Contents

List of maps, figures and tables

Maps

Figures

Tables

List of glossing abbreviations

1 – First person

2 – Second person

3 – Third person

ACC – Accusative

ADJ – Adjective

ADV – Adverb

AOR – Aorist

AUX – Auxiliary

DAT – Dative

GEN – Genitive

CL – Clitic

CON – Conjunction

CPR – Comparative

f – Feminine

FUT – Future

IMP – Imperative

INF – Infinitive

INS – Instrumental

IPFV – Imperfective

LOC – Locative

m – Masculine

n – Neuter

N – Noun

NEG – Negation, negative

NOM – Nominative

PAU – Paucal

PFV – Perfective

PL – Plural

PRN – Pronoun

PRS – Present

PTL – Particle

PTCP – Active Participle (also called L-participle and Verbal Adjective, Present)

REFL – Reflexive

SG – Singular

VADJ – Verbal Adjective, Past (also called Passive Participle)

VAPRS – Verbal Adverb, Present

VAPST – Verbal Adverb, Past

VN – Verbal Noun

VOC – Vocative

List of other abbreviations

CV – Consonant Vowel

E – English

EMC – Electronically-Mediated Communication

EL – Embedded Language

IM – Instant Messaging

IPA – International Phonetic Alphabet

IT – Information Technology

L – Latin

Lit. – Literally

ML – Matrix Language

MLF – Matrix Language Frame

NP – Noun Phrase

NZ – New Zealand

NZS – New Zealand Serbian

NZSEMC – New Zealand Serbian Electronically-Mediated Communication

StS – Standard Serbian

SVO – Subject Verb Object

USP – Uniform Structure Principle

v. – Verb

VP – Verb phrase

1   INTRODUCTION

Ever since I came to New Zealand I have been fascinated by the influence English is having on the language of Serbian immigrants.

I left Serbia in 1994, with my family. We started our journey in a bus to Athens, Greece, as no aeroplanes were allowed to leave from Serbia at the time. There was war in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia was under international sanctions. The bus we boarded in Novi Sad had only two more stops – in Belgrade, where more emigrants got on, and in Athens, our final destination. At this time, numerous people were leaving the country every day. Almost everybody in our bus was taking the same flight to Auckland. More than forty people, and over ten families.

In the course of the several days of the journey we sat together, and talked about our future life and the uncertainties ahead. This brought us together, complete strangers, as we shared our thoughts and feelings, our plans and intentions.

The Serbian language was a frequent topic, particularly in relation to our children. There was a huge dilemma hanging over us. Should we help our children to forget their native language – help them to erase the past and the troubles we were running away from, or should we insist on their retaining the language, and enable them to have an identity to return to?

The English language was a recurrent topic too. How much did we know it? What was the minimum level necessary to establish ourselves as professionals in the new country? What was the fastest way to improve our English, or, for some in the group, to acquire it starting from scratch?

The same conversations continued after we arrived in New Zealand. We met other immigrants from Serbia and other parts of former Yugoslavia, and made new friendships. We often gathered together to exchange our thoughts and experiences, to support each other, and to continue discussing the same dilemmas.

As a trained linguist, I was very much interested in learning about peoples' attitudes towards language. Soon, I started noticing how English was slowly but surely creeping into Serbian sentences. New words were immediately introduced for concepts non-existent in Serbian. One of the first ones was the noun *inkam* meaning 'the unemployment benefit', as in *On je na* **inkamu** (Lit. 'He is on **income**'). The noun *inkam* came from the shortened name for the New Zealand Government agency, "Income Support," nowadays called "Work and Income", which provides financial assistance to unemployed people in New Zealand. So the above sentence actually means 'He is receiving an unemployment benefit from Income Support'.

New words were also made as deliberate jokes. Soon after arrival, a group of us met up for coffee. When we were leaving, one of male acquaintances said: *Idem malo da* **viditišem** ('I am going to do some **weed eating**'). The speaker emphasised the newly created verb thus indicating that he did it on purpose. The uproar of laughter confirmed that the rest found his creation to be witty.

Over the years, the borrowing of basic vocabulary has become more frequent, and there are even grammatical changes – in the language of people who have now spent some twenty years in New Zealand.

This thesis is the result of many years of observation and data collecting.

1.1   Research objectives

Language contact and its consequences have been an increasingly popular subject in a world of unprecedented mass migration. Research on languages in contact can be roughly divided into two categories – studies that take a more general approach and try to establish a theoretical basis for predicting language contact outcomes, and descriptions of particular contact situations. This thesis belongs the later.

Most studies which examine contact between Serbian and English investigate impact of English on the standard Serbian. Far less of them focus on diaspora situations, where Serbian is the language of immigrant communities. In an immigrant language contact situation, language change is characterised by on-going language shift and it takes different forms in different communities (Myers-Scotton, 2006b).

This research investigates the language contact situation of the Serbian bilingual community in New Zealand. It looks at the Serbian language of 37 late bilinguals born in Serbia (including myself), who have immigrated to New Zealand after 1994.

The NZSEMC (New Zealand Serbian Electronically-Mediated Communication) data covers ten years, was collected from 2004 to 2013, and comprises e-mail, text and Skype messages.

The thesis accepts Matras' (2009, 2012) argument that bilinguals, who cannot completely deactivate either language system, face two opposing pressures – one is to choose only structures and forms from the context-appropriate language, and the other one is to make full use of their bilingual repertoire of linguistic forms and structures. Negotiations between the two languages result in a number of contact phenomena, which Matras (2009, 2012) calls innovations, and which can range from non-conscious reproduction of a form or a grammatical pattern from a "wrong language" to deliberate mixing of languages. The main objective of this thesis is to examine and describe innovations present in the language of the first-generation Serbian immigrants to New Zealand.

In an immigrant situation, the lexicon is affected more than other aspects of language (see for example Winford, 2003). In the case of Serbian immigrants, possibilities for lexical borrowing are facilitated by the fact that standard Serbian has a remarkable openness to internationalisms in its lexicon (Klajn, 2001). This research investigates how English-origin lexemes are integrated into New Zealand Serbian and whether this is in accordance with the Serbian grammatical system. Are they integrated partially or completely? What gender are new words assigned to? Do they take normative inflectional suffixes?

The study also looks at constructions made using Serbian words but following English formation and combination rules. Numerous studies of language contact have

identified such patterns as an important strategy bilinguals draw on (see for example Clyne, 2005; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Matras, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2006b) and the thesis will investigate which English patterns are present in New Zealand Serbian, and what mechanisms are responsible for their replication.

Particular attention will be given to innovations Matras (2012) calls "selection malfunctions" and "speech manipulations" – one representing "mistakes" that are made unconsciously, and the other being conscious exploration of both languages to achieve additional meanings. These two types of innovations have a potential to highlight how bilinguals, who have the repertoires of both languages at their disposal, exploit both their languages and make the most effective use of their full repertoire (Matras, 2009).

As this research investigates early bilingual contact, with data collected in the first ten to twenty years of the immigration situation, it could highlight the process of emergence of innovations and their propagation among the wider community.

There is general agreement that both linguistic and non-linguistic factors play a role in shaping the results of language contact (see for example Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1968; Winford, 2003). This study will attempt to identify those factors, and in particular the role of non-linguistic factors (such as time, age, gender and education).

1.2   Contribution to the existing body of knowledge

Based on previous case studies of Serbian and English in contact (primarily Dimitrijević Savić, 2004; Savić, 1994; Surdučki, 1978b), studies of other languages in contact with English (such as Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Poplack, 1980), and studies that synthesise language contact outcomes (such as Matras, 2009; Thomason, 2001; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), we can predict, with a degree of confidence, some of the outcomes of Serbian-English contact in New Zealand. However, the study of language contact phenomena is relatively new and numerous contact situations remain to be observed. Moreover, the situation in any particular community is influenced by a number of different factors, and the outcomes of language contact are never entirely predictable (Myers-Scotton, 2006b).

Major changes in the modern world, including developments in communication and transportation, have altered the context in which language contact occurs. There is far more contact between speakers of different languages. Mair (2013), who predicts that there will be an increasing number of ever more diverse contacts between English and other languages, emphasises the need to "mobilise" contact linguistics to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Improvements in communication and transportation are also making it much easier for immigrants to maintain their first languages. This means language contact situations may develop in different directions than they did thirty or forty years ago.

This thesis contributes to existing research on languages in contact in a number of ways:

- It is the first to investigate the impact of English on Serbian immigrants' use of their native language in New Zealand. Earlier studies, conducted by Jakich (1975, 1987), and Stoffel (1981a, 1981b; 1991 and other; 1994) analysed the language of early Yugoslav immigrants, who mostly came from Croatia. The outcome of the two language contact situations is expected to be different (Jutronic-Tihomirovic, 1982) because the native tongue of the earlier immigrants was not standard Serbo-Croatian (Stoffel, 1994), and they arrived in New Zealand in a different era, with no expectation of returning to the homeland.

- It examines language contact over the course of a whole decade, commencing about ten years after the participants' arrival in New Zealand, and as such, it has the potential to contribute to the knowledge of longitudinal processes associated with language contact.

- It focuses on electronic writing and joins a small number of other linguistic studies that have looked at the language of electronically-mediated communication, such as Georgakopoulou (1997), Hinrichs (2006), and Laroussi (2011). This choice of medium also allows the study to expand beyond the usual scope of language contact research, and include some consideration of how bilinguals exploit the orthographic resources and ambiguities of their languages, in a medium that is well-recognised as falling between the norms of conversational speech and writing (Baron, 1998).

1.3   Propositions

The innovations in New Zealand Serbian that have emerged under the influence of English are not expected to be numerous, because the majority of Serbian immigrants have been living in New Zealand for a relatively short period of time, and length of contact strongly influences the language contact outcome (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Moreover, the first-generation New Zealand Serbians have strong on-going contact with standard Serbian and the majority strongly believe in the importance of preserving their native language. The former Serbian lifestyle of these immigrants was broadly similar to their lifestyle in New Zealand and equivalent vocabularies should exist in both languages. There should not be many cultural items in New Zealand for which they did not have equivalent words in Serbian.

Nevertheless, the influence of English on Serbian is quite apparent. Based on my informal observations of the speech of members of the Serbian community, I can say that, immediately after arrival in New Zealand, a number of words and phrases, characteristic of life in New Zealand and without equivalents in Serbian, were transferred, such as *junit* ('unit', as a type of dwelling), *garaž-sejl* ('garage sale'), and *komjuniti centar* ('community centre'). Over the years, I have noticed that borrowings from domains of everyday life have become more frequent and that changes in grammar have also appeared, showing, for example, the influence of English on word order.

With all this in mind, I propose that:

- The Serbian language of the first-generation New Zealand Serbian immigrants will show the influence of English at various levels, including orthography, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.
- The frequency and type of replications will increase over time, and the number of replications that break Serbian grammatical rules will increase.
- At the same time, because of the specific social setting of the Serbian community in New Zealand and the high levels of language maintenance, Serbian will

demonstrably remain these speakers' pragmatically dominant language (Matras, 2009, 2012). Despite the changes observed, I suggest that we still cannot speak of language shift among these first-generation immigrants.

1.4   Scope of this thesis

The aim of this research is to investigate the influence of English on Serbian, among first-generation Serbians who came to New Zealand as adults during and just after the Yugoslav wars (1991-1995).

Excluded from the study are children and young adults who arrived in the above period, and people who came in the period between the First World War and the Yugoslav wars.

Children and young adults have attended New Zealand schools, and have been more exposed to English than their parents. Given the well-attested differences in language acquisition patterns before and after Lenneberg's "critical period" (Lenneberg, 1967), it is expected that the influence of English on their Serbian has been much stronger and qualitatively different, as it was confirmed in the Serbo-Croatian community in Queensland (Doucet, 1991).

Early Serbian immigrants are very few in numbers; they have been in New Zealand much longer than the new wave of immigrants, and a much stronger influence of English is expected in their case as well. Also, as pointed out by Jakich (1987), because of their urge to fit in with the already established Yugoslav community as soon as possible, they quickly accepted the "Pidgin Yugoslav" of the long established New Zealand Dalmatian community.

The study does not explore levels of bilingualism among the participants. They are presumed to be strong bilinguals, because they use both languages in everyday communication (Grosjean, 2010), English at work, and Serbian at home. Moreover, they all came to New Zealand as proficient speakers of standard Serbian.

Although it is expected that the participants' Serbian language will influence their spoken and written English, as the mother tongue has a strong influence on the way a second

language is used (Odlin, 1989), the influence of Serbian on English is also outside of the scope of this study.

The aim of this thesis is not to establish similarities or differences between the Serbian and English used by the participants. Comparisons will, however, often be made in the course of explaining observed contact phenomena.

1.5   The Serbian language

To make things easier for readers unfamiliar with the Serbian language, this section provides some brief information about its recent history (and surrounding controversies), and orthographic, phonological, morphological, and syntactic features.

The Serbian language belongs to the Slavic group of languages, one of the three largest groups in the Indo-European family (along with Romance and Germanic). More precisely, it is one of the South Slavic languages, together with Bulgarian, Macedonian, Slovenian, and nowadays, Bosnian, Croatian and Montenegrin. The distribution of South Slavic languages is shown in Map 1.1.

Map 1.1 The South Slavic linguistic area

Source: Dedaić & Mišković-Luković (2010)

According to Ethnologue, modern Serbian has nearly 8.4 million native speakers (*Ethnologue: Languages of the world.*, n.d.). It is an official language in Serbia and also in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, and a minority language in Croatia, Macedonia, Hungary, and Romania.

1.5.1   History

Serbian has been used for over a thousand years in church, literature, and in administration (Ivic, 1995). Here I will only briefly touch on its recent history and surrounding controversies.

From the middle of the nineteenth century until the last decade of the twentieth century, Serbian was officially part of the Serbo-Croatian language, the biggest and most widespread of the official languages of the former Yugoslavia (1918-1991).

The idea of creating a standardised language for Serbs and Croats predates the formation of a common country. It was proposed in the mid-nineteenth century by several Croatian writers and linguists of the Illyrian movement, led by Ljudevit Gaj, and two Serbian scholars, Vuk Karadžić and Đura Daničić.

Map 1.2 Major dialect divisions in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian

Source: Alexander (2006)

In the 1850 Vienna Agreement, leading Serbian and Croatian literary figures and intellectuals declared their intention to create a common language. As a basis for standardisation they chose the Shtokavian dialect (see Map 1.2), the most widespread dialect used by both Serbs and Croats.

Serbo-Croatian had over twenty one million speakers and was a language of four of the six Yugoslav Republics: Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The distribution of nationalities in the former Yugoslavia is shown in Map 1.3. The map does not show absolute distributions but majorities.

Map 1.3 Nationalities of Yugoslavia before the Yugoslav wars
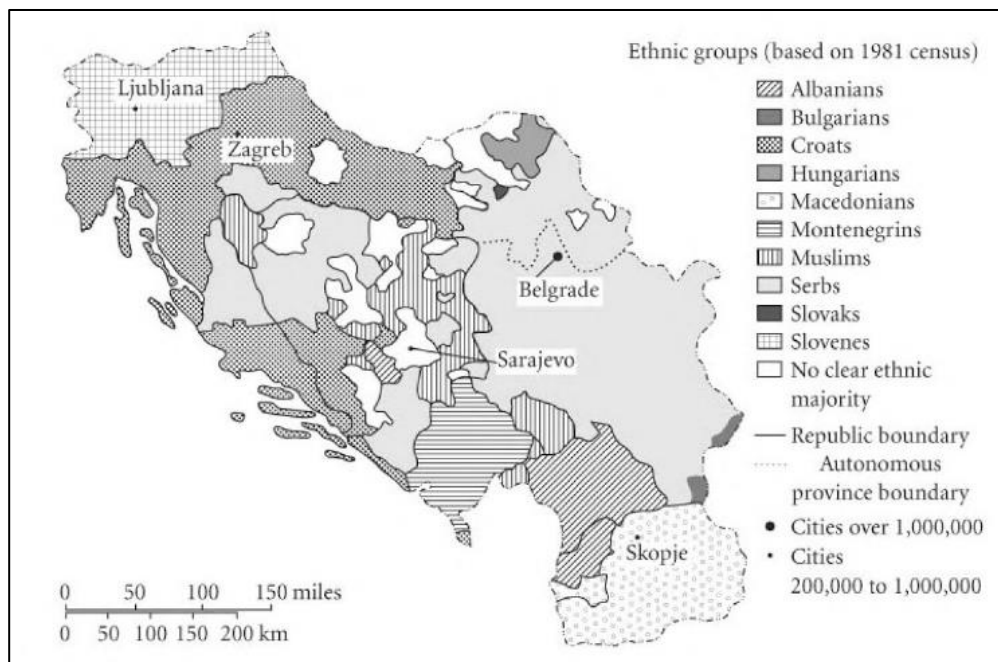
Source: Greenberg (2004)

The dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s was largely motivated by nationalist feelings also reflected in attitudes to language, because language was seen as a marker of national identity.

When the country split, the official language also separated. As Greenberg (2004) puts it:

> [A]s of 1991-92 Serbo-Croatian officially ceased to exist in the Yugoslav successor
> states. All sides agreed that the unified language was to be jettisoned and probably
> never again to be resurrected. (2004, p. 14)

Much controversy surrounds Serbo-Croatian and its "daughter" languages – Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin. There have been heated political and linguistic debates whether these new languages should be considered the same or different.

Some linguists, such as R. Bugarski (2004), consider Serbo-Croatian as a single entity at the level of diasystem, which includes speakers from different ethnic groups, reflecting mostly the socio-political realities of the era and the place.

Similarly, Kordić (2010) argues that Serbo-Croatian is a polycentric language, with four standard variants, spoken in Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. She criticises the romantic view that language and nation are the same, and claims that as with other polycentric languages, such as English and Portuguese, the variants of Serbo-Croatian are slightly different, but not enough to consider them different languages.

On the other hand, some scholars doubt that Serbo-Croatian was ever one language, and say that it was an artificial combination of multiple dialects and ethnic language varieties. Langston and Peti-Stantic (2003), for example, point out that it is not possible to define what constitutes a language as opposed to a variant or dialect and state:

> Contemporary Croatian and Serbian reflect two distinct literary and cultural
> traditions; on the basis of both the historical development and the current political
> realities, there can be no doubt that they should be treated as separate languages.
> (2003, p. 249)

Pranjković (2001) too, argues that, although Serbian and Croatian are genetically identical to a significant degree, they have always functioned as separate standard languages.

Alexander (2006) rightly emphasises that opinions about Serbo-Croatian are largely dependent not only on perception, but also on emotion:

> Objective linguists may determine that two speech systems clearly represent
> different languages, yet if speakers of these two systems want badly enough to
> understand each other they will manage to do so, and will claim (with varying
> degrees of emotional exaggeration) that they are speaking the same language.
> Conversely, objective linguists may decide that two speech systems clearly represent

11

the same language; yet if speakers of these two systems are sufficiently convinced by external factors that they will not be able to understand each other, then that will usually turn out to be the case, and the speakers in question will claim they are speaking different languages. (2006, p. 401)

For lack of a more succinct alternative, the name Serbo-Croatian is still used in the literature to denote the "daughter" languages as a collectivity. Terms such as "Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian", "BHS" and "BCS" have emerged as an alternative in official use outside the former Yugoslavian countries. There are even dictionaries and grammars that cover all three languages (see for example Alexander, 2006; Browne & Alt, 2004).

The latest debates are caused by a declaration about the common language, issued in 2017, and signed by a number of linguists and intellectuals from Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro. This declaration resulted from the project *Jezici i nacionalizmi* ('Languages and nationalisms'), initiated in 2016 by Snježana Kordić from Croatia, Hanka Vajzović from Bosnia and Hezegovina, Ranko Bugarski from Serbia, and Božena Jelušić from Montenegro ("Jezici i nacionalizmi," n.d.).

Political and linguistic disputes surrounding the disintegration of Serbo-Croatian are beyond the scope of this thesis, and readers who are interested in further reading on this topic should consult more authoritative works, such as Greenberg (2004). In this thesis, the term Serbo-Croatian is used when referring to the language before 1991, and the term Serbian after 1991. The terms Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are also used, where appropriate.

1.5.2   Orthography

Standard Serbian uses two scripts, Cyrillic and Latin, and is the only European language with active digraphia.

The modern Serbian Cyrillic alphabet was developed in 1814 by the Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić (Ćorović, 1938). The Latin alphabet used in Serbia was designed by the German-Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj in 1830 (Stančić, 1985). Both alphabets were created on phonemic principles and followed Johann Adelung's (1782) proposal that orthography

should match the spoken language. Karadžić based his alphabet on the earlier Cyrillic script, used in Serbia since the Middle Ages. Faithfully adhering to Adelung's principle of *write as you speak and read as it is written*, he got rid of all unnecessary letters, and developed new ones as required. Gaj followed the example of Czech orthography, and mapped his alphabet on the Serbian Cyrillic, standardized by Karadžić a few years earlier. The Serbian Cyrillic and Latin alphabets both have 30 letters, and a complete one-to-one congruence, with the Latin digraphs *lj*, *nj*, and *dž* counting as single letters.

Karadžić and Gaj played a leading role among the Serbian and Croatian linguists who established Serbo-Croatian as a common standard language for Serbs and Croats. The two alphabets were the official alphabets of the Serbo-Croatian language, and both were used equally in Serbia, and in Serbian schools. After the common language ceased to exist, Serbs continued to use both alphabets.

Table 1.1 shows the upper and lower case forms of the Serbian Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, as well as the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) values for each letter. The letters are in Cyrillic sort order.

All messages in the NZSEMC corpus have been written using the Latin alphabet, and I will use it too, when presenting examples in this thesis.

The description of Serbian phonology, morphology and syntax in the following subsections is largely based on Browne and Alt's (2004) *Handbook of Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian*. If material is taken from another source, it will be referenced.

Table 1.1 Serbian alphabet

Cyrillic		Latin		IPA
А	А	A	a	/a/
Б	Б	B	b	/b/
В	В	V	v	/ʋ/
Г	Г	G	g	/g/
Д	Д	D	d	/d/
Ђ	Ђ	Đ	đ	/d͡ʑ/
Е	Е	E	e	/e/
Ж	Ж	Ž	ž	/ʒ/
З	З	Z	z	/z/
И	И	I	i	/i/
Ј	Ј	J	j	/j/
К	К	K	k	/k/
Л	Л	L	l	/l/
Љ	Љ	LJ	lj	/ʎ/
М	М	M	m	/m/
Н	Н	N	n	/n/
Њ	Њ	NJ	nj	/ɲ/
О	О	O	o	/o/
П	П	P	p	/p/
Р	Р	R	r	/r/
С	С	S	s	/s/
Т	Т	T	t	/t/
Ћ	Ћ	Ć	č	/t͡ɕ/
У	У	U	u	/u/
Ф	Ф	F	f	/f/
Х	Х	H	h	/h/
Ц	Ц	C	c	/t͡s/
Ч	Ч	Č	č	/t͡ʃ/
Џ	Џ	DŽ	dž	/d͡ʒ/
Ш	Ш	Š	š	/ʃ/

1.5.3 Phonology

Standard Serbian has five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u.* They can occur in any position in a lexeme – beginning, middle or end. Vowel *i* and *e* are classified as front vowels, and *a, o* and *u* as back vowels. In addition, *r* can be the nucleus of a syllable, as in *crn* ('black').

All vowels can be long or short. Each word has an accented syllable characterised by pitch and length. Accented syllables are either rising or falling, and contain a long or a short vowel. Four accent marks combine these two prosodic features: short falling \\ as in *ä*, long falling ⌒ as in *â*, short rising \ as in *à*, long rising ⁄ as in *á*. Falling accents occur on monosyllables: *lȍš* ('bad'), *grâd* ('city'), and on the first syllables of words: *gȍvōr* ('speech'), *prâvdati* ('to justify'). Rising accents occur on any syllable but the last, hence not on monosyllables: *dòlaziti* ('to come'), *glúmiti* ('to act'), *govòriti* ('to speak'), *garáža* ('garage'). Postaccentual length is notated with a macron: *prâvdā* ('he/she justifies'), *prâvda* ('justice'). Accent and postaccentual length are not indicated in writing except in instances when ambiguity could arise.

A small number of words have no accented syllable of their own. These are the proclitics (certain conjunctions, most prepositions and the word *ne* 'not' before a verb), which attach to the next word, and enclitics which attach to the previous word (certain pronoun and verb forms, and the question marker *li*).

Standard Serbian has 25 consonants. Their articulatory properties are shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Serbian consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
Stops							
	Voiceless	/p/		/t/			/k/
	Voiced	/b/		/d/			/g/
Fricatives							
	Voiceless		/f/	/s/	/ʃ/		H
	Voiced		/ʋ/	/z/	/ʒ/		
Affricates							
	Voiceless			/ts/	/tʃ/	/tɕ/	
	Voiced				/dʒ/	/dʑ/	
Nasals		/m/		/n/		/ ɲ/	
Liquids							
	Laterals			/l/		/ʎ/	
	Vibrant			/r/			
Glide						/j/	

A number of vowel and consonant changes are attested in the history of Serbian, and present in modern Serbian, and although the NZSEMC data offers only limited opportunity to study the phonological adaption of English phonemes, a few words on this topic may help in understanding possible changes in the process of adaptation of English-origin lexemes to Serbian language rules.

In Proto-Slavic, some back vowels become front vowels following palatal consonants. In modern Serbian, *o/e* alternations are found in declensions and in word formation, for instance where the suffix *–ov–/–ev–* is used to form long plurals, as in *grad**ovi*** ('cities') but *muž**evi*** ('husbands'). This alternation scarcely applies in feminine declensions.

The main vowel-zero alternation in modern Serbian is *a* / zero. This vowel change, known as the "fleeting a", is a result of Proto-Slavic "jer" vowels (or, semi-vowels) either developing into *a,* or dropping out altogether, which depended on their position in the word. This leads to *a* appearing in word forms with zero endings, but not in related forms with vowel endings. Examples can be seen in nouns and indefinite adjectives, for instance the nominative singular form *trgo*<u>*vac*</u> ('merchant') and the genitive singular form *trgo*<u>*vca*</u>; masculine nominative singular form *tu*<u>*žan*</u> ('sad') and feminine nominative singular form *tu*<u>*žna.*</u> It is also found in the singular forms of active participles (or L-participles) of verbs, where the masculine singular form is *išao* ('went') and feminine singular form is *išla.* This alternation has been extended to various stem-final consonant clusters (generally containing at least one sonorant) where it had no historical basis, such as in loanwords, for example: nominative singular *kilometar*, genitive singular *kilometra*. Genitive plural ending *–a* also triggers insertion of *a*, thus "breaking" a preceding cluster, as in: *trgovaca* from *trgovac* ('merchant'), *jutara* from *jutro* ('morning') and *sestara* from *sestra* ('sister'). This phenomenon also extends to loanwords, producing *kilometara* from *kilometar*. Exceptions are a few clusters such as *st, zd, št, žd, šć, žđ*, and the single consonant *j*, which are "unbreakable", as in *raskršće* ('crossroads'), genitive plural *raskršća*.

Jotation is the alternation of consonants in front of *j*, and is seen in collective noun formation, such as *groblje* ('graveyard') from *grob* ('grave'), past passive participle formation, such as *nošen* from *nositi* ('to carry') (Hammond, 2005, p. 26), adjectival comparative formation, such as *slađi* ('sweeter') from *sladak* ('sweet'), and also in the

instrumental singular suffix for feminine nouns being *–ju*: *ljubav* ('love') in nominative singular and *ljubavlju* in instrumental singular (Hammond, 2005, p. 26).

Consonantal assimilation occurs when two consonants which differ in voicing are found next to each other. This type of assimilation is regressive, i.e. the preceding consonant is changed under the influence of the following one. One example is the alternation *s / z* in the infinitive form of the verb *svezati* ('to bind') which produces the nominative *sveska* ('notebook') but the genitive plural *svezaka*.

Palatalization is the change of *k, g,* and *h* to *č, ž, š* or *c, z, s* respectively when a front vowel (*i* or *e*) follows. For example, in the masculine noun *bog* ('god'), the vocative singular ending *–e* causes the *g* to change into a *ž*: *bože*. Similar changes are common in the dative-locative singular of the A declension: *ruka* ('hand, arm'), *ruci*; *noga* ('foot, leg'), *nozi*; *svrha* ('purpose'), *svrsi*; *Afrika, Africi.* Alternation without an evident triggering vowel is seen in formation of adjectives with *–ski* and its alternants: *Amerika*, *američki* ('American'). This suffix originated with a front vowel in ProtoSlavic, but Serbian has no vowel here today.

Consonant clusters are simplified in pronunciation and writing when two identical consonants are found next to each other: *beznačajan* ('insignificant') from *bez* ('without') and *značaj*; *otac* ('father'): genitive *oca* from *otca*, nominative plural *očevi* from *otčevi*. Similarly, the adjective made from the noun *radost* ('joy') retains the consonant *t* in the masculine form: *radostan* ('joyful') but feminine *radosna,* neuter *radosno*, etc. Such consonant losses, in combination with the previously mentioned vowel *a* insertions give Serbian a high relative frequency of vowels as compared to consonants.

The consonant *l* vocalises to *o* when it is pre-consonantal or word-final. This alternation is exceptionless in active participles (also called active verbal adjectives, or L-participles), as in: *dao* ('gave') in the masculine form, but *dala* in feminine form and *dalo* in neuter form.

1.5.4 Morphology

Stevanović (1989, p. 174) distinguishes ten word classes in Serbian language. Five are inflectable (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numbers and verbs), and five are non-inflectable

(adverbs, prepositions, interjections, particles and conjunctions). All pronouns, almost all nouns, most adjectives and some numerals have declination and verbs have conjugation.

Unlike English, Serbian has a rich inflectional morphology where nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals are inflected for number, gender, and case. The two main numbers are singular and plural, but there is also a third, paucal (Hansen, 2011), which is only used with the numbers two, three, and four, and only in the genitive and accusative. Gender is masculine, feminine, and neuter. There are seven cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, locative, and instrumental. The nominative and vocative are independent cases; the remaining five are dependent.

Serbian nouns are assigned to three main declensional types which, because of their genitive singular ending, are traditionally called A-Declension, E-Declension and I-Declension (Hammond, 2005).

Perhaps the most significant feature of standard Serbian declension is the syncretism of the dative, instrumental, and locative in the plural for all genders. Masculine nouns are marked for animacy. With animate masculine nouns the accusative singular is the same as the genitive singular, and with inanimate masculine nouns it is the same as the nominative singular. Adjectives and numerals which agree with nouns in case, gender and number, can also be marked for animacy in the case of masculine nouns.

Below are examples of Serbian noun paradigms, adopted from Browne and Alt (2004).

Table 1.3 Masculine zero-ending nouns with –a in genitive singular

	'city'	'husband'	'window'
singular			
NOM	*grad*	*muž*	*prozor*
VOC	*grade*	*mužu*	*prozore*
ACC	*grad*	*muža*	*prozor*
GEN	*grada*	*muža*	*prozora*
DAT	*gradu*	*mužu*	*prozoru*
INST	*gradom*	*mužem*	*prozorom*
LOC	*gradu*	*mužu*	*prozoru*
paucal	*grada*	*muža*	*prozora*
plural			
NOM-VOC	*gradovi*	*muževi*	*prozori*
ACC	*gradove*	*muževe*	*prozore*
GEN	*gradōvā*	*mùžēvā*	*prozōrā*
DAT-LOC-INS	*gradovima*	*muževima*	*prozorima*

Table 1.4 Neuter -*o*/-*e* ending nouns with –*a* in genitive singular

	'place'	'heart'	'study'
singular			
NOM-ACC-VOC	*m(j)esto*	*srce*	*učenje*
GEN	*m(j)esta*	*srca*	*učenja*
DAT-LOC	*m(j)estu*	*srcu*	*učenju*
INS	*m(j)estom*	*srcem*	*učenjem*
paucal	*m(j)esta*	*srca*	*učenja*
plural			
NOM-ACC-VOC	*m(j)esta*	*srca*	*učenja*
GEN	*m(j)êstā*	*sr̂cā*	*učenjā*
DAT-LOC-INS	*m(j)estima*	*srcima*	*učenjima*

Table 1.5 Nouns with *-e* in genitive singular

	'woman, wife'	'manservant'	'soul'
singular			
NOM	*žena*	*sluga*	*duša*
VOC	*ženo*	*slugo*	*dušo*
ACC	*ženu*	*slugu*	*dušu*
GEN	*ženē*	*slugē*	*dušē*
DAT-LOC	*ženi*	*sluzi*	*duši*
INS	*ženōm*	*slugōm*	*dušōm*
paucal	*žene*	*sluge*	*duše*
plural			
NOM-ACC	*žene*	*sluge*	*duše*
VOC	*žene*	*sluge*	*duše*
GEN	*žénā*	*slùgū, slúgā*	*dúšā*
DAT-LOC-INS	*ženama*	*slugama*	*dušama*

Table 1.6 Nouns with *-i* in genitive singular

	'bone'
singular	
NOM	*kost*
VOC	*kosti*
ACC	*kost*
GEN	*kosti*
DAT	*kosti*
INS	*kosti, košću*
LOC	*kosti*
paucal	*kosti*
plural	
NOM-ACC-VOC	*kosti*
GEN	*kòstī, kòstijū*
DAT-LOC-INS	*kostima*

Serbian adjectives agree with nouns in number, case, gender, and animacy. Adjectives also have indefinite forms (answering the question 'of what sort?') and definite forms (answering the question 'which one?'), manifested by different endings in masculine and neuter singular, for instance: *nov grad* ('new city'), *novi grad* ('the new city').

Adjectives have three degrees of comparison: *star* ('old'), *stariji* ('older'), and *najstariji* ('the oldest').

Serbian finite verb forms express the following grammatical categories: person, number, mood, aspect, tense, voice, and transitivity. Finite verb forms agree with the subject in person and number. Rich verbal agreement and morphological markers allow for the omission of pronominal subjects, and, in accord with this principle, standard Serbian is a pro-drop language (Browne & Alt, 2004, p. 81).

Serbian verbs are either perfective or imperfective. However, many verbs are bi-aspectual, including some of the commonest, for example *ići* ('to go') and *biti* ('to be'). Most non-prefixed verbs are imperfective, while perfective verbs mostly have prefixes, as: *pisati* ('to write', imperfective), *napisati* ('to write', perfective).

