NEGLECTING THE MAXIM OF MANNER: HOW READERS UNDERSTAND NEW ANGLICISMS USED IN THE SERBIAN PRINT MEDIA[12]

Abstract: *The paper deals with the reception of new anglicisms by native speakers of Serbian, from semantic and pragmatic viewpoints, through theoretical and empirical observations. The main goal of the paper is to demonstrate to what extent and in what ways speakers understand anglicisms which they regularly encounter in Serbian daily newspapers and weekly magazines.*
It is through Grice's Cooperative Principle that the relationship between the journalist and the reader is examined and described. The conclusions are based on an analysis of the results of a large-scale research project conducted on a representative sample of native speakers who constitute the target readership of the selected newspapers and magazines. The research tool – an extensive written questionnaire – was created on the basis of a large corpus of anglicisms extracted from non-specialist daily and weekly press. The results of the analysis corroborate the initial hypothesis that there are varying degrees of noise in the communication channel between the journalist and reader, and that the journalist does not adhere to the Cooperative Principle. The way in which one of its maxims is regularly disregarded cannot fit into the existing classification and displays characteristics of a new category here termed 'neglecting the maxim of manner'.

Keywords: *anglicism, native speaker of Serbian, Cooperative Principle, neglecting the maxim of manner, translation equivalent*

Résumé : *Ce travail traite de la réception de nouveaux anglicismes par les serbophones, d'une part du point de vue sémantique et pragmatique, d'autre part du point de vue théorique et empirique. L'objectif principal de cet article est de présenter dans quelle mesure et de quelles manières les locuteurs serbes comprennent les anglicismes qu'ils rencontrent régulièrement dans les quotidiens et hebdomadaires serbes.*
La relation entre le journaliste et le locuteur est analysée à travers le prisme du principe de la coopération de Grice. Les conclusions sont fondées sur l'analyse des résultats de recherches poussées, réalisées sur un échantillon représentatif de locuteurs natifs serbes, issus du lectorat des journaux et hebdomadaires sélectionnés. Pour les fins de la recherche nous avons rédigé un questionnaire détaillé basé sur un vaste corpus d'anglicismes recueillis dans des quotidiens et hebdomadaires généralistes. Les résultats de l'analyse confirment l'hypothèse initiale selon laquelle il existe un bruit plus ou moins fort dans le canal de communication entre le journaliste et le lecteur, et que le journaliste ne respecte pas le principe de la coopération. Il n'est pas possible de répartir dans la classification présente la manière dont l'une des maximes de ce principe mentionné est violée étant donné qu'elle représente les caractéristiques d'une nouvelle catégorie du non-respect des maximes - une catégorie appelée ici 'négligence de la maxime de manière'.

Mots-clés*: anglicisme, serbophone, principe de la coopération, négligence de la maxime de manière, équivalent*

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1. Introduction

Starting from the framework of Gricean pragmatics, this paper will try to introduce a new term and concept that would, hopefully, represent a modest contribution to the Cooperative Principle paradigm. Based on a theoretical and practical exploration of a fairly recent development in the Serbian language, the discussion will put forward the notion of *neglecting* Grice's maxim of manner by Serbian journalists, who overload their texts with anglicisms largely incomprehensible to their readers. There are various modes of disobeying the four maxims underlying Grice's Cooperative Principle, observed from language-specific or universal – situational, cultural, or structural – perspectives. Grice (1975: 49) classifies the situations in which the maxims are not adhered to as cases of flouting, violating or opting out of a maxim, later supplementing the classification with the notion of infringing a maxim. There are, however, anthropologists and linguists who find this classification inadequate, by empirically proving that the extent to which and the contexts in which Grice's Principle is abided by are largely culture-specific, determined by a set of norms and codes of behaviour deeply entrenched in a particular culture or community. Notable anthropological fieldwork whose outcomes support such views was carried out by E. Ochs Keenan on the island of Madagascar, among speakers of the Malagasy speech community (Ochs Keenan, 1979). As pointed out by Thomas (1995: 72), a fifth category, that of suspending a maxim, "is necessary to respond to criticisms of the type made by Keenan". Additionally, adherence to the Principle may be affected by certain features within the structure of a particular language, such as, for instance, syncretism of grammatical forms (e.g. of the English second person pronoun in the singular and plural) or the possibility of regular omission of a certain sentence element (e.g. the subject in Serbian). A discussion of these issues is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

The initial hypothesis which this paper would aim at confirming is that native speakers of Serbian do not understand the meaning of (or ascribe wrong meanings to) hundreds of anglicisms to which they are constantly exposed, mostly through the domestic mass media and, in particular, daily newspapers and weekly magazines. Based on the results of a pilot-project[1] carried out prior to the main research, the assumption is that a number of phenomena related to this ongoing process of 'anglicising' the Serbian language and the linguistic disorderliness it causes in the thus created hybrid variety of Serbian could be explained by referring to certain aspects of linguistic pragmatics, one of whose primary tasks is to provide the contextual framework and, hence, pragmatic enrichment, for semantically underspecified words (Panić, 2006: 261-262).

[1] A smaller-scale pilot project was conducted in June 2004, on thirty undergraduate students of English Language and Literature, at the Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. Its aim was to determine the extent to which the meaning of anglicisms in various contexts provided in the questionnaire was familiar to native speakers of Serbian whose knowledge of English was at an upper-intermediate or advanced level of spoken and written performance. The pilot-project questionnaire represented a simplified version of a longer and more comprehensive one that would subsequently be filled in by respondents who constituted a representative sample of the Serbian newspaper readership. The results of the pilot study, which are discussed in Panić (2006), confirmed the claim that there was noise in the communication channel between the encoder (the journalist) and the decoders of the message (respondents who were to become linguists, translators and teachers of English).

