna djeca» («illegitimate children»),

«osobe s posebnim potrebama» («people with special needs») instead of «invalids»,

«Down is beautiful» according to «Black is beautiful», «eksosistem» («ecosystem») should express that we are aware of environmental problems; the old fashioned expression «gospodica» («miss») is for example very rarely used nowadays because it is not desirable to make difference between married and unmarried female persons.

**Conclusion**

Croatian, like most other European languages, first came into linguistic contact with the British variant of English. The role of the American variant of English as a donor language to Croatian proved to be especially intensive after World War II, and particularly so in the four last decades of the 20th century. In the last two decades globalization has become omnipresent. Globalization being, in fact, Americanization, is spread via the mass media and its influence is evident in current Croatian, not only at the lexical level, but also in language manners and at the syntactic level having an impact on the deep structure of the Croatian language. This study describes of the new trends in Croatian language caused by globalization and the omnipresent American influence. A reason for concern lies in the fact that English has an impact on the syntax – on the deep structure of the Croatian language and also in the absence of assimilation of the mass influx of Angloamericanisms, which can cause anarchy in the recipient language.

Cooperation between experts in linguistics and politics is suggested in order to define a suitable attitude towards the new trends in current Croatian originating mainly from the USA.
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AMERIKANIZACIJA HRVATSKOGA JEZIKA

SAŽETAK

SAD šire svoju političku, vojnu, gospodarsku, znanstvenu, umjetničku i kulturnu misiju širom svijeta. Ovim se radom nastoji ukazati na amerikanizaciju hrvatskoga jezika naročito izraženu u novim jezičnim manirama, u jeziku mladih, jeziku struke, području reklame i u političkoj korektnosti. Dok amerikanizacija s jedne strane obogaćuje hrvatski jezični korpus, s druge strane uočava trend promjene dubinske jezične strukture, koja negativno utječe na hrvatski jezik. Pozitivne aspekte treba podržati, a negativne svesti na najmanju mjeru, pri čemu je nužna suradnja jezikoslovaca i političkih čimbenika.

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