The simple tenses are the present, aorist and imperfect, and compound tenses are the perfect, pluperfect, future I, and future II, which is sometimes considered a tense of the conditional mood. The verbs *biti* ('to be') and *hteti* ('to want') are used as auxiliary verbs in compound tenses. *Biti* is unique as it has two forms of present, *jesam* and *budem* (see Table 1.7).

Table 1.7 Present forms of *biti* ('to be')

	full	enclitic	negated	"extra"
singular				
1	*jesam*	*sam*	*nisam*	*budem*
2	*jesi*	*si*	*nisi*	*budeš*
3	*jest(e)*	*je*	*nije*	*bude*
plural				
1	*jesmo*	*smo*	*nismo*	*budemo*
2	*jeste*	*ste*	*niste*	*budete*
3	*jesu*	*su*	*nisu*	*budu*

The perfect is nowadays the main past tense. It is formed using the short form of the present tense of *biti* (*jesam*) and the active participle of the main verb. The pluperfect is formed using the perfect tense of *biti* (*jesam*) and the active participle of the main verb. Future I is formed from the short form of the verb *hteti* ('to want') and the main verb in the infinitive, and future II from the present of *biti* (*budem*) and the active participle of the main verb.

Browne and Alt (2004) differentiate between three types of conjugation, based on vowels in the present stems: *-e-*, (including *-ne-* and je -), *-a-*, *-i-*.

Table 1.8 The endings for the present tenses

	singular	**plural**
1	-ēm, -ām, -īm	-ēmo, -āmo, -īmo
2	-ēš, -āš, -īš	-ēte, -āte, -īte
3	-ē, -ā, -ī	-ū, -ajū, -ē

Table 1.9 offers examples of conjugations of the verbs *tresti* ('to shake'), *čitati* ('to read') and *moliti* ('to prey'), adapted from Browne and Alt (2004).

Table 1.9 Serbian conjugations

Forms made from present stem:

-e- verb

Present

	singular	plural
1	*tresem*	*tresemo*
2	*treseš*	*tresete*
3	*trese*	*tresu*

Present adverb *tresući*

Imperative

	tresi	*tresite*

Imperfect

	singular	plural
1	*tresijah*	*tresijasmo*
2	*tresijaše*	*tresijaste*
3	*tresijaše*	*tresijahu*

-a- verb

Present

	singular	plural
1	*čitam*	*čitamo*
2	*čitaš*	*čitate*
3	*čita*	*čitaju*

Present adverb *čitajući*

Imperative

	čitaj	*čitajte*

Imperfect

čitah (like *tresijah*)

-i- verb

Present

	plural	singular
1	*molim*	*molimo*
2	*moliš*	*molite*
3	*moli*	*mole*

Present adverb *moleći*

Imperative

	moli	*molite*

Imperfect

moljah (like *tresijah*)

Forms made from infinitive stem:

Infinitive *tresti*

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	*tresoh*	*tresosmo*
2	*trese*	*tresoste*
3	*trese*	*tresoše*

Active participle *tresao, tresla* (m-f)

Passive participle *tresen*

Past adverb *(po)tresavši*

Infinitive *čitati*

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	*čitah*	*čitasmo*
2	*čita*	*čitaste*
3	*čita*	*čitaše*

Active participle *čitao, čitala*

Passive participle *čitan*

Past adverb *(pro)čitavši*

Infinitive *moliti*

Aorist

	singular	plural
1	*molih*	*molismo*
2	*moli*	*moliste*
3	*moli*	*moliše*

Active participle *molio, molila*

Passive participle *moljen*

Past adverb *(za)molivši*

23

Serbian non-finite verbal forms are infinitive, active participle (also called verbal adjective, present participle, and L-participle), past verbal adjective (also called passive participle), present verbal adverb and past verbal adverb. The infinitive consists of the stem and the ending *–ti*: *govoriti* ('to speak'), or more rarely *–ći*: *naći* ('to find').

The active participle is used in building the perfect, pluperfect, future II, and conditionals. It is formed by adding the suffix *–l* and its corresponding gender and number endings to the infinitive stem. An example of the active participle of the verb *(na)pisati* ('to write') is given in Table 1.10.

Table 1.10 Active participle

	masculine	neuter	feminine
singular	*(na)pisao*	*(na)pisalo*	*(na)pisala*
paucal	*(na)pisala*	as plural	as plural
plural	*(na)pisali*	*(na)pisala*	*(na)pisale*

The past verbal adjective is formed from the infinitive, sometimes also from the present stem, and the suffixes *–n* or *–t*. Like the active participle, it has the categories of gender and number. Apart from being used to form the passive, it can also be used as an adjective, with all corresponding morphological characteristics. The present verbal adjective is formed from imperfective verbs by adding the suffix *–ći* to the third person plural. The past verbal adverb is formed from perfective verbs by adding the suffix *–vši* to the infinitive stem. Both verbal adverbs may be used as adjectives expressing manner, cause, etc. as in *putujuće pozorište* ('travelling theatre').

Apart from the indicative mood, Serbian also has the imperative, and conditional. The conditional is built from the auxiliary form of *biti* (*budem*) and the active participle of the main verb.

Most transitive verbs can be used in the passive voice as well. The passive is formed from *biti* (*jesam, budem*) as the auxiliary and the passive verbal adjective of the main verb. The quasi-passive is formed from transitive verbs by adding the enclitic *se*, which indicates

an unspecified human agent. The enclitic *se* is also used for forming impersonal clauses from intransitive verbs. In the active voice, *se* is an indicator of reflexiveness.

1.5.5 Syntax

Serbian is an SVO (subject–verb–object) language. Unlike English which is usually described as a fixed word order language, Serbian is described as a largely free order language (Minović, 1987; Stevanović, 1979). Although it is somewhat difficult to establish any definite rules for word order in Serbian, there are some principles that govern the placing of sentence elements.

Word order in an NP is generally fixed – the noun is preceded by universal pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and adjectives, and it is followed by genitives, prepositional phrases, relative and complement clauses.

The place and order of enclitics in the sentence is strictly fixed.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases should always be close to the verb they modify. There is also a tendency for single-word adverbs to precede the verb they modify, while multi-word adverbials tend to follow.

In Serbian NPs, modifier and noun agree in case, gender, and number. There is also number agreement between the verb and the subject of the sentence, and gender agreement in past participles.

1.6　Layout of the thesis

Having reviewed some key aspects of the structure of Serbian that will be needed for the understanding of Serbian-English contact that follows, I will now outline the general structure of the thesis.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters.

Chapter 1 has outlined the background, motivations, objectives, and scope of the study. It has presented a number of propositions and explained the reasons behind them. It

has also given a brief overview of the Serbian language, particularly those features relevant to the variation examined in later chapters.

Chapter 2 reviews current approaches to language contact. Particular attention is given to studies that describe Serbian-English contact, both in Serbia and in immigrant situations. This chapter also provides terminological definitions.

Chapter 3 describes the Serbian community in New Zealand, and members' motives for coming to New Zealand. It discusses the attitudes of the Serbian community towards maintaining their native language. It also looks at social factors that could determine outcomes in this particular contact situation.

Chapter 4 gives details of the participants and data collection and lays out the methodological procedures used in this study.

Chapter 5 describes the English-origin lexemes transferred to New Zealand Serbian, and looks how they have been integrated at the level of orthography, phonology and morphology.

Chapter 6 looks at constructions which use Serbian lexemes but are modelled on English language patterns. It discusses syntactic arrangements at various levels (discourse, clause, phrase, or word).

Chapter 7 discusses non-linguistic factors contributing to contact-induced changes in New Zealand Serbian, such as length of contact, topic of conversation, and mode of electronic communication. It also looks at how social factors influence replication of English lexemes and constructions.

Chapter 8 provides a summary of the observations, and suggestions for further study.

2 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ITS OUTCOMES

Language contact and its consequences have been examined by many authors, and from many aspects, including grammatical, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic. Some researchers describe particular contact situations while others take a more general approach and try to establish a theoretical basis for predicting language contact outcomes.

This chapter offers a review of some of the literature on language contact. As this thesis researches contact phenomena in an immigrant community, studies which examine contact-induced changes within immigrant communities are of particular interest, especially those which look at how bilinguals handle their two languages, and factors influencing language maintenance and language shift. Attention is also given to research on Serbian in contact with English, both in standard and immigrant situations.

Considering the sheer number of studies, this review is necessarily selective. It focuses on seminal works and highlights the diversity of the approaches to this topic.

2.1 Research of direct relevance

In language contact situations, speakers of different languages interact and their languages influence each other (Matras, 2009). Language contact studies focus on the implications of contact on the language systems, but researchers take various approaches and do not always agree on what contact linguistics should concern itself with.

A number of researchers emphasise the need for an interdisciplinary approach when analysing the outcomes of language contact. Clyne (2003), for example, argues that language

27

contact is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary field in which interrelationships hold the key to understanding how and why people use their different languages.

Employing a multi-model approach is also recommended by Chamoreau and Léglise:

> The development of morphosyntactic structures in a situation of language contact should not be analyzed through a single lens. Contact-induced changes are generally defined as dynamic and multiple, involving internal change as well as historical and sociolinguistic factors. The identification and consideration of a variety of explanations constitutes a first step; analyzing their relationships forms a second. Only a multifaceted methodology enables this fine-grained approach to contact-induced change (Chamoreau & Léglise, 2012, p. 1).

The present study will rely on Matras' (2009) functional model, but it will also take some account of complementary and competing theories. Apart from Matras (2009), of particular interest will be Mayers-Scoton's (1993a) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, and Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale.

Matras' (2009) approach is based on the view that language is a social activity and that communication is goal-driven.

> [S]peakers' communicative goals and intentions, their discourse strategies, and their language processing capacities are at the core of any speech production and so also of the structural innovations that constitute the seeds of potential language change (Matras, 2009, pp. 2-3).

According to Matras, language contact, from the perspective of an individual bilingual speaker, is not two systems influencing each other, but the challenge of selecting and employing communicative resources from different language repertoires, in a way that complies with audience expectations in particular interaction settings.

Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model has been used in examining contact phenomena in a variety of languages. The MLF model distinguishes between the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL). Her definition of ML and EL is as follows:

28

The 'base' language is called the matrix language (ML) and the 'contributing' language (or languages) is called the embedded language (EL). (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 20)

The distribution of the two languages is asymmetrical in the sense that the ML is the dominant language, and the language that also supplies the morpho-syntactic frame, while the EL, in contrast, provides singly occurring content elements, or full constituents called EL Islands (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2001, p. 89).

Following Myers-Scotton, I understand Serbian as the Matrix Language, and English as the Embedded Language in the context of this research.

Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) study is one of the most influential and most cited works in the field. They looked at a variety of contact situations and phenomena, and laid the foundations for a typology of contact outcomes. Their framework for analysing the consequences of language contact is often referred to in language contact research.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that the length of contact and level of bilingualism define the intensity of contact, and that the more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive borrowing will occur. This thesis analyses ten years of data from a Serbian-English contact situation, and collected data will be compared with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowings scale (Table 2.1).

In the following sections, I will focus more closely on these and other studies of language contact. Particular attention will be given to Matras' (2009) functional model as the present study takes Matras' (2009) functional model as its framework.

2.2   Bilingualism

Bilingualism, and multilingualism, are well recognised as prevailing over monolingualism (see for example Crystal, 2003; Grosjean, 1982; Meyerhoff & Nagy, 2008). Yet, a range of questions about bilingualism remain unanswered.

One such question is at what point someone who speaks another language can be called a bilingual. Baetens Beardsmore (1986), for example, sees bilingualism as the

presence of at least two languages within one and same speaker, while Grosjean (2010) argues that bilingualism is the regular use of two or more languages in everyday life.

Appel and Muysken (1987) suggest that language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. They recognise two types of bilingualism – individual and societal. Individual bilingualism is when an individual speaks two languages, while societal bilingualism occurs when two or more languages are spoken in a given society, not necessarily by every individual in that society. They divide societal bilingualism into three forms. The first form is when two languages are spoken by two different, monolingual groups, the second form is when everyone in the society is bilingual, and the third form is when one group is monolingual, while the other, usually non-dominant or oppressed, is bilingual. Although they acknowledge that the linguistic situation in any given society is far more complex than any of these three forms suggest, Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that it is useful to keep the ideal typology in mind when describing bilingual societies.

Sebba (2011) argues the need to recognise two broad categories of societal bilingualism. The first category is state bilingualism, where bilingualism is officially recognised at the level of states or sub-states. The second category is community bilingualism, where a group, of whatever size, practices bilingualism among themselves. According to him, studies of community bilingualism (which is the type of bilingualism characteristic of the Serbian community in New Zealand) should research bilingual practices within the community, including trends over time, such as language shift.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) recognise the extent of bilingualism among speakers as one of the main factors influencing contact outcomes, the other two being the length of contact, and social conditions. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b), code-switching is more related to familiarity with both languages than proficiency in the individual languages, or social factors. Sakel (2007) notes that degree of bilingualism plays a role in the way elements are borrowed from one language into the other, and that without bilingualism we might expect to see incorporation of lexical items, but not grammatical structures.

A number of studies concern themselves with how two languages might co-exist, and the cognitive, psychological and social processes that occur in the bilingual mind.

Weinreich's (1968) distinction of coordinate, compound and subordinate bilingualism is one of the most cited typologies (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Three types of bilingualism according to Weinreich

Coordinate	Compound	Subordinate
'book' 'kniga'	'book'-'kniga'	'book
			/buk/
/buk/ /'kn'iga/	/buk/ /'kn'iga/	/'kn'iga/
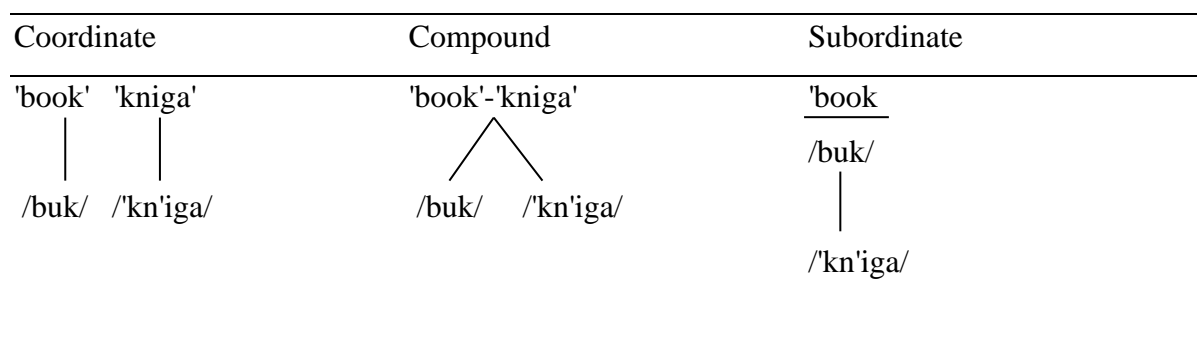
Following Weinreich (1968)

Table 2.1 graphically represents the mental encoding of two languages in an individual's brain, as proposed by Weinreich. Coordinate bilinguals function as double monolinguals, and so for them equivalent lexemes for the same object in their two languages have slightly different meanings. For compound bilinguals, equivalent lexemes for the same object in the two languages have the same meaning, because compound bilinguals merge both languages at the conceptual level. In subordinate bilinguals, the first language remains dominant over the second language.

Ervin and Osgood (1954) combine Weinreich's second and third type of bilingualism, and differentiate between coordinate and compound bilinguals. Their distinction is largely sociological and demographic and is based on the acquisition of the two languages. According to them, coordinate bilinguals have learned their languages in different environmental contexts and not at the same time, while compound bilinguals have learned both languages from childhood, in the same environmental context.

Fishman (1971) argues that language choice in bilingual settings is highly influenced by domains, such as family, religion, school, and occupation, and that different domains carry different expectations in the choice of language. The number of domains in which each language is employed, as well as the overlap of domains, varies in bilinguals.

Fishman also claims that maintenance and shift proceed unevenly across domains, for example the family domain might be more maintenance prone than the occupational domain.

Sankoff (1971) foregrounds the interactional nature of speech, and identifies factors such as venue, interaction type, style, topic of conversation, and above all, interlocutor, as factors that influence which language is chosen. Her decision tree model has often been used to graphically represent the choice of languages. Sankoff (1972), however, advises that this model should be used in combination with other models as it excludes situations where two languages are used at the same time, such as happens with code-switching in situations of community bilingualism.

Grosjean highlights the function of languages as an important factor. According to his complementary principle

> [b]ilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages (Grosjean, 2010, p. 29).

Grosjean claims that this principle influences both language fluency and language dominance. He points out that, although it is difficult to define language dominance, it is generally accepted that bilinguals are usually not balanced, but dominant in one of their languages, and that bilinguals do not have an equal and perfect knowledge of their languages. They do not develop equal and total fluency in their languages because the functions and uses of their languages are often quite different. Rarely are all domains of life covered by all languages. A language used in more domains and with more people is better developed than a language used in a smaller number of domains and with a limited number of people.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 2006b) argues that language users are rational and choose to speak the language that clearly marks their rights and obligations, relative to other speakers, in any particular conversation and its setting. Myers-Scotton (1993b) proposes a Markedness Model which explains socio-psychological motivations for code-switching. She argues that speakers have a sense of markedness in regard to linguistic codes and are able to identify and choose the code (marked or not), from their linguistic repertoire, which is the most advantageous in specific interactions. Because the unmarked choice is safer, speakers

usually (and unconsciously) make that choice. On the other hand, marked code-switching may be used to achieve specific effects such as increasing social distance via authority or anger, or aesthetic effects, and in a strategy to call attention.

 According to the Conversation Analysis approach, language choice is programmatically relevant to the talk-in-interaction (Li Wei, 2005). Bilingual speakers are rational individuals, however, they are not oriented to rights and obligations, or attitudes and identities. Instead they primarily aim to achieve coherence in the interactional task at hand.

However, as Gafaranga (1999) argues, the Conversation Analysis framework is limited by relying on the concept of language. Gafaranga (1999) suggests that the concept of language should be abandoned and talk should be seen as an orderly activity. Language choice itself should be understood as a significant aspect of talk organisation.

Matras' (2009, 2012) principal assumption is that bilingual and multilingual speakers have a complex repertoire of linguistic structures at their disposal, which are not organised in the form of language systems, but are rather elements in repertoires associated with particular social activities. Those repertoires include both word-forms and rules for their formation and combination. Bilinguals do not "block" or "switch off" one of their languages during monolingual conversation but instead have the entire repertoire of structures available to them.

Starting from the premise that language is a practice of communicative interaction, Matras claims that the selection of elements is not random, but defined by the linguistic task-schema that the speaker wishes to carry out. Like Myers-Scotton, Matras notes that, in some contexts, certain types of cross-linguistic mixing may be socially acceptable and even make for more effective goal-oriented communication. One example, recorded by Matras and other researchers is the deliberate mixing of languages by skilful and competent bilinguals to achieve a humorous effect. Another example would be when a word from another language is inserted to "obtain a special conversational key" (Matras, 2012, p. 47) which can add a flavour of emotive mode, and stimulate the cultural bond between speaker and listener. In these cases speakers consciously exploit the contrast between components that belong to different languages.

On the other hand, there are also non-conscious "selection malfunctions" (Matras, 2012), which are the result of a cognitive motivation to reduce communication overload (Matras, 1998, 2000). The speaker not only plans what to say and produces the utterance, but also tries to assert the way this should be processed and accepted by the hearer. To avoid the interactional disharmony which might put his assertive authority at risk, the speaker monitors and intervenes in hearer-side processing operations, i.e. the hearer's responses and reactions to the speaker's utterances. Matras claims that "thinking and speaking" (which could be defined as ordinary "talking") are language processing operations which are mentally separated from operations that involve "monitoring and directing" hearers' anticipated interpretations. Figure 2.2 represents the arrangement of directing operations in linguistic interaction.

Figure 2.2 The arrangement of directing operations in linguistic interaction

thinking ⟶ speaking

monitoring ⟶ directing
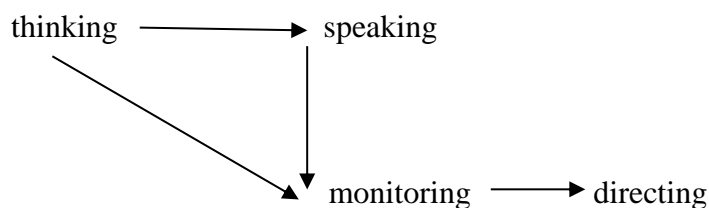
Source: Matras (2000)

Because "monitoring and directing" involves planning ahead as well as controlling the actual realisation of speaking, it is mentally more complex than "thinking and speaking". Matras suggests that, with bilinguals, there is competition between their languages around "monitoring and directing" operations, and that cognitive motivation to reduce communication overload can be so strong at times, as to override social and communicative constraints on the discourse, and lead to the non-separation of the two linguistic systems. Matras argues that

> when such malfunctions occur, they tend to be directed towards a language that has recently been activated on a routine basis and therefore constitutes the default fall-back option for routine task-management of the relevant processing operation (Matras, 2012, p. 34).

This default fall-back language Matras (2012, p. 34) calls the "pragmatically dominant language". This may be the language in which speaker is more confident or proficient, or the one which enjoys increased attention at that moment, or the one which is associated with a socially dominant, mainstream majority which is in a position to sanction the linguistic behaviour of the minority.

One example of this malfunction, given by Matras (2012, p. 35), comes from a situation in which a group of Hebrew-English bilinguals is at a Chinese restaurant, in England. They speak Hebrew between them. One of them orders a meal in English, but choses the Hebrew contrastive connector *avál* instead of English *but*:

(2.1)   *... and one Won Ton soup **avál** /eh/ the vegetarian one.*
                                      but

In this thesis the term "pragmatically dominant language" will be used for context-bound situations, like in the example above. However, it will also be used in a more general sense, as the language in which participants are more confident or proficient. Since first-generation Serbian bilinguals in New Zealand have spent most of their lives and almost all of their schooling in Serbian, we can expect that they will remain more confident and proficient in Serbian, and that, for them, Serbian will be the default fall-back option for routine task-management, and therefore the pragmatically dominant language.

2.3   Language shift and language maintenance

According to Winford (2003), there are three broad types of contact situations – "those involving language maintenance, those involving language shift and those that lead to new contact languages" (p. 11). He identifies language shift as a characteristic of immigrant communities, such as is the Serbian Community in New Zealand. Accepting this notion, in this section I examine the process of language shift, and the role of native language maintenance in slowing down the process of shift.

Language shift is a change from the habitual use of one language to that of another (Weinreich, 1968). The abandonment of a group's native language can be partial or total (Winford, 2003), but shift is almost a foregone conclusion by the third generation, especially in immigrant communities (Myers-Scotton, 2006b).

Language maintenance, according to Winford (2003), is the situation where a speech community preserves its native language from generation to generation. Some degree of change may be seen in the lexicon and structure of the group's native language as it is influenced by the external language. However, the subsystems of the native language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and core lexicon) remain relatively intact.

The rate of language shift varies significantly across migrant language groups. Clyne (1991a) claims that in Australia, language shift took longer in the Greek community than in other communities, with some members of the fourth generation Greek immigrants still speaking Greek. At the same time, he finds a certain percentage of cases where language shift was completed within the first generation in all ethnic groups in Australia.

In his (1982) study based on data from the 1976 Australian Census, Clyne argues that the most important factors determining language shift and language maintenance are "cultural code values, degree of cultural similarity to the dominant group and extent of intermarriages" (Clyne, 1982, p. 55). This study also shows that among first-generation immigrants, Southern Europeans maintained the first language better than Northern Europeans, and that Eastern Europeans maintain the first language better than Western Europeans. Greeks, as South-eastern Europeans, had the least language shift in the first generation. Taking this in account, and considering that Serbia is situated at the crossroads between Central and Southeast Europe, we might expect a situation similar to that of the Greek community in Australia, i.e. that the rate of language shift in the first generation will not be high.

At this point, it should also be mentioned that the language situation in South-east Europe is also characterised by a high level of multilateral multilingualism resulting from continuous migrations of small groups of nations. Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Macedonian and the south-eastern dialect of Serbian belong to the Balkan Sprachbund – the world's most famous contact situation (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 95). In the Balkan

Sprachbund, there are no symmetrical dominance relations or large-scale shifts (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). For Serbia itself, Ethnologue lists fifteen individual languages (*Ethnologue: Languages of the world.*, n.d.). The north Serbian province of Voivodina has six official languages ("The Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina," 2014 Article 24). This mutual bilingualism and multilingualism which exists in the homelands could also be a factor that contributes to better language maintenance in immigrant situations.

Much work has been carried out on both theoretical and empirical issues relating to language maintenance. This is evidenced by the numerous volumes on the subject (see for example Crystal, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001b; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

Fishman (1964) points out that of primary concern to researchers of language maintenance and language shift is variance in language behaviour. He emphasises the importance of factors such as the degree of bilingualism (relative proficiency, relative ease or automaticity, and relative frequency of language use in contact settings), whether literacy has been attained prior to interaction with the "other tongue", media variables (speaking, writing, reading and listening comprehension), levels of formality of communication (formal, semi-formal, informal, intimate speech), and domains of language (such as family, occupation and community organisations).

Talking about strategies that can be employed to reverse language shift, Fishman (2001a) places special emphasis on the importance of home, family, neighbourhood, and community links. He argues that the intimate community, with members related to one another via bonds of kinship, affection and communality of interest and purpose, is the real secret weapon of reverse language shift, and that nothing is as crucial for success in reversing language shift as intergenerational mother-tongue transmission.

The importance of social networks in language shift and language maintenance has been confirmed in numerous studies. Li Wei (1994), for example, in his study of the Chinese community in Britain, shows that Chinese language maintenance depends directly on the strength of Chinese-based networks, while use of, and proficiency in English is directly

related to the amount of interaction with English speakers. He also finds that recent immigrants prefer to use Chinese, while British-born children prefer to use English.

Looking at the data from language maintenance projects where particular languages have been seen to make progress, Crystal (2000) identifies six main mechanisms of intervention by which maintenance may be attempted: Increasing the prestige of its speakers; Increasing the wealth of its speakers; Increasing the power of its speakers; Improving its presence in the educational system; Ensuring that the language can be written down; and Providing access to electronic technology for its speakers.

Myers-Scotton (2006b) argues that the main factors contributing to language maintenance or language shift are length of residence in the country of immigration, proximity to the home community or frequency of visits to the home country, and the international status of the native language.

Serbian does not have a high international status. However, the other two conditions listed by Myers-Scotton are fulfilled in the New Zealand Serbian community – the community is in its early years of immigration and modern means of communication in combination with the relatively good economic situation of community members enable constant exposure to Serbian language and frequent visits to Serbia. This raises the expectation that there will be no language shift among the first-generation New Zealand Serbians.

2.4   Constraints and motivations for borrowing

A number of theoretical works try to answer the question of which language categories are transferred in language contact situations and what the constraints and motivations in this process are. Some researchers argue that anything can be borrowed, while others state the opposite, and try to develop predictive frameworks for the outcomes of language contact in terms of where switches between two languages may and may not occur.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) believe that all structures can be borrowed, and that absolute constraints are not very likely. As linguistic predictors, and the most relevant factors constraining contact-induced change, Thomason (2001) lists universal markedness,

the degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system, and the typological distance between the source language and the recipient language. She argues that any predictions should be treated as probabilistic rather than deterministic:

> Various claims can be found in the literature to the effect that this or that kind of feature is unborrowable, but counterexamples can be found (and have been found) to all of the claims that have been made to date. (Thomason, 2001, p. 63)

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) proposed a borrowing scale to predict the order in which items from different categories will be borrowed (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Thomason's and Kaufman's borrowing scale

Category	Features	Lexicon	Structure
1. Casual contact	Lexical borrowing only	Content words. Non-basic vocabulary before basic vocabulary	
2. Slightly more intense contact	Slight structural borrowing	Function words: conjunctions and adverbial particles	Minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features
3. More intense contact	Slightly more structural borrowing	Function words: adpositions, derivational affixes	
4. Strong cultural pressure	Moderate structural borrowing		Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change (inflectional affixes and categories; extensive word order change)
5. Very strong cultural pressure	Heavy structural borrowing		Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption (agreement and morphophonemics)

Summarised from Thomason and Kaufmann (1988, pp. 74-76)

Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) argue that social factors such as prestige cannot be used to develop overall predictive constraints for contact-induced change. Their borrowing scale is based on intensity of contact which they correlate with duration and level of bilingualism. They find:

> [L]ong-term contact with widespread bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers is a prerequisite for extensive structural borrowing. (1988, p. 67)

Agreeing with Thomason and Kaufmann, Winford (2003), too, claims that any linguistic feature can be transferred from one language to the other, if the circumstances are right. He emphasises the significance of the social setting, and says that it is very important to understand the history and social dynamics of the contact situation. Constraints on change vary from situation to situation, and he argues these depend on sociocultural factors such as community settings, demographics of the populations in contact, codes and patterns of social interaction, ideologies and attitudes that govern linguistic choices, as well as degrees of bilingualism, histories and lengths of contact, and power relationships between groups. The literature on language contact over the years shows numerous attempts to specify the constraints on contact-induced change.

Poplack (1980) proposed a free morpheme constraint model according to which code-switching takes place only at the level of bound morphemes and above, i.e. free morphemes, and polymorphemic words and phrases. In other words, under her proposal, code-switching will not occur resulting in a bound morpheme from one language being attached to a lexical stem from another language.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) proposed the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model as a model able to explain grammatical constraints on contact effects. The MLF model deals with the behaviour of different types of morphemes in code-switching. It is based on two asymmetries: one, an asymmetry between the two languages involved in the code-switching – the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) – and the other, between content and system morphemes.

The ML also supplies the morpho-syntactic frame, while the EL, in contrast, can provide singly occurring content elements or full constituents called EL islands (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2001, p. 89). Because EL islands are inserted into the ML frame, they are under the constraint of ML grammar.

Myers-Scotton advocates that a unit of analysis should be a Complement Phrase (CP), which is more appropriate than a sentence because "it is in such units that the grammars of the components of codeswitching are in contact" (Myers-Scotton, 1998a, p. 92).

According to the MLF model, participating languages do not contribute equally in code-switching, nor do all morpheme types come equally from ML and EL – all participating languages may contribute content morphemes but not all can contribute system morphemes.

The content-system morpheme opposition of the MLF model is further refined in the 4-M model, by dividing system morphemes into "early system" morphemes, "bridge late system" morphemes, and "outside late system" morphemes. The 4-M model refers to both the surface and the abstract characteristics of the morpheme and it can be applied to all languages, although classification of morphemes can differ from language to language. According to the 4-M and MLF models, late-system morphemes are the least likely morphemes to be embedded into an ML from an EL (Myers-Scotton, 2008).

Myers-Scotton claims that lexical items have three levels of abstraction: a conceptual pragmatic/semantic level, a predicate-argument structure level that maps thematic roles to phrase-structure units, and a level of morphological realization patterns. In the language of bilinguals, abstract levels can be drawn from different languages and this produces an MLF which is identical to neither source nor recipient language, but is a composite. The appearance of a composite MLF is the beginning of the process in which the EL gradually shifts to become the ML.

Matras (2000) proposes a function-based model of language contact which rests on his view of language as a social activity, and of communication as goal-driven. Matras (2010) claims that all contact-induced changes are functional in the sense that they are the product of language processing in goal-oriented communicative interaction. Although inspired by the conversational analytic methodology, Matras goes beyond a strictly conversational interpretation and argues that to identify distinct types of contact phenomena with characteristic structural properties, a combined discourse functional and structural analysis should be employed (Matras, 2000, p. 506).

According to Matras' function-based model, there are four functionally separable contact phenomena which need to be differentiated in order to accurately analyse the outcomes of language contact. These are: integration, differentiation, convergence and fusion.

Integration is the adaptation of B-system components within the A-system (where A and B are any languages in contact). Integration involves choosing (subconsciously) among the theoretically available options, thereby favouring B-system components while retaining the choice of the A-system as the overall language of the speech event.

Differentiation exploits the juxtaposition of A and B systems. It involves an even more strategic choice of elements from the B-system. Differentiation is based on the contrast and consequent nonadaptability of the systems and their components.

Convergence allows the processing operations of both systems to merge while retaining the independence of each system. An internal element of the A-system is adapted in such a way that it matches the distribution, scope and compositional structure of a B-system component, which is perceived as its functional counterpart. Convergence may thus facilitate a similar organization and representation of conceptualisations across languages, without allowing one language to interfere with the native material or inventory of forms of the other.

Fusion involves a wholesale, class-specific nonseparation of two systems. It does not involve adaptation processes, because the underlying B-element is not even perceived as a foreign or imported component. Thus speakers do not make any choices when opting for B-system counterparts. At the same time, no autonomy of the systems is retained for any particular class, either. Fusion is a cognitive process and may have both synchronic and diachronic manifestations.

Presuming that multilingual speakers have their full, complex linguistic repertoire at their disposal at all times, Matras explains communication in language contact situation as product of the interplay of two primary factors:

> Loyalty to a set of norms that regulate the context-bound selection of elements from the repertoire, and a wish to be able to exploit the repertoire in its entirety irrespective of situational constraints. The balance between these two factors is determined by a need to remove hurdles that stand in a way of efficient communication. (Matras, 2009, p. 4)

This interplay of factors is graphically represented in Figure 2.3.

Matras (2009) argues that when the wish to explore the whole repertoire prevails, separation of the components belonging to the two languages is compromised. The opposite happens when loyalty prevails, in which case, the interference is minimal. Outcomes of language contact are function driven choices, the products of language-processing in goal-orientated communicative interaction.