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The central part of the main research, whose results were elaborately presented and discussed in Panić-Kavgić (2006), focused on a semantic and pragmatic analysis of the results of a large-scale empirical research project conducted on respondents who had learned English as a foreign language, as well as those who had never learned the language, either in the course of their schooling or elsewhere. The main research tool was a comprehensive written questionnaire, designed to consist of various types of tasks (open- and close-ended questions, alternative, multiple choice and yes/no questions). It was devised on the basis of a large corpus of newspaper articles from the fields of politics, science, sport, culture, art, fashion and entertainment, collected from non-specialized Serbian daily and weekly newspapers and magazines. The newspaper articles (or excerpts from articles) were selected according to the following criterion: they all contained anglicisms, many of which were to be found as entries in the dictionary of recent anglicisms in Serbian *Du yu speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama* [*Do You Speak Anglo-Serbian? A Dictionary of Recent Anglicisms*], by Vasić, Prćić and Nejgebauer (2001, 2011). The questionnaire was filled in by eighty respondents from three towns in the northern Serbian region of Vojvodina (the regional capital Novi Sad and municipal centres Subotica and Sombor). The respondents were carefully chosen so as to cover most segments of the population who read the selected newspapers and magazines. The representative sample included medical doctors, high-school teachers, bank clerks and undergraduate students of medicine, electrical engineering and Serbian language and literature, all studying at the University of Novi Sad. Persons who had completed primary school only were excluded from the research, since it was expected that, generally, they did not constitute the target readership of the chosen newspapers. Hence, the representative sample included those who already held a university degree or were about to graduate from college or university.

In this paper, whose aim is to highlight the main results of the research project, the key term – 'anglicism' – includes lexemes of the English language which are used in other languages (in this particular case – in Serbian), and are integrated, to a greater or lesser degree, into the system of the target language. More specifically, according to Prćić (2005: 59), "an anglicism is a lexeme or bound morpheme from English which is used in Serbian, with different degrees of integration into its system"[1]. It is essential to distinguish an anglicism from what Prćić (2012: 135) labels an 'englishism' – "a word from English which was used as a sporadic or occasional interpolation into Serbian spoken or written texts and which did not even start the process of integration into its system". The research that will be presented in this paper will only focus on the reception of anglicisms, as englishisms were excluded from the collection of data needed for compiling the questionnaire. Moving on from terminological issues, it should be stressed that there are certain general mechanisms of receiving English lexemes in non-English-speaking environments, which were, in the case of South Slavic languages (namely, the language formerly known as Serbo-Croatian) most elaborately described by Filipović (1986, 1990). Nowadays, however, the English language has entered all registers of spoken and written communication and all spheres of everyday life, to an extent that far exceeds the typical contact language situation, as it was discussed by Filipović (1986, 1990) and Bugarski

[1] Citations from Prćić (1997, 2005) and Panić-Kavgić (2006) were translated from Serbian into English by the author of this paper.

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(1996, 1997). The causes, consequences and implications of such a state of affairs will be the topic of the sections to follow.

2. The Problem of the Journalist's Cooperativeness

As pointed out in Panić (2006), the interpretation – or misinterpretation – of the layers of descriptive and associative meanings involved in various contexts point to cases of violation of Grice's Cooperative Principle. The Principle itself comes down to the claim that, in order for successful communication to take place, both the addressor and the addressee – the encoder and the decoder of the message (the speaker and the hearer, or, for that matter, the writer and the reader) are supposed to be cooperative. They both have to conform to certain principles based on mutual cooperation. The Cooperative Principle, as stated by Grice (1975: 45) – "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" – governs the maxims (or categories) of Quality, Quantity, Relation and Manner. For the purposes of this discussion, it is primarily the maxim of manner that is relevant and will, therefore, be given in full. Grice (1975: 46) states that this maxim relates "not to what is said, but to HOW what is said is to be said", including the supermaxim – 'Be perspicuous' – and various maxims such as:

1) Avoid obscurity of expression.
2) Avoid ambiguity.
3) Be brief (and avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4) Be orderly.

The results of the research were expected to prove that the maxim of manner, which, to summarize, obliges the communicators to avoid obscurity, ambiguity and repetitiveness, as well as to be brief and orderly, is regularly flouted in the course of unidirectional communication between the Serbian journalist and his/her target readership. Namely, as previously predicted by Panić (2006), on the basis of the results of the pilot research,

> "what is being communicated is mostly obscure, vague, ambiguous and unclear. Furthermore, the 'be brief' imperative, which falls within the scope of the maxim of manner, is frequently violated by the repetitive nature of such expressions, since the encoder often tends to communicate the same content twice (or more than twice), by means of using a hybrid Anglo-Serbian expression" (Panić, 2006: 263),

like in the cases of tautological and pleonastic constructions (*PR za odnose s javnošću – PR for public relations* or *DVD disk*). If the encoder's (the journalist's) intention is that the decoder (the reader) understands the message in the expected way, he/she should organize the information so as to facilitate its decoding. Since the focus of attention is on the cooperativeness of the encoder – the journalist, who may, at the same time, also be the translator of the text (if it is borrowed from a foreign newspaper), it is his/her attitude towards the target readership that will be the primary topic of interest.

Finally, a fact that was emphasized in the previous discussions on the matter (Panić, 2005; Panić-Kavgić, 2006, 2011) should at this point be strongly reiterated: the aim of the research is neither to take a negative standpoint per se toward the borrowing of foreign, in this case English, elements, nor to advocate any kind of linguistic purism, which would automatically regard any foreign element as unwelcome. It is, rather, to show how

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widespread, harmful and grotesque the phenomenon can become if it is brought to the opposite extreme, when obscurities in the text tend to perplex the reader and prevent the journalist from getting the message across. The next section sheds more light on why and how this kind of situation has evolved.

3. The Phenomenon – Reasons, Manifestations and Specifics

Naturally, before this period, numerous foreign expressions were being borrowed into Serbian throughout the 20th century, mostly for the sake of filling lexical and conceptual gaps. This is, needless to say, one of the basic characteristics of cultural and linguistic borrowing, a mechanism which has been at work in all languages, at all times. In the past few decades, in Prćić's (2012) words,

> "English has firmly established itself as the foremost language of world communication, while, at the same time, exerting ever stronger influence on almost all languages that come into contact with it. The most obvious and important influence can be seen in the lexical domain, in the importation of new words and word meanings" (Prćić, 2012: 132).

(Regarding the situation concerning English loans in other European languages, see Görlach, 2002, 2003, 2004.)

In the 1990's, speaking English and using an ever growing number of loan words in their mother tongue was seen by the young urban population in Serbia as a means of achieving another goal: re-establishing the broken ties with western culture, as the country was, at the time, artificially cut off from the rest of Europe. However, as pointed out by Panić-Kavgić (2006), what started as a deep psychological need of the younger generation, would gradually turn into a snobbish fashion, and would, in turn, yield a grotesque Anglo-Serbian discourse, mostly due to the overexploitation of English elements in the Serbian media, especially in the daily and weekly press. The coinage Anglo-Serbian (*anglosrpski*, in Serbian), as explained by Prćić (2012),

> "was intended as an informal and semi-jocular, but nevertheless quite appropriate, name for the hybrid Serbian 'language' – or, more accurately, a sociolectal variety of Serbian – taking shape under the influence of English and manifesting itself principally in a large, and ever increasing, number of borrowed words from English" (Prćić, 2012: 132)[1].

At one point, a qualitative change in the contact situation began taking place – there was a conspicuous tendency towards an increase in the borrowed general vocabulary, and this is exactly where the basic problem for Serbian readers stems from: they misinterpret the meaning because they intuitively assume the expression must designate something for which there is no adequate expression in Serbian. This produces what Graedler (1995[2]: 237) terms *a surprise effect for the reader*, since he/she simply does not expect to find an unfamiliar word in the general register. As Graedler further explains, the

[1] Another variety of Serbian arisen under the influence of English, in this case among Serbian immigrants in English-speaking countries, was labelled 'Serglish' (Mišić-Ilić, 2011).

[2] Graedler's PhD thesis *Morphological, Semantic and Functional Aspects of English Lexical Borrowings in Norwegian* (1995) was subsequently published (1998), but the quotations and references in this paper are taken from Graedler's original dissertation (1995).

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surprise effect is the effect produced by the use of English words in place of commonplace or relatively non-technical expressions from daily life, unlike the effect produced by a high concentration of technical vocabulary, which may give a technical text "the much needed air of authoritativeness, authenticity and sophistication". Such texts may have an integrative function for a group of people interested in a particular field, thus including them all in their target readership, whilst excluding those who have no interest in the topic, by using vocabulary that is largely incomprehensible to the general readership. However, it is important to stress that in the questionnaire there were no examples taken from specialized, technical or scientific, magazines, newspapers or other publications. Therefore, it was only natural to expect that such texts would not aim at having a socially exclusive function.

Graedler points out that the amount of English material varies a lot from one genre or text category to another. In Norwegian, for instance, the major channels for borrowing seem to be the fields of entertainment, sport, music, culture and fashion, mostly represented by borrowed nouns, and, to a lesser extent, by adjectives and verbs. Thus, these are, predominantly, referential expressions, labels for concrete entities from the extralinguistic reality, which are to fill certain semantic or stylistic gaps in the target language (such as the need for fresh and novel expressions). In Serbian, however, and most notably since the democratic changes in October 2000, terms from the fields of entertainment, sport, fashion, culture, as well as words from the general register, have been and are still being supplemented by an increasing number of English loans from the more abstract spheres of politics and economics, all of which are related to the ongoing process of political, social and economic transition in the country. There is also a special Anglo-Serbian lexical stock connected with the country's efforts to join the European Union.

Therefore, today, the Serbian language of the media, when it comes to the use of foreign vocabulary, is characterized by a specific mix of international loans, general vocabulary borrowed from English, politico-economic terminology and loans in the fields of entertainment, fashion, culture and sport, all of which, together, represent a vast new foreign material in the native language and an insurmountable obstacle for the Serbian reader. The assumption is that, in the prototypical case, it would nowadays represent a major hindrance for the Serbian reader to fully (and adequately) understand the intended meaning of the journalist's message. It is mostly the younger, urban and more educated population that has a better (yet often insufficient) understanding of the meaning of anglicisms, owing to the fact that many of them speak English, or, at least, claim to be able to do so. However, the aforementioned pilot survey showed that even some students of English language and literature fail to interpret the intended meaning in the expected way (Panić, 2006).

If one tries to look into the causes of such a style of writing, in addition to the already mentioned phenomenon of linguistic fashion, one of them is that a substantial number of newspaper articles (about 20% of those analysed in this research) represent translations of texts borrowed from foreign newspapers published in English-speaking countries, or news reports from foreign press agencies. The journalist, rather poorly, plays the translator's role, so that the translation process often yields an Anglo-Serbian concoction. The reasons for a, by and large, poor outcome of his/her translation efforts are twofold, and the result often comes as a consequence of their interaction: the journalist's poor knowledge of English and insufficient effort invested in the process of translation (regardless of how well the journalist actually speaks the foreign language). The end product is a sloppy and largely incomprehensible text.