Figure 2.3 The interplay of factors in communication in language contact settings
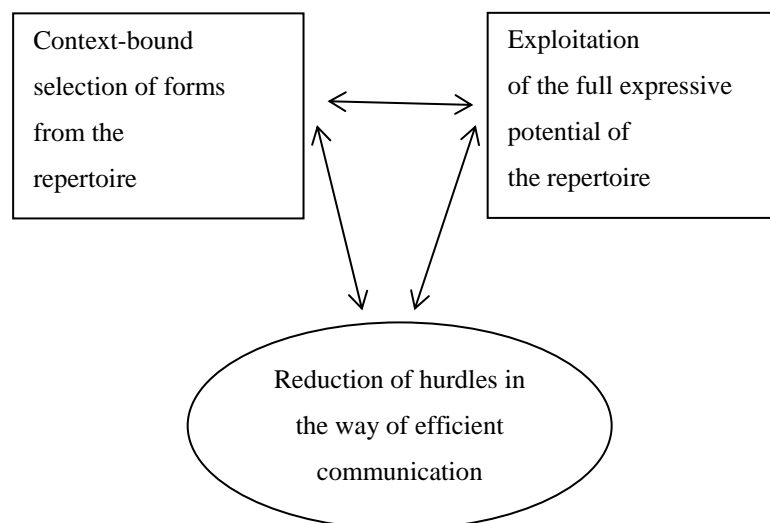
Following Matras (2009, 2012)

Matras (2007) claims that borrowing is motivated by cognitive pressure on speakers to reduce the mental processing load by allowing the structural manifestations of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge. Borrowing is advantageous for the speaker (Matras & Sakel, 2007a), because the act of borrowing allows the structural manifestation of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge.

Earlier work of Matras (1998) suggests that borrowing hierarchies are dependent on the functional properties of speaker–hearer interaction and discourse organization. According to his borrowability hierarchy (Matras, 2009), nouns are the items most frequently borrowed, followed by verbs, discourse markers, adjectives, interjections, adverbs, various particles, numerals, pronouns, derivational affixes and last of all, inflectional affixes. He criticises "gap" and "prestige" hypotheses and says that they fail to

explain why speakers should prioritise certain structures for borrowing based on semantic and grammatical parameters, such as discourse markers and connectors, rather than on parameters related to social and referential meanings (Matras, 2011, p. 226). He argues that asymmetry in the social roles of languages in contact may determine the direction of change, yet does not explain the motivation for structural change.

Matras (2000, p. 506) claims that contact phenomena involve various motivations which depend on the pragmatic needs of the communication situation, and that an analysis of the speaker's intentions and needs is the key to identifying the type of contact strategy employed. He proposes that the link between the social reality and the role of structural factors can be best understood by understanding the communicative acts that multilingual speakers engage in (2012, p. 19).

2.5 Contact phenomena

In their attempts to define, and describe, various aspects of contact phenomena resulting from different contact situations, researchers use a number of terms, including borrowing, code-switching, code mixing, language mixing, transfer, and interference, among others, and often disagree on their definition and scope. As Milroy & Muysken (1995, p. 12) point out, sometimes different writers use the same terms in different ways, and sometimes the referential scopes of different terms overlap. Adopting Milroy & Muysken's stance that it is neither possible nor practical to achieve standardisation, this section does not intend to explain all of the terms used in the literature, but only those that will be used in presenting the results of this research, and the reasoning behind them.

Following Myers-Scotton (1993a), I describe the NZSEMC as an instance of Serbian ML with embedded English islands. This is grounded on the expectation, based on findings in numerous immigrant contact situations, that participants in this study primarily use Serbian, that alternating between Serbian and English is minimal, and that English provides singly occurring content elements, mostly single lexical units.

Since Matras' (2009) functional framework has been adopted to analyse Serbian and English contact in New Zealand, the results of contact observed are classified as "matter" (MAT) and "pattern" (PAT), as proposed by Matras and Sakel (2007b).

MAT-borrowing (Matras, 2009; Matras & Sakel, 2007a, 2007b; Sakel, 2007) is replication of morpho-phonological items from the donor language in the recipient language. One example from the NZSEMC data is (2.1) where the English lexeme *deck* is found in an otherwise Serbian sentence:

(2.2)   [M2;2013]

        Deck *je skup*

        '**A deck** is expensive'

PAT-borrowing is defined as the replication of patterns from the donor language, such as the organization and distribution of grammatical meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed (Matras, 2009; Sakel, 2007). One example would be the word order in (2.2), where the Serbian adverb *danas* ('today') is not placed close to the verb it modifies (Browne & Alt, 2004; Klajn, 2005), but at the end of the sentence:

(2.3)   [F12;2011]

        Ja ću se javiti Ani[1] ***danas***

        'I will call Ana **today**'

Sakel (2007) points out that MAT and PAT are combined in many cases, and that MAT-borrowing without any PAT-borrowing is very rare. MAT is usually transferred with at least part of its original meaning, or function, which means that MAT and PAT are combined. The function of a borrowed MAT-item is rarely exactly the same as in the donor language. Functions maybe be reduced, or extended (Sakel, 2007, p. 17).

---

[1] The name is replaced with a pseudonym.

Sakel also argues that level of bilingualism plays a role in the way elements are borrowed. "Without bilingualism, patterns are usually not copied and MAT is only borrowed in a restricted sense" (Sakel, 2007, p. 25). New Zealand Serbians are active bilinguals and it can be expected that both MAT- and PAT-borrowings will be present in the New Zealand Serbian.

The difference between "borrowing" and "code-switching" is one of the most frequently discussed topics in the literature, and deserves some attention.

The term borrowing is well established and frequently used, although it has been repeatedly criticised for being a misleading metaphor, since it takes place without the consent of the "lender" and does not require "repayment". Terms like "loan" (Haugen, 1950), "transfer" (Winford, 2003) and "intrasentential mixing" (Grosjean, 2010) have been also used.

Winford (2005) criticises the practice of using the term borrowing to refer to both the outcomes of language contact and to the processes that lead to such results, and argues that it should be used to designate a type of cross-linguistic influence, rather than the processes or mechanisms involved. Hoffer (1996), on the other hand, defines borrowing as the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another.

There is disagreement in the literature about whether borrowing and code-switching are aspects of the same process or not. Muysken (1995), for example, maintains that borrowing and code-switching cannot and should not be distinguished. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (2002, 2010) says that all intrasentential manifestations of language contact are aspects of the same process. On the other hand, Poplack and her associates argue that empirical studies have proven a distinction between borrowing and code-switching. For them, borrowing is subject to the grammar of the recipient language, while code-switching does not violate the grammatical rules of either language (Poplack & Meechan 1998). Poplack and Dion (2011, August) make a further distinction between single words and multiword fragments transferred from a donor language, and say that lone words are the source of most borrowings, whereas words occurring within multiword fragments are uncontroversial code-switches.

In the NZSEMC data, there are a number of situations where it is not easy to classify English-origin items according to those definitions, which endorses the claim that the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is not always straightforward (Matras, 2009). There is further analysis of the adaptation of replicated MAT-items in the NZSEMC in chapter 5. Here, only a few examples are given to illustrate some of the complications in distinguishing between borrowing and code-switching in terms of integration into the recipient language.

In example (2.3), the verb *to book* is a lone English word, fully integrated into Serbian. The writer follows Serbian spelling rules and has inflected it with the Serbian suffix for the first person singular present tense. This can clearly be counted as borrowing.

(2.4)   [F18;2009]

    *[Nameravam]   da   **bukiram**   za   žurku*
    I.intend   to   1SG-book-PRS   for party
    '[I intend] to **book** for the party.'

In example (2.4), the multiword fragment *safe for kids and pets* is taken from English without being adapted either orthographically or grammatically. It does not violate the grammatical rules of either Serbian or English. This example can be counted as code-switching.

(2.5)   [F6;2011]

    *Ljudi vole da vide da je ograđeno, **safe for kids and pets**.*
    'People like to see that it's fenced, **safe for kids and pets**.'

In the analysed data, there are, however, examples which violate the grammatical rules of both languages, as below:

(2.6)   [F6;2006]

Izgleda	<u>*sam*</u>	*greškom*	***delete your new***	*poruka*
3SG-look-PRS	AUX	by.mistake		message

'It looks like I <u>have</u> **deleted your last message** by mistake.'

There are several issues with the above sentence, in which a multiword English fragment has been inserted in an otherwise Serbian text. Firstly, English speakers would say *I (have) deleted your **last** message*, and not *I (have) deleted your **new** message*, so it could appear that we have transfer from Serbian to English of the semantics of the adverb *nov* ('new'), which in the above example should take the feminine gender. Secondly, according to both Serbian and English grammar, the main verb (in this case *delete*), should be in the participle form. The sentence is in the Serbian perfect tense, which is formed from the present of the auxiliary *biti* ('to be') and the active participle of the main verb. An equivalent English tense in this case would be the present perfect, which would use a past participle. The other English tense that would fit would be the simple past, in which case the verb form, again, would not be *delete,* but *deleted*, and so in regard to the verb complex, the writer has produced a hybrid innovation. Finally, the Serbian noun *poruka* ('message') in this example is generated as a direct object, and as such, according to Serbian grammatical rules, it should be in the accusative case, and not in the nominative case as it is in (2.5). This suggests that we are seeing influence of English on Serbian at the level of morpho-syntax.

 Examples such as these do not support a distinction between borrowing and code-switching in the way Poplack and her associates propose.

Another claim that the distinction between borrowings and code-switches is of secondary importance comes from Angermeyer (2004). He accepts Halliday and Hasan's (1976) notion of cohesive ties, and argues that insertions should be analysed in the context of the conversational sequence in which they occur. A lexical item from one language should be defined not only in relation to the lexicon of the language in whose context it occurs but also in relation to the lexical item to which it forms a cohesive tie. He points out that this cohesive relationship depends on the identity and similarity of the two lexemes in question, and not on their status in the lexicon.

This is very much in line with Matras' notion that vocabulary from the second language is available to bilinguals in a bilingual community in almost any interaction in the first language (Matras, 2009, p. 111), and that choices of elements are function driven and products of language-processing in goal-orientated communicative interaction (Matras, 2012).

Another suggestion appearing in the literature is that code-switching and borrowing should be viewed as a continuum. Gardner-Chloros (2009, pp. 30-36) points out that the evidence for such an approach is often diachronic, as the use of lexical items in the present day might lead to their final incorporation as integrated borrowings at some point in the future.

Similarly, Matras proposes that contact-induced change starts with "innovations" introduced by an individual. Matras (2012, p. 20) further claims that the innovation turns into a borrowing once it becomes inseparable in the bilingual's repertoire. As an example of such a borrowing, he gives the lexeme *internet* which for a German-English speaker is a single concept, equally readily employed in German and English-speaking interactions (Matras, 2009, p. 110).

Although the NZSEMC research incorporates ten years of data, and is therefore diachronic, it is not easy to identify which English-origin lexical items have been permanently incorporated. Equally, it is impossible to judge whether an English-origin item is accepted by the whole community. Some lexical items are replicated across several members of the community, such as greetings (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014), but this still does not prove their permanent or widely diffused status.

Matras (2009, pp. 113-114) argues that the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is not simple and involves numerous criteria. On the code-switching–borrowing continuum, the least controversial code-switch is the alternational switch, produced consciously and by choice, for specific stylistic effects, while the least controversial borrowing involves the regular occurrence of a structurally integrated, single lexical item that is used as a default expression. However, there is fuzzy ground between the two extremes and a considerable degree of ambiguity will always remain.

Adopting Matras' stance that most of the code-switching–borrowing continuum is fuzzy ground, I do not distinguish between borrowing and code-switching in this study of an early contact situation. Instead, I use Matras' (2009) term "replication" to describe English-origin matter and pattern items in the NZSEMC data.

Since we do not know if observed replications are going to become permanent changes in the New Zealand Serbian language, they will be treated as "innovations", rather than trying to locate their place on a code-switching–borrowing continuum.

Another continuum proposed by Matras is shown in Figure 2.4. On this continuum, there are four kinds of innovation arranged from those that are involuntary, on the left, and are the result of a need to ease the processing load and relax constraints on context-appropriate selection, to those that are deliberate, on the right, whose function is to achieve some kind of a special effect.

Figure 2.4 The continuum of contact-induced creativity and innovation

non-conscious			conscious
selection malfunctions > pattern-replication > lexical insertion > speech manipulation			
no special effect			special effect
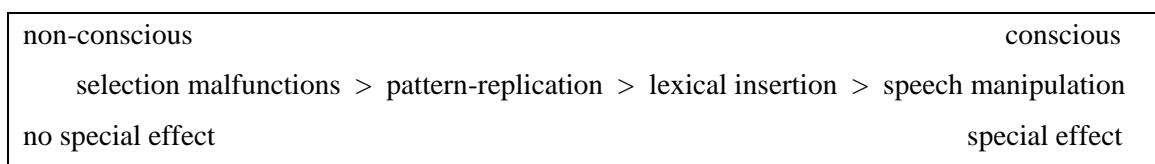
Following Matras (2009, 2012)

All the types of innovation listed in Figure 2.4 involve some form of negotiation of two opposing pressures, as explained in Figure 2.3 – to choose only structures and forms which are context-appropriate, and to make full use of the bilingual repertoire of linguistic forms and structures – given that is not possible to completely deactivate either language system.

Matras (2012) explains these four types of innovation as below.

"Selection malfunction" is the more extreme case of non-conscious negotiation. In this case, the speaker gives in to competing pressures and uses the functionally effective structure rather than the context-appropriate structure.

"Pattern replication" is the less extreme case of non-conscious negotiation. This is when the speaker makes a compromise, and selects a functionally effective construction

which is not context-appropriate, but at the same time uses word-forms that are context-appropriate.

"Lexical insertion" is a milder form of conscious negotiation. With this replication of matter from one language into another language, the speaker conforms to subtle differences in, or shades of meaning of, word-forms normally reserved for particular interaction settings, in an attempt to be as precise as possible. Inserting word-forms from another language also signals that the speaker relies on the listener's solidarity to accept and support "the choice of mixing as a legitimate speech mode" (Matras, 2012, p. 49). Matras stresses that the level of consciousness involved in lexical insertion varies, and that in some cases, such as the use of the names of institutions or procedures, it occurs spontaneously and with little or no planning at all, similarly to "pattern replications".

"Speech manipulation" is at the conscious far end of the continuum and is usually employed to achieve some kind of special conversational effect. As such, it targets the entire speech act, rather than just individual parts within it.

Matras also says that any innovation may or may not be replicated by the same speaker, or by other speakers in the speech community. Therefore, innovations may or may not result in language change. However, every contact-induced change is a product of a task-bound, goal-oriented innovation.

My presumption is, that after ten years in a language contact situation, the influence of English on Serbian will be reflected more in individual creativity, and will result in innovations, rather than in permanent language change.

2.6   Languages in contact with English

English is commonly recognised nowadays as the most widely used language for international communication. Although it is not the largest language by number of native speakers, it has numerous functions and it is used in a large number of domains, including economics, politics, science, information technology, and culture. It has spread around the world on the internet and in media such as music and movies, and is easily accessible to all levels of society.

The dominance of English in the modern world does not go without criticism. Metaphors such as imposition, subordination and even hegemony are often used to describe the attitudes that perpetuate English and usage of it at the expense of other languages (see for example Phillipson, 1992, 2009; Rapatahana & Bunce, 2012).

Graddol (2001) claims that English has two main functions in the world: it provides a vehicular language for international communication, and it forms the basis for constructing identities, and adds:

> As English plays an ever more important role in the first of these functions, it simultaneously finds itself acting as a language of identity for larger numbers of people around the world. (Graddol, 2001, p. 27)

Dröschel (2011) too points out that we need to distinguish between these two uses of English, and says:

> If we refer to the spread of the English language we have to distinguish between the spread of English as an international lingua franca, i. e. the language as is used internationally across different communities as a means of global communication and the adoption of English by various local communities, where English is a second language ... or a foreign language which functions as an internal lingua franca. (Dröschel, 2011, p. 52)

Prćić (2014) argues that English can no longer be treated as a purely foreign language in many countries in the world, and proposes the concept of English as a "nativised foreign language". He claims that in addition to not being the first language of a country, nor the official language of a country, and being taught as a subject in schools, which are the generally accepted defining properties of a foreign language, English differs from all other purely foreign languages in a number of its properties. These properties are its availability via mass media, its acquisition by children from an early age alongside their home and community language(s), and the fact that English supplements communicative needs in many languages by filling actual and supposed lexical gaps.

This increases the need to be cautious when we look at new immigrant contact situations such as the New Zealand Serbian one, as it raises the question of how much

influence English had on standard Serbian before community members came to New Zealand.

2.7   The New Zealand linguistic landscape

Due to changes in immigration policy from the 1980s, New Zealand is becoming more multinational and multilingual.

Based on data from the 2001 Census, Starks, Harlow and Bell (2005) described the New Zealand linguistic landscape from the end of the last century as being characterised by considerable monolingualism in English, re-emergent partial bilingualism among Maori people, and growing multilingualism through the presence of immigrant groups. The following two Censuses, from 2006 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014, n.d.), clearly indicate that New Zealand is becoming more multinational and multilingual. As the percentage of New Zealanders born overseas continues to grow (see Figure 2.5), so does the number of multilingual people (see Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.5 Percentage of New Zealand population born overseas
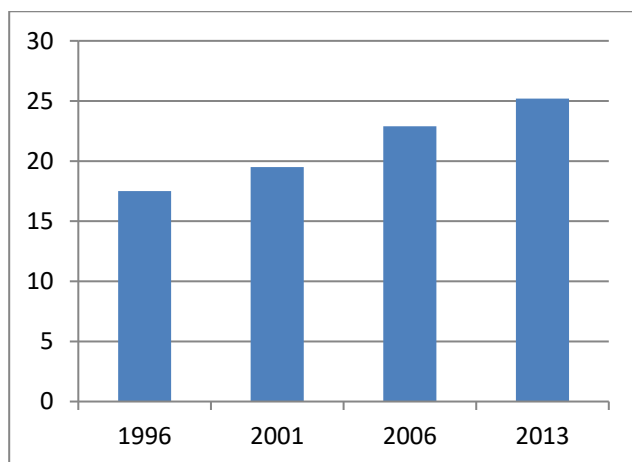
Source: (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.)

Figure 2.6 Percentage of New Zealanders speaking two or more languages
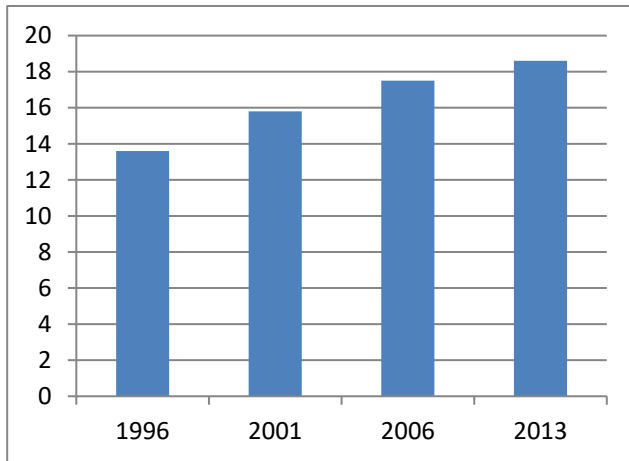
Auckland, where most of the participants of this study live, has the highest proportion of overseas-born people of all New Zealand regions. Almost 2 in 5 people (39.1%) living in the Auckland region were born overseas, which is an increase from 37.0% in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Another interesting statistic is that in the 2013 Census, more than 87,000 people, or 2.2% of all New Zealanders, said that they did not speak English.

This raises a number of questions about the situation of migrant languages, but also opens numerous opportunities for studies of language contact.

Peddy (2005), talking about languages policy in New Zealand, suggests that the New Zealand Government should develop a strategy to help migrants retain their languages, as "language knowledge and cultural understanding are essential factors in ensuring both economic and greater social harmony" (p. 30).

Stoffel and Corne (1996) have observed that language shift in New Zealand has been rapid in some communities, such as the German and Dutch and much slower in other communities, such as the Indian, Croatian, and Chinese communities. They see contact with homelands as the main factor in maintaining immigrant languages, and recent immigration as "a shot in the arm" (p. 147) also assisting maintenance. They have also noted that research on immigrant languages in New Zealand has been uneven, and argued that some languages had not been studied at all.

The following are a selection of studies on community languages in New Zealand: Verivaki (1990) looked at language maintenance and shift in the Greek community. Holmes and 'Aipolo (1991) studied language maintenance and shift in the Tongan community. Roberts looked at language maintenance in the New Zealand-born Chinese community (1991) and in the Gujurati, Dutch and Samoan communities (1999). Shameem (1995) studied language shift among Wellington Indo-Fijians. Kuncha and Bathula (2004) researched the role attitudes play in language shift and language maintenance in the Telugu speaking immigrant community. Al-Sahafi (2005, 2010) looked at Arabic-speaking Muslim immigrant families. Kim (2007) studied language attrition in Korean-English late bilinguals. Crezee (2008) investigated post-retirement first language reversion in the Dutch community.

The present research is an addition to this growing body of studies on community languages in New Zealand.

2.8   Serbian-English Language Contact

Most studies which examine contact between Serbian and English investigate the impact of English on standard Serbian. Far fewer focus on diaspora situations, where Serbian is the language of immigrant communities. Research in both areas is presented here as both are important for this study.

To highlight that the influence of English on Serbian is different in standard and immigrant situations, Mišić Ilić (2011) uses two different terms. Following Vasić, Prćić and Nejgebauer (2011) and Prćić (2005), Mišić Ilić employs the term "Anglosrpski" ('Angloserbian') for Serbian with English-origin items spoken in Serbian-speaking countries and "Serglish", or, "Serblish", for Serbian with English-origin items spoken in Anglophone countries, which she says is common among the members of the Serbian diaspora.

Although the two terms are increasingly accepted in the Serbian linguistic community (Damjanovski, 2014; Trenčić, 2012), I do not employ them in this research, as they both indicate a degree of consistency, and frequency, of contact-induced innovations. As mentioned earlier, I expect that English influence on Serbian in NZSEMC will more

likely reflect the "individual creativity" (Matras, 2009) of participants, than it will permanent language change.

In the following subsections, I will consider some of the main features (linguistic and social) that might impact on the language contact outcome in the NZSEMC.

2.8.1 Differences and similarities between Serbian and English

Both Serbian and English belong to the Indo-European language family, Serbian to the Slavic, and English to the Germanic branch. Both languages are CV (Consonant-Vowel) languages and languages with an SVO (Subject–Verb–Object) word order. English is an analytical language, and Serbian is synthetic.

The typological distance between languages is a linguistic factor recognised to have an influence on the outcomes of borrowing situations. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988, pp. 72-73) say, features that fit typologically with functionally analogous features in the borrowing language tend to be borrowed first, particularly in the slight to moderate borrowing situations.

Filipović and Surdučki, the two Yugoslav linguists who were the first to look at Serbo-Croatian in contact with English, disagree on the level of similarity between Serbo-Croatian and English. Filipović (1967) argues that Serbo-Croatian and English belong to two totally different language systems – English being analytical and Serbo-Croatian being synthetic, while Surdučki (1978) claims that Serbo-Croatian and English have many similarities – both are Indo-European languages, and in addition to this, English is not totally analytic, and Serbo-Croatian is not totally synthetic. Existing similarities, according to him, encourage borrowing from English into Serbo-Croatian more than the differences would block them.

The aim of this thesis is not to establish similarities or differences between Serbian and English. I will, however, in my explanations of contact phenomena in the NZSEMC data, compare the two languages at many points. A number of Serbian grammars are referenced throughout the thesis: Stevanović (1979, 1989), Alexander (2006), Hammond (2005), and Browne and Alt (2004).

2.8.2   Standard Serbian in contact with English

Historically, Serbian has been in continuous contact with various languages within and from outside the Balkan linguistic area, and as a result of this, there are many lexemes of Turkish, German, Greek and other origin in standard Serbian.

Contact with English has been very strong in Serbia since the end of the Second World War, and the outcome of this is that standard Serbian has adopted many English words. English has taken over the supremacy German held for many decades, and is now the dominant source language for modern borrowings in almost every aspect of life (Tasić, 2010). This is echoed in an increasing amount of research on Serbian in contact with English, in both homeland and immigrant situations.

English enters standard Serbian via numerous channels, including tourism, broadcasting, games, and information technology. In addition, there is a trend towards learning three languages in Serbia, so all students study Serbian, English and another foreign language (Vuković-Vojnović & Nićin, 2012).

Klajn, one of the most prominent contemporary Serbian linguists, points out that Serbian resists purist tendencies and has a remarkable openness to internationalisms in its lexicon:

> The language of Serbia has been extremely open to foreign influence. Purism has always been weak and inefficient. (Klajn, 2001, p. 90)

R. Bugarski, another prominent Serbian linguist, is also very critical of purism, and suggests it is even damaging, in that it prevents the positive influence languages and cultures have on one another, cuts off paths of international intellectual exchange and thus precludes modernisation (R. Bugarski, 1996).

Nevertheless, it is notable that the influence of English goes beyond the importation of lexemes for new concepts, which does not go without any criticism. The terms "anglomania" (Filipović, 1986), and "angloholism" (Prćić, 2005) are used to mark the fact that sometimes perfectly adequate Serbian words are being replaced with English words.

57

Bjelica (2011) explains this by saying that Serbians, "by using as many English words as possible, feel "closer" to the Western countries and a part of Europe and the world" (p. 41).

Borrowings from English have been the topic of many studies, including Benson (1967), Klajn (2001, 2008), and Filipović (1961, 1967, 1990). Most researchers have concentrated on the phonological and morphological adaptation of English words and their integration into standard Serbian.

Filipović, who worked on the *Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project* and edited reports on it, emphasises that, since Serbo-Croatian and English differ considerably in the areas of phonology and morphology, it is necessary for words borrowed from English to undergo adaptation (1987, 1990).

Work by Bjelica (2011) demonstrates that a number of English phonemes have been imported into Serbian in recent times without being adapted. In her study of the language of the Serbian TV show *Život u trendu* ('The Trendy Life') she notices a tendency to keep the English bilabial semi-vowel /w/ as in *wow*, and the central vowel "schwa" /ə/ as in *fashion*. She attributes this importation of English phonemes into Serbian to a high exposure to English via contemporary media.

Much work on Serbian orthographic adaptation of lexical borrowings from English has been done by Prćić and his associates, particularly as part of project *Languages and cultures across time and space*, carried out during 1998-2001 at the University of Novi Sad, with the aim of describing recent Anglicisms in standard Serbian. The project resulted in the publication of a dictionary *Du yu speak Anglo-Serbian? Rečnik novijih anglicizama* (Vasić et al., 2011).

In his report on this project, Prćić (2012) offers the following definition of Anglicism:

> An Anglicism is a word from English, of any origin and morphosyntactic structure (i.e. simple, complex, compound or phrasal), or an affix or combining form, which entered Serbian and achieved at least some degree of integration into its system by adaptation at the levels of form and/or content. Hence, such a unit has the status of a borrowed word, affix or combining form. (p. 135)

Vasić, Nejgebauer, and Prćić (2011) argue that recent Anglicisms may have diverse levels of morphological adaptation in Serbian, ranging from zero to complete. They looked at primary and secondary adaptation at orthographic, phonological, morphological, semantic and pragmatic levels, and proposed a new typology of Anglicisms in Serbian, based on four interrelating dimensions:

> According to type, [Anglicisms] can be obvious, hidden or raw; according to formation, they can be trans-shaped, translated or mixed; according to justification of use, they can be fully justified, justified, conditionally justified, unjustified or fully unjustified; and according to status, they can be completely naturalized, partially naturalized or unnaturalised. (Prćić, 2012, p. 144)

Prćić (2012) observes a large and ever increasing number of borrowings from English in modern Serbian and that spelling practices are erratic.

Several recent studies of the level of English influence on modern Serbian show that borrowing from English very much depends on language domain. According to Klajn (2001), English-origin lexemes are typically seen in the areas of fashion, entertainment, sport, (post-communist) economics, and in the slang of drug dealers.

Stojčić and Ognjanović's (2006) analysis of written corpora focused on professional and subcultural jargons (such as jargon in the electronics and film industries) shows that specialised words are regularly borrowed into Serbian and that these borrowings fill lexical gaps. They also find that borrowings often retain their original English form and spelling. Stojčić and Ognjanović offer two explanations for this large number of unintegrated transfers – 1) non-adapted borrowings are not yet fully established, and eventually they will be completely integrated; and 2) the writers cannot be bothered with adapting borrowings. Although they emphasise that the second should not be acceptable, they conclude that translation is not crucial in professional and subcultural jargons, because these sub-communities are autonomous, well-defined and organised, and familiar with the jargon. This means that the interaction and exchange of ideas among fellow members is fully comprehensible. Basically they form communities of practice with their own linguistic norms (Meyerhoff & Strycharz, 2013).

Tasić (2010) analysed the influence of English on terminology in the field of mechanical engineering. He looked at nouns and noun phrases at the phonological-orthographic, morphological and lexical levels. At the phonological-orthographic level, he finds the elimination of redundant graphemes, such as double *ff* in *koeficijent* ('coe**ff**icient'), and an increase in the number of final consonant clusters in Serbian, as in *konce**pt*** ('concept') where consonant clustering, particularly in syllable coda position is not allowed in Serbian. At the morphological level, he notices that the borrowed lexemes which do not have a natural gender in English, and which end in a consonant, get assigned the masculine gender. Tasić's analysis at the lexical level shows that the majority of borrowings in the language of mechanical engineering are hybrid loans, such as *grafički prozor* ('graphic window'), or *rotacioni ugao* ('rotation angle') where both *grafički* and *rotacioni* are adaptations of the English source word, and *prozor* and *ugao* are native Serbian lexemes.

In a corpus derived from contemporary television programmes, Bjelica (2011) found a number of words that are undergoing both primary and secondary adaptation. As an example she takes the word *puzzle,* which can be found as *pazl,* with a *–Ø* ending as in English (primary adaptation), but also can be fund as *pazla,* where the morpheme *-a* which marks the feminine gender is added (secondary adaptation). This secondary adaptation also means that the word does not violate Serbian morphotactics because Serbian does not allow the cluster *–zl* at word boundaries. Bjelica noticed that a number of adjectives preserve their English properties and do not have any markers for person, number, gender or case, such as *retro* in *taj **retro** luk* ('this retro look'), where it descibes a masculine noun, and *te **retro** naočare* ('those retro sunglasses'), where descibes a feminine noun. She also found borrowings that have become productive in Serbian, such as *laptop*, from which noun *laptopaši* ('people who are well-versed and bonded with their laptops') was generated.

Facebook shows an even stronger influence of English on Serbian. In her analysis of the impact of English on the orthography, lexicon and grammar used on Facebook, Vlajković (2010) notes that the influence of English has been huge at the orthographic, lexical and grammatical levels. Orthographic analysis shows changes characteristic of English-speaking Facebook users, such as leetspeak, which is an alternative alphabet for the English language, used primarily on the Internet. There are however, other changes too, for

example using capital letters for adjectives derived from the names for countries, as in *Cyber Egipatski gonič kamila* ('Cyber **E**gyptian cameleer'), and imitating English orthography as in *wee*dimo se instead of *vi*dimo se ('see you'), *gloop si*, instead of *glup si* ('you are stupid'). She finds the greatest number of changes at the lexical level. She notes a huge number of Anglicisms, of which almost half are with "zero orthographic adaptation" (Prćić, 2005). Grammatical changes are sporadic, such as the retention of English plural forms as in *Dosta mi je notifications*! ('I am sick of notification**s**!').

Vlajković concludes that contact between Serbian and English has surpassed that typical of indirect language contact, and warns that further hybridisation of the Serbian language seems inevitable. She argues that the best possible outcome would be that this hybrid language continues to exist as a jargon, mostly limited to younger, bilingual generations, and calls for raising awareness of the need to preserve the Serbian language.

In contrast to this, research done by Panić-Kavgić (2006) shows a relatively small level of understanding of anglicisms used in daily Serbian newspapers, weekly magazines, and television programmes. Panić-Kavgić researched the level of understanding of new anglicisms among 80 Serbian speakers, 20-60 years old, mostly university-educated, and concluded that there is "much noise in communication" between Serbian journalists and readers.

Similarly, Grubor (2011) claims that Serbians prefer Serbian vocabulary. She surveyed 60 Serbian speakers of different genders, ages, educational levels and professions. Her study shows that Serbians are very open towards neologisms, with a slight preference for Anglicisms. She argues that level of acceptance of neologisms depends on the liberalism, openness to change, nationalism and pragmatism of the speakers. Despite this, she finds that Serbians prefer to use Serbian lexemes rather than borrowed ones, and this choice does not depend on gender, age, education or profession.

2.8.3 The Serbian-English immigrant context

We have seen that Serbian in Serbia remains open to lexical innovations and borrowings from other languages. We would, therefore, expect Serbian in immigrant communities to be at least as (or even more), open as in the homeland.

Several studies have been done on changes in the Serbian language, caused by contact with English in immigrant contexts.

Surdučki (1978b) analysed and compared two Serbo-Croatian and English contact situations, one being the standard Serbo-Croatian language in Yugoslavia and the other the language of Serbian and Croatian immigrants in Canada. His data comprised both written and spoken language. He used interviews to research the influence of English on the language of immigrants, and newspapers and magazines published in Yugoslavia to research the influence of English on standard homeland Serbian. This book is in two parts – a dictionary of borrowed lexemes and an analysis of the morphological adaptation of borrowings according to word type.

Surdučki points out several differences between the two contact situations. Firstly, contact is direct in Canada and indirect in Yugoslavia, where English-origin lexemes arrive via numerous channels, including other, or "intermediary" (Surdučki, 1978b) languages. Also, the status of English is not the same in the two locales, since English is the host language in Canada and has much greater prestige there than it does in Yugoslavia. This causes less resistance towards borrowing in the immigrant contact situation than in the standard language.

Another important difference Surdučki notes is that contact in the immigrant situation is synchronous, and therefore less stable than in the homeland situation. The result of this is that a lexeme can be found in the language of one immigrant, but not necessarily in the whole community. Also, borrowed lexemes are not used exclusively, and an informant may use both an English lexeme and its Serbian equivalent within minutes of each other. The same borrowed lexemes may also have different phonological adaptations. Surdučki argues that the lesser stability of borrowings in the immigrant situation, where every lexeme is a potential borrowing, is a result of the fact that each immigrant has practically the whole

English lexicon at his disposal, but only "masters" a small part related to everyday life and work.