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There is also a tendency that a bilingual or multilingual speaker (in this case, the journalist) simply picks out from his mental lexicon the linguistic labels which in a particular situation best express the message he/she wants to convey, although the chosen expression might not belong to the language in which the communication with the reader is taking place. It is often a word from English that a journalist first thinks of as appropriate in the given context. This otherwise rather frequent phenomenon is most common in multilingual speakers' everyday communication. Examples were provided by Hellevik (1979, cited in Graedler, 1995: 190), who noticed that native speakers of Norwegian in their everyday communication often mixed elements from Bokmål, Nynorsk, Danish, Swedish and/or English. This, however, happens in informal situations, mostly in spoken communication, and in the company of persons who do not find such code-switching or code-mixing a strange or surprising occurrence, but it is certainly not the register that should be used in the printed media. Yet, if it does become the dominant style of writing, the consequences are no less than a possible breakdown of communication with the reader, as will be shown in the analysis of the respondents' answers in the most comprehensive task in the questionnaire, in which they were asked to offer Serbian translation equivalents[1] of anglicisms found in the print media. It is of utmost importance to add that, prior to offering their solutions, respondents were asked each time whether they understood a particular English loan and to what extent they felt it to be integrated into the system of the Serbian language.

4. How the Reader (Mis)Understands the Journalist

What follows is a classification of those of the respondents' solutions that point to the fact that the interpreted meanings, to a greater or lesser extent, do not correspond to the intended ones. Inadequate answers provided by the respondents, showing that they did not understand the meaning of the chosen anglicisms (outside or within their phrasal or sentential context), were classified into twelve groups in Panić-Kavgić (2006: 74-85) and are here reduced to a more efficient categorization comprising eight distinct (yet, sometimes, overlapping) groups.

4.1 The first category comprises a number of inadequately chosen Serbian equivalents that were offered as a result of associations based on phonological, orthographic and/or morphological similarity with other expressions in the English or Serbian language. Equivalents of the kind were exclusively given by respondents who claimed to speak the foreign language well. Some of the representative examples are the following:

- [a2]*hepening* [[e3]*happening*] NC[1] = *srećan događaj* (*happy event*[2])*, radostan događaj* (*joyful event*)*, sreća* (*happiness*) <(similarity between ***happening*** and ***happy***)>;

[1] The term 'translation equivalent' refers to a Serbian equivalent of an English expression that is close to the original in terms of content and function, rather than form. Formal correspondence is here seen as being of secondary importance.

[2] The superscript symbol [a] stands for *anglicism* (an expression in Serbian as it was found in a particular newspaper article, regardless of whether it was used in accordance with the prescribed orthographic, phonological and morpho-syntactic rules for adopting English words in Serbian).

[3] The superscript symbol [e] stands for *English* (the expression in the source language).

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srećan završetak (*happy ending*) <(similarity between ***happening*** and ***happy ending***)>,

- [a]*grejs period* [[e]*grace period*] NC = *sivi period* (*grey period*) <(similarity between ***grace*** and ***grey***)>,
- [a]*VJ* NC = *protiv* (*against*) <(similarity between ***VJ*** *and* ***VS*** = *versus*)>; *video džoker* (*video joker*) <(similarity between ***jockey*** and ***joker***)>,
- [a]*workshop* NC = *program u Windowsu* (*program in Windows*) <(similarity between *work**shop*** and *Photo**shop***)>,
- [a]*flajer* [[e]*flyer*] NC = *lep, zgodan momak* (*good-looking, handsome guy*) <(similarity between ***flajer*** and ***frajer*** (*cool guy*))>,
- [a]*hakerske metode* [[e]*hacking methods*] MC = *lovačke metode* (*hunting methods*) <(similarity between ***hacking*** and ***hunting***)>,
- [a]*strejt* fazon [[e]*straight style/fashion*] MC = *ulični fazon* (*street style/fashion*) <(similarity between ***straight*** and ***street***)>,
- [a]*mejdžorsi* [[e]*majors* – major film studios] SC = *gradonačelnici* (*mayors*) <(similarity between ***majors*** and ***mayors***)>,
- [a]*indi-film* [[e]*independent film*] SC = *indijanski film* (*Indian film*); *film o Indijancima* (*film about Indians*)*; film sa Indijancima* (*film featuring Indians*)*; američko-indijski film* (*American-Indian film*) <(similarity between ***inde****(pendent)* and *American* ***Indian***)>; *indijski film* (*Indian film*); *film sa motivima Indije* (*film about India*); *film sa indijskim stilom* (*film in Indian style*) <(similarity between ***inde****(pendent)* and ***Indian***)>; *industrijski film* (*industrial film*) <(similarity between ***inde****(pendent)* and ***indu****strial*)>,
- [a]*ruki* sezone ([e]*rookey* of the season) SC = *ruka* (*hand*) <(similarity between the borrowing *ruki* and the Serbian word *ruka*)>; *rukovodilac* (*manager*) <(similarity between the borrowing ***ruki*** and the Serbian word ***ruko****vodilac*)>,
- [a]*pikovi* [[e]*peaks*] SC = *odabir, izbor* (*choice, selection*); *izabranici* (*those selected/picked*) <(similarity between ***peak*** and ***pick***)>,
- [a]*rezident* Echo festivala ([e]*resident* of the Echo Festival) SC = *predsednik* (*president*) <(similarity between ***resident*** and ***president***)>.

4.1.1 A less numerous sub-category includes answers that testify to the fact that the respondents did not manage to decipher acronymous anglicisms and thus resorted to offering wrong solutions based on identical initial letters, as is the case in the following examples:

- [a]*VJ* (*video-jockey*) NC = ***v****irtual D.* ***J****.*; ***V****ojska* ***J****ugoslavije* (Yugoslav Army),
- [a]*MC* (*master of ceremonies*) SC = ***m****uzički* ***k****reator* (*music creator*); ***mikr****ofon* (microphone); ***MC*** *Hammer*.

[1] The abbreviations NC, MC and SC stand for *no context*, *minimal (phrasal) context* and *sentential context*, respectively, depending on the amount and kind of linguistic context that was provided in the questionnaire for each particular anglicism.
[2] Translations into English of the respondents' solutions are given in brackets.

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4.2 The second category of inadequate Serbian substitutions includes direct translations of English lexemes, in cases when this translation procedure can by no means be regarded as acceptable, referring to "the direct translation of literal or transferred meaning into the target language, with the inclusion of additional semantic features contained in the monomorphemic or polymorphemic lexeme from the source language" (Prćić, 2005: 179). Applying this procedure yields translations of lexemes in their basic, literal meaning, without taking into consideration possible collocational meanings and/or meanings of individual elements within phrasal lexemes. Additional semantic features were completely neglected or, for that matter, misinterpreted. Answers of the kind are often results of inadequate deep-structure paraphrase or wrong definition of the source phrase, such as the anglicism *roud muvi* (*road movie*), translated as *putujući film* (*travelling movie*), stemming from the definition *a movie which is on the road*, or, for instance, *netvork* (*network*) = *rad na kompjuterskoj mreži* (*working on the net*). All solutions in this category were also offered by respondents who believed they spoke English relatively well. Examples in this group include:

- [a]*fajnal-for* [[e]*final four*] NC = *konačno* (*finally*); *konačno za* (*finally for); spreman za* (*ready for*),
- [a]*workshop* NC = *prodavnica koja radi* (*shop that works / that is open*); *radna prodavnica* (*working shop*); *poslovna kupovina* (*business shopping*); *raditi u prodavnici* (*to work in a shop*); *radnja* (*shop*),
- [a]*roud muvi* [[e]*road movie*] NC = *putujući film* (*travelling movie*); *pokretni film* (*film that moves*),
- [a]*frirajd snoubord* vožnja [[e]*freeride snowboard* ride] MC= *besplatna vožnja snoubordom* (*free (of charge) snowboard ride*); *besplatna vožnja po snegu* (*free (of charge) ride on snow*),
- [a]*netvork* [[e]*network*] SC = *rad na kompjuterskoj mreži* (*working on the computer net(work)*),
- [a]*rialiti šou* [[e]*reality show*] SC = *stvarni šou* (*real show*); *stvarni program* (*real programme*); *stvarni kviz* (*real quiz show*).

4.3 In some cases, native speakers of Serbian successfully interpreted only certain features of the descriptive meaning of an English loan, which resulted in a partial overlap of the two sets of distinctive features – that of the anglicism and of the equivalent offered. The emergence of the features that do not overlap may be ascribed to either the process of generalization or that of specialization of the intended meaning on the part of the respondent.

4.3.1 A large sub-category is formed out of solutions that are based on semantic generalization. With fewer distinctive features than contained in the anglicisms, they represent impoverished translation equivalents of the corresponding English loans, since they bear less meaning than the source expressions. In other words, what is being communicated is only part of the information contained in the borrowed word. Sometimes, however, such an impoverished translation equivalent is enriched with information that is not conveyed in the anglicism, which means that the solution offered represents an inadequate mixture of generalization and specialization of meaning, typical of the respondent's idiolect only. Some of the examples in this category are the following:

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- [a]*fajnal-for* [[e]*final four*] NC = *finale* (*finals*); *polufinale* (*semi-finals*); *završno sportsko takmičenje* (*closing/final sports competition*); *krajnji meč* (*final/last match*),
- [a]*no-name CD-ROM* NC = *disk*; *memorija* (*memory*); *[prazan] CD-ROM* (*[empty] CD-ROM*); *bezimena ploča* (*nameless board*); *bezimena komponenta za računar* (*nameless computer component/unit*),
- [a]*downloadovati* [[e]*to download*] NC = *preuzeti* (*take over*); *sačuvati* (*save*); *presnimiti* (*copy*),
- [a]*sekstrafiking* [[e]*sex-trafficking*] NC = *prostitucija* (*prostitution*); *sex za novac* (*sex for money*); *oblik prostitucije* (*form of prostitution*); *trgovina robljem* (*slave trade*),
- [a]*roud muvi* [[e]*road movie*] NC = *film* (*film*); *neki film* (*a film*); *vrsta filma* (*a kind of film*); *neka vrsta filma* (*some kind of film*),
- [a]*flajer* [[e]*flyer*] NC = *reklama* (*commercial/advertisement*); *propaganda*; *reklamni materijal* (*advertising material*); *reklamni plakat* (*advertising poster*); *reklame [koje se pojavljuju na utakmicama, priredbama i sl. (na velikim panoima)]* (*advertising posters [at sports events, celebrations, etc. on billboards]*),
- [a]*frirajd snoubord* vožnja [[e]*freeride snowboard* ride] MC = *[besplatna] vožnja po snegu* (*[free of charge] ride on snow*); *skijanje slobodnim stilom (freestyle skiing*),
- [a]*offshore kompanija* [[e]*offshore company*] MC = *firma* (*firm*); *industrija* (*industry*); *kompanija [bez osiguranja]* (*company [without insurance]*); *[osiguravajuća] kompanija* (*[insurance] company*); *kompanija [na ostrvu]* (*company [on an island]*),
- [a]*mejdžorsi* [[e]*majors* – major film studios] SC = *glavni* (*the main ones*); *vodeći ljudi* (*leading people*); *glavni predstavnici* (*main representatives*); *matične firme* (*mother firms*); *matične kompanije* (*mother companies*),
- loš [a]*tajming* [[e]bad *timing*] SC = loše *vreme* (*bad time*); *period* (*period*),
- [a]*trejleri* [[e](movie) *trailers*] SC = *prezentacije* (*presentations*); *reklame* (*commercials*); *kratke snimke [sa snimanja]* (*short recordings [from the shooting*],
- [a]*MC* SC = *muzičar* (*musician*); *zabavljač* (*entertainer*); *izvođač* (*performer*),
- [a]*kargo* [[e]*cargo*] SC = *materijal* (*material*); *prtljag* (*baggage*),
- obrazovni [a]*trast* [[e]educational *trust*] SC = *organizacija* (*organization*); *društvo* (*society*); *udruženje* (*association*),
- [a]*rialiti šou* [[e]*reality show*] SC = *kviz, emisija* (*quiz show, TV programme*); *skrivena kamera* (*candid camera*); *izvođenje zabave uživo* (*live entertainment*),
- [a]*brifing* [[e]*briefing*] SC = *informacija* (*information*); *tekst* (*text*); *neki kratak spis* (*a brief text*).