Despite the differences between the immigrant and homeland contact situations, Surdučki's research showed that the language of Serbo-Croatian immigrants in Canada did not differ much from standard Serbo-Croatian in the way borrowed lexemes were integrated. He also notes that the relatively large number of borrowings in both situations did not cause any morphological innovations.

Three decades after Surdučki, Trenčić (2012) analysed the attitudes and language use of the first-generation Serbian immigrants in Canada, with the aim of finding out how they construct their cultural and linguistic identity. Starting from the premise that personal identity (re-)construction after migration is closely related to and reflected in the development of intercultural sensitivity, which, in turn, is closely connected to and reflected in cultural and linguistic identity, Trenčić looks at the roles of English and Serbian, the extent of mother tongue retention, and the influence of English, as well as the possible interrelationship between linguistic characteristics and participants' estimated intercultural sensitivity.

Trenčić analysed pre-existing interviews conducted in 2008 in Toronto, Canada, as part of the *Diaspora Project* (Lopičić & Albu, 2010). The project was carried out by CEACS (Central European Association for Canadian Studies), and involved eight countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia). Study involved 23 (16 female and 7 male) participants of different ages, educational and social backgrounds (the average age was 45). Most of them had immigrated to Canada in the 1990s, but some were part of earlier immigration waves. Twenty interviewees chose to be interviewed in Serbian, while three preferred English. Trenčić presumes that the reason for this is that interviewees either did not master English well enough, or they felt more comfortable and secure speaking Serbian, in terms of making possible mistakes in English. He concludes that the fact that Serbian is still the language in which they express their identity is consistent with the claim that they consider Serbian to be their language of identity, and English to be a language for communication in certain social situations.

Trenčić used Bennett's scale to investigate participants' intercultural sensitivity. Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) proposes six stages - Denial, Defence/Reversal, Minimization, Acceptance, Adaptation and Integration. The first three stages are ethnocentric, i.e. people see their culture as central to reality, and the last three are ethnorelative, i.e. people see their culture in the context of other cultures.

Trenčić's analysis showed that almost equal number of participants had ethnocentric and ethnorelative points of view, with the largest number of participants belonging to the stage of Denial, which means that they either ignored the culture of their country of immigration entirely, or they understood it in an undifferentiated, simplistic manner.

Trenčić argues that language use is closely connected to participants' estimated level of intercultural sensitivity. Participants assigned to the ethnocentric stages, who tend to live in a kind of a social isolation, and socialise and work primarily with people of Serbian origin, use more Anglicisms in their speech than participants belonging to the ethnorelative stages. Trenčić presumes that this is due to their low level of intercultural sensitivity and a lack of intercultural awareness. Participants assigned to the ethnorelative stages use fewer Anglicisms, which Trenčić attributes to a greater ability to switch between different cultures, and different languages.

Trenčić's study has also found that schooling in Canada does not have a positive influence on participants' ability to deal with cultural differences. On the other hand, arrival at a younger age and a larger number of years spent in a different culture, reflect positively on one's intercultural sensitivity.

The topic of Damjanovski's (2014) PhD research is the hybrid English-Serbian language, which she calls "Serglish", used by the members of the Serbian community in Vancouver, Canada. So far, Damjanovski has published only a preliminary report, in which she says that her research will have two stages. The first stage will focus on written sources, primarily on the Serbian-language newspaper, *Kišobran* ('Umbrella') which was published in Vancouver for 15 years. The information from these sources will provide an initial insight into the semantic, pragmatic, orthographic, morphological and syntactic characteristics of Serglish. The second stage will consist of a questionnaire and interviews with generation 1.5 and second generation of Serbian immigrants. Tasks in the questionnaire are aimed at

examining participants' knowledge and use of Serbian. Data collected from the interviews will add a phonological component to the corpus, and provide some sociolinguistic information about Serbian immigrants in Canada. Damjanovski points out that the goal of her study is to enable generalisations about this hybrid language, which she sees as a variety of Serbian.

The aim of Savić's (1994) research was to test the validity of the government constraint on code-switching proposed by Di Sciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986). According to their Government and Binding Theory, the process of code-switching is "constrained by the government relation that holds between the constituents of a sentence" (Di Sciullo et al., 1986, p. 1). Savić analysed the morpho-syntax of Serbian-English and Spanish-English intrasentential code-switched utterances. Spanish-English data was obtained from the TV sitcom *Que pasa, U.S.A.?*, and Serbian-English data by interviewing bilingual Serbian-American undergraduate students at Purdue University, West Lafayette. Savić interviewed 22 participants (12 females and 10 males), all of them second generation Serbian immigrants, born and raised in the United States, who never had any formal instruction in Serbian.

Savić found violations of the government constraint in both the Serbian and Spanish sets of data, and concluded that the government constraint does not hold on a universal level. On the other hand, her analysis of Serbian-English supports Myers-Scotton's (1993a) predictions that ML assignment in the process of code-switching, and ML turnover, can be directly linked to the process of structural convergence, or "use of morphemes from a single linguistic variety, but with parts of their lexical structure coming from another " (Myers-Scotton, 1998b, p. 290), and that in some communities, language shift is preceded and conditioned by diachronic ML turnover.

According to Myers-Scotton's MLF model, the matrix language (ML) is the language that provides the largest proportion of morphemes within a discourse, and also the morpho-syntactic structure of the sentence. In the American Serbian she analysed, Savić found that the majority of morphemes were Serbian, but the morpho-syntactic structure was often English, which indicates an ongoing process of ML turnover, or a shift from Serbian to English as the ML in the language of this group of American Serbians.

65

Savić found that the process of convergence in the Serbian language of the Serbian-American students she interviewed had affected its inflectional morphology (the case marking system, the noun-adjective agreement within noun phrases, the aspectual system and past tense formation in the verbal system). It also resulted in frequent resetting of the pro-drop parameter. Comparison of results with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale (presented in Table 2.1) showed that they are characteristic of levels (2), (3) and (4) of Thomason and Kaufman's scale. Savić argues that structural convergence, although being the outcome of Serbian contact with English, is fed by the less stable morphological paradigms within the Serbian grammar system.

Comments on language maintenance and shift in Serbian communities in Australia are found in several general studies on immigrant language communities there. Australia is a multicultural and multilingual country, which, according to Clyne & Kipp (2006), has approximately 240 languages used at home and about 180 community languages, which are employed in numerous public domains, including media (both print and electronic), secular and social welfare organisations, religious services and business transactions.

According to Clyne (1991b, pp. 217-218), and based on the Australian 1986 Census data, Serbo-Croatian was the third biggest home-used language other than English, and 10% of Yugoslav migrants, across the whole of Australia, demonstrated a complete shift to English within the first generation. Clyne (1991a) also found that only 51% of Yugoslavs considered maintenance of the native language by their children important.

Doucet (1991) looked at language maintenance and shift in the Serbo-Croatian community in Queensland. He interviewed 140 Yugoslavs (107 Serbs, and 33 Croats), mostly living in the Brisbane metropolitan area. 127 informants belonged to the Ia generation (older than 12 at the time of immigration) and 13 to the Ib generation (younger than 12 at the time of immigration). Most informants had arrived in Australia from the 1960s onwards, which means that their length of residence in their adopted country at the time of the research matches that of the New Zealand Serbian community. Unfortunately, Doucet did not say from which part of ex-Yugoslavia his informants came, and whether their native tongue was standard Serbo-Croatian, or one of its dialects.

Doucet established the degree of maintenance and shift according to the three factors recommended by Fishman (1966) – media variables (speaking, writing, reading and listening comprehension), domains of language use (family, neighbourhood, community, workplace and social services), and situational variables (formal, informal and intimate speech). His research showed that the areas most retentive of native language are reading and writing, family and community, and informal situations.

In contrast to Clyne (1991a), Doucet claims that Serbians and Croatians are striving to maintain their native tongue as they see it as vital to religious and ideological continuity. Nevertheless, his research has revealed a rate of shift of 16.6%, which was the second highest rate of shift among immigrant communities in Australia. Doucet argues that the younger the informants were when they came to Australia, and the more schooling they had done in Australia, the greater the shift to English was. However, he also notes that age and education alone cannot explain the shift, and lists exogamous marriage and length of residence in Australia as other important factors.

Dimitrijević Savić looked at the influence of English on the language of the first and second generation of Serbian women living in Melbourne, Australia (Dimitrijević, 2005; Dimitrijević Savić, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011). She interviewed twenty Serbian-English bilingual women, first and second generations, who are all members of a large social network connected to a Serbian Orthodox church-school community. The goal was to investigate macro-social and micro-interactional bilingual language practices in a Serbian migrant community (Dimitrijević, 2005).

Dimitrijević Savić concluded that social networks have a significant influence on language maintenance and language shift. She claims that there are statistically significant correlations between language maintenance and conde-switching in network contacts, as well as levels of involvement in practices that foster language maintenance, and levels of integration into the English-speaking community.

Her study confirms Fishman's (2001a) argument that an intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community is the basis for maintaining a community language. The correlation between bilinguals' speech and

67

bilinguals' social networks was further confirmed in Dimitrijević Savić (2006) where she studies different language pairs in different contact situations.

2.8.4 Serbian in contact with English in New Zealand

Studies by Jakich (1975, 1987), Stoffel (1981a, 1981b, 1991, 1994), and Gerzić (2001) have looked at immigrant Serbo-Croatian and Croatian speaking communities in New Zealand. While Jakich and Stoffel studied the early Yugoslav immigrants, the subject of Gerzić's study were migrants who came in the 1990s, like the participants in my research.

      Stoffel notes that the majority of early Yugoslav immigrants came from the Dalmatian coast:

> Migration from Yugoslavia to New Zealand is a typical example of chain migration. Up to World War II immigrants came almost entirely from an area in Central Dalmatia [...] Members of the same families have constantly migrated to and from New Zealand from the same villages. After World War II people from other parts of Yugoslavia began to arrive in larger numbers, but the Dalmatian element is still predominant, especially in Auckland and the north. Auckland is now the New Zealand city with the highest number of people of Dalmatian origin and their descendants. Smaller but important communities live in and around Kaitaia, Whangarei, and Dargaville. By contrast, Wellington has a relatively high number of immigrants from parts of Yugoslavia other than Dalmatia. One now finds Yugoslavs and their descendants in all walks of life and spread over a far larger area than before World War I. This dispersion has helped integration into the host society but at the same time has accelerated the disappearance of both old traditions and the native language. (Stoffel, 1981b, p. 54)

The native tongue of these Dalmatian immigrants was not standard Serbo-Croatian, but a Chakavian dialect (Stoffel, 1994) which is one of the dialects of the Croatian language. According to Stoffel, these immigrants were not very familiar with the standard language. He notes that:

> for many descendants of the migrants the standard language – especially in the written form – remains a somewhat exotic and distant phenomenon. (Stoffel, 1994, p. 165)

The language of recent Serbian immigrants, on the other hand, is standard Serbian which is based on the Shtokavian dialect, as are standard Serbo-Croatian and standard Croatian (Stoffel, 1996).

Jutronić-Tihomirović (1982) found that dialectal variations had significant influences on the outcome of language contact and that the adaptation of English loanwords depended on the Serbo-Croatian dialect into which they were borrowed. She studied two different Croatian dialects, Chakavian and Kaikavian, and noticed differences in the way borrowings from English were adapted, conforming to the morphophonemic rules of the two dialects.

This is relevant for two reasons. First, because it means that the Serbian migrants of the 1990s did not come to a New Zealand where there was a Serbo-Croatian speaking community that they could identify with and slot into. Even the older Yugoslavs in New Zealand who might still be using Serbo-Croatian would use a very different variety than the one that the educated urban new Serbian migrants were familiar with. Second, because these two migrant groups spoke two different dialectal variations of Serbo-Croatian, the outcome of contact with English is expected to be different.

Jakich's study involved both Serbian and Croatian immigrants (1975, 1987). She does not say how many were of which nationality, which Serbo-Croatian dialects they spoke, nor does she notice any difference between the two national groups in language contact outcomes, or in their attitudes towards language maintenance.

Both Jakich and Stoffel comment that early migrants borrowed heavily from English. Migrants added Serbo-Croatian suffixes to words transferred from English and created a language barely comprehensible to new immigrants coming from the same area (Jakich, 1975). The main reasons for the creation of this "Pidgin Yugoslav", as Jakich (1987) calls it, are said to be the lack of adequate words in the native tongue, and also their attitude towards their native language, which was given a low priority in their lives in the new country, with no expectation of returning to Yugoslavia.

Stoffel (1981b) lists the following factors as having decisive influence on the development of New Zealand Serbo-Croatian: the integration into the New Zealand way of life, urbanisation and the disintegration of former closely-knit communities, intermarriage

with people of Maori and British origin, and the declining number of new immigrants from the mother country. Jakich (1975) argues that the modified language of earlier immigrants had an influence on the language of later immigrants, who identified with an already existing Serbo-Croatian speaking community, and in order to slot into it as quickly as possible, they would accept the modified language.

The research by Gerzić (2001) is more relevant for this study because it involves Serbo-Croatian speaking immigrants who arrived in New Zealand after 1991, from Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia. Gerzić, a new immigrant from Serbia herself, surveyed 21 New Zealand residents, 12 females and 9 males, who, at the time of the study, had been living in Auckland for less than twelve years. All of them had come to New Zealand as highly educated adults. At the time of the study, they were mostly between 30 and 50 years old.

The study focuses on language use and maintenance and attempts to predict when language shift will occur. Gerzić finds very few indications that language shift has started among the members of the first-generation immigrants.

Although there are signs of language shift among the second generation, Gerzić does not think it likely that the shift would be complete in this generation. She forecasts that "the shift in this urban immigrant community will occur in the third generation earliest, with a possibility of being extended to the fourth generation at the latest" (Gerzic, 2001, p. 44). This presumption is based on the fact that the first-generation immigrants are keen on retaining their native tongue and passing it to their children.

Gerzić argues that both the use of English and code-switching seem to be motivated by environmental rather than linguistic factors. She finds that English is predominant at work and in school domains, while Serbo-Croatian is predominant in home, church, and silent prayer domains. Code-switching happens when the topics of conversation are events from typically English environment, such as work, school, and English friends. Gerzić observed that most of her respondents used Serbo-Croatian at home, but also noticed that there were situations where people were unaware of their language behaviour, in other words, they were unaware that they were using more English than Serbian in family situations. Gerzić also argues that the new immigrants, unlike the older generation

immigrants studied by Jakich, do not use the Pidgin Yugoslav, but tend to use "correct Serbo-Croatian 'contaminated' by the correct English words" (Gerzic, 2001, p. 38).

Because Gerzić's study involves the first-generation immigrants from Serbia, I will come back to it again, particularly in relation to attitudes to the mother tongue maintenance.

2.9   Concluding remarks

The literature examined in this chapter clearly highlights some predictions in relation to the language of the first-generation New Zealand Serbians.

The rate of language shift in the first-generation is generally much lower than in the second-generation. Although there are examples of language shift happening in the first-generation, this is still not expected at the level of the whole community.

We might expect the Serbian community in New Zealand to eventually acquire English as their dominant language. In fact, for most participants in this study, English is already the dominant language in some domains, such as work. But, at this point in time, for the first generation of immigrants who came to New Zealand as adults, Serbian is still the main medium of communication among community members. Nevertheless, English has had a strong influence on Serbian, and we would expect to see the mixing of two languages that is typical of bilinguals, with the full range of innovations as identified by Matras (2009, 2012) – selection malfunctions, pattern-replication, lexical insertion, and speech manipulation. The influence of English will be present at all levels of language – orthography, lexicon, morphology and syntax. Nevertheless, my presumption is that English influence on Serbian in New Zealand will more reflect individual creativity of participants than permanent language change.

In the next chapter, I will describe the Serbian Community in New Zealand, with a particular focus on the first-generation immigrants, their language attitudes and their attempts to maintain the Serbian language in New Zealand.

3   THE SERBIAN COMMUNITY IN NEW ZEALAND

The literature on language contact discussed in the previous chapter highlights the fact that social settings have generally been credited as having a strong influence on the outcome of contact situations in immigrant communities (Dimitrijević, 2005; Winford, 2013). Because of this, I now turn to describe the Serbian Community in New Zealand, with a particular focus on the first-generation immigrants.

The Serbian community in New Zealand is unique among Serbian diaspora communities in that it is small and of recent origin. The majority of Serbians came to New Zealand in the 1990s following the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The collapse of the economy, vicious ethnic conflicts and civil war, and general uncertainty caused thousands of people to flee to many parts of the world, mostly to the United States, Canada, and Australia. A small number, predominantly young families with children, came to New Zealand.

In the years that followed, more children were born in New Zealand and many people brought out parents. Immigration to New Zealand continued in the 2000s, but in much smaller numbers, with newcomers slotting well into this newly formed community. However, the community has not grown, as many Serbians have on-migrated to Australia and other countries, or gone back to Serbia when the political and economic situation improved.

It is not easy to say how many Serbians lived in New Zealand before the 1990 wave of immigrants. Data in the 2006 census (see Figure 3.1) shows that there were a few Serbians born in New Zealand before the migration caused by Yugoslav wars happened, however, the New Zealand census data collected before the collapse of the Yugoslav state

did not distinguish between the different nationalities and birth places of immigrants from former Yugoslavia. Jakich (1975, 1987) states that her research on interference occurring in the Serbo-Croatian and English language contact situation in New Zealand involves both Serbian and Croatian immigrants, but she does not comment on total numbers of Serbs who at the time lived in New Zealand. Stoffel's studies indicate that most of the old immigrants were Croatians from a Dalmatian coast (Stoffel, 1981b).

Over the years I have come to know of some of the early immigrants. Jovan Rancich, a well-known Auckland potter, born in south Serbia, lived in New Zealand from shortly before the First World War until his death in 1940 (Lloyd-Jenkins, 2003). Soon after arriving to New Zealand, I met Miladin Bošković, owner of a big fishing company, who came from Serbia to New Zealand in the 1960s and established a family with his Serbian wife. A New Zealand lady I met at yoga told me a wonderful story about her Serbian grandfather who changed his Orthodox religion to become a Presbyterian, and adopted a Scottish name so he could marry her Scottish grandmother. Although this establishes a Serbian community in New Zealand of some long time, my focus is on a very specific group of recent migrants, a tight knit and dense network of individuals unified not only by ethnicity but also by life choices they made.

3.1   New Zealand Population Census data

The Census data, available at the Statistics New Zealand webpage (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.), indicates that there are approximately 1,100 Serbians living in New Zealand. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show numbers of Serbians living in New Zealand by birthplace and ethnicity, respectively, as declared in the last five population censuses. It is important to include both birthplace and ethnicity figures because not all people who were born in Serbia are of Serbian ethnicity, and not all people of Serbian ethnicity came from Serbia.[2]

---

[2] According to Serbian census data from 2002 (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2003), approximately 10% of citizens of Serbia are not of Serbian ethnicity. Approximately the same percentage of people living in Serbia is not having Serbian as their native tongue.

Table 3.1 displays numbers of Serbians living in New Zealand, by birthplace. The names of countries in this table reflect the turbulent years of the Yugoslav civil war. The 1991 Census data includes the counts of all former states of Yugoslavia. The 1996 and 2001 data exclude Croatia, but include other Yugoslav states. The 2006 data includes counts of Serbia and Montenegro and 2013 of Serbia only.

Table 3.1 Number of Serbians living in New Zealand, by birthplace

Birthplace	Census Year				
	1991	1996	2001	2006	2013
Yugoslavia	2,538	2,571	2,616	-	-
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	-	1,173	-
Serbia	-	-	-	-	1,107

Table 3.2 displays numbers by ethnicity. Similarly to the data in Table 3.1, the 1991 Census data counts all people from former Yugoslavia as Yugoslavs. The 1996 and 2001 Censuses recognise Croatian ethnicity as a separate one, and count other formerly Yugoslav groups as South Slavs. Censuses carried out in 2006 and 2013 count Serbian as a separate ethnicity.

Table 3.2 Number of Serbians living in New Zealand, by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Census Year				
	1991	1996	2001	2006	2013
Yugoslav	2,466	-	-	-	-
South Slav	-	2,991	1,539	-	-
Serbian	-	-	-	1,029	1,101

Although Statistics New Zealand recognises new states, it is not the same with languages. The 2013 Census distinguishes only Serbo-Croatian language, and reports that there are 5,349 people who speak it.

The 2006 Census was done approximately ten years after the big wave of immigrants arrived, and was first to show figures for people of Serbian ethnicity. The time of

this Census also correlates with the beginning of collation of data for this study, and it will be used to draw the demographic profile of Serbian community.

It is important to note that 2006 Census data made available on a CD (Statistics New Zealand, 2007) contain a few discrepancies due to multiple responses in the ethnicity question. The CD contains raw data distributed in multiple datasets collated in several thematic modules. Discrepancies can be found in variables across different modules, and also in data within the same dataset. Nevertheless, the discrepancies are small and do not have the impact on interpretation of trends in the data.

The 2006 Census data clearly confirm that the vast majority of New Zealand Serbians are new immigrants (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Serbians, by age group and birthplace, according to the 2006 Census
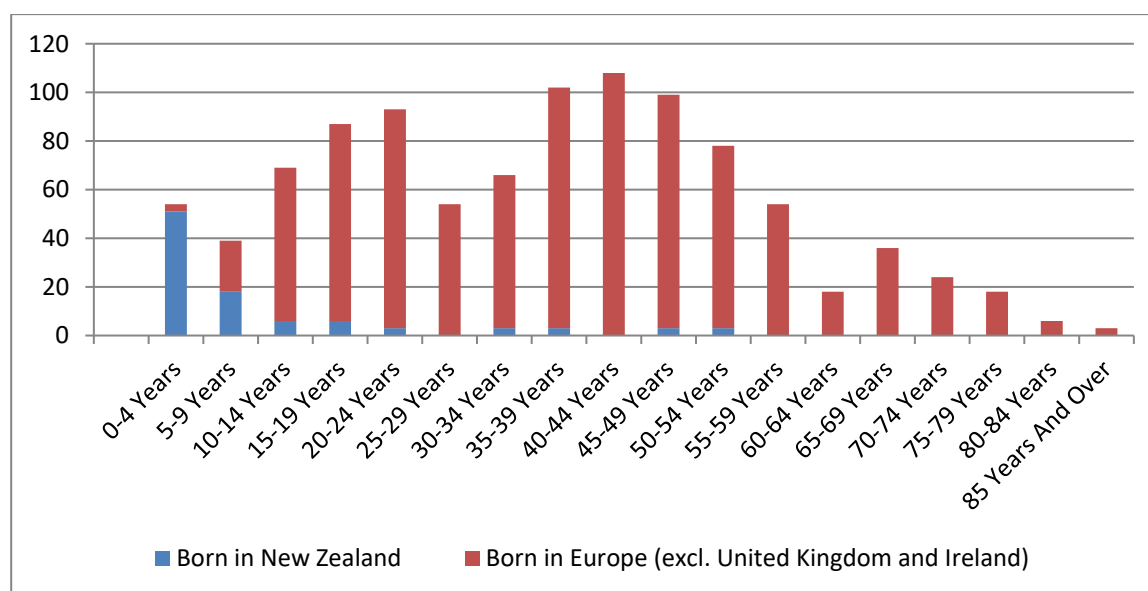
There is a very clear bimodal distribution in Figure 3.1, where one peak (major mode) represents parents and other peak (minor mode) represents children, indicative of the fact that the majority of Serbians who came to New Zealand in the 1990s were young families with children. A small number of Serbians born in New Zealand form the majority of children under 10, and these are obviously the children of the recent immigrants. Among the people in the age groups 30-54, only twelve people were born in New Zealand.

The majority of Serbians who immigrated in the 1990s qualified for New Zealand residency under a points system which selected for education and employment skills. They are well educated, with most having bachelors' and masters' degrees. Some continued their education in New Zealand.

Table 3.3 displays the number of people born in Serbia and Montenegro by employment, and shows that the majority of New Zealand Serbians are employed.

Table 3.3 Serbians, by employment, according to the 2006 Census

Category	Number	Percentage
Younger than 5	54	4.60
Still at school	180	15.35
Employed	684	58.31
Unemployed	168	14.32
Over 65	87	7.42
Total	1,173	

Table 3.4 displays the number of people of Serbian ethnicity, by area of industry. This factor is important because most jobs belonging to the areas of industry listed in the Table require integration into the English speaking community, which leads to "greater linguistic integration as well" (Sankoff et al., 1997, p. 193).

Table 3.4 Serbians, by area of industry, according to the 2006 Census

Area of Industry	No. of Employed Persons
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	108
Health Care and Social Assistance	66
Manufacturing	63
Retail Trade	63
Education and Training	57
Public Administration and Safety	42
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	33
Other	249
Total	681

3.2 New Zealand Serbians and their two languages

Language attitudes play an important role in the maintenance of languages in immigrant groups. This section offers a few comments on the ways that attitudes to language and migration have had an impact on the sociolinguistic experience of Serbian migrants in New Zealand. These comments are largely based on my own observations, and information I gained as a member of the Serbian community myself.

3.2.1 Bilingualism in the New Zealand Serbian community

Language proficiency has proven to be an important factor in the study of languages in contact. Several authors suggest that the type of code-switching speakers utilise seems to be directly proportional to the educational level of bilingual speakers, as well as to their age and language proficiency (for example Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Savić, 1994). With this in mind, it is important to note that the participants in this study, as well as the most members of the first-generation New Zealand Serbians, can be characterised as active bilinguals who speak both English and Serbian fluently, and use them regularly in their everyday life.

Most adult Serbians who arrived in New Zealand in the 1990s are educated professionals. Considering that they all attended Serbian schools where they learned standard Serbian, we can treat them as all being proficient speakers of standard Serbian. They have acquired English either through school in Serbia, or after they came to New Zealand. Their knowledge of English at the time of arrival in New Zealand varied greatly among individuals. Some people came without any English at all, while others were fluent bilinguals. Some had worked in English-speaking countries before coming to New Zealand, and some, who had worked as academics or professionals before coming to New Zealand, used English proficiently. A few had had their research published in English language journals while living in Serbia.

Successful acquisition of English is a major prerequisite for economic and social integration. Although they came with unequal knowledge of English, all Serbians had to learn English quickly. As Table 3.3 shows, the majority of New Zealand Serbians are

employed (58.31%), or still at school (15.35%). Table 3.5 shows that 924 people (89.80%) of Serbian ethnicity declared themselves as English speakers. The biggest proportion of people who do not speak English is found among the youngest and oldest Serbians, i.e. either younger than 5 years old, or older than 70 years old. The Census does not measure the proficiency in English.

Table 3.5 English speaking Serbians, according to the 2006 Census

Age Group	People	English speaking
0-4	57	27
5-9	42	39
10-14	72	69
15-19	87	84
20-24	96	96
25-29	57	57
30-34	69	66
35-39	99	99
40-44	111	108
45-49	99	93
50-54	78	72
55-59	54	51
60-64	21	21
65-69	36	21
70-74	24	12
75-79	18	6
80-84	6	3
85 and over	3	0
Total	1,029	924

Based on my own observations, Serbians in New Zealand speak their native language to each other and to members of the communities that speak the languages which used to be known as Serbo-Croatian (Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin). They only speak English when non-Serbian speakers are present. The language they use with their children varies depending on the situation, the topic and the level of the children's knowledge of Serbian.

Gerzić's (2001) research confirms those finding. Her study of 21 adult, first-generation Serbo-Croatian immigrants shows that English is predominant at work and in school domains, while Serbo-Croatian is predominant in home, church, and silent prayer domains. Gerzić also observed that there were situations where people were unaware of their

language behaviour, in other words, they were using more English in family situations than they were aware of.

Unlike the first-generation New Zealand Serbians, who are sequential bilinguals, the majority of the second-generation Serbians are simultaneous bilinguals. They were born in New Zealand, or came at a very early age, and have learned their Serbian and English approximately at the same time.

Being a member of the community gives me numerous opportunities to meet children of my friends, to observe how they use their languages, and to talk to them about Serbian language. My informal generalisation about younger New Zealand Serbians is that at parties, second generation Serbians talk between themselves always in English. When asked why this is so, they say that it is easier to speak in English than in Serbian, and that often they come across words they do not know how to say in Serbian. When asked which language they speak at home, they say that they speak Serbian with their parents, but English with their siblings. Some of them told me that their parents keep telling them of all the mistakes they make, and that this discourages them from speaking Serbian.

Obviously, if this situation holds over time, the prognosis for long maintenance in the New Zealand Serbian community is not very positive. In the last subsection of this chapter, I review efforts being made to maintain Serbian in the Auckland community.

3.2.2   Maintenance of Serbian language

It is generally agreed that the proficiency bilinguals achieve in their two languages depends largely on the opportunities they have to use each of them. Levels of exposure to the native language have a major influence on first language retention. It is therefore important to comment on opportunities to use the Serbian language in New Zealand, and to maintain speakers' level of fluency in Serbian.

Although Serbian speakers in New Zealand are far from their native country, and the community is small, their exposure to the Serbian language is not completely absent primarily thanks to technological advances. Modes of communication have developed rapidly over the last twenty years. Serbians can be in touch with family and friends back in

Serbia via Internet telephony. VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) services systems, such as Skype and Viber, utilise existing broadband Internet access, and enable "free" calls.

The Internet also provides easy access to Serbian newspapers, as well as books, television programmes, and movies. Gerzić (2001) finds that there is balance in the use of Serbo-Croatian and English in terms of reading materials among the first-generation immigrants. According to her, the most popular reading material are newspapers with most respondents reading between two and seven newspapers per week.

The immigrants themselves started thinking of ways of maintaining the language among their children soon after their arrival. As New Zealand does not have any official education programme for maintaining the Serbian language, the immigrants in Auckland organised an informal weekend school. One of the members of the community (not a participant in this research) spoke about the school in an interview for the New Zealand online news site, Stuff (Walters, 2014, October 14). A children's drama club was also organised. Figure 3.2 is a photo taken at the performance of play *Bajkovizija* by Stevan Korpivica in 2009.

Figure 3.2 Children drama group performing Serbian play *Bajkovizija*

Photo courtesy of Milomir Marinović ©

Immigrants also established a culture centre, a choir, and a church[3] who publishes a magazine *Svetosavsko slovo*. Since 1990s, Serbians have occasionally broadcasted a radio programme in the Serbian language to bring news of the Serbian community in New Zealand.[4] There is also a satellite television with several channels that broadcast Serbian TV programmes to which many New Zealand Serbians subscribe to.

As opposed to circumstances in some other contact situations (see for example situation in California as described by Field, 2002, p. xi), the New Zealand local government encourages maintenance of cultures and the native languages of immigrants. Auckland Libraries have a small collection of books in Serbian, to which they add from time to time. Auckland Council gives grants to projects that support maintaining immigrant cultures and languages. The Serbian language school received such grants several times, and used them to publish the magazine *Čigra* in the Serbian language, and in order to organise several children's performances.

There is a certain difference in language attitudes between new and old migrants. Unlike Jakich's (1987) who says that the native language was given a low priority in immigrants lives in the new country, Gerzić (2001) argues that recent immigrants see their native language as an important part of their culture and identity. Gerzić reports that the majority think the native language is a major part of their heritage. Although they mostly hold neutral opinion about whether Serbo-Croatian will be useful for their children's career, they all agree that it is important for their children to retain their mother tongue. Only two respondents saw English as a more important language to be used by their children.

A study on Serbian in Canada conducted by Trenčić (2012) reports similar results to Gerzić. Trenčić finds that most new immigrant parents think it is important to pass the Serbian culture and the Serbian language on to their children. Trenčić also compared the use of Serbian and English at home between new and old immigrants. He found that 9% of participants in his research said that they used only English at home, while others use strictly Serbian (64 %) or a combination of Serbian and English (23%). He notes that this is unlike

---

[3] More information about the church community can be found at their web page http://www.svetikralj.org.nz/sr.
[4] The radio programme in Serbian language was broadcasted via Planet FM community based radio station http://www.6planetfm.org.nz.

the old immigrants, who, according to the data from the Canadian Census in 1971, had shifted mostly to English, with only 16% declaring that they used Serbian at home, and 58% that they used English.

This difference might come from the fact that old immigrants, as noticed by Jakich (1987), did not expect to return to the old country, as one definition of diaspora makes clear: "Diaspora refers to the scattering and dispersal of people who will never literally be able to return to the places from which they came" (Hall, 1995).

In reference to the first-generation Serbo-Croatian speakers in Queensland, Doucet claims that they strive to maintain their language because they "regard language maintenance as vital to religious and ideological continuity" (Doucet, 1991, p. 283). Doucet's (1991) argument that religion and ideology can be strong motivators for language maintenance should not be disregarded, however there are also other reasons for the new immigrants' desire to maintain their native language among themselves and their children. Appel and Muysken (1987) note that, generally, the first-generation immigrants have a natural desire to hold onto something which is a link with their home country.

In addition, first-generation migrants have a good reason to be uncertain about the future, based on the uncertainties inherited in their past. Serbian emigration to New Zealand in the 1990s, as well as to other countries, was triggered by the war in the former Yugoslavia. The first-generation Serbian immigrants in New Zealand came to escape from problems at home. Some of them wanted to stay, others wanted to spend a few years in New Zealand and then move to another country or to return to Serbia when living conditions improved. And, as the years passed, many have already left New Zealand. These uncertainties about the new homeland, and the possibility of return to Serbia, might also foster language maintenance.

3.3 Concluding remarks

The 2006 and 2013 New Zealand census data show that there are just over 1,000 Serbians living in New Zealand. The majority of them arrived in New Zealand in the 1990s

(following the disintegration of Yugoslavia); they are bilingual, middle class professionals who soon after immigration found employment.

Based on research done by Gerzić (2001), as well as on various attempts by members of Serbian community to maintain the language among their children, it can be concluded that New Zealand immigrants from Serbia place much value on retaining their native language. How much these efforts will result in successful language maintenance, it is difficult to say.

Considering that the first-generation Serbians have many opportunities to maintain their native language (such as Serbian books and newspapers, Serbian television programmes and travel to Serbia) it can be expected that their Serbian will remain strong and that we will not see language shift among first-generation Serbians in New Zealand, despite the fact that they live in an English speaking country, and that in some domains of their life (such as work), English is the predominant language.

In the next chapters I begin to probe this expectation in more detail. First, I will describe the participants and the nature of the data, and then I will move on to examining structural and social factors influencing the development of New Zealand Serbian.