4.3.2 This sub-group displays certain similarities with the previous one, in the sense that the respondents managed to give solutions belonging to the same semantic field as the corresponding anglicisms, but they remained within the realm of guessing only the thematic register a certain lexeme belongs to:

- [a]*fajnal-for* [[e]*final four*] NC = *u vezi sa tenisom* (*related to tennis*),

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- [a]*hakerske metode* [[e]*hacking methods*] MC = *internet*; *istraživanje po internetu* (*searching the Internet*); *kompjuterske metode* (*computer methods*); *metode programera* (*programmers' methods*); *metode kompjuterskih stručnjaka* (*computer experts' methods*),
- [a]*indi-film* [[e]*independent film*] SC = *kaubojski film* (*cowboy film*)
- [a]*fajnal-siks* [[e]*final six*] SC = *nešto u vezi sporta (možda basket)* – (*something related to sports (basketball, perhaps)*),
- [a]*MC* SC = *nešto kao DJ* (*something like a DJ*); *vrsta pevača – hip hopera* (*a kind of singer – hip-hopper*).

4.3.3 As opposed to the previous examples, there are solutions resulting from the process of semantic specialization, and, hence, they represent "enriched" translation equivalents that transfer an unnecessary information surplus when compared to the meaning of the corresponding loan words. The Serbian substitution contains practically all distinctive features of the corresponding anglicism, but also additional properties that are given in bold type in the following selection of examples:

- [a]*hepening* [[e]*happening*] NC = ***serija*** *događaja* (*series of events)*,
- [a]*flajer* [[e]*flyer*] NC = *letka* ***u boji*** (*flyer in colour*),
- [a]*offshore kompanija* [[e]*offshore company*] MC = *kompanija van zemlje* ***čiji se produkti u vidu pomoći isporučuju nekoj državi*** (*company abroad, whose products are exported and donated to another country*),
- [a]*artistički* smisao [[e]*artistic* sense] SC = *likovni* (*of fine arts*); *glumački* (*of acting*),
- [a]*fokus* [[e]*focus*] SC = *žiža* ***javnosti*** (*the public eye*).

4.4 Another conspicuous characteristic of some of the respondents' answers is that they are marked by value judgements which, by their very nature, are not part of the systemic meaning of the loan expressions and which were acquired by the respondent as a consequence of their frequent use in other predominantly or exclusively positive or negative contexts. Thus, through the processes of amelioration or deterioration, loans themselves, even when devoid of context, also become positively or negatively labelled and their meaning marked by value judgements, with aspects of expressive and/or connotative associative meaning (Prćić, 1997: 67), even though the actual context (if there is one) does not necessarily imply a positively or negatively marked use of a particular expression. Some of the representative solutions in this group include:

- [a]*grejs period* [[e]*grace period*] NC = *najbolji period* (*the best period*); *zlatan period* (*golden period); sjajni period* (*great period*); *super-period*; *period sreće* (*period of happiness*) <(amelioration)>,
- [a]*no-name CD-ROM* NC = *najgori, najjeftiniji prazni diskovi* (*the worst, cheapest empty disks*); *disk najlošijeg kvaliteta* (*disk of worst quality*) <(deterioration)>,
- u [a]*strejt fazonu* [[e]in *straight style/fashion*] MC = *normalan* (*normal*); *u pravom, nehomoseksualnom fazonu* (*right, non-homosexual style*); *u opuštenom fazonu* (*relaxed style*); *u trendu* (*trendy*); *ispravan, dobar čovek* (*straight, good person*) <(amelioration + prejudiced opinion)>,

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- [a]*master plan* MC = *genijalan plan* (*ingenious plan*); *dobar plan* (*good plan*); *veliki (super dobar) plan* (*grand (super good) plan*) <(amelioration)>,
- [a]*offshore kompanija* [[e]*offshore company*] MC = *kompanija koja služi za pranje novca* (*money-laundering company*); *nepouzdana kompanija* (*unreliable company*) <(deterioration)>.

4.5 An interesting, albeit relatively small group, consists of translation equivalents that convey a meaning opposite to that of the source anglicism. In other words, the respondent, trying to substitute the borrowing with a Serbian lexeme, offered an antonym instead of synonym – an expression of opposite in lieu of similar meaning. This is conspicuous in the following examples:

- [a]*no-name CD-ROM* NC = *marka CD-a* (*CD brand*),
- [a]u *strejt fazonu* [[e]in *straight style/fashion*] MC = *u feminiziranim fazonu* (*in feminized style*); *čudno se oblači ili ponaša* (*dressing or acting in a strange manner*),
- [a]*casual* odela [[e]*casual* suits] MC = *odela za svečane prilike* (*suits for festive occasions*); *garderoba koja se nosi samo u nekim posebnim prilikama* (*clothes to be worn on special occasions only*); *klasični stil oblačenja* (*classical style of clothing*),
- [a]*rezident* Echo festivala [[e]*resident* of the Echo Festival] SC = *specijalni gost* (*special guest*).

4.6 Native speakers of Serbian who took part in the research often came up with Serbian equivalents that were the result of a procedure which may be labelled **associative translation**. These substitutions are not semantically accurate, they are based on free associations in the respondent's mind, but, as such, associative translation equivalents display a certain degree of similarity with their corresponding anglicisms, in the sense that they belong to the same semantic field and, at the lexeme level, to the same lexical set. (As viewed by Lipka (1992: 157-158), it is about creating groups of lexemes based on similarity of sense derived from certain extralinguistic factors – either from spatial-temporal or some other kind of closeness of the referents of the lexemes in question, or from a thematic, psychological or some other kind of interrelatedness of the lexemes themselves.) Examples include the following:

- [a]*VJ* NC = *voditelj na MTV-ju* (*presenter on MTV*),
- [a]*no-name CD-ROM* NC = *uređaj za čitanje kompakt diskova nepoznatog proizvođača* (*device for reading compact disks of an unknown manufacturer*),
- [a]*stand-by* advokat [[e]*standby* attorney] MC = *advokat koji je dosledan* (*attorney who is persistent / true to his/her principles*),
- [a]*prajm-tajm* [[e]*prime-time*] SC = *prvi termin* (*earliest screening time*); *premijerno izdanje* (*first public showing/premiere*); *pretpremijera* (*public preview)*; *početak* (*beginning*),
- [a]*personalno* [[e]*personally*] SC = *emotivno* (*emotively*),
- [a]*artistički* smisao [[e]*artistic* sense] SC = *zabavljački smisao* (*entertainment sense*),
- [a]*MC* SC = *disk džokej* (*disk jockey*), *DJ*,

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- obrazovni [a]*trast* [[e]educational *trust*] SC = *starateljstvo* (*custody* [*of a child*]),
- [a]*rialiti šou* [[e]*reality show*] SC = *takmičenje u izdržljivosti* (*endurance competition*).

4.7 As established in Panić (2006: 268), there are "Serbian equivalents which reflect a complete lack of understanding at the level of descriptive meaning", offered as a consequence of inadequately acquired meaning or as a result of mere improvisation on the part of the speaker, in an apparent lack of any better solution. Among the many examples belonging to this group, the following answers have been selected as typical:

- [a]*grejs period* [[e]*grace period*] NC = *period trudnoće* (*pregnancy period*); *plodni period* (*fertile/fruitful period*); *praznici* (*holidays*),
- [a]*downloadovati* [[e]*to download*] NC = *prepoznati* (*recognize*); *pripremiti* (*prepare*),
- [a]*sekstrafiking* [[e]*sex-trafficking*] NC = *razmena fluida* (*exchange of fluids*),
- [a]*workshop* NC = *tržište rada* (*labour market*); *radno okruženje* (*work environment*),
- [a]*flajer* [[e]*flyer*] NC = *traka* (*tape*),
- u [a]*strejt fazonu* [[e]in *straight style/fashion*] MC = *moderan* (*modern*); *u svom fazonu* (*in one's own style/fashion*),
- po principu [a]*redi-mejda* [[e] based on the principle of being *ready-made*] MC = *po sistemu eliminacije, odbacivanja* (*based on the principle of elimination*),
- [a]*stand-by* advokat [[e]*standby* attorney] MC = *advokat koji odgađa* (*attorney who postpones*),
- zamoran [a]*skedžul* [[e]tiring *schedule*] MC = *dosadan izgled* (*boring looks*),
- [a]*mejdžorsi* [[e]*majors* – major film studios] SC = *sponzori* (*sponsors*); *rukovodioci* (*managers*),
- [a]*transparentni* materijali [[e]*transparent* materials] SC = *šaroliki* (*colourful*); *obojeni* (*dyed*); *promotivni* (*promotional*); *reklamni* (*advertising*); *izložbeni* (*exhibitional*); *neupadljivi* (*inconspicuous*); *aktuelni* (*current/up-to-date*),
- loš [a]*tajming* [[e]bad *timing*] SC = *loše raspoloženje* (*bad mood*),
- [a]*trejleri* [[e](movie) *trailers*] SC = *izdanja „B" koprodukcije* (*works of B-rated joint production*),
- [a]*buklit* [[e]*booklet*] SC = *kratka pisana predstava* (*short written play*); *rečnik* (*dictionary*),
- [a]*indi-film* [[e]*independent film*] SC = *crnački film* (*a film about Afro-Americans*),
- [a]*vajb* [[e]*vibe*] SC = *motiv* (*motive*),
- [a]*film-mejker* [[e]*film-maker*] SC = *filmska zvezda* (*film star*),
- [a]*MC = domaći muzički kompozitor* (*local music composer*); *nemam pojma, možda frontman* (*I have no clue, perhaps, a frontman*),
- [a]*keč* [[e]*catch*, as in: *What's the catch?*] SC = *apsurd* (*absurdity*); *poduhvat* (*enterprise/undertaking*),
- [a]*pikovi* [[e]*peaks*] SC = *ciljevi* (*aims/goals*); *delovi* (*parts/components*); *namere* (*intentions*),
- [a]*brifing* [[e]*briefing*] SC = *test*; *priručnik* (*handbook*); *razgovor* (*conversation*).