4 PARTICIPANTS AND DATA

The study examines the language of 37 late bilinguals who migrated from Serbia to New Zealand as adults during and after the Yugoslav wars (1991-1995). Data for the study was collected in the period 2004-2013, and comprises online and mobile messages exchanged between participants and myself.

This chapter gives details of the participants, and data collection. It briefly describes characteristics of communication occurring within a computer-mediated format. It also lays out the methodological procedures used in the thesis, including research ethics.

4.1 Participants

The socio-demographic status of the participants in this study is well-known to me because we are part of the same social network. Table 4.1 shows some details about the participants – the year they arrived in New Zealand, their level of education and where it was completed, employment status, marital status, whether spouse or partners are Serbian or English, and their relationship to me. These factors may influence Serbian and English language proficiency.

Table 4.1 Participants

Participant	Arrived	Age on Arrival	Qualifications	Employment	Partner/Spouse	Circle
F1	1994	33	Master's	Employed	English	Myself
F2	1997	31	Bachelor's	Employed	English	Acquaintance
F3	1994	27	High School	Self-Employed	Serbian	Friend
F4	1994	38	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Stranger
F5	1994	51	Bachelor's	Retired	Serbian	Acquaintance
F6	1994	46	Bachelor's	Self-Employed	Serbian	Friend
F7	1995	33	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Friend
F8	1994	45	Bachelor's	Employed	ex-Yugoslav	Friend
F9	1994	34	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Acquaintance
F10	1994	32	High School	Employed	Single	Acquaintance
F11	1994	43	Doctorate	Employed	English	Acquaintance
F12	1996	46	Doctorate	Employed	Single	Friend
F13	1994	33	Bachelor's	Employed	Single	Friend
F14	1995	45	Doctorate	Employed	Serbian	Stranger
F15	2007	59	High School	Self-Employed	Single	Stranger
F16	2006	40	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Stranger
F17	1998	23	Master's	Employed	English	Acquaintance
F18	1994	34	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Friend
F19	1997	32	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Acquaintance
M1	1998	33	High School	Employed	Serbian	Stranger
M2	1994	39	Bachelor's	Self-Employed	Single	Friend
M3	1995	45	High School	Self-Employed	Serbian	Friend
M4	1995	30	Bachelor's	Employed	Serbian	Acquaintance
M5	1996	45	Bachelor's	Self-Employed	Serbian	Acquaintance
M6	1996	49	Doctorate	Employed	Single	Friend
M7	1994	48	Bachelor's	Employed	Single	Acquaintance
M8	1994	33	Master's	Employed	Serbian	Friend
M9	2008	33	High School	Self-Employed	Singe	Stranger
M10	1994	44	Doctorate	Employed	Serbian	Friend
M11	1994	60	Doctorate	Retired	Serbian	Acquaintance
M12	1995	52	Bachelor's	Self-Employed	English	Stranger
M13	1994	44	Doctorate	Employed	ex-Yugoslav	Friend
M14	1995	52	High School	Self-Employed	Serbian	Stranger
M15	1994	33	Doctorate	Employed	ex-Yugoslav	Acquaintance
M16	1997	32	Doctorate	Employed	Serbian	Friend
M17	2006	27	High School	Employed	English	Stranger
M18	2006	27	High School	Employed	English	Stranger

Of the 37 participants, 19 are females[5] and 18 are males.

All participant are late bilinguals. Most live with partners or spouses from Serbia or other ex-Yugoslav countries. Seven participants live with English partners or spouses, and eight live alone. This indicates that not all participants speak their native language at home.

All the participants were educated in Serbia. Twenty-eight had university diplomas or higher degrees at the time they came to New Zealand. Five have continued their education in New Zealand (one studied towards a Bachelor's degree, one gained a Master's degree, and three gained Doctorate degrees). Participant M1 also continued his education in New Zealand, but at the time the research data was collected, he was just planning to enrol at the University of Auckland.

The majority of the participants come from Belgrade and Novi Sad. The language spoken in these two largest Serbian cities does not vary from standard Serbian. Therefore, no significant dialectal variation should exist in their Serbian (for information about Serbian dialects see Ivić, 1991). However, several participants were born or lived in other parts of Serbia and the study takes into account possible dialectical variations in the discourse of these informants. For example, when grammatical case is missing, this study will consider whether this could be the influence of the Torlakian dialect (Ivić, 1991) or English language contact.

Two of the participants are retired, all the rest are either employed or self-employed. As noted earlier, most of the participants have white-collar jobs where English language skills are very much part of their linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). None of participants spoke English from birth. Some learned it at school in Serbia, some after they arrived in New Zealand. This study does not attempt to assess participants' proficiency in English, and I will just say that, based on my own observations, their English ability varies greatly.

Nine participants have left New Zealand since I began collecting data in 2004. Five of them now live in Australia, one in the United Kingdom, one in the United States, and one went back to Serbia. One has died. The remaining 26 still live in New Zealand, 25 in

---

[5] This number includes myself.

Auckland (two of whom went to Australia, but came back) and one in another city in New Zealand.

Most participants immigrated to New Zealand in the 1990s. However, five of them immigrated later, in the period 2006-2008, which is after I started collecting data.

With regard to their relationship to me at the time of collecting the data, the participants can be categorised into three social groups:

- **Friends**. Fourteen participants belong to the circle of my friends. Seven are females, and seven are males. With people from this group, I corresponded often during the period covered by this study, and over a number of years. With some of them, I exchanged messages during the whole ten years. People in this group may know each other, and see each other from time to time, but they are not necessarily friends among themselves. These are the people I know best – including their backgrounds their thoughts about language and their attitudes towards the Serbian language. My correspondence with these people includes long emails and very brief messages to arrange coffee meetings and such. It covers a variety of topics. This circle very much looks like a community of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Meyerhoff & Strycharz, 2013). However, while one of three criteria that define the community of practice (dense network of friends) is present, the other two criteria (mutual engagement and jointly negotiated enterprise) are satisfied only weakly.

- **Acquaintances**. This group consists of twelve participants, five males, and seven females, whom I met through friends or work, and who I see from time to time. Although I do not know these people as well as the people from the previous group, sociolinguistic data about them is available to me. As with the previous group, I have corresponded with these people for various reasons, and the correspondence includes a variety of topics. However, the correspondence is less frequent and does not cover the whole period of the study.

- **Strangers.** Ten of the participants in this study were complete strangers before they contacted me. Mostly they needed me to translate documents for them[6], and my correspondence with them is mainly about this one topic. Four are females, and six are males. Some of them contacted me on a number of occasions over the period covered by this study; others only once or twice.

Making a distinction between participants by social relationship potentially enables me to identify whether any differences in speech exist between the social groups, and to investigate whether those social relationships have any influence on the outcome of Serbian-English contact. For example, Friends may be more open to using conversational features like code-switching, or code mixing, while Strangers might maintain a higher level of formality, and a "purer" form of Serbian.

The messages I exchanged with people in these three groups included female-female and female-male communication, but not male-male communication. To enable me to see if communication between male participants differs, I asked male Friends and Acquaintances to give me emails they had exchanged between themselves. Eight of them were kind enough to oblige.

4.2   Electronically-Mediated Communication

Data for the study comes from online and mobile messages exchanged between members of the New Zealand Serbian community and myself.

Electronic communication has aroused great interest among linguists. The term "Computer-Mediated Communication" (CMC) is often used when talking about e-mails and Instant Messaging (IM), such as messages exchanged via Skype. However, as Baron (2008) points out, this term is not appropriate for mobile devices, because they are not really

---

[6] I have NAATI accreditation and I work as a freelance translator as well as for several translating agencies.

computers. She suggests (2008, p. 12) "Electronically-Mediated Communication" (EMC) as a term that covers both, and this term will be used in this thesis.

EMC language has its own unique features, arising from the electronic, global, and interactive aspects of the media (Crystal, 2001). Different modes, such as email, Internet Relay Chat, and text messages have their own particular characteristics because each has its own history and culture of use.

Data in this study includes messages exchanged in three different modes – via email (64%), mobile phones (26.7), and Skype (9.3%).

Baron (2008) categorises EMC along two dimensions – synchronicity and audience scope. With regard to synchronicity, communication can be "synchronous", i.e. it happens in real time, or "asynchronous", i.e. messages are sent off for recipients to open at their convenience. With regard to audience scope, communication can be "one-to-one", i.e. intended for a single person, or "one-to-many", i.e. intended for a larger audience. In this thesis, both asynchronous (e-mails and text messages) and synchronous (Skype messages) data is analysed. Approximately 90% of NZSEMC communication is "one-to-one", i.e. messages are exchanged between two people only, and the rest are messages exchanged between multiple recipients.

The language of text and IM is heavily abbreviated with much use of acronyms and initialisms, as well emoticons (Baron, 2008; Tagg, 2011; Thurlow, 2003). This research includes an examination of acronyms and initialisms, and whether English acronyms and initialisms are translated, or used in their original forms. Emoticons will be omitted. They are often used to express feelings or moods, particularly in IM. Emoticons are pictorial representations of facial expressions and to a certain point make communication even more speech-like. However, they are paralinguistic restitutions and cannot tell us anything about code-switching between English and Serbian. As such they are out of the scope of this study.

EMC provides an excellent corpus for analysing contact induced change. People are not using formal language when they exchange informal messages with their friends. They are not concerned about "correctness", which allows for greater tolerance of what might be considered spelling and grammatical mistakes, and also for less concern about which language system they choose elements from. The fact that all the participants are part of the

researcher's social network allows for a higher level of spontaneity, even with people who do not know each other well.

4.3   Written vs. oral discourse

One important issue is whether the language of EMC should be treated as written or spoken language, and how much this might influence language contact outcomes.

Crystal (2001), who introduced the term "Netspeak", points out that "speak" in this term covers both writing and talking. Herring (2003), on the other hand, argues that EMC language is different from either speaking or writing. E-mail, text and Skype messages show differences in their relationship to spoken and written language.

E-mails are often considered a form of written verbal communication rather than pure writing as far as style is concerned. They have many characteristics of spoken language, including being more loosely structured, and are composed using simpler syntax. Because of this, Baron calls them "speech by other means" (Baron, 1998).

Text messages are even less formal than e-mails. They are usually very short, and often only segments of sentences. Often, texters use abbreviations. Tagg (2011) argues that in this type of communication, which is very much interactive, texters draw on features of spoken grammar, and that they recreate the spoken mode in a written medium. She emphasises limited space and financial constraints as motivators for the brevity of the messages and the linguistic choices texters make. However, she also points out that the language of text messages is more filtered and less spontaneous than spoken language.

IM, including Skype messages, are even more speech-like than e-mails and text messages because they are synchronous, i.e. transmitted in real time. Nevertheless, Baron's analysis shows that this type of messages also have characteristics of both speech and writing, and are not as speech-like as we tend to assume (Baron, 2008).

Matras' (1998, 2009) notion that bilinguals cannot deactivate either of their languages was developed and applied in connection with oral speech production. Also in relation to oral production importance was attributed to the roles of the executive control

mechanism, and the selection and inhibition mechanism, and the possibility of selection malfunction.

Although EMC discourse resembles spoken discourse in many ways, EMC writers can exert a much higher degree of control than in the spoken medium. This may have an influence on New Zealand Serbian, in terms of both the quantity and quality of replications from English. It may also have implications for the applicability of Matras' theoretical concepts. Because of this, the difference between spoken and written communication will be taken into account when analysing this written corpus.

4.4   Quantity and organisation of data

The data consists of 1,645 messages. Messages vary in length. The difference between modes is noticeable. Skype conversations are lengthy, but they consist of a number of small messages, usually one sentence, synchronously exchanged. Emails mostly consist of at least several paragraphs. However, they can be as short as only one or two words. Text messages, always used for brief communications, often consist of only a few words, and are rarely longer than a sentence or two.

Table 4.2 Messages by participants and mode of communication

Participant	Emails	Text	Skype	Year Span	Circle
F1	236	110		2004-2013	Myself
F2	12			2004-2008	Acquaintance
F3	5	39	46	2005-2013	Friend
F4	6			2006-2012	Stranger
F5	4			2012	Acquaintance
F6	79			2004-2013	Friend
F7	7	26		2008-2013	Friend
F8	16	8		2004-2006	Friend
F9	20			2004-2012	Acquaintance
F10	5	49	5	2010-2013	Acquaintance
F11	22	8	25	2005-2013	Acquaintance
F12	56	16		2010-2013	Friend
F13	4		2	2006-2013	Friend
F14	4			2011	Stranger
F15	2	35	5	2011-2013	Stranger
F16	12			2012-2013	Stranger
F17	57	15	19	2008-2013	Acquaintance
F18	108		29	2004-2013	Friend
F19	79			2009-2013	Acquaintance
M1	11			2010	Stranger
M2	55	27	23	2004-2013	Friend
M3	22	29		2004-2012	Friend
M4	3	4		2012	Acquaintance
M5		25		2010-2013	Acquaintance
M6	31	10		2011-2013	Friend
M7	6	2		2012	Acquaintance
M8	1			2005	Friend
M9	17	3		2009-2011	Stranger
M10	54			2004-2013	Friend
M11	10	2		2011	Acquaintance
M12	11	3		2010	Stranger
M13	6			2006-2011	Friend
M14	3	6		2012	Stranger
M15	4			2004-2005	Acquaintance
M16	69	17		2009-2013	Friend
M17	7			2011	Stranger
M18	2			2011	Stranger
Total	1,052	439	154		

Table 4.2, which lists numbers of messages by participant and mode of communication, shows that most of the Skype conversations are between my female friends and me. Female participants contributed 1,050 messages – 311 text and 739 email messages. Male

participants contributed 418 messages – 128 text messages, and 313 emails, out of which 22 were exchanged between male participants. My own messages include all 154 Skype conversations and up to ten messages exchanged with each participant – 110 text and 241 email messages. In cases where I actually sent more than ten messages to a participant, I have chosen ten of my messages at random so as not to bias the sample.

Table 4.3 Number of messages, by communication mode and year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Email	64	93	93	50	87	141	183	131	119	91
Text	24	34	27	28	42	38	98	47	59	42
Skype	0	0	0	0	16	18	24	33	36	27

Because this study investigates Serbian-English contact in an early stage, it is expected that embedded English elements will comprise only a small percentage of the total discourse. For that reason, no word-count of the total corpus was done, but I estimate that there are approximately 40,000 words in total – 5,000 in text messages, 15,000 in Skype conversations, and 20,000 in email messages.

Examples of English influence on otherwise Serbian discourse were collated in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Excel is widely used for collecting data. Since the corpus for this study is not tagged for part of speech, Excel is quite adequate. Excel Tables are useful for re-sorting data by different parameters as well as for manipulating statistical data.

An extract from the spreadsheet can be seen in Table 4.3 which also shows how examples are coded for linguistic and social factors. The coding for participant, date and EMC mode have either been covered above or are self-explanatory. The coding for the linguistic factors will be explained in the following sections.

Table 4.4 An extract from the Excel spreadsheet with examples

Example	Participant	Date	EMC mode	Grammatical Category	Inflected	Gramm. Gender	Domain	Spelling (S, E, S-E)	Probable Type of Influence	Notes
Oni će doživotno ostati na inkamu	F3	2005	Txt	N	LOC SG	M	society	S	lex gap	
ja sam ionako bizi	F17	2013	email	Adj	NOM SG	F	work	S	attrition	
Gift radnja	F18	2006	email	N+N	NOM SG	F	work	E	lex gap	
Danas sam zasadila jagode, a moram još da kupim razberis.	F3	2011	Txt	N	ACC PL	M	family	S	attrition	E form
Anyway, jako mi je drago...	M13	2011	email	Discourse Marker			work	E	attrition	
Daj mi […] mobilni da ga podsetim za party.	M3	2010	Txt	N	ACC SG		society	E	attrition	E form
Bili smo na nekom partiju	F6	2008	email	N	ACC SG	M	society	S	attrition	Fully integr.
Da li bi mogla danas doneti […] u 12 ispred biblioteke	F15	2011	Txt	Adverbial Placement			translating	na	attrition	
Kad god pročitas, that's fine.	F6	2008	email	Phrase			society	E		C-S

The study does not include lexica relating to information technology (IT) developments. A huge number of English-origin terms are found in standard Serbian, sometimes in multiple variants, such as English *email, e-mail,* transliterated as *emajl,* or translated into Serbian as *e-pošta*. As new technology is developing with great speed, Serbians in New Zealand do not have the opportunity to know whether IT terms have been translated or transferred in their English form, and, if they have been transferred, whether, and how, they have been adapted. Many Serbians used computers before coming to New Zealand and at least some of the computer related terms were known to them before coming to New Zealand. Determining whether presence of an IT term in New Zealand Serbian is due to the influence of contact with English in New Zealand would be impossible, since we do not have access to participants' norms for discussing new technologies before they migrated and cannot assess which (synchronically variable) Serbian norm they now orient to.

Foreign words present in Serbian language before these new immigrants came to New Zealand were not counted as borrowings either. All words recorded in Vujaklija's Lexicon of foreign words (Vujaklija, 1980), Serbian orthographic manuals (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan, Jerković, & Pižurica, 1993) and in the Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian language published by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Pešikan & Institut za srpski jezik (Belgrade), 1959-) were taken as "old borrowings".

4.5   Data presentation

In order to discuss the examples, there are two things to consider – Serbian orthography and the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses provided. Both of those will be discussed in the following subsections.

The data as a whole is referred to as the NZSEMC (New Zealand Serbian Electronically-Mediated Communication) corpus.

4.5.1 Orthographic conventions

All messages in the NZSEMC corpus were written using the Latin alphabet. As was seen in the alphabet presented in the Table 1.1, the Latin letters for several Serbian consonants have diacritics: *đ*, *ž*, *ć*, *č*, *š*. However, the majority of participants have used the basic Latin alphabet without diacritics. Example (4.1a-c) shows several words without diacritics, as they appear in NZSEMC, and how they should be written in standard Serbian (StS):

(4.1)   (a) NZSEMC   *cudo*
        StS   *čudo*
                      'miracle'
        (b) NZSEMC   *sta*
        StS   *šta*
                      'what'
        (c) NZSEMC   *zena*
        StS   *žena*
                      'woman'

The reason for spelling without diacritics is technical – standard computer and mobile phone keyboards at the time these messages were exchanged were set up to support English orthography. Serbians in New Zealand, who use the same keyboards to communicate with English colleagues and friends, would have to adjust their keyboards continuously, and, depending on the type of IT device they used to send their messages, this may not even be possible. Since meaning can be generally understood from context, even without diacritics, Serbians in New Zealand usually choose not to bother with diacritics. It is common even for Serbians in Serbia to use the standard English alphabet in e-mail and text messages.

Sometimes, when they want to ensure that they will be understood correctly, Serbians add a letter *h* after letters *c*, *s*, *z*, to indicate that they should be pronounced as /ʧ/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, thus creating an English-language type spelling. This is shown in example (4.2):

97

(4.2)   (a) NZSEMC   *chudo*

        StS   *čudo*

                   'miracle'

        (b) NZSEMC   *shta*

        StS   *šta*

                   'what'

        (c) NZSEMC   *zhena*

        StS   *žena*

                   'woman'

In this thesis, all examples will be presented in the Serbian Latin alphabet and diacritics have been reinstated. The main reason for this is that, in short examples taken out of context, the lack of diacritics might obstruct the meaning. How confusing it can be it is visible in example (4.3), where a Friend talks about her busy family life, and says that, finally, she has some free time to tell me the latest news:

(4.3)   [F18; 2010]

                *[…]kako su mace, i **kuca** i mi*

        (a)   '[…] how are kittens, and **puppie**, and us.'

        (b)   '[…] how are kittens, and **house**, and us.'

The two free glosses under this example show that there are two equally plausible translations of the Serbian sentence. However, my wider knowledge that she has just acquired two kittens and a puppy in unusual circumstances, allows me to presume that she isn't talking about her new house and the renovations she is about to do.

    One characteristic of ECM is speed of composition, and this can result in a number of words being misspelled and some necessary punctuation being omitted. Computers and mobile phones have their own spelling and grammar setup options adjusted for the English language, and often do automatic corrections, so the Serbian connector *i* ('and') is often capitalised. No orthographic or punctuation normalisation will be done when presenting

examples (apart from reinstating diacritics), and any clear mistakes in orthography or punctuation have been left unchanged.

4.5.2 Glossing conventions

Examples will be presented following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, Haspelmath, & Bickel, 2008), developed by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel).

The use of interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses when dealing with languages whose knowledge is not presupposed, became standard in the 1980s (Lehmann, 2004).The glosses give information about the meanings and grammatical properties of individual words and parts of words.

Abbreviations prescribed by the Leipzig Glossing Rules will be utilised throughout the study, but because the Leipzig rules allow for some flexibility, not all examples will have the same degree of detail. Different levels of detail will be given, depending on the purpose of the examples. I will nevertheless follow Lehmann's principle to "allow for as much precision and detail as seems tolerable" (Lehmann, 2004, p. 1839). The only exception will be in situations when an example is needed to understand the context, and where the grammatical properties of the individual words don't contribute to this understanding.

In the NZSEMC messages, Serbian case endings are often added with hyphens when the original spelling of replicated English lexemes is retained, a practice recommended by Serbian orthographic manuals (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993; Pešikan, Jerković, & Pižurica, 2013). Because of this, segmentable morphemes will not be separated by hyphens in examples and in glosses. Instead, I will faithfully reproduce what people wrote.

Omitted text will be marked with three dots in the square brackets […]. As mentioned earlier, emoticons will be omitted, and this omission will not be marked.

The feature which is being examined will be presented in bold in both the example and the gloss. Each example will be preceded with the participant's code (listed in Table 4.1) and the year the message was written in.

Numbering of examples starts from 1 in each chapter and includes the chapter number.

4.6 Ethical guidelines

This study did not involve any interviews with participants or elicited data collection. Nevertheless, I have adhered to Spradley's (1979) principles for research ethics.

Spradley outlines six common-sense ethical principles to ensure no damage is done to research participants, the researcher, and the institution under which the research was conducted. These are:

- Consider informants first
- Safeguard informants' rights, interests, and sensitivities
- Communicate research objectives to the informants
- Protect the privacy of informants
- Don't exploit informants
- Make reports available to informants.

The material used for the research in this thesis comprises my correspondence with my friends and acquaintances. All the participants in this research are adults. The correspondence was informally collected – I have a tendency not to delete the old messages and when I looked back at those messages, I realised that they offer excellent material for researching the potential effects of language contact among my peers. Once I decided to do the research, I approached the participants, communicated the research objectives to them, including the provisions for ensuring their privacy, and obtained informal consent from them to use this material. All of participants shared my enthusiasm for this research, and some even offered me more messages. Unfortunately, most of those were out of scope of this

thesis (such as correspondence with their children, or correspondence before 2004, or after 2013.)

Although this correspondence is private, it is not of a personal, racial, religious or political nature. Examples illustrating contact-induced innovations are usually very short, so nothing personal can be inferred from them. Examples are generally reproduced out of their larger context, and it is not possible to match them with participants. The whole email, text or Skype message is never shown and no compromising examples have been used. Where needed, I will add extra explanation of the context of the message, but again, without any personal details.

I have ensured that all identities remain anonymous, and that any private information provided remains confidential. In cases where it is necessary to refer to participants, I use codes from Table 4.1. Where a personal name needs to be used in an example, it will be replaced with a pseudonym.

The data will remain in my possession, and will never be publically available in its entirety.

4.7   Analysis of data

Following Chamoreau and Léglise's (2012) argument that only a multifaceted methodology enables a fine-grained approach to contact-induced change, this study adopts a number of approaches to examine the influence of English on Serbian.

The study primarily employs an explanatory sequential design, which presumes that the quantitative results can be interpreted using qualitative methodology (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Mixed method research, which combines the qualitative and quantitative analysis, is increasingly popular today (Bergman, 2008; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) because it enables the researcher to achieve more complete results and conclusions.

A quantitative approach is used to investigate type and frequency of contact-induced innovations in the NZSEMC corpus. This approach enables us to identify the MAT- and PAT-replications present and to compare the NZSEMC findings with Matras' (2009) and Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing hierarchies.

The iNZight[7] programme was used to analyse the NZSEMC data. iNZight is a free statistical software supported primarily by The University of Auckland, Department of Statistics. The programme can help discover trends and show variables.

The qualitative analysis is used to describe the contact phenomena observed in the NZSEMC corpus and to explore the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that influenced the outcome in this particular language contact situation. This enables us to better understand how Serbian bilinguals in New Zealand use their two languages. Matras' (2009) framework is chosen as the theoretical framework for analysing the outcomes of this contact situation.

The NZSEMC data was collected over a ten-year period. This offers the opportunity for a diachronic perspective, and enables us to examine not only which innovations have occurred, but also when they emerged during the ten-year period, and in what order.

Having three different circles of participants (Friends, Acquaintances, and Strangers) offers the opportunity to study social variation in the replication of English-origin matter and pattern.

Because this corpus consists of written data, the integration of English-origin elements can be observed from two perspectives – integration at the level of grammar, and at the level of orthography. Serbian spelling is phonetic, and I will suggest that orthographic examination of the data gives an indication, although limited, of the phonological integration of replicated words.

The study also looks at whether different communication modes (email, mobile and Skype messaging) have any influence on the use of English-origin words in otherwise Serbian discourse.

One of the main problems when looking into contact-induced changes is to establish if a change observed has resulted through contact in the examined contact situation. To ensure that phenomena present in New Zealand Serbian are the result of Serbian-English contact in New Zealand, and not general Serbian-English contact, or are not internally-motivated changes (Thomason, 2001, pp. 93-94), NZSEMC data is compared with e-mail

---

[7] The iNZigh programme is available at https://www.stat.auckland.ac.nz/~wild/iNZight/index.php.

and text messages written by twenty of my friends who live in Serbia. This correspondence covers the same ten-year period.

MAT-replications will also be checked against Serbian dictionaries of foreign words in Serbian (Klajn & Šipka, 2010; Vasić et al., 2011; Vujaklija, 1980), as well as dictionaries of Serbian slang (Gerzić & Gerzić, 2002) because Serbian slang, at the time this group of participants grew up, included a large number of English lexemes and phrases. The NZSEMC data is "naturalistic data" (Kirjavainen & Theakston, 2012), as it is sampled from a real situation and participants' real life. The advantage of data not collected from interviews is that there is no possibility that the researcher influences the choice of language.

The data used in this thesis is from real messages and accurately reflects the language situation. Numerous researchers have stressed that data obtained from actual conversations is the best data for the analysis of bilingual speech (see for example Auer, 1988; Auer, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

Nevertheless, there are also some disadvantages with naturalistic data. As Wolfson (1986, p. 691) noted, "when one observes without intervening, then there is no real way of controlling for one variable or another." This will be borne in mind when looking at the NZSEMC data.

4.8 Concluding remarks

This study involves 37 participants, 19 are females and 18 are males. All participants were adults at the time of immigration, and completed most of their education in Serbia. Based on their relationship to me, participants are categorised into three social groups: Friends, Acquaintances and Strangers. The study will look at whether and how gender and social relationships influence the outcome of language contact.

The data comprises 1,491 email and text messages and 154 Skype conversations exchanged between myself and participants. A small percentage of messages are exchanged between participants but do not include me.

Email, text and Skype messages are different modes of Electronically-Mediated Communication, or EMC (Baron, 2008, p. 12), each with their own characteristics arising

from differences in the technology that supports them as well as their different cultures of use. They all fall somewhere between written and verbal styles, but emails are generally longer, and closer to the traditional letter than the other two. Mobile messages are short and texters usually try to reduce the message to the minimum. Skype messages are exchanged in real time and writers do not have time to think about correctness of their language. In this study I will consider whether EMC mode has any influence on borrowing.

Having introduced the nature of the corpus in this chapter, in the next chapter I turn to a lexical analysis of its characteristics, drawing on Matras' (2009) distinction between replication of matter and pattern. I first look at matter replication (chapter 5) and then at pattern replication (chapter 6) before finally turning to non-linguistic factors (chapter 7).

5   MAT REPLICATION

Matras (2009, p. 148) defines a linguistic matter-item (MAT-item) as a concrete, identifiable sound-shape of words and morphs. It is complex and has multiple dimensions in as much as it has a phonological form and a lexical or grammatical meaning. It also has a distinct status in the lexicon, with implications for inflectional potential and positioning within the sentence. This chapter examines which English matter-items are found in New Zealand Serbian, and how the process of their replication affects their various dimensions, at the phonological, orthographic and morphological levels.

The very first impression when looking at the NZSEMC corpus is the small number of English-origin matter items compared to the number of messages. In the 1,491 messages and 154 Skype conversations (consisting of multiple messages) that comprise the NZSEMC corpus, there are only 1,330 instances of English-origin matter-items – which means that the total number of English-origin matter-items is less than the total number of messages/conversations. Approximately half of the messages contain only one replicated MAT-item from English, ten percent include more than one English-origin matter-item, and fourty percent have none.

One example of multiple occurrences of English matter-items is (5.1) below, which comes from a Skype conversation with a Friend who is very upset because she has not been able to find a job for some time. She bitterly complains that there is a neverending workload around the house, but nobody believes that she is constantly busy. With a bit of sarcasm, she lists various activities that somebody with plenty of free time might do, but she can only dream about:

(5.1)   [F3; 2012]

*Idem   na **gym,**   **beauty therapist,**   **shopping,***
1SG-go-PRS at   gym-ACC.SG   beauty.therapist-ACC.SG   shopping-ACC.SG

*na kafe   i   **lunch,***   *čitam,*   *slikam,*
at   coffee-ACC.PL   and lunch-ACC   1SG-read-PRS   1SG-paint-PRS

sve   to   u   mojim   snovima
all   this in   my-LOC.SG.m   dreams-LOC.SG.m

'I go to the **gym**, to the **beauty therapist, shopping,** for coffees and **lunch[es]**, I read, paint, all this in my dreams.'

Table 5.1 shows that 70% of replications are single lexical items. Compounds, such as *full time, real estate* or *coffee shop* represent another 16%. They are counted as a separate category, although in the NZSEMC they are mostly treated as single lexical items, as will be discussed in subsection 5.3.3. Replications with more than one consecutive word (other than compounds and lexical items, such as the discourse marker *by the way*) represent 8% of the replications. Most of those are expressions related to work or real estate, such as *call for papers*, and *safe for kids and pets*. Although abbreviations are one of the characteristics of the EMC (Baron, 2008), in the NZSEMC they represent only 6%. Observed are abbreviated single nouns, such as *app.* for *application* but also acronyms such as *p.m.* and *a.m.* They will be discussed with the word classes to which they would belong if not abbreviated.

Table 5.1 English-origin matter-items in the NZSEMC

Type of matter-items	No. of tokens	Percentage
Single lexical items	640	70
Compounds	145	16
Multi-lexemes	74	8
Abbreviations	59	6
Total	918	
Proper names	412	
Total	1,330	

In addition, there are 412 personal names, toponyms, names of agencies and titles of books and movies, which are not counted as replications because there is no possibility of choosing a Serbian equivalent. However, as with other foreign words, they too need to be integrated into the Serbian language at the phonological, orthographic and morphological levels, therefore they will be analysed in relation to these considerations in this chapter.

Another reason to separate other English matter-items from proper nouns is to enable a good overview of the frequency of replications over the years, in other words, to enable us to investigate the influence of the length of contact on language contact outcomes.

Table 5.2 MAT- replications, by year (excluding proper names)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Single lexemes	10	27	29	15	42	26	35	156	176	124
Compounds	1	7	11	1	10	5	3	34	38	35
Multi-lexeme	2	4	4	2	4	2	4	19	15	18
Abbreviations	0	3	5	0	0	4	11	11	14	11

As Table 5.2 demonstrates, the number of replications increases over the years, with a sudden jump in 2011. In 2004, most of the participants had been living in New Zealand for about ten years, while by 2011 they had been there for nearly twenty years. This influence of the length on contact will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.

5.1   Integration of English matter-items

In standard Serbian, all foreign language lexemes require adaptation at the phonological, orthographic and morphological levels. This section looks at the integration of English matter-items at all three levels.

The NZSEMC is a written corpus and phonological adaptation can be examined to some extent through spelling, because Serbian orthography is almost entirely phonemic. However, it is not possible to say whether replications which retain English spellings are associated with English or Serbian pronunciation. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter

will be the integration of English-origin words at the orthographic and morphological level, and the investigation of integration at the phonological level will be only partial, to the extent that the data allows.

At this stage it is also worth noting that MAT replication will largely involve lexical items in this study. This is because Serbian-English contact in New Zealand is at an early stage, and no English-origin bound morphemes are expected to be found in Serbian lexemes. Phonological examination is also limited, due to the written nature of the NZSEMC corpus.

5.1.1 Phonological integration

Filipović (1990) uses the term "transphonemisation" to describe the process of substitution of phonemes from the donor language with phonemes from the recipient language. He distinguishes between zero, partial and free substitutions of phonemes. These categories are based on the similarity and dissimilarity of the phonological systems of English and the recipient language, and reflect a natural tendency to substitution when borrowed MAT-items enter a recipient language.

In the NZSEMC corpus, all three types of substitution, as suggested by Filipović (1990), are evident.

Zero transphonemisation occurs when there is no difference between the Serbian and English phonological systems, as in:

(5.2) [F11;2013]

Znaš	*li*	*neki*	*motel*	*gde*
2SG-know-PRS	PTL	some-NOM.SG.m	motel-NOM.SG.m	where

prihvataju	***pets***
3SG-accept-PRS	pets-ACC.PL

'Do you know of a motel where **pets** are accepted?'

All of phonological constituents of lexeme *pets* /pɛts/ (which retains its plural form, and thus is morphologically unintegrated) are present in both Serbian and English phoneme inventories and the noun would be pronounced the same way in both languages.

       Partial, or **compromise transphonemisation**, according to Filipović, happens when some elements of a phoneme differ in their Serbian and English descriptions. In this case, the pronunciation of the borrowed word is only partially the same as the source word. For example, the word *rubbish* is pronounced /ˈɹʌbɪʃ/ in English. In (5.12) it is spelled *rabiš*, and is fully integrated at the level of its orthography, which indicates that it is pronounced as /rabɪʃ/ and partially integrated at the phonetical level. In this case, an English /ʌ/ is replaced by a Serbian /a/, which is similar phonetically.

(5.3)   [F6;2011]

Ne	*znam*	*da li*	*je*	*to*	***rabiš***
NEG	1SG-know-PRS	PTL	3SG-be-PRS	this	rubbish-NOM.SG

'I don't know if this is **rubbish**.'

Free, or **unrestricted transphonemisation** occurs when elements of the English source word do not have any equivalents in Serbian, and are replaced by a completely different phoneme, e.g. English /ˈkiːwiː/ and Serbian /kivi/:

(5.4)   [F18;2012]

Jedna	***kivi***	*je*	*pitala*	*"A*	*ljubav?"*
one-NOM.SG.f	kiwi-N-NOM.SG	AUX	ask-PTCP	and	love-NOM.SG

'One **Kiwi**[8] asked "What about love?"'

More than two thirds of English matter-items retain their English spelling in the NZSEMC corpus (see Table 5.3). Although it is expected that borrowed lexemes should be integrated at the level of phonology, it is not possible to say whether lexemes which retain English

---

[8] *Kiwi*, a nickname for New Zealanders, is widely accepted among Serbian immigrants.

spelling also retain their phonological shape, or whether English phonemes have been substituted by Serbian phonemes. There is also a problem with lexemes that have the same spelling. For example, the English /ɹ/ and the Serbian /r/ are both spelt with the letter 'r'. In this written corpus is not possible to know whether Serbians pronounce the lexeme *property* (example 5.18) with /ɹ/ or with /r/.

Based on her research on the language in a contemporary Serbian television fashion show, Bjelica (2011) argues that there is a tendency to keep the English pronunciation in replications from English in modern Serbian, which she attributes to a high exposure to English via contemporary media. With this in mind, and taking into account the fact that New Zealand Serbians are exposed to English on a daily basis, we cannot exclude the possibility that they are doing the same. Because of the written nature of the NZSEMC corpus, we cannot say whether the English-origin MAT-items that retain their English spelling are phonologically integrated or not, and whether this is happening only with some individuals or at the level of the whole community. From my own informal observation I can say that there are situations where English pronunciation is retained in borrowed lexemes and that in everyday conversation phonological integration of borrowed MAT-items is variable.

Another characteristic noticed in the NZSEMC is clustering of consonants, as in:

(5.5)   [F18;2011]

      Stigli   *na* *tenis*   ***tornament***

      arrive-PTCP   at   tennis   tournament

      'We have arrived at the tennis **tournament**.'

Serbian is largely a CV language which does not allow consonant clustering, particularly in the final position. However, in the NZSEMC corpus, as in modern Serbian (Tasić, 2010), lexemes with consonant clusters are accepted.

5.1.2 Orthographic integration of replicated lexemes

While the data for this study comes from semi-formal or informal correspondence the prescriptive guidelines for dealing with English borrowings in Serbian are still relevant. This is because all participants in the study learned Serbian orthographic rules at school, including explicit rules for integrating foreign names. They were also continuously exposed while living in Serbia to transcriptions of foreign lexemes on television, and in books, newspapers and magazines. Nevertheless, the NZSEMC corpus shows a huge variety in how lexemes and phrases replicated from English are treated at the level of orthography.

Based on the level of orthographic integration, replications in the NZSEMC corpus show three levels of adaptation:

- Zero adaptation – Replicated lexemes retain their English spelling
- Full adaptation – Replicated lexemes are transliterated following the orthographic and phonetic norms of the Serbian language (as in example 5.9).
- Partial adaptation – Replicated lexemes are written using both Serbian and English spelling rules (as in example 5.10).

All English-origin abbreviations observed in the NZSEMC have a zero level of orthographic adoption. Multi-lexeme insertions too always retain their English spelling, which is expected because they are whole phrases used in their integrity (see section 5.6).

Single lexemes and compounds display various levels of adaptation, as is demonstrated in Table 5.3. Proper nouns are displayed as a separate category in this Table because they get a slightly different treatment according to the Serbian Orthographic Manual. Serbian orthographic practice, which is bi-alphabetic, prescribes that all common lexemes borrowed from other languages should be adapted to Serbian phonological spelling. This is mandatory for both Cyrillic and Latin scripts. Foreign names, however, can be either transcribed or kept in their original form (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013). Transcribed forms are used in both Cyrillic and Latin scripts, while original forms are used in Latin script. They are rare in Cyrillic script, and are most commonly found in scientific papers. Later editions of the Orthographic Manual (Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013),

however, recommend (but do not prescribe!) the use of transcribed rather than original forms of proper nouns in Latin texts as well.

Table 5.3 shows the highest retention of English spelling is in compounds (85%), then in single lexemes (69%), and then in proper nouns (33%). One reason for the stronger retention of English spelling in single lexemes compared to proper nouns is the huge number of function lexemes (greetings, politeness markers, etc.) in the category of single lexemes which predominantly retain their English spelling.

Table 5.3 Orthographic integration of English matter-items

	Spelling rules	Tokens	Percentage
Single lexemes			
	Zero adaptation	443	69%
	Full adaptation	79	12%
	Partial adaptation	63	10%
	Adaptation not needed	55	9%
	Total	640	
Compounds			
	Zero adaptation	124	85%
	Full adaptation	3	2%
	Partial adaptation	15	10%
	Adaptation not needed	3	2%
	Total	145	
Proper nouns			
	Zero adaptation	135	33%
	Full adaptation	102	25%
	Partial adaptation	140	34%
	Adaptation not needed	35	8%
	Total	412	

In the NZSEMC corpus, the same lexeme can have different levels of orthographic adaptation, as shown in examples (5.6)-(5.8) and (5.9)-(5.12).

Examples (5.6)-(5.8) illustrate different ways of spelling *Auckland*, the name of the city in which most New Zealand Serbians live:

(5.6) [M10;2010]

*Konačno   sam   se   stabilizovao   u   **Oklandu***
Finally   AUX   REFL   stabilise-PTCP in   Auckland-LOC.SG.m
'I have finally settled down in **Auckland**.'

(5.7) [M15;2005]

*Plan   je   da budemo   u   **Aucklandu***
Plan   3SG-be-PRS   to 2PL-be-PRS in   Auckland-LOC.SG.m
neporsedno   pre   Božića
immediately   before   Christmas-GEN.SG.m
'The plan is to be in **Auckland** immediately before Christmas.'

(5.8) [M1;2010]

*Bio   sam   van   **Auckland-a***
be-PTCP   AUX   out.of Auckland-GEN.SG.m
'I was out of **Auckland**.'

In all three examples, Auckland is grammatically integrated, with correct case endings – singular locative for a masculine noun in (5.6) and (5.7) and genitive singular for a masculine noun in (5.8). In (5.6), the standard Serbian transcription, *Okland* (Prćić, 2004), is used. Examples (5.7) and (5.8) both retain the English form, but in (5.7) the locative case ending *–u* is added directly to the name, while in (5.8) there is a hyphen between the name and the genitive case ending *-a*. At the time the participants in this research attended school, the Matica Srpska Orthographic Manual (1960) recommended case endings should be added without hyphens when the original spelling is retained. The 1993 Manual had the same recommendation (Pešikan et al., p. 187) but the revised edition of the 1993 Manual (Pešikan et al., 2013) favours the use of the hyphen, as it means the original form can be preserved in full. It is difficult to say to what point New Zealand Serbians are aware of changes in the

113

Orthographic manual and whether this has had any influence on their use of hyphens before adding case suffixes. In any case, the NZSEMC corpus shows much inconsistency and irregularity in the use of hyphens when adding case suffixes to English-origin MAT-items.

Lack of consistency in orthographic adaptation can be seen in messages written by the same participant, as in examples (5.9)-(5.12) which illustrate different spellings of word *office*:

(5.9)   [F6;2008]

Bila   *[sam]*   *u*   **ofisu**
be-PTCP   AUX   in   office-LOC.SG.m
'I was in the **office**.'

(5.10)   [F6;2011]

Opet   *smo*   *razgovarali u*   **oficu**   *o [...]*
Again   AUX   talk-PTCP   in   office-LOC.SG.m about […]
'We talked in the **office** about […] again.'

(5.11)   [F6;2011]

Da li   *si*   *ti*   *u*   **offisu***?*
PTL   2SG-be-PRS   you-NOM   in   office-LOC.SG.m
'Are you in the **office**?'

(5.12)   [F6;2008]

I   *ja*   *sam*   *se*   *nasmejala*   *glasno*   *u*
and   I-NOM   AUX   REFL   laugh-PTCP   laudly-ADV   in
ovom   *inače*   *tihom*   **officu**
this-LOC.SG.m   otherwise   quiet-LOC.SG.m   office-LOC.SG.m
'I too had a loud laugh in this otherwise quiet **office**.'

Following the rules of Serbian spelling, *office* should be spelled as *ofis*. This lexeme has three elements that need orthographic adaptation – the double *ff* should be reduced to a

114

single, the letter *c,* which is pronounced as /s/, should be written *s,* and the final *–e* which is silent should be omitted. In two of the four examples above my Friend retains the double *ff,* and in two she uses only one. Twice she keeps the grapheme *c,* and twice she replaces it with an *s*. In all four examples she has left out *–e* in the final position and attached the Serbian suffix *–u,* for the masculine locative singular, directly to the stem.

Sometimes participants have put replications from English in quotation marks. Serbian orthographic rules (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013) prescribe quotation marks should be used (apart from distinguishing dialogue from narrative) to encircle words quoted from original sources, to emphasise or introduce the key terms and concepts in research papers, and to indicate words used in unusual ways, and expressions that vary from the writer's style or from standard usage. The NZSEMC corpus has 26 examples in which quotation marks encircle English-origin lexemes or phrases which indicates that participants were aware that the material is lifted from English, as in:

(5.13) [M2;2011]

> *Jel*   *bio*   *na*   *"hold"-u*
> PTL   be-PTCP   on   hold-LOC.SG.m
> 'Was it on **hold**?'

The New Zealand Transport Agency allows New Zealand drivers to put their cars "on hold", i.e. not to pay for registration when the car is not being used, for example, when owners are on extended leave overseas. A Friend enquires if a car (which has a masculine gender in Serbian) has been on hold. He uses quotation marks, which indicate that "hold" is not a Serbian term. He adds the Serbian suffix for the masculine locative singular after the quotation marks and links the English term and the Serbian suffix with a hyphen.

Another example comes from a Friend who sends an invitation to a picnic on Friday after work:

(5.14) [M16;2013]

> *Idemo   na fish and chips   and   "a nice bottle of wine"*
> 2SG-go-PRS at fish.and.chips   and   "a.nice.bottle.of.wine"
> 'Let's go for <u>fish and chips and **"a nice bottle of wine."'**</u>

Here, a Friend encircles the phrase *a nice bottle of wine* with quotation marks but does not feel that the name of a popular dish, *fish and chips,* deserves the same treatment. This suggests that whether quotes are used or not has little bearing on the analysis of the integration of MAT-items.

As previously mentioned, there is considerable inconsistency in the NZSEMC with regard to the spelling of English matter-items.

Although Serbian spelling is generally thought of as being easy and straightforward, the adaptation of foreign lexemes is anything but simple. The principle *write as you speak and read as it is written* means that all foreign phonemes have to be replaced with Serbian phonemes and written using appropriate graphemes. English-origin lexemes present a particular challenge because homophones and homographs are common in English. Because of this, much attention has been given to the adaptation of English lexemes, particularly English names, in the different editions of the Serbian orthographic manual (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013). In an attempt at standardisation, each new edition has updated the rules in this area. There are also two dictionaries, one of English-origin geographic names (Prćić, 2004) and the other of personal names (Prćić, 2008), which have been compiled with the intention of simplifying this quite complicated issue.

The current Serbian orthographic manual advises that the starting point in transcription should be a combination of the spoken and written forms of a name (Pešikan et al., 2013, p. 187).The main guideline is to keep the transcribed form as close as possible to the original spelling. Deviations from the English pronunciation should be accepted in the interests of not deviating more than necessary from the original spelling (Pešikan et al., 2013, p. 174). Such a complicated and imprecise rule is not easy to follow, and even in Serbia there is huge inconsistency in the transcription of replicated English lexemes, which

are also often found in their English spelling (Prćić, 2008). Because of the increasing number of cases where replicated English-origin lexemes retain their original spelling, Šipka (2010) talks about the need for a greater insistence on the phonemic adaptation of borrowings, and prescribes this in his orthographic dictionary.

For New Zealand Serbians, the transcription of English lexemes means that every time they use an English-origin lexeme, they have to make a decision on how to adapt it at the level of phonetics and orthography as well as at the level of grammar. This increases cognitive pressure, and provides an obstacle to bilinguals' unconscious effort to reduce mental processing loads, as claimed by Matras (2000) and Matras and Sakel (2007a). The impression is that New Zealand Serbians find it simpler not to trouble themselves with the orthographic adaptation of replications from English in an environment in which English is the main language, where members of the Serbian community are fluent in English, and where usage of English forms does not obstruct communication. Questions remain, however, about the pronunciation of lexemes which retain their English spelling, and whether lexemes that retain their written shape also retain their phonological shape.

The influence of English spelling on Serbian spelling will be further discussed in section 6.5.

5.1.3   Morphological integration

Based on the presence or absence of Serbian derivational suffixes, Surdučki (1978b) recognises three types of adaptation of borrowed lexemes: primary adaptation (lexemes are adapted by adding a –Ø derivational morpheme, as in *miting* of 'meeting'), secondary derivation (adaptation is achieved by adding Serbian derivational suffixes, as in *mitinški* meaning 'which relates to a meeting') and secondary building of composites (a new Serbian word is constructed from two English words, as in *aeromiting* from 'aeronautical meeting').

In the NZSEMC corpus, most adapted English-origin lexemes are direct replicas of English models, and therefore belong to the **primary adaptation** category. An example is:

(5.15)   [M5;2005]

U	*sledeći*	*petak*	*imam*	***miting***
In	next-ACC.SG.m	Friday-ACC.SG.m	1SG-have-PRS	meeting-ACC.SG

'I have a **meeting** next Friday.'

Secondary derivation is rare. Serbian derivational suffixes are added to one proper noun (example 5.16), several adjectives derived from proper nouns (which will be discussed in subsection 5.3.2) and one verb (discussed in subsection 5.3.5).

(5.16)   [F1;2012]

neka	***kivijanka***
one-PRN-NOM.SG.f	Kiwi-N-NOM.SG.f

'A **Kiwi woman**.'

Secondary building of composites is not found in the NZSEMC corpus.

Morphological integration of specific word classes will be further examined in section 5.3.

5.2   Frequency of replicated word classes

Based on several projects hosted by the University of Manchester, including a comparative evaluation of 27 languages in contact, Matras (2007, 2009) suggests the following borrowing hierarchy of word classes:

(5.17)   nouns, conjunctions > verbs > discourse markers > adjectives > interjections > adverbs > other particles, adpositions > numerals > pronouns > derivational affixes > inflectional affixes.

The project included languages from the most areas of the world (Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and the Balkans, Europe, South and East Asia, Australia, the Pacific

and Central and South America), and from different contact settings (incuding languages with and without traditions of native literacy, languages in bilingual and multilingual settings, languages of ethnic minorities, and regional languages in post-colonial settings). The data was oral, and collected from questionnaires, which ensured a uniform and comprehensive coverage of the same phenomena, and comparability throughout the sample. Results were saved in a database which enabled filtering and querying, and also viewing correlations among the data sets (Matras & Sakel, 2007a).

Matras (2009) states that the above hierarchy is based on the number of languages in the sample, and shows replications belonging to the relevant categories, rather than on numbers of tokens or word types. He also notes that the hierarchy is not implicational; in other words, that borrowing in a lower-ranking word-class category does not necessarily entail borrowing in higher-ranking categories.

Table 5.4 shows numbers and percentages of MAT-replications by word class in the NZSEMC corpus. English proper nouns and adjectives derived from proper nouns are excluded from the count because participants cannot "choose" between Serbian and English equivalents.

Table 5.4 English-origin lexical items in the NZSEMC corpus, by word classes

Word Class	No. of tokens	Percentage
Nouns	381	46.3
Compounds	145	17.2
Greetings	130	15.4
Adjectives	61	7.2
Adverbs	37	4.4
Politeness Markers	33	3.9
Discourse Markers	14	1.5
Verbs	11	1.3
Interjections	8	0.9
Affirmative particles	6	0.7
Negative particles	3	0.3
Numerals	2	0.2
Preposition+ Noun	1	0.1
Prepositions	1	0.1
Article + Noun	1	0.1
Conjunctions	0	
Pronouns	0	
Derivational affixes	0	
Inflectional affixes	0	
Total	844	

As mentioned earlier, Matras' hierarchy is based on an oral corpus, while the NZSEMC is a written one. Also, Matras' data was collected from questionnaires while the NZSEMC is comprised of natural unfiltered data. It may therefore be expected that NZSEMC results differ from the hierarchy suggested by Matras. However, in fact the NZSEMC mostly agrees with Matras' frequency hierarchy.

In the NZSEMC, nouns are the most frequently replicated word class. Together with compounds, which are also treated as nouns by New Zealand Serbians (see subsection 5.3.3), there are 526 noun tokens, comprising 63.5% of all MAT-replications.

The huge number of nouns is confirmed in other research too (among others by Haugen, 1950; Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller, 1988). As Matras points out, nouns are the first

word class to be borrowed, and are the most common borrowings, because they are more numerous in the lexicon than other word classes. Also, "cross-cultural contact and the resulting expansion of communicative interaction domains arguably create a greater need to enrich the nominal lexicon" (Matras, 2011, pp. 208-209). Even if there are not many cultural differences between life in Serbia and life in New Zealand, there is a terminology specifically related to life in the new country. These "unique referents", or terms relating to activities carried out in particular context domains (Matras, 2009) such as the New Zealand job market or New Zealand real estate, are taken from English into Serbian without being translated. This agrees with Backhus's (2001) notion that semantic specificity makes content words particularly borrowable.

Table 5.4 shows that in the NZSEMC well represented are also English-origin adjectives (61 examples) and adverbs (37 examples), as expected. Numerals, pronouns and derivational and inflectional affixes are at the bottom of Matras' hierarchy. In the NZSEMC, there are only two examples of English-origin numbers, and pronouns are not found at all. English-origin derivational and inflectional affixes are not found in Serbian lexemes.

Categories that do not conform to Matras' hierarchy are conjunctions, verbs, and discourse markers. Verbs, with only 11 examples, are less common than expected. Based on Matras' hierarchy, conjunctions and discourse markers should be among the first and most frequent replications. There are no English conjunctions connecting Serbian words in the NZSEMC corpus (see subsection 5.4.2), and there are only 14 English discourse markers.

However, various function words make up 216 tokens, or 25% of total MAT-replications. This agrees with the general opinion that they are easily transferred from one language to the other because they do not need to be integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language, and confirms Matras' (2009) claim that, as extra-clausal forms, they are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions and show considerable volatility in bilingual contexts.

A large proportion of the function words in the NZSEMC consists of English-origin greetings (130 examples) and politeness markers (33 examples). Matras does not include them in his hierarchy as a separate category, but I have done so not only because of their

high frequency (together they make up almost 20% of all MAT-items), but also because of their distinct function (see section 7.5).

Discourse markers, or rather the lack of them, deserve additional comment. According to Matras (2000, 2009) discourse markers are particularly prone to replication in bilingual settings because of their specific function in directing the way the speaker's utterances are processed and accepted by the hearer. Matras (1998, 2000, 2009) claims that the speaker not only plans what to say, but at the same time tries to influence how his utterance is processed and accepted by the hearer. Matras calls the first operation "thinking and speaking" and the second "monitoring and directing", and points out that utterance modifiers are elements through which speakers try to assert and maintain their authority. He suggests that "monitoring and directing" is mentally more complex because it involves planning ahead as well as controlling the actual realisation of speaking, and argues that with bilingual speakers, who have two languages at their disposal, there is competition between the languages on the "monitoring and directing" side. Bilingual speakers, in an unconscious effort to reduce the mental effort which is necessary to monitor and direct the hearer's responses, simplify the operation by eliminating language-specific options (Matras, 2000, p. 514). The cognitive motivation to reduce communication overload can at times override other constraints on the discourse, and lead to the non-separation, or fusion, of the two linguistic systems, which leads to errors in language selection.

Matras (1998) proposes that the term "utterance modifiers" should be extended to other discourse operators, such as conjunctions, tags, fillers, interjections and focus particles, as they have the same function in discourse and are also prone to selection malfunction.

Matras also claims that, when such malfunctions occur, and when they have to choose between languages, bilinguals give preference to the pragmatically dominant language. This may be language in which they are more confident or proficient, the one which enjoys increased attention at the given moment, or the one which is associated with social dominance (Matras, 2009, 2012).

The low frequency of utterance modifiers replicated from English in the NZSEMC indicates low levels of errors in language selection. There are two possible explanations for this. First, although EMC resembles spoken language in many ways, the NZSEMC is a

written corpus, and writers have a much higher degree of control. The second explanation is that the pragmatically dominant language for these first-generation immigrants is still Serbian, and this is the language that supplies utterance modifiers in situations where selection malfunction might occur. As pointed out in chapters 3 and 4, participants are the fist-generation immigrants, strong speakers of Serbian, and are keen to maintain their native tongue and have many opportunities to facilitate this. Also, the NZSEMC data covers only the second decade of the immigration situation (see chapter 4), and can give only an indication of what might happen in future decades. I will return to discourse markers in subsection 5.4.4.

In the following sections, I will look at replicated word classes in more detail. Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and some numbers are inflectable in Serbian (Stevanović, 1989) and, therefore, require a different level of integration at the level of morphology than non-inflectable word classes. Because of this, they will be discussed separately.

5.3   Replication of inflectable word classes

This section looks at how English-origin nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numbers and verbs are integrated, what grammatical genders they are assigned to, and whether they get normative case and number endings.

In standard Serbian, borrowed nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numbers, are expected to follow Serbian declension rules, and borrowed verbs the rules of Serbian conjugation. These five inflectable word classes also have to respect Serbian agreement rules. In Serbian NPs, the modifiers and noun agree in case, gender, and number. There is also number agreement between the verb and the subject of the sentence, and gender agreement in participles.

5.3.1 Nouns

In the NZSEMC, the majority of replicated nouns are integrated at the level of morphology and are marked for gender, number and case. Common nouns with natural masculine gender e.g. *broker* (example 5.27) and men's names are also marked for animacy in the accusative singular (i.e. genitive-accusative syncretism). Only 13% of replicated common nouns and 13% of proper names diverge from the rules of standard Serbian morpho-syntax.

Table 5.5 Morphological integration of nouns

		No. of Tokens	Percentage
Common nouns			
	Integrated	339	87
	Unintegrated	50	13
Proper nouns			
	Integrated	311	87
	Unintegrated	48	13

One of the differences between Serbian and English is that gender is natural in English but is grammatical in Serbian. In the NZSEMC corpus, as in standard Serbian, English nouns describing persons retain their natural gender and other nouns get assigned grammatical gender.

Gender in standard Serbian corresponds to a certain extent with word endings, in the sense that most nouns ending in –Ø are masculine, nouns ending in –*a* are feminine, and nouns ending in –*o* and –*e* are neuter. In the NZSEMC corpus, the majority of replicated common nouns are assigned masculine gender. This masculinisation tendency has been noticed by other researchers too (see for example Filipović, 1990; Klajn, 2001; Surdučki, 1978b) and explained by the fact that most English-origin nouns end in a consonant, like Serbian masculine nouns in the nominative singular.

Borrowed nouns ending in the vowel –*i* are masculine in standard Serbian, and are a morphological inovation according to Filipović (1986). In the NZSEMC, the nouns *buddy*,

ferry, itinerary and *laundry* are assigned masculine gender, but the nouns *party* and *property* get both masculine and feminine gender, as is illustrated in examples (5.18) and (5.19):

(5.18)   [F6;2008]

Dolaziš	*li*	*da*	*obiđeš*	<u>*tvoj*</u>	***property?***
2SG-come-PRS	PTL	to	2SG-visit-PRS	your-ACC.SG.m	property-ACC.SG.m

'Are you comming to visit your **property?**'

(5.19) [F6;2008]

Da li	*razmišljaš*	*o*	*prodaji*	<u>*tvoje*</u>	***property?***
PTL	2SG-think-PRS	about	sale-LOC.SG	your-GEN.SG.f	property-GEN.SG.f

'Are you thinking about selling your **property**?**'

The two examples above come from two different emails, but from the same participant. Gender is indicated by the possessive pronoun, which has masuline accusative singual ending in the first example, and feminine genitive singular ending in the second example.

In Serbian, the semantic equivalents of *party* and *property* are feminine nouns (StS *žurka*, *imovina*, respectively), and it is possible that this influences the choice of gender. However, *itinerary* (StS *tura,maršuta*) and *laundry* (StS *perionica, vešernica*) have only masculine gender in the NZSEMC, which suggests that participants are doing the morphological integration based on the phonetic characteristics of the borrowed MAT-items and are not mapping onto the Serbian semantic equivalents which have feminine gender.

That *party* and *property* can be assigned either masculine or feminine gender is observed by Surdučki (1978b) as well. In Vasić, Prćić & Nejgebauer's dictionary (2011), *party* is recorded only as mascuine, while *property* is not recorded. Ćirilov's (1991) dictionary does not include either.

Feminine gender has also been found with word *magic*. This lexeme *magija* ('magic') is an old borrowing from Greek (Vujaklija, 1966) but in one case the English *magic* instead of Serbian *magija* was chosen:

(5.20) [F18;2011]

Još	*mi*	*samo*	*kaži*	*koju*	***magic***
Just	I-DAT	only	3.SG-tell-IMP	which-ACC.SG.f	magic-ACC.SG.f

si	*koristila*	*da*	*otplatiš*	*morgidž*
AUX	use-PTCP	to	2SG-pay.off-PRS	mortgage-ACC.SG

'Just tell me what **magic** you used to pay off the mortgage.'

In the above example, the determining pronoun *koja* ('which') has the correct marking for the accusative singular feminine gender. Here, the gender is assigned based on a semantic mapping and not on the phonological form.

Neuter gender is observed only with the noun *bukiranje* ('booking') which is derived from the English verb by adding the Serbian derivational infix *–ira–*, used to create imperfective verbs, and the derivational suffix *–nje*. This verbal noun[9] has the meaning of an action and is found in a sentence where it has the function of a direct object and is in the accusative singular:

(5.21) [F18;2011]

To	*će*	*možda*	*biti*	*kasno*	*za*	***bukiranje***
This	AUX	maybe	be-INF	late	for	booking-ACC.SG.n

'That might be [too] late for **booking**.'

All integrated common nouns which are assigned masculine gender belong to the **A-Declension.** If nouns end in a consonant, case markings are added directly to the noun. This includes all common borrowed nouns no matter whether their original derivation was an English free morpheme + Ø bound morpheme, or an English free morpheme + bound morpheme, such as the suffixes *–ing*, *–er*, *–ment:*

---

[9] Verbal nouns have the meaning of an action and are made from nearly every imperfective verb (Browne & Alt, 2004).

(5.22)   [F7;2006]

*Dosta   mi   je   **klininga***
enough   I-DAT   3SG-be-PRS   cleaning-GEN.SG.m
'I have ehough of **cleaning**.'

In the above example, the word *klining* ('cleaning') is phonologically, orthographically and morphologically integrated. It is transferred in its entirety, and the Serbian suffix *–a* for the genitive singular masculine gender is added to it.

Nouns ending in *–i* acquire a *j* before the case suffix (Hammond, 2005):

(5.23)   [F15;2011]

*Da te   sačeka   ispred   **ferija***
to   you-ACC   3SG-wait-PRS in.front   ferry-GEN.SG.m
'To wait for you at the **ferry**.'

There is one example in the corpus where the letter *y* is retained and the *–em* suffix is written with a preceding space but without a *j*:

(5.24)   [F3;2013]

*Išao   sa   svojim   **buddy em***
3SG-go-PRS   with   he-INS.SG.m   buddy-INS.SG.m
'He went with his **buddy**.'

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are examples of A-Declension nouns inflected for most cases. Cases other than nominative singular, found in the NZSEMC corpus are:

Genitive singular:

(5.25)   [F3;2012]

*Ništa   od   mog   **gardeninga***
nothing   of   my-GEN.SG.m   gardening-GEN.SG.m
'Nothing of my **gardening**.'

127

Dative singular:

(5.26) [F18;2011]

> *To*   *se*   *inače*   *plaća*   **councilu**
>
> this-NOM.SG.n   REFL   by.the.way   3SG-pay-PRS   council-DAT.SG.m
>
> 'By the way, this is to be paid to **council**.'

Accusative singular (animate nouns)

(5.27) [M16;2009]

> *Da li*   *znate*   *nekog*   *dobrog*   **brokera?**
>
> PTL   2PL-know-PRS   some-PRN-ACC.SG.m   good-ADJ-ACC.SG.m   broker-ACC.SG.m
>
> 'Do you know a good **broker**?'

Accusative singular (non-animate nouns)

Most of the examples of this category, 212 in total, are non-animate masculine nouns, and therefore take the –Ø suffix in the accusative singular.

(5.28) [M3;2012]

> *On*   *mi*   *je*   *pomagao*   *da iskopam*
>
> he-NOM   I-DAT   AUX   help-PTCP   to   1SG-exevate-PRS
>
> *zemlju*   *za* **Paving**
>
> dirt-ACC.SG   for   paving-ACC.SG
>
> 'He helped me to dig out the dirt for **paving**.'

Instrumental singular:

(5.29) [M15;2004]

> *Da ti*   *se*   *konačno*   *javim*   *sa*
>
> To   you-DAT   REFL   finally   1SG-write-PRS   with
>
> *malim*   **up-date-om**
>
> little-INS.SG.m   update-INS.SG.m
>
> 'To write to you finally with a little **update**.'

Locative singular:

(5.30)   [M16;2009]

Sutra   **na feriju**

Tomorrow   at   ferry-LOC.SG.m

'Tomorrow at the **ferry**.'

Nominative plural:

(5.31)   [F6;2013]

Biću   *bisy*   *zato što*   *mi*   *izlaze*   **Tenanti**

1SG-be-FUT   busy   because   I-DAT   3PL-move.out-PRS   tenant-NOM.PL.m

'I will be busy because my **tenants** are moving out.'

Genitive plural:

(5.32)   [M15;2004]

Pošalji   *mi*   *kratki*   *CV*   *sa*

2SG-send-IMP   I-DAT   short-ACC.SG.m   CV-ACC.SG   with

potencijalnom   *listom*   **topica**

potential-INS.SG.f   list-INS.SG.f   topic-GEN.PL.m

'Send me a short Curriculum Vitae with a potential list of **topics**.'

Accusative plural:

(5.33)   [F18;2010]

Dok   *ja*   *ovde*   *radim*   **asajmente**

while   I-NOM   here   1SG-do-PRS   assignment-ACC.PL.m

'While I am doing **assignments** here.'

129

Instrumental plural:

(5.34)   [F6;2005]

    Sve   *kuće*   *su*   *sa*   ***tenantima***

    all-PRN-NOM.PL.f   house-NOM.PL.f   3PL-be-PRS   with   tenant-INS.PL.m

    'All houses are with **tenants**.'

Locative plural:

(5.31)   [F6;2008]

    Ne   *nalazi*   *uvek*   *sagovornike*   *na*

    NEG   3SG-find-PRS   always   interlocutor-ACC.PL   at

    našim   ***partijima***

    our-PRN-LOC.PL   party-LOC.PL.m

    '[He] does not always find people to talk to at our **parties**.'

Genitive paucal:

(5.35)   [F6;2006]

    Vikend   *je*   *bio*   *prijatan*   *jer*   *smo*   *bili*

    weekend   AUX   be-PTCP   nice-NOM.SG.m   because   AUX   be-PTCP

    na   *dva*   ***partija***

    to   two-ACC   party-ACC.PAU.m

    'The weekend was nice because we went to two **parties**.'

There are 45 examples of unintegrated replicated common nouns, mostly from the last three years of the period that the corpus samples from (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Common nouns lacking case marking, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Tokens	0	0	0	0	2	1	5	10	16	11

In 39 cases, the noun is not accompanied by Serbian determiners (as in example 5.36), and in six cases it is (as in 5.37).

(5.36)   [M5;2013]

Moram	*ponovo*	*i*	*kod*	***notary***
1SG-must-PRS	again	and	to	notary

'I have to go to the **notary** again, too.'

The preposition *kod* ('to') with a verb which denotes action requires the dative case ending in masculine nouns (*–a*), but this is missing in the above example.

Unintegrated English-origin common nouns are found in both singular and plural forms. However, the English noun does not necessarily agree in number with the rest of the Serbian sentence.

In (5.37), the possessive pronoun *njegov* ('his') is marked correctly for Serbian genitive plural, while the noun retains its English plural form:

(5.37)   [M13;2010]

Jadanje	*jednog*	*autora*	*zbog*
complaint-NOM.SG	one-GEN.SG.m	autor-GEN.SG.m	about

njegovih	***copyrights***
his-GEN.PL.m	copyrights

'Complaints by one author about <u>his</u> **copyrights**.'

The opposite is found in (5.38), where the pronoun has Serbian markings for the plural but the noun it determines has the English singular form:

(5.38)   [F3;2013]

<u>*Naše*</u>	***snack***	*iz*	*Srbije*
our-PRN-NOM.PL	snack	from	Serbia-GEN

'<u>Our</u> **snacks**, from Serbia.'

In one example an English adjective is used as a noun:

(5.39) [F3;2012]

Išla	*sam*	*u*	*neku*	*rural*
1SG-go-PTCP	AUX	to	some-ADJ-ACC.SG.f	rural

'I went to <u>some</u> **rural [area].'**

The Serbian noun *erija* ('area'), an old borrowing, has feminine gender – my presumption is that this has influenced the assignation of feminine gender to the lexeme *rural*, when it is used to mean 'rural area'.

Personal and geographic names are mostly integrated grammatically, but there are also 48 cases of unintegrated names, as in example (5.40), where markings for dative are lacking:

(5.40) [F12;2013]

Sve najbolje	*tebi*	*i*	*John*
all.the.best	you-DAT	and	John

'All the best to you and **John**.'