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4.8 To round up this classification, it is worth mentioning that many an answer indicates that the respondents were not sure about whether they guessed the expected meaning of a particular anglicism – a fact which becomes obvious if one looks at how hesitant they sometimes were to offer their solutions. Namely, it was a frequent occurrence to encounter two, three or even four answers, some of them given in brackets, or accompanied by one or more question marks – hesitation labels which testify to the respondents' lack of confidence when it comes to their own knowledge. Interestingly enough, a significantly larger number of such hesitant answers was observed in instances in which the respondents provided adequate translations than in those where they offered wrong equivalents, when they seemed to be more convinced that they were right about their choice – a situation which, seemingly, amounts to a paradox. Another common feature typical of such solutions included various commentaries complementing the translation itself: „Ne znam" ("I don't know"), „Možda..." ("Maybe…"), „Nisam sigurna" ("I'm not sure"), „Ima nekakve veze sa..." ("It has something to do with…"), etc.

5. Conclusion

Based on the analysed examples and bearing in mind that:

- *flouting a maxim* means that the addressor openly and deliberately fails to observe a maxim, with no intention of deceiving or misleading, thus encouraging the addressee to look for the implied or additional meaning intended but not uttered directly;
- *violating a maxim* occurs when the speaker's failure to observe a maxim is potentially deliberately misleading, thus labelled by Grice (1975: 49) as representing the unostentatious non-observance of a maxim;
- *opting out of a maxim* entails that the encoder „indicates or allows it to become plain that he is unwilling to cooperate in the way the maxim requires" (Grice, 1975: 49);
- *infringing a maxim* occurs when one does not observe a maxim because of imperfect linguistic competence and/or performance;
- *suspending a maxim* means that the addressor does not adhere to the maxim because there is no expectation by any participant for the maxim to be observed,

it is possible to conclude that the way in which the maxim of manner is disregarded in the above-mentioned examples found in Serbian newspaper texts cannot fit into the existing classification. The standpoint taken in this paper is that Serbian journalists may flout (or even violate) the maxim of manner, but that their essential lack of interest for the outcome of the process of communication with the reader and the consistent but unsystematic use of linguistic means inaccessible to the decoder bears the hallmarks of a new category. Although these are mostly individual cases and not systematic or systemic tendencies (as is the case with previously mentioned culturally conditioned violations of the Cooperative Principle, or violating the principle within the structure of the language itself, irrespective of the participants in the process of communication and the communication situation), the excessive and erratic use of anglicisms whose meaning is not properly understood, may have consequences for the language community. This is by no means the case with any of the categories that Grice establishes in his discussion on how speakers do not adhere to the Cooperative Principle. Also, unlike the mostly decontextualized cases described by Grice, in Serbian the phenomenon has a specific socio-historical background, due to the circumstances in which (and by which) the excessive importation of anglicisms was

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triggered in the first place, as well as to the heavy influence of the current social and linguistic fashion on Serbian journalism.

To summarize, the phenomenon has notable characteristics of a new category that could be labelled **neglecting** the maxim (of manner), a term that was first used in Panić-Kavgić (2006: 34). The inappropriate change of code reflects the journalist's indifference towards and neglect of the reader. The Serbian journalist neglects the maxim of manner in the process of unidirectional written communication with his/her readers, by excessively and unpredictably using anglicisms whose meaning the reader fails to interpret in the expected way. The core of the problem is that the journalist seems to be indifferent to the outcome of the process of communication, leaving the meanings of loans, despite their contexts, vague, obscure and ambiguous to the reader. This, as the results of the research have shown, leads to frequent misinterpretation of the intended meaning and thus hampers successful communication at a relatively basic and general level. The results of the study have corroborated the hypothesis that native speakers of Serbian, by and large, do not understand the meaning of and/or, whilst claiming to understand it, ascribe inappropriate meanings to hundreds of borrowings from English to which they are regularly exposed.

Code-switching on the part of the journalist – a sudden switch to English, and an equally sudden back-switch to Serbian, as if he/she were chatting with another bilingual speaker – is a reflection of the journalist's inconsiderateness towards the reader who is, by no means, his friend or acquaintance, but a person whom he/she should be addressing in a register altogether different from the one that he/she tends to use. In other words, when it comes to registral features, the thematic register should be in accordance with the topic, the interpersonal register should preferably be formal, while the medium register ought to be one of written rather than of spoken communication.

The discussion winds up with the following figures: 60% of the respondents did not even try to give a possible Serbian equivalent (regardless of whether or not they were given in their minimal or sentential context), claiming that they did not understand the meaning in the first place. This figure becomes only slightly better when it comes to anglicisms given in their minimal and sentential contexts: it drops to 50%. The most striking data, however, refer to the fact that roughly half of those participants in the research who did claim to understand the meaning of a particular English loan offered an inappropriate Serbian substitution, belonging to one of the twelve categories established in Panić-Kavgić (2006), eight of which have been described and exemplified in this paper. They all testify to what neglecting the maxim of manner may lead to in the context of the present-day Serbian-English contact language situation reflected in the discourse of the Serbian print media. A somewhat later glance at the matter (Panić-Kavgić, 2011; Gajišin, Panić-Kavgić, Kavgić, 2011) reveals that the situation did not change over the following five years, while a new survey that would provide a fresh insight into the problem after another five-year period is currently under way.

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