The example comes from an email with Christmas and New Year's greetings. It should have been:

(5.41) StS

Sve najbolje	*tebi*	*i*	*Johnu*
all.the.best	you-DAT	and	John-DAT

In addition, there are 16 abbreviations of common nouns in the NZSEMC corpus. The Serbian orthographic manual (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013) prescribes declension for acronyms in the same way as all other nouns. However, in the NZSEMC only one acronym declines:

132

(5.42) [F1;2009]

Šaljem	*ti*	*moja*	*dva*	*"cvija".*
1SG-send-PRS	you-DAT	my-ACC.PL.m	two-ACC.PL	CV-ACC.PL.m

Cviji	*su*	*novi*	*a*	*cover letter*
CV-NOM.PL.m	3SG-be-PRS	new-NOM.PL.m	and	cover.letter-NOM.SG.m

je	*stari*
3SG-be-PRS	old-NOM.SG.m

'I am sending you my two **Curricula Vitae**. The **Curricula Vitae** are new, but the cover letter is old.'

An acquaintance asks me for help with a job application and I send her my two recent CVs, written for two different purposes, as a model. The acronym CV is used twice in the above example; both times case endings are added to the abbreviations without hyphen. In the first case, the ending for the genitive paucal –*ja* is added after a determiner *dva* ('two'). The second time the word occurs without any determiner and the standard nominative plural ending –*ji* is added.

All abbreviated names of institutions are not declined:

(5.43) [F2;2005]

Nije	*mi*	*baš*	*išlo*	*glatko*	*oko*	*faksa*	*zbog*
Not	I-DAT	exactly	go-PRCP	smooth	regarding	uni-GEN.SG	because

NZQA	*koji*	*su*	*katastrofa*	*spori*
NZQA	which-NOM.PL.m	3SG-be-PRS	terribly	slow-NOM.PL.m

'It wasn't exactly smooth for me as far as the Uni goes because of the **NZQA,** who are terribly slow.'

An Acquaintance tells me that she wanted to continue her education in New Zealand, and to do so, she needed to send her documents to NZQA (New Zealand Qualification Agency). Although the preposition *zbog* ('because') takes its object in the genitive (Hammond, 2005, p. 124), the abbreviation NZQA has not been marked for genitive. It also does not agree in gender and number (masculine, plural form) with the relative pronoun *koji* ('which') at the

133

beginning of the subordinate relative clause, the verb *biti* ('be') and the adjective *spor* ('slow'), all of which refer to the abbreviated name.

It is important to note here that the Torlakian dialect in southeastern Serbia allows for cases lacking inflections, and, in principle, the lack of case markings could be a transfer from Torlakian. However, none of the participants who contributed examples of common, proper and abbreviated nouns without case markings come from the Torlak area, which rules out any influence from Torlakian dialect features. Therefore, the lack of Serbian morphological markings in these examples must be attributed to the influence of English. This claim is strengthened by the fact that most unintegrated examples come from the last three years of the sample period.

Lack of expected case markings in Serbian lexemes will be discussed in subsection 6.1.2.

5.3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in standard Serbian agree with their determining noun in gender, number and case. Only a few adjectives in standard Serbian do not have case, gender and number markings, and they are all borrowings, such as *super*, which came to Serbian many years before the NZSEMC participants came to New Zealand (Vujaklija, 1966), and which was very popular in Serbian slang at the time of their youth.

English-origin adjectives are represented by 61 examples in the NZSEMC corpus, most of them occurring in the last three years of the period examined (see Table 5.7). They can be divided into two distinct groups: direct replicas of English adjectives and adjectives derived from English verbs. In addition, there are nineteen adjectives derived from English proper nouns. Same as with nouns, because participants cannot choose between Serbian and English equivalents, adjectives derived from proper names are not included in the Table 5.4, and Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 English-origin adjectives in the NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
No. of Tokens	1	2	4	4	7	2	3	11	13	14

The most frequently used adjectives are *busy* (22 examples) and *happy* (7 examples). While *busy* is used by multiple participants, all examples of *happy* come from the same participant.

Nine of the replicated adjectives determine Serbian nominative singular masculine nouns ending in consonants, and this means the adjectives should also have a -Ø suffix. In this case, incorporated and unincorporated adjectives cannot be distinguished. The other examples of adjectives which are direct replicas from English adjectives should have Serbian morphological markers for case, gender and number, but they retain their English forms, as in the example below, where the marking for masculine genitive singular is omitted:

(5.44)   [F10;2012]

    U   *12.00*   *kod*   *našeg*   **dear**   *Lenjina*

    In   12:00   by   our-GEN.SG.m   dear   Lenin-GEN.SG.m

    'At 12:00 by our **dear** Lenin.'

Participant F10 and I meet over lunch break from time to time. The usual place for meeting is Freyberg Place which has a statue of General Freyberg in his WWII military uniform. We renamed the statue because it reminded us of Lenin, who used to wear a similar hat and coat, and whose pictures were very much present in communist Yugoslavia. In the above text message, F10 adds the adjective *dear*, between the Serbian possessive pronoun *naš* ('our') and the name *Lenin* which are both in the genitive singular, being governed by the preposition *kod* ('by'), but leaves the English adjective without the Serbian suffix *-og* for the masculine genitive singular.

Similarly, the adjective *busy* does not get the prescriptively normative markings for gender, as in:

(5.45) [F3;2007]

Mnogo   *sam*   *ti*   ***bizi***

Very   3SG-be-PRS   you-DAT   busy-ADJ-NOM.SG

'I am very **busy**.'

(5.46) [M3:2012]

Inače   *sam*   *dosta*   ***busy***

otherwise   1SG-be-PRS   very-ADV   busy-ADJ-NOM.SG

'Otherwise I am very **busy**.'

Example (5.45) is from a female Friend, and example (5.46) from a male Friend. In both cases the English form is used without Serbian markings for gender. The example (5.45) is integrated orthographically, despite not being integrated morphologically.

There are seven examples of Latin-origin adjectives, borrowed and adopted into the Serbian language a long time ago, being used in their English instead of Serbian form. These are *protective* (StS. *protektivan*), *realistic* (StS. *realističan*), *relaxing*, (StS. *relaksirajući*), *special* (StS. *specijalan*), and *virtual* (StS. *virtuelan*). In (5.47), a Friend, who is pointing out that people need to lower their expectations, should have said *Oni su realistični* (masculine nominative plural), but uses the English *realistic* instead:

(5.47) [F6;2008]

[Oni]   *su*   ***realistic***

They   3PL-be-PRS   realistic

'[They] are **realistic**.'

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are four adjectives derived from English verbs. In all examples, they have the correct Serbian suffixes for case, gender and number. Past verbal

136

adjectives (also called passive participles)[10] are derived from the verbs *certify* (two examples), *book* (one example) and *suspect* (one example). They are derived using following suffixes[11] *-ovan* (2 examples), *-iran* (1 example) and *an* (1 example).

-ovan:

(5.48) [M12;2010]

Prevod	*mora*	*da*	*bude*	***certifikovan***
translation-NOM.SG	3SG-must-PRS	PTL	3SG-be-PRS	certified-VADJ-NOM.SG.m

'The translation must be **certified**.'

-iran:

(5.49) [F18;2011]

Za	*subotu*	*smo*	*i*	*mi*	*već*	***bukirani***
for	Saturday	2PL-be-PRS	and	we-NOM	already	booked-VADJ-NOM.PL.m

'We are already **booked** for Saturday too.'

-an:

(5.50) [F19;2011]

Futur	*mi*	*je*	*vrlo*	***suspectan***
future.tense-NOM.SG.mI-DAT	3SG-be-PRS	very	suspect-VADJ-NOM.SG.m

'My future [tense] is very **suspect**.'

In the first two examples the past verbal adjectives are used predicatively, and correspond in meaning to the English past participles *certified* and *booked*. The verbal adjective in the third

---

[10] Serbian has four participles. Two are referred to as verbal adjectives, and two as verbal adverbs. Both verbal adjectives have gender and number, but the active verbal adjective is indeclinable while the passive verbal adjective is declinable (Hammond, 2005; Stevanović, 1979). In this section, only passive verbal adjectives will be discussed. The active verbal adjective, also called active (past) participle, is used in the formation of verbal tenses and will be discussed in the section on verbs.

[11] The suffix *–irati* is constructed of two parts, where the first part, *–ira–* is the derivational morpheme, and the second part, *–ti,* is the infinitive ending.

example is used attributively. This last example deserves further explanation, because it shows lexical innovation for both languages, as *suspektan* does not carry the same meaning as the English *suspected*. The sentence is taken from an email correspondence in which my Friend suggests that we have to take a break from hard work, and go out, for our health's sake. We play a little word game with names of grammatical tenses to see if it is too late for "healing". She says that her past and present (tenses) are already damaged from too much work, and that she doubts that her future (tense) looks any better. She jokes, and makes an adjective of the verb *suspect*, which here means 'dubious' rather than 'doubtful', and agrees with the noun *futur* ('future tense') in case, number and gender.

Nineteen adjectives have been derived from English proper nouns by adding the Serbian suffixes *–ski* and *–ov*. These possessive adjectives[12] are used attributively, and always agree with the nouns they qualify in case, gender and number.

In standard Serbian, the suffix *–ski* is added to the base of names of countries, cities and areas to form adjectives. According to Serbian orthographic rules, adjectives with the ending *–ski* are not capitalised (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960), but in the NZSEMC, they are always written with capital letters. The English nouns, to which *–ski* is added, retain their original spelling:

(5.51) [M13;2005]

Ovo	*je*	***Kiwijanski***	*račun*
This	3SG-be-PRS	Kiwi-ADJ.NOM.SG.m	account-NOM.SG.m

'This is a **Kiwi** account.'

---

[12] Possessive adjectives are one of three ways to express possession in Serbian language, the others being possessive pronouns and noun phrases in the genitive. There are two kinds of possessive adjectives, those ending in *–ov, –ev, –in*, and those ending in *–ski, –ški, –čki*.

(5.52) [M7;2012]

Knjiga	*koja*		*se*	*više*	*ne*
book-NOM.SG.f	which-NOM.SG.f		REFL	anymore	NEG

može	*naći*	*u*	***Aucklandskim***	*bibliotekama*
3SG-can-PRS	find-INF	in	Auckland-ADJ-LOC.PL.f	library-LOC.PL.f

'A book which can't be found in Auckland Libraries anymore.'

The suffix *–ov* is added to the base of masculine nouns ending in hard consonants
(Hammond, 2005, p. 210) to create possessive adjectives.

(5.53) [M15;2004]

Vezano	*za*	***Chris-ov***	*rad*
related	for	Chris-ADJ-ACC.SG.m	article-ACC.SG.m

'In relation to **Chris's** [journal] article.'

(5.54) [F1;2013]

Bili	smo	na	**Džonovoj**	proslavi	mature
be-PTCP	AUX	on	John-ADJ-LOC.SG.f	celebration-LOC.SG.f	matura[13]-GEN.SG.f

'We went to **John's** school reunion.'

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are no examples in which possession is expressed with
English genitive constructions. There is one example of a name without a suffix for a
possessive adjective in which the adjective does not agree in case, gender or number with the
noun it qualifies, and very much looks like a compound:

---

[13] Matura is the common term for the high-school exit exam in many countries, including Serbia.

(5.55)   [F12;2011]

Tamo	*je*	***Stead***	*knjiga*
there	3SG-be-PRS	Stead-ADJ-NOM.SG	book-NOM.SG.f

'**Stead's** book is there.'

In an email, a female Friend tells me where she has left the latest novel by New Zealand author, C. K. Stead, for me to pick up. In this example, possession is expressed according to neither Serbian nor English rules – Serbian possessive adjectives derived from personal names are created by adding the suffixes *–ov, –ev*, or *–in,* correspond to the English possessive *'s* (Hammond, 2005, p. 210).

In the NZSEMC, adjectives which are direct replicas of English adjectives are mostly accepted unchanged in their English form and without adding Serbian morphological markings, while adjectives derived from English verbs, and adjectives derived from English names mostly follow Serbian grammar rules. Surdučki (1978b) noticed the same tendency in the language of Serbian immigrants to Canada. This also agrees with Bjelica's (2011) observations that, in standard Serbian, a number of adjectives replicated from English preserve their English properties and do not have any markers for number, gender or case.

5.3.3   Compound nouns

Two-part words in which the first part does not decline came to standard Serbian from foreign languages, mostly from Turkish, German, and English (Surdučki, 1978a), but also from Italian, French, Greek and Latin (Klajn, 2002). Since the end of the twentieth century, an influx of compounds from English has been attested in most Slavic languages, including Serbian (Klajn, 2002; Panić-Kavgić, 2006). This can be explained by the fact that it is easier to retain whole English phrases, rather than to translate them, because this would sometimes require definitions rather than translations (Vakareliyska, 2011). Dimković-Telebaković (2014), for example, found 16 translation patterns for 23 borrowed English compound lexemes used in traffic engineering fields. As Dimković-Telebaković points out, Serbian equivalents/translations often include additional elements, normally prepositions, or

prepositional phrases, depending on the semantics of the English compounds and structural characteristics of the Serbian language.

Because borrowed compounds express a single idea, standard Serbian treats them as one word. Depending on how cohesive the word form is, compounds are defined as "compounds" or "semi-compounds" (Klajn, 2002), and written as one word or with a hyphen, respectively (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960), for example, *kornfleks* ('corn flakes'), and *džez-muzika* ('jazz music').

Pešikan, Jerković, and Pižurica (1993) recognise that, in reality, there is much inconsistency in the spelling of compound nouns, and that they are written both as single words (with and without hyphens), and also as two separate words. They explain this as a tendency to simplify the orthography, and allow for what they call a "parallel customary norm", leaving it to the preference of individual authors. They do recommend writing compounds as two words in cases where the first constituent has become an independent word, such as in *video klub* ('video club'), or *mini suknja* ('miniskirt').

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are 145[14] examples of compounds which have an indeclinable adjective or noun in front of a head noun. Most of them are terms related to employment, real estate or shopping.

In only six examples are they written as a single word, as in:

(5.56)   [F17;2011]

Wow,	*kome*	*treba*	***payrise***
wow	who-DAT.SG	3SG-need-PRS	pay.rise-ACC.SG

'Wow, who needs a **pay rise**.'

---

[14] This does not include compounds constructed with one Serbian and one English word, as these will be discussed in chapter 6.

(5.57) [F4;2012]

Da nađem   *nešto*   *sigurnije,*   *može*   *i*   ***partime***
to   1SG-find-PRS   something   secure-CPR   3SG-can-PRS   and   part.time.ACC.SG
'To find something more secure, even **part-time.**'

Although they are mostly written as two words, compounds behave as single words. In example (5.58), the borrowed compound is put in quotation marks, and the Serbian suffix for the masculine genitive singular is added after the quotation marks, clearly indicating that the replication is thought of as one word:

(5.58) [M16;2013]

Pogled   *sa*   ***"upper deck"-a***   *je*   *predivan*
view-NOM.SG   from   upper.deck-GEN.SG   3SG-be-PRS   wonderful-ADJ-NOM.SG.m
'The view from the **upper deck** is wonderful.'

Two thirds of the NZSEMC compounds have been morphologically integrated (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Morphological integration of compounds

	Tokens	Percentage
Integrated	112	77%
Unintegrated	33	23%

In all the integrated examples, morphological markings are assigned to the rightmost constituent only, as in:

(5.59) [F11;2013]

Da se   *nađemo*   *na*   ***ferry terminalu***
to   REFL   2PL-meet-PRS   at   ferry.terminal-LOC.SG.m
'Let's meet at the **ferry terminal**.'

There are 33 examples of morphologically unintegrated compounds, as in:

(5.60)   [F11;2013]

Jedino	*sam*	*našla*	*te*	**holiday homes**
Only	AUX	find-PTCP	this-ACC.PL	holiday.homes

'[I] only found these **holiday homes**.'

In this sentence, taken from an email in which an Acquaintance talks about her weekend plans, the NP *te holiday homes* ('these holiday homes') functions as a direct object. The Serbian demonstrative pronoun *te* ('these') is correctly marked for the accusative plural[15], but *holiday homes* retains the form of the English plural, and is not marked with –*e* for the masculine accusative plural, as the Serbian direct object would be.

As Vakareliyska and Kapatsinski (2014) point out, using a noun as a modifier of another noun without the addition of a Slavic adjectival suffix and agreement is a violation of the principles of morphology and morpho-syntax of Slavic languages, including Serbian. Although they are treated as single constituents, compounds observed in the NZSEMC are less likely to be integrated at both orthographic and morphological levels than single lexemes – 85% of compounds retain English spelling, compared to 69% of single lexemes, and 23% of compounds are unintegrated at the level of morphology, compared to 13% of single lexemes. One explanation for this could be that New Zealand Serbians feel the borrowed compounds to be more of a foreign element than borrowed single lexemes.

A further case involving compounds deserves mention:

(5.61)   [F3:2012]

Ja	*sam*	*ti*	**work_o_holik**
I-NOM	1SG-be-PRS	you-DAT.SG	workaholik

'I am a **work_a_holic**.'

---

[15] Demonstrative pronoun *taj, ta, to* ("this') has the form *te* for for both masculine and feminine accusative plural (Hammond, 2005, p. 138).

There is a possibility that this is just one of many spelling mistakes found in the NZSEMC Skype conversations. It is also possible that the representation of English /ə/ as Serbian /o/, rather than /a/ is influenced by the Serbian compounding model. The Serbian infix –o– is the most common Serbian linking vowel used in compounding (Klajn, 2002), as seen in examples such as *jug-o-istok* ('southeast').

There are several compounds in which one component is English and the other Serbian. These will be discussed in chapter 6.

5.3.4 Numerals

Examples of replicated English cardinal numbers have not been observed in the NZSEMC corpus. The only two examples of ordinal numbers come from the same person. A Friend and I are planning to meet over lunch, and exchange several text messages:

(5.62) [2011]

    a [F1]:   *Utorak 12. ili 19?*

                  'Tuesday the 12th or 19th?'

    b [F12]:   ***12th***

                  […]

    c [F12]:   *Dakle utorak **19th**.*

                  'So, Tuesday the **19th**.'

In the Serbian language, ordinal numbers, when they are written in a numerical form, are followed by a full stop (Hammond, 2005, pp. 266-267). However, in the above examples, my Friend uses *-**th*** after the number, which indicates that these numbers are not the Serbian *dvanaesti* and *devetnaesti*, but the English *twelfth* and *nineteenth*. It is difficult to say why participant F12 opted for the English and not the Serbian form; clearly economy is not the motivation since, when written out numerically, the Serbian would have been shorter than the English.

5.3.5 Verbs

Serbian verbs are marked for tense, person, number and, in some forms, gender. Hence, when investigating the integration of replicated verbs, we have a number of potential sites for adaptation to the Serbian matrix.

There are 11 tokens of four English-origin verbs in the NZSEMC corpus. The verb *book*, which appears eight times, is always integrated and has the appropriate Serbian suffixes for person, number and tense. By contrast, the verbs *negotiate*, *print* and *update*, which are represented by one token each, retain their English form. As Table 5.9 shows, all examples of replicated verbs are from the second half of the period examined.

Table 5.9 English-origin verbs in NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Integrated	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	0	2
Unintegrated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1

Unlike English, Serbian verbs have specific morphological characteristics that differentiate their infinitive forms from the nominative forms of nouns and adjectives. Borrowed verbs are constructed by adding derivational morphemes to the stem and the infinitive ending *–ti.*

In the NZSEMC, the derived verb *bukirati* is constructed by adding *–irati* to the verb *book*. This, according to N. Bugarski (2002), is one of the two[16] most productive suffixes used in the adaptation of verbs borrowed from English. Verb *bukirati* belongs to the *a* conjugation, with the long vowel *a* in the present stem. It is found in present, perfect and conditional I (present).

There are six tokens in the **present tense**, as in:

---

[16] The other one is *–ovati*.

(5.63) [F1;2011]

> *Mogu*   *da*   *bukiram*   *karte*
> 1SG-can-PRS   to   1SG-book-PRS   ticket-ACC.PL.f
> 'I can **book** the tickets.'

The present is formed by adding personal endings to the present tense stem (Hammond, 2005). In the above example, the ending for the 1st person singular –*am* is added.

      The **perfect tense** is found once:

(5.64) [F17;2010]

> *Imam*   *listu*   *studenata*   *koji*   ***su***
> 1SG-have-PRS   list-ACC.SG.f   students-GEN.PL.m   which-NOM.PL.m   AUX
> ***bukirali***
> book-PTCP.PL.m
> 'I have a list of students who **have booked**.'

The perfect tense is formed from the present tense of the auxiliary verb *biti* ('be') and the active participle of the main verb. The active participle agrees with the subject of the relative clause, *studenti* ('students'), in number and gender, and in this case has the suffix –*li* for the masculine plural.

      There is one example of the **conditional I**:

(5.65) [M16;2013]

> *Ja* ***bi***[17]   *onda*   ***bukirao***   *iduću*   *subotu*
> I   AUX   then   book-PTCP.m   next-ACC.SG.f   Saturday-ACC.SG.f
> 'I would **book** next Saturday then.'

---

[17] For the first person singular aorist of the auxiliary verb *biti* ('to be') the participant has used form *bi* instead of *bih*. This is a common mistake in standard Serbian.

The conditional I is formed from the aorist of the auxiliary verb *biti* ('be') and the active participle of the main verb. The participle agrees with the subject *ja* ('I'), and because the participant is male, the participle has the masculine singular suffix *–o*.

There are only three examples of unintegrated English-origin verbs in the NZSEMC corpus, and all are presented below. For the first two it can be presumed that markings for the present tense are missing, but for the third one is not possible to say if the sentence is in the present or perfect tense.

Two of these examples are of the *da* + present clauses, which are very common in Serbian and have various different functions (Stevanović, 1979):

(5.66) [F11;2012]

> *Da li   postoji   mogućnost   da **print**   sa   emaila?*
> PTL   3SG-exist-PRS   possibility-NOM.SG.f to print   from   email-GEN.SG.m
> 'Is there any possibility of **printing** from email?'

The verb in the above construction lacks markings for the third person singular present. The reflexive enclitic *se* which indicates an unspecified human subject (Browne & Alt, 2004) is also omitted. The sentence should be realised as:

(5.67) StS

> *Da li   postoji   mogućnost   da se   **printa***
> PTL 3SG-exist-PRS   possibility-NOM.SG.f to REFL   3SG-print-PRS
> *sa   emaila?*
> from   email-GEN.SG.m

The next example comes from a conversation with a Friend who is about to purchase her first house:

147

(5.68)   [F17;2011]

> *Misliš*   *da* <u>*će*</u>   *da* **<u>negotiate</u>**
>
> 2SG-think-PRS   to   AUX   to   negotiate
>
> 'Do you think [they] will **negotiate**.'

The above sentence is in the future tense. This type of future is formed with the auxiliary verb *hteti* ('to want') and *da* + present construction, and is called interrogative future with affirmative meaning (Hammond, 2005, pp. 74-75). Both verbs (underlined) have to agree with the sentence subject, which can be omitted in standard Serbian. From the preceding correspondence I know that there were two vendors to negotiate with, therefore I can presume that the omitted subject is *oni* ('they'). In this case, the borrowed verb should be marked with the suffix for the third person plural present.

For the third example of an unintegrated verb it is impossible to say whether it lacks markings for present or perfect tense:

(5.69)   [F3;2013]

> *Ana*   *me*   **update**
>
> Anna   I-DAT   update
>
> 'Anna **updates/updated** me.'

In an email, a Friend tells me that she has heard the latest news about my holidays from a mutual friend. Assuming that the mutual friend has given her just the one update, I suppose that the sentence is in the perfect tense, despite the lack of the auxiliary verb which suggests the present tense. Simplified perfect, i.e. omitting of the auxiliary verb, often happens in messages from this Friend, as will be discussed at greater length in subsection 6.2.1.

None of three unintegrated verbs are recorded in the Vujaklija (1966, 1980) dictionary, but two of them, *print* and *update* are found in Vasić, Prćić and Nejgebauer (2011) with the same meaning as in the NZSEMC. Although the verb *bukirati* is not recorded by any of these dictionaries, a simple search on the Internet confirms that it is used in Serbia too, and with the same meaning as in the NZSEMC corpus.

5.4 Replication of non-inflectable words

The non-inflectable word classes in the Serbian language are adverbs, prepositions, interjections, particles and conjunctions (Stevanović, 1989, p. 174). Apart from adverbs, which are content words, prepositions, interjections, particles and conjunctions are function lexemes which carry little semantic meaning of their own. As with English, they are derived from various other word classes, and primarily express grammatical relationships between content lexemes, or convey a discourse-specific function. As mentioned earlier (section 5.2), they do not need to be integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language, which makes them easily transferred from one language to the other. They are also borrowed relatively early in contact situations (Sakel, 2007).

Although function lexemes do not need to be integrated at the level of morphology, they may still be integrated into Serbian at the levels of phonology and orthography. In the NZSEMC, participants almost always retain the English spelling, the only exception being the politeness marker *please,* which one of the participants (Friend M2) uses once with its English spelling, and six times with a Serbian spelling.

This section explores the replication of English adverbs, conjunctions, adpositions, discourse markers, affirmative and negative particles, interjections, greetings, and politeness markers, with the particular intention of ascertaining whether their usage is the same as in English, and if not, where it differs.

5.4.1 Adverbs

There are 37 tokens of English-origin adverbs in the NZSEMC corpus. Table 5.10 shows that most examples are observed in the period 2011-2013.

Table 5.10 English-origin adverbs in NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
No. of Tokens	-	1	3	-	1	-	2	9	13	8

The most common adverbs are the abbreviations AM (Lat. 'ante meridiem'), and PM (Lat. 'post meridiem'), found eleven and seven times respectively.

The acronym ASAP (as soon as possible) occurs eight times, five are from the same Friend M2. Twice, as in (5.70), there is duplication, with forms from both languages – the Serbian *hitno* ('urgently') and ASAP are used one after the other:

(5.70)   [M2;2012]

    Treba   *mi*   *hitno*   *(ASAP)*

    3SG-need-PRS   I-DAT   urgently-ADV   ASAP

    'I need [it] <u>urgently</u> **(ASAP).**'

In the above example a Friend is asking me for a favour and stresses the urgency of his plea by repeating it. Doubling for emphasis is attested in other bilingual situations as well, for example in Australian German (Clyne, 1972a), where it also amplifies the meaning.

Other observed adverbs are: *nearly*, *off, soon*, and, *simply*.

5.4.2   Conjunctions

Matras (2009) argues that connectors, and particularly expressions of contrast, are among the first lexemes to be borrowed in a bilingual setting. According to him, the hierarchy is: *but > or > and.* However, in the NZSEMC corpus, *but* is not found at all, and *or* and *and* are used only to connect parts of the sentence that are already in English.

The only example of *or* contrasts two technical English terms:

(5.71) [M2;2013]

Mislim	*da*	*je*	*više*	*odgovarajuće*	*<u>urban</u>*
1.SG-think-PRS	that	3SG-be-PRS	more	appropriate-ADJ	urban

<u>planning</u>	*or*	*<u>town planning</u>*
planning	or	town planning

'I think that <u>urban planning</u>, **or** <u>town planning</u> is more appropriate.'

This example comes from an email in which a Friend and I discuss translating a document from Serbian into English, and which English architectural terms correspond to which Serbian terms. He does not like the English term I have suggested, and recommends two better terms, leaving me to choose between them. Just a few sentences later, he uses the Serbian *ili* ('or') for the same purpose:

(5.72) [M2;2013]

To	*su*	*<u>registred architect</u>*	*ili*	*<u>registered inženjeri</u>*
Those	2SG-be-PRS	registered architect	or	registered engineers

'They are <u>registered architect[s]</u> or <u>registered engineers</u>.'

Both examples (5.71) and (5.72) also contain some grammatical irregularities. The comparative construction *više odgovarajuće* ('more appropriate') in (5.71) is calqued on English, and is considered further in chapter 6. In (5.72), the first contrasted term is in the singular, while second is in plural. Also, there is a spelling mistake in the first term, *registred*, instead of *registered*. It is not possible to say if this is just a spelling mistake, or whether my Friend has omitted the silent *e* because he does not pronounce it.

All examples of *and* connect parts of English text, as in the example below where *and* connects two movie titles which are in English:

(5.73)   [M16;2011]

> *Hteo   sam   da gledam   Mikhalkova,*
>
> want-PTCP   AUX   to   1SG-watch-PRS   Mikhalkov-ACC.m
>
> *<u>Burn by the Sun</u>   **and**   <u>Slave of Love</u>.*
>
> Burn.by.the.Sun   and   Slave.of.Love
>
> 'I wanted to watch Mikhalkov, "<u>Burnt by the Sun</u>" **and** "<u>Slave of Love.</u>"'

A Friend and I are discussing the movies, and he tells me that he wants to see two movies by the Russian director Nikita Mikhalkov, *Утомлённые солнцем* and *Раба любви*. He uses the English titles for the movies (he probably does not know the Serbian titles, and he does not speak Russian), and connects them with the English connector ***and***. It is interesting to note that the first title is slightly wrong; it is written "Burn by the Sun" instead of "Burnt by the Sun" either because he has made a spelling mistake, or he has remembered the title wrongly, or his English grammar is shaky.

The relative absence of connectors in the NZSEMC is unexpected if Matras' hierarchy of borrowing is seen as a purely formal generalization. However, Matras explains the frequency of borrowed connectors in his spoken bilingual corpora in terms of their function and use. In this light, the absence of connectors in the NZSEMC is less unexpected. According to Matras, connectors are prone to selection errors due to their function in discourse. They are used to monitor and direct the hearer's participation, and "to process instances of a potential clash between hearer-sided expectation based on presupposition and the speaker's message" (Matras, 2009, p. 194). We cannot exclude the possibility that the lack of English-origin connectors in the NZSEMC might be because it is a written and not a spoken corpus, and therefore lacks the critical element of dialogic alignment. Although EMC recreates the spoken mode, EMC language is more filtered and less spontaneous than spoken language (Tagg, 2011) and it is not as speech-like as we tend to think (Baron, 2008). It is possible, therefore, that the very low frequency of borrowed connectors in bilingual EMC is a good indicator of the fundamental difference between EMC and speech.

5.4.3 Adpositions

There is only one token of an English adposition in an otherwise Serbian text:

(5.74) [F12;2012]

  Ja   *sam*   ***in***
  I-NOM   1SG-be-PRS   in
  'I am **in**.'

This example comes from a text message. A Friend and I have earlier agreed to meet for a lunch break, and that she will text me when she arrives in the library where I work. On arrival she sends a message confirming that she is waiting for me in rather that outside the library building. There is also the possibility that my Friend has used the English preposition *in* instead of Serbian adverb *unutra* ('in'). In any case, this construction does not seam to be a viable English construction but rather a kind of a hybrid.

　　　　Another example of an English preposition, which comes from the same Friend, has both the preposition and noun in English:

(5.75) [F12;2010]

  Radimo   *jednu*   *studiju*   ***in*** *depression*
  2PL-do-PRS   one-ACC.SG.f study-ACC.SG.f in   depression
  'We are doing a study **in** depression.'

Both languages, Serbian and English, borrowed the Latin nouns *studium* and *depression* many centuries ago. However, Serbian uses the preposition *o – studija o depresiji* (lit. 'a study about depression') to create a relationship between them. It looks like the preposition *in* was a trigger, a moment when my Friend switched from Serbian to English.

5.4.4 Discourse markers

In the NZSEMC, observed are English-origin discourse markers *anyway*, *awesome*, *by the way*, *cool*, *of course* and *so*. As with other lexical items, replicated discourse markers are more frequent in the last three years of the period examined.

Table 5.11 English-origin discourse markers, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Anyway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
Awesome	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
By the way	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2
Cool	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Of course	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
So	-	-	-	-	1[18]	-	-	1	-	-

A number of studies on languages in contact claim that discourse markers are at the very top of the borrowability hierarchy (see for example Maschler, 2000; Matras, 1998, 2000; Matras & Sakel, 2007a; Myers-Scotton, 2006a; Salmons, 1990; Sankoff et al., 1997). This is, according to Matras (2009), particularly true in the immigrant setting.

Discourse markers are not as frequent in the NZSEMC data as might be expected.

The markers *awesome*, *cool* and *of course* are used once each, and with an intention to achieve a special effect. As such, they belong to the type of innovations Matras calls "speech manipulation" and will be further examined in section 7.6 which discusses stylistic functions of lexical insertions.

The use of the markers *anyway, by the way* and *so*, however, does not achieve any special effect, and very much resembles the type of innovation Matras calls "selection malfunction".

---

[18] This example is from a sentence in which not only the discourse marker, but the whole sentence, is in English.

The markers *anyway, by the way* and *so*, have the same function as in English-only discourse. They signal relationships between the segments they introduce and prior segments (Fraser, 1999), or, as Schegloff (1987) says, "do a piece of sequential work" (p. 72). *Anyway* and *by the way* function as topic reorientation markers (Fraser, 1999) and *so* as a marker of cause and result (Schiffrin, 1987). In all examples, the borrowed discourse markers have exact Serbian equivalents, and so they are not just gap fillers.

   By the way appears five times. Twice it is spelt out in full and at the end of the unit it introduces, and three times it is in abbreviated form at the beginning of the unit it introduces. In all cases it guides attention to a new sub-topic. Example below comes from an e-mail in which a Friend, after talking to a travel agent in English over the phone, tells me that she has purchased tickets for her children to go to Serbia for a holiday. Then she adds additional information – the price of the airline tickets – and uses the English *by this way* to signal the digression:

(5.76)   [F6;2013]

   Karte　　　　　*su*　　　　*skupe*　　　　　*kao*　　*otrov*,
   ticket-NOM.PL　　2PL-be-PRS　expencive-NOM.PL　as　　poison
   by the way, *ali*　*šta*　　*da*　*se*　　*radi*.
   by.the.way　　but　what　　to　REFL　3SG-do-PRS
   'Tickets are as expensive as poison, **by the way,** but what can one do.'

There are several Serbian markers that have the same or similar functions as *by the way*. In the above example, the best Serbian equivalent would be *usput budi rečeno*.

   One example has both English and Serbian discourse markers:

(5.77)   [M16;2013]

   BTW　　　*pogledaj*　　　*inače*　　*šta*　　*nas*　　　*čeka*
   By.the.way　　2SG-look-IMP　　by.the.way　what　we-ACC　　3SG-wait-PRS
   sledeće　　　　　*godine*
   next-GEN.SG　　　year-GEN.SG
   '**By the way** look by the way what's waiting for us next year.'

155

The above example comes from an e-mail in which a Friend comments on a journal article (in English) I sent him a link to. Then he changes the topic, and introduces the change with both Serbian and English discourse markers. He places the English marker at the beginning of the new unit, and the Serbian marker after the first clause of the complex sentence.

Anyway is found four times, and in all examples it is used to return the conversation to the original topic after a digression. Example (5.78) comes from an email correspondence in which I have asked an Acquaintance to forward my email (in English) to somebody we both know and whose email address I do not have. She acknowledges my email, talks briefly about a slightly different topic, and then goes back to the original topic and says:

(5.78)   [F19;2013]

      ***Anyway**,*   *šaljem*   *[joj]*   *e-mail*

      anyway   1SG-send-PRS   she-DAT   email-ACC.SG

      '**Anyway**, I will send [her] the email.'

My Acquaintance could have used the Serbian expression *u svakom slučaju*, a direct but much longer equivalent.

The discourse marker *so* occurs twice. Once, in (5.79), both the segment it introduces and the prior segment are in Serbian, while in the other example, (5.80), *so* is within a section of English text.

(5.79)   [2011]

      a[F1]: *Treba*   *da vam*   *vratimo*   *alat*

             2PL-need-PRS   to   you-DAT   2PL-return-PRS   tool-ACC.SG

             'We need to give you back the tools.'

      b[F7]: ***So**,* *ko*   *dolazi,*   *mi*   *ili* *vi?*

             So   who   3SG-come-PRS   we-NOM   or   you-NOM

             '**So**, who is coming, us or you?'

The above is an excerpt from mobile text messages exchange. After I have told a Friend that my husband and I would like to return some tools we borrowed, she (line 5.79b) concludes that we will have to meet to return the tools, and initiates a move to a slightly different topic, which is to ask where we will meet, at our house, or theirs. Instead of *so*, the Serbian marker *dakle*, which is a direct equivalent, could have been used.

The marker *so* also occurs once within a section of English discourse, where it introduces a conclusion that follows from the previous part of the e-mail message:

(5.80)   [F6;2008]

Na početku   [mog naselja]   rade   novi
At   beginning-LOC.SG   my.suburb   3SG-make-PRS   new-ACC.SG.m
*medical centre, **so**   that is good as well**.*
medical.centre   so   that is good as well.
'At the beginning [of my suburb], there will be a new medical centre, **so** that is good as well.'

Here, a Friend tells me that her suburb keeps changing for the better. She adds that a medical centre is also being built, and then concludes that this (the new medical centre) will add to the quality of life in the area. She uses the English term *medical centre* after which she continues the sentence in English. Here a language switch accompanies the use of the replicated discourse marker (Clyne, 1972b).

The presence of English-origin sequential discourse markers cannot be explained by the "gap hypothesis" as there is no need for them to replace their Serbian equivalents, nor by the "prestige hypothesis" as the usage of English-origin discourse markers does not generate any kind of prestige in the New Zealand Serbian Community. Nor does the usage of *anyway, by the way* and *so* in the examples above indicate that the participants wanted to achieve any special effect. However, with both emails and text messages there is a pressure to keep the number of keystrokes to a minimum (Tagg, 2011), and it may be significant in this context to note that, in all the above examples, the English discourse marker is shorter than its Serbian equivalent.

157

Matras' argument that the borrowing of discourse markers is a result of the fusion of languages and errors in language selection seems to agree best with the results. Example 5.76, for instance, comes from a situation in which a Friend sends me an email, in Serbian, immediately after speaking to a travel agent in English, therefore English was the language that enjoyed increased attention just before she sent the message to me. This is similar to the example given by Matras (2012, p. 35) and commented on here in subsection 2.2, where recent conversation with friends in Hebrew results in the choice of a connector from the "wrong" language when ordering food in English. Other NZSEMC examples of English-origin discourse markers come from similar contexts, and it appears that activation of English immediately preceding conversation in Serbian results in English being temporarily the pragmatically dominant language, and the source of discourse markers.

The question that arises is whether the written mode of discourse could be the reason for such a small number of English-origin sequentiality markers in the NZSEMC corpus. Although we may expect fewer discourse markers in this written corpus than in, for example, Matras' spoken corpora, I propose that this cannot be the only reason. Discourse markers are linguistic items that function in both spoken and written discourse (see for example Fraser, 1990; Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Also, most of discourse markers in the NZSEMC are of Serbian origin. An example is shown below, in an excerpt from a Skype chat about holiday plans. A Friend (F18) offers arguments why my husband and I should go camping with her and her husband in Tolaga Bay, and not to Coromandel:

(5.81)   [2011]

   a [F18]:   *A na Koromandelu ćete biti sami u šumi.*

             '**And** you will be alone in the forest in Coromandel.'

   b [F1]:   *A u šumi ima vuk.*

             '**And** there is a wolf in the forest.'

   c [F18]:   *I samoća je depresivna.*

             '**And** loneliness is depressing.'

   d: *I nema vina iz Tolage.*

             '**And** there is no Tolaga wine.'

   e [F1]:   *Nema vina.*

             'No wine.'

   f [F18]:   *E pa to je presudno*.

             '**Well,** that's crucial.'

   g [F1]:   *Donećete vi kad dolazite*.

             'You will bring [some] when you come [to see us].'

   f [F18]:   *A nema ni kajsijevače.*

             '**And** there is no apricot brandy.'

   i: *Ni kozica.*

             '**Nor** goat [meat].'

In the above Skype chat, which very much follows the speech mode, the Serbian connectors
are employed as discourse markers, and have similar functions to their equivalents in
English (Schiffrin, 2003). The markers *a* ('and') and *i* ('and')[19] signal turn-taking in (5.81a-c)
and (5.81h). In (5.81d) and (5.81i), *i* ('and) and *ni* ('nor') are used to add additional
arguments. The marker *e pa* ('well'), which precedes (5.81f), marks a conclusion.

---

[19] Both *a* and *i* are coordinating conjunctions. While *i* ('and') denotes an addition to the meaning, *a* denotes a
contrast which can vary from slight to strong, but can never be as strong as *ali* ('but'), which indicates total
opposition (Hammond, 2005). *A* is usually translated in English as 'and' (Benson & Šljivić-Šimšić, 1990).

Adopting Matras' approach that bilinguals, when choosing between two languages, give preference to the pragmatically dominant language (Matras, 2000, p. 521), an earlier report on the NZSEMC corpus (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014) argued that the lack of English-origin discourse markers indicated that Serbian remained the pragmatically dominant language among the first-generation New Zealand Serbians. This thesis confirms the earlier findings. However, the presence of English-origin discourse markers, and the increase in their frequency in the last three years, indicates that, at least at times, English is pragmatically more dominant and a source of discourse markers.

5.4.5 Affirmative and negative particles

Affirmative and negative particles *yes, no, yep* and *nope* are only found in the last three years (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12. English-origin affirmatives and negatives, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Nope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Yep	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2

Affirmative particles are twice as often employed as negative ones. This agrees with what Hlavac (2003) found in the Croatian community in Australia.

One example is:

(5.82) [2013]

a [F1]:   *Možeš li sutra u 12:00?*

'Can you [come] tomorrow at 12?'

b [F10]:   ***Yes, kod Lenjina.***

'**Yes**, at the Lenin.'

The above comes from a text message exchange in order to arrange a meeting for lunch. I ask an Acquaintance if the date and time are convenient. In her brief reply, she confirms, using an English *yes* instead of a Serbian *da*.

Particle *no* is once found in an emotionally charged conversation about the earthquake which was felt in most of Serbia:

(5.83)   [2012]

a [F1]: *Jeste čuli za zemljotres u Srbiji?*

'Did you hear about the earthquake in Serbia?'

b [F7]: ***NO**, gde tačno?*

'**No**, where exactly?'

Hearing of the quake I sent a text message to a Friend whose parents' house was damaged in the quake that occurred two years earlier. It is not clear if the capitalised form in (5.83b) is purposely used to express amazement, or if it is just a typing error.

Three of the nine affirmative and negative tokens are *yep* and *nope*, as in example below which comes from a text message (and also contains a spelling mistake):

(5.84)   [M16;2012]

Nop

The forms *yep* and *nope* are found in English at the end of any number of peremptory statements, with the lip-closure as a gesture of finality emphasizing that they are the most final things we can say (Bolinger, 1946). However, in the NZSEMC there are not enough examples to say whether New Zealand Serbians just like the sound of it, or if they have adopted the pragmatics too.

5.4.6 Interjections

In the NZSEMC, there are seven examples of interjections borrowed from English. As Table 5.13 shows, they are all found in the last three years of the period that the corpus samples from.

Table 5.13 English-origin interjectios in the NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
hey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
wow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
yay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
yee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

All examples are contributed by female senders (Friends F6 and F17 and Acquaintance F9). The function of borrowed interjections is the same as in English-only discourse. They express surprise or shock or a strong emotion about something.

(5.85) [F9;2011]

12.00 je   sjajno,   vidimo   se,   Yay!
12:00   3SG-be-PRS splendid   2PL-see-PRS REFL   yay
'12:00 is splendid, see you. **Yay**!'

This is from an email correspondence with an Acquaintance, whom I have not met for a while. She has invited me to meet for coffee. After we agree on a time, she finishes the email message with *yay*, which conveys her happiness to see me after a long a time.

(5.86) [F17;2011]

***WOW!!!!!* Fantastično!**
Wow   Fantastic-ADV
'**Wow**! Fantastic!'

The above example comes from a Skype conversation, in which a Friend gives me praise for a job well done. She uses the word *fantastic*, which is an old borrowing from Greek (Vujaklija, 1966) to qualify my work, but also puts *wow* in front to express her amazement. She also uses multiple exclamation marks.

5.4.7   Greetings

Greetings show considerable volatility in bilingual contexts (Matras, 2009). In the NZSEMC corpus, they are one of the most common replications. With 130 tokens, they represent over 15% of all lexical replications. In many cases, greetings are the only English forms in the entire message.

Table 5.14 shows the distribution of individual English greetings over the whole period. As with other replications, there are more English-origin greetings in 2011-2013 than in the other seven years combined.

Table 5.14 English-origin greetings in the NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Good luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
Good night	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Good morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Happy New Year	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Have a nice day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Have a nice evening	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hi	1	1	2	-	-	1	2	6	5	2
Hugs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
H&K	1	1	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Kiss	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	14	15	13
Look forward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Love	1	1	-	3	1	3	2	2	4	5
Love & Kiss	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merry Christmas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Regards	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
See you	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2[20]	-
Welcome	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Welcome back	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
With love	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	5	4	7	7	6	7	7	26	32	29

Most English-origin greetings are observed only once, twice, or thrice, and mostly in the last three years of the NZSEMC corpus, from 2011 to 2013. The greetings *Hi, H&K, Kiss* and *Love*, however, are found from the beginning of the period examined.

---

[20] One example, used in a text message, is abbreviated ('See u').

None of the English-origin greetings are used to fill a lexical gap. For example, the Serbian greetings corresponding to *Hi* are *zdravo,* and *ćao*, the latter is a long time borrowing from Italian. In the NZSEMC, both these Serbian greetings are found, in both formal and informal settings. The greeting *Dobar dan* ('Good day') is also found in formal settings.

The corresponding Serbian greetings for *Love, Kiss* and *Hugs and Kisses* are not direct equivalents. For example, the typical Serbian closing which corresponds to *Love* would be a sentence such as *Voli te […]* ('[…] loves you'). Similarly, corresponding closing to *Hugs and Kisses* would be *Grli te i ljubi […]* ('[…] hugs and kisses you').

It is also noticeable that the usage of the borrowed greetings does not completely correspond with their typical native English usage. In the NZSEMC, *Kiss* is in a singular form although native English speakers would prefer the plural *Kisses*. Similarly, native English speakers use *XOXO*, and not *H&K*.

In an earlier article on Serbian-English contact in New Zealand (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014), I argued that the English greetings *Love*, *Kiss, Hugs and Kisses* and *Hi* have been adopted purposely to serve as social identity markers. I return to this proposition in section 7.5.

5.4.8 Politeness markers

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are 33 examples of the English-origin politeness markers, *please, sorry* and *thanks*.

Table 5.15 English-origin politeness markers in the NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Please	1	-	1	-	1	1	2	5	8	2
Sorry	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	2	-
Thanks	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	1

Please is the most commonly used politeness marker. Its function is to ask or invite the message recipient to do something. In 15 sentences it occurs with imperatives. It is used once with a declarative, once with an interrogative, and three times in "moodless clauses' (Stubbs, 1983). However, even the examples where imperatives are not present, they are assumed, as in:

(5.87)　[F3;2012]

　　　　*I ona bi htela da ti pošalje za mene, **please***
　　　　She would like to send [something] for me, **please**.'

The above example comes from a Skype conversation with a female Friend. She knows that I plan to go to Serbia, and asks me to take a present to her cousin. Then she tells me that the cousin would like me to bring back a present for her too, and adds a plea that should cause a course of action.

　　　　Sorry and *thanks* are represented with six tokens each. It is difficult to say why they are less favoured than *please*. It could simply be that there were fewer situations where they could be used. With regard to *thanks*, there may be another explanation – that *thanks* can also have negative connotations, and might move the conversation to a more formal level, as in the following example:

(5.88)　[F6; 2008]

　　　　Radujem se unapred za knjigu [...] Nadam se da si ti onu pročitala i da možeš
　　　　*da mi je vratiš jer nije moja. **Thanks***
　　　　'I am looking forward to the book [...] I hope you have read the other one, and that
　　　　you can give it back to me as it is not mine. **Thanks**'

Here, a Friend and I are discussing lending newly published Serbian novels to each other. She reminds me that the book she gave me was not hers. *Thanks* at the end of the message I understand as her indication that she is not happy I have not returned it already.

166

As the above examples demonstrate, *please*, *sorry* and *thanks,* are used instead of their Serbian equivalents in situations where there is a need to intensify the meaning of the politeness marker. The strategy of politeness of solidarity (Schlund, 2014a) present in those situations agrees with an earlier proposal (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014) that English-origin politeness markers, and English-origin greetings, serve as social identity markers. I will further discuss this in section 7.5.

5.5   Multi-lexeme replications

Some multi-lexeme replications were mentioned earlier (a discourse marker *by the way* was discussed in subsection 5.4.4, and several multi-lexeme greetings were listed in Table 5.14). Here, the other multi-lexeme replications will be discussed.

Multi-lexeme replications are provisionally split into three groups: general English phrases and colloquial expressions (such as the idiom shown in the example 5.59), terminology (which includes work terminology and names of dishes), and citations (where the whole sentence is lifted from an English text as in example 5.91, and which includes titles of books and movies, such the one mentioned earlier in example 5.73).

The main reason for this separation was a different treatment of these three types of replications in the NZSEMC corpus. General English phrases are found over the whole ten years of the study, but terminology and citations primarily in the second half. Also, phrases are used only among Friends, while terminology and citations are found in all three social groups.

Table 5.16 Multi-lexeme replications in the NZSEMC corpus, by year

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Phrases	-	4	1	2	4	2	3	8	9	8
Terminology	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	2	4
Citations	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	6	4	6
Total	2	4	4	2	4	3	4	18	15	18

Everyday English phrases and expressions are the most common multi-lexeme replications. One example is:

(5.89) [F17;2011]

  Šta *možeš* *– **go with the flow***

  What 3SG-can-PRS – go with a flow

  'What can you do – **go with the flow.**'

The above sentence comes from a Skype chat with a Friend. After I expressed my unhappiness about something I thought should have been done in a much better way, she advised me that sometimes the best was to accept the prevailing forces, and not to be striking out in new directions no matter what.

  Multi-word phrases are similar to the function lexemes discussed in section 5.4 in that they function as hedges, and stylistic and intelligibility markers. As with greetings and discourse markers, they are used only among Friends. They are often found in emotionally charged situations, as in the example below:

(5.90) [2005]

  a [F6]: *Drugarice,* *gde* *si?*

    Friend-VOC.SG where 2SG-be-PRS

    'Where are you, my friend?'

  b [F1]: *U Australiji* *na* *konferenciji*

    In Australia-LOC.SG at conference-LOC.SG

    'In Australia, at a conference.'

  c [F6]: '**Oh, you lucky girl!**

A close Friend is in my neighbourhood, and wants to pop in for a coffee and chat. She sent me a text message, enquiring if I am free, and after hearing that I am actually in Australia, she expresses her happiness for me, but with an English phrase.

There are 13 examples of borrowed terms which are the names of dishes, or are related to work or buying properties:

(5.91)   [F6;2011]

Poručila   *sam*   **Certificate of Title**
request-PTCP   AUX   Certificate.of.Title-ACC.SG
'I have requested a **Certificate of Title.'**

None of these terms are used to fill lexical gaps in Serbian, but neither are the Serbian terms their direct equivalents. For example, the Serbian term *vlasnički list* translates literally as *ownership paper*. It is noticeable that the Serbian and English terms are reserved for documents from the two different countries. Since Serbians living in New Zealand and buying properties in New Zealand are requesting a *certificate of title* and not a *vlasnički list*, it is logical to use the English and not the Serbian term. Similarly, when Serbians send me a request to translate a Serbian *vlasnički list* into English, they never call it a *certificate of title*. This is found in email what are included in the analysis, but also in emails that are outside of the NZSEMC corpus.

Replicated terms are actually very similar to compounds as they are a single lexical unit. Observed examples of replicated English terms either function as subjects or objects in the sentence, which means that, same as masculine non-animate nouns, they too would take the –Ø suffix. The reason replicated terms have not been discussed with the compounds is that they are differently constructed and, in some of cases, the bond between the constituents is much looser than with compounds, as in the example below:

(5.92)   [M15;2005]

Možeš   *li   da   mi   pošalješ*   **title and abstract***?*
2SG-can-PRS   PTL to   I-DAT   2SG-send-PRS   title.and.abstract-ACC.SG
'Can you send me **title and abstract**?'

There are 20 examples where a whole English sentence is lifted from an English text. I have called these citations.

(5.93)   [M13;2010]

> ...*da je mogu metnuti na moje stranice **providing that I mentioned copyrights***.
>
> '… that I can add it to my [course] pages, **providing that I mentioned copyrights.**'

The above example comes from an email conversation in which I and a Friend, a lecturer at a New Zealand university, discuss various issues and problems related to e-books. He tells me that for the last textbook he has published, which is in an electronic format, the contract he has signed with the publisher allows him to provide free access from his course pages, if he puts in a copyright notice. My Friend paraphrases the copyright clause from the contract, but does not translate it into Serbian.

5.6   Concluding remarks

This chapter has investigated English matter-items that are replicated in New Zealand Serbian, and whether they are integrated into Serbian discourse at the phonological, orthographic and morphological levels. The data points to a number of conclusions.

The number of observed English-matter items confirms the presumption that the discourse is predominantly Serbian with rare English embedded islands (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). In 1,491 email and text messages and 154 Skype conversations, there are only 1,330 instances of English-origin matter items (Table 5.1) – 844 English MAT-replications (single lexemes, compounds and abbreviations), 74 instances of multi-lexeme insertions, and 412 proper names.

The low number of MAT-replications is not surprising because, as reported in chapter 3, New Zealand Serbians have spent only a relatively short period in the new country, they are strong Serbian speakers, keen to maintain their native tongue, and have many opportunities to facilitate this.

170

Figure 5.1 shows that the contribution of MAT-items is not equal among participants. Out of 37 participants, 32 supplied examples of MAT-replication. F3 produced 157, or 18.6% of all MAT-replications. Second and third were F6 with 150, or 17.8%, and F1 with 131, or 15.5%.

Figure 5.1 Number of MAT-replications and messages, by participants
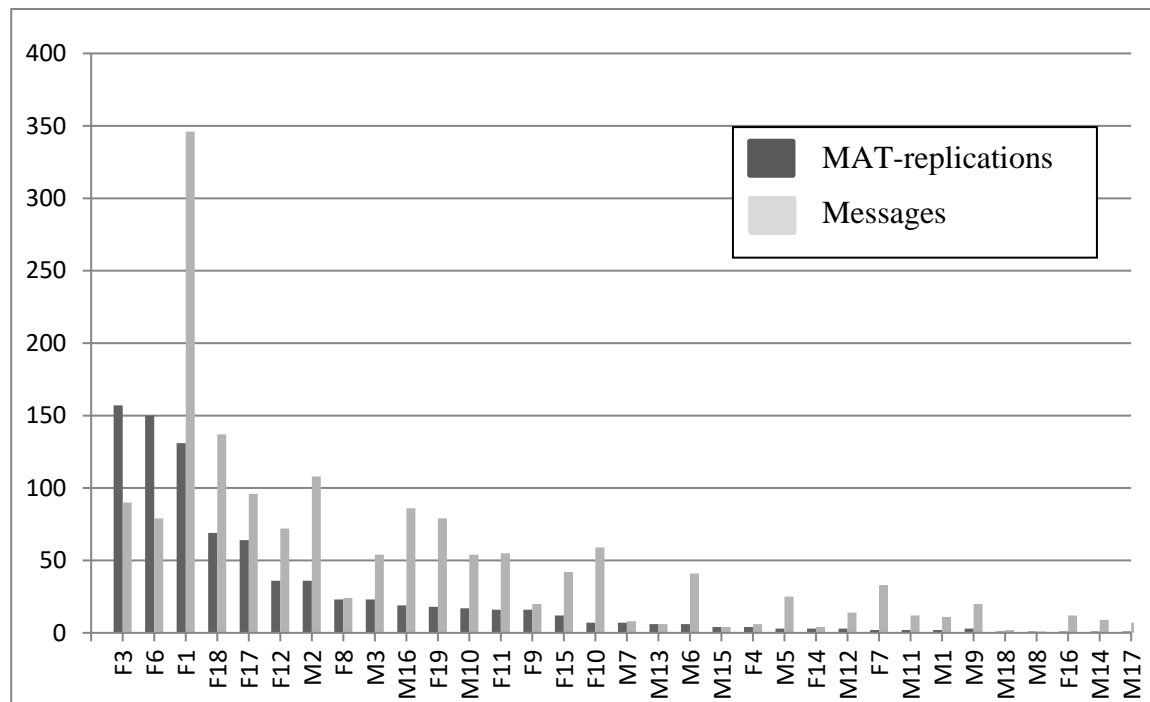
Figure 5.1 also shows that the number of replications does not necessarily correlate to the number of messages. Of all the participants, F3 and F6 contributed more MAT-replications than messages. Participant F8 contributed roughly equal proportion of MAT-replications compared to messages. It is not clear why participants F3 and F6 have such a high number of MAT-replications. One possible explanation for F3 would be the mode of the messages. She primarily uses Skype (Table 4.2), and Skype messages are transmitted in real time, leaving writers little time to think about "correctness". This opens the possibility for a higher occurrence of "selection malfunctions". F6, however, sends only email messages. F3 and F6 belong to the "Friends" social group, and frequently use English greetings and politeness

markers. As mentioned previously, these two word classes are among those most commonly replicated from English (see Table 5.4).

A comparison of NZSEMC MAT-replications with Matras' (2009) frequency hierarchy shows that the NZSEMC corpus supports Matras' finding that nouns are the word class most commonly borrowed. We might have expected, however, according to Matras, to see a much higher number of English-origin utterance modifiers i.e. words such as conjunctions, and discourse markers which speakers utilise in order to monitor and direct hearers' processing of propositional content (Matras, 1998). Table 5.4 shows that discourse markers make up only 1.5% of MAT-replications, interjections only 0.9% and conjunctions are only found in longer English inserts. The low number of utterance modifiers could be a consequence of the mediated, non-face-to-face nature of EMC.

The low number of English-origin discourse markers and the high number of Serbian discourse markers indicates that Serbian is still the pragmatically dominant language among first-generation New Zealand Serbians (see also Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014). The same conclusion is indicated by the low numbers of other utterance modifiers.

Analysis of the NZSEMC data also shows that the number of instances of unadapted English lexemes grows over time (see for example Table 5.6), with most examples being found in the second half of the period studied.

In standard Serbian, borrowings are expected to be adapted at all levels, phonologic, orthographic and morphologic. Because the NZSEMC is a written corpus, analysis of the integration of English MAT-items has mostly been done at the orthographic and morphological levels. Phonological analysis was limited but, nevertheless, there are indications that principles of phonological integration are the same as in standard Serbian.

The investigation of integration at the level of orthography shows that the vast majority of replicated MAT-items retain their original spelling (see subsection 5.1.1). A possible explanation is, that for active bilinguals, like New Zealand Serbians, it is easier to retain the English spelling than to struggle with the Serbian rules for orthographic adaptation, which are not always straightforward (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013). The retention of English spelling allows participants to avoid making decisions on how to adapt English lexemes. Thinking about how to adapt English

lexemes, at the same time as thinking about what they want to tell the receiver of an EMC message, would only increase the cognitive pressure, and militate against unconscious efforts to reduce mental processing loads, as suggested by Matras (2000) and Matras and Sakel (2007a).

It is interesting, though, that not all lexical units show the same level of English spelling retention. Compounds have the highest maintenance of English spelling (88%), then single lexemes (69%), and proper nouns (33% unintegrated). There are also a small number of situations in which participants put English matter-items in quotation marks, which indicates that they are aware that they are not Serbian.

Following Surdučki's (1978b) classification of morphological integration of borrowed lexemes, we can say that the majority of MAT-replications in the NZSEMC corpus are examples of primary adaptation, in that they do not have any Serbian derivational suffixes. Secondary derivation, where Serbian derivational suffixes are added, is much rarer, and secondary building of composites is not present at all.

Borrowed word classes which are inflectional in Serbian are usually assigned appropriate suffixes for number, gender, tense, person, and case. There are, however, examples in which English lexemes are unintegrated.

The question that arises is whether the lack of adaptation of MAT-replications at the level of orthography and morphology is due to participants' "whatever" attitude (Baron, 2008), in other words their conscious intention to reduce communication overload, or is it the result of non-conscious processes, which indicate that English is becoming pragmatically stronger with time.

We can certainly argue that New Zealand Serbians have no need to adapt English origin lexical items, and make it more difficult for themselves in contexts where the interlocutor is also a Serbian-English bilingual, and where no information would be lost by using unadapted English lexemes.

However, there is an increase in replications of discourse markers and other utterance modifiers as well as other word classes in the last three years of the period examined, with some of them being present only in this period. There are also an increasing number of inconsistencies and mistakes in the process of adaptation at the orthographic and

173

morphological levels. This suggests that after twenty years English is becoming pragmatically stronger among New Zealand Serbians. It remains, however, difficult to predict at what point English might become the pragmatically dominant language for these first-generation immigrants.

In the next chapter, we turn to the type of borrowing Matras calls pattern (PAT) replication. This takes us from the domain of single constituents (or analysed phrases) to the more abstract domain of grammar, in our effort to explore the effects of English on the Serbian community in New Zealand.

6   PAT REPLICATION

This chapter looks into constructions made using Serbian words, but which seem to follow English formation and combination rules.

Construction, or pattern, as defined by Matras (2009, p. 235), is a mental procedure that involves a meaningful combination of items at various possible levels: the association of a word-form with its semantic meaning, the mode of combining word-forms, the retrieval of new meanings from such combinations, and the ordering of word-forms.

Starting from the premise that constructions, or patterns, are part of communicative tasks in the same way as matter items, Matras (2009, p. 234) proposes that they too are subject to the control of a selection and inhibition mechanism. Many researchers of language contact have identified pattern replication as an important strategy bilinguals draw on. There are a number of studies on the related phenomena of "grammaticalisation" (see for example Heine & Kuteva, 2005) and "convergence" (see for example Clyne, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 2006b), but, as Matras (2009) points out, little has been written about the way pattern replication emerges in bilinguals' repertoire.

Matras and Sakel (2007) and Matras (2009) recognise "pivot-matching" as the language-processing mechanism responsible for pattern replication. In the model they present, the speaker first identifies pivotal features of the model construction. This construction is then matched to the inventory of the replica language. Finally, the speaker combines the selected construction with context-appropriate word-forms and replicates it in the replica language.

Matras (2009) claims that to identify a construction that would serve a particular communicative task most effectively, the speaker does not "block" or "de-activate" any of his language "systems" but scans through his entire bilingual repertoire, which includes both word-forms and their formation and combination rules. The speaker de-constructs the construction by isolating its pivotal features, such as the word order, or the rules for building comparatives. An example of the latter is (6.1) below (also mentioned in subsection 5.4.2), where a Friend suggests better terms for a translation than the ones I have chosen:

(6.1)   [M2;2013]

Mislim   *da*   *je*   *više*   *odgovarajuće*
1.SG-think-PRS   that   3SG-be-PRS   more   appropriate-ADJ
'I think that is **more appropriate.**'

In standard Serbian, only descriptive adjectives can be compared (Hammond, 2005), and the present verbal adverb *odgovarajući,* although employed as adjective, cannot be compared. The above sentence should have been constructed with the verb *odgovara* in the present tense:

(6.2)   StS

Mislim   *da* ***više***   ***odgovara***
1SG-think-PRS   that more   3SG-suit-PRS
'I think it is **more appropriate**.'

In example (6.1), the comparative *više odgovarajuće* is modeled on the English *more appropriate*. This model construction is matched with the Serbian comparative for adjectives with three or more syllables, and adjectives ending in –*ski,* which is formed by adding the adverbs *više* ('more') or *manje* ('less') to the positive form of the adjective (Hammond, 2005, p. 215). Friend M2 has combined pivotal features of the English model construction with the Serbian construction, and created a comparative from the present verbal adverb.

176

Matras (2009, p. 243) says that the pivot-matching process is spontaneous, and its outcome is a creative, innovative construction which is both task-effective and context-appropriate. He also notes that the speaker may misjudge the acceptability of the new construction to the hearer. In this case the new construction might trigger ridicule and alienation, instead of conveying the intended meaning. The interlocutor's reaction is, therefore, crucial for a new construction to be truly effective and possibly accepted more widely within the community.

In the NZSEMC corpus, PAT-replication is less common than MAT-replication. There are 227 instances of replicated English morpho-syntactic constructions, compared to 844 MAT-replications. Table 6.1 shows the types of English constructions replicated in the NZSEMC by year. As with MAT-replication, PAT-replication occurs mostly in the last three years of the period that the corpus samples from.

Table 6.1 PAT-replication, by year and type of pattern

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Adverbials	-	4	3	-	4	4	1	12	12	11
Case Levelling	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	5	5	2
Clitic Placement	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	2
Complement Clauses	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	1
Existential Predication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Extended Meaning	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	3	4	1
Lexical Calquing	-	1	3	-	1	-	1	8	11	7
[N[N]] Compounds	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	5	5	5
Possessive Constructions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	2
Reinstated Pronoun	-	-	1	-	5	-	2	5	3	3
Simplified Perfect	-	-	2	-	1	3	2	9	15	19
Verbal Aspect	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	-
Total	-	5	13	1	16	14	7	51	66	54

In the following sections, I look at replicated constructions in more detail. As the NZSEMC research investigates early bilingual contact, with data collected in the first 10-20 years of the immigration situation, it highlights how PAT replication emerges in bilingual repertoires in New Zealand Serbian and what factors contribute to this process. Some of the patterns

observed in the NZSEMC corpus have been noticed in Serbian-English contact situations in the United States (Savić, 1995), and Australia (Dimitrijević Savić, 2008) and constructions found in the NZSEMC corpus will be compared with those studies.

This chapter will also analyse the influence of English on Serbian spelling (such as the use of the ampersand and capitalization, and the substitution of English letter combinations in place of missing Serbian letters on the keyboard. Some of these can clearly be treated as English matter replications (for example the ampersand), others are rather pattern replications (such as following English capitalisation rules). However, there are only a few examples of ampersands, so all situations where the English language has influenced New Zealand Serbian at the level of spelling have been grouped together in section 6.5. None of the 89 examples of orthographic innovations in the corpus are counted as MAT- or PAT-replications.

6.1   Nominal phrases

At the level of the nominal phrase, the influence of English is noticed in: building possessive constructions, levelling cases, [N[N]] compounding, and pronoun reinstatement.

6.1.1   Possessive constructions

There are six examples of possessive constructions not conforming to the rules of standard Serbian. They are all found in the last three years of the period examined (see Table 6.1), and are assembled as head noun (the object of possession) + the preposition *od* ('of') + the modifier part (the possessor) in genitive. Construction *od* + genitive in standard Serbian has an ablative function, i.e. it is used to express derivation, separation, or motion away from something (Stevanović, 1979, p. 213), and the constructions found in the NZSEMC appear to be modelled on English rather than adhering to Serbian norms.

Four of the *od* + genitive constructions are direct replicas of English, where the preposition *of* is often used to express genitive constructions, as in:

(6.3)   [F19;2011]

[On]	*je*	*sin*	***od***	*naše*	*koleginice*
he-NOM	1SG-be-PRS	son-NOM.SG	of	our-GEN.SG.f	colleague-GEN.SG.f

'[He] is the <u>son **of** our colleague</u>'

In the above example, the modifier part of the NP, *naša koleginica* ('our colleague'), is in the genitive case which already expresses its relationship with the head noun, *sin* ('son'). The preposition *od* ('of') is not required in the Serbian possessive genitive (Stevanović, 1979), and the correct Serbian sentence would be:

(6.4)   StS

[On]	*je*	*sin*	*naše*	*koleginice*
he-NOM	1SG-be-PRS	son-NOM.SG	our-GEN.SG.f	colleague-GEN.SG.f

Two examples of constructions using the preposition *od* + genitive, however, do not sound natural in either Serbian or English. One of them is:

(6.5)   [M16;2013]

Hteo	*bih*	*takođe*	*da*	*te*	*zamolim*	*za*
whish-PTCL	1SG-be-AOR	also	to	you-ACC.SG	1SG-ask-PRS	for

telefon	***od***	*Petra*
telephone-ACC.SG	of	Petar-GEN

'I would also like to ask you for the <u>telephone [number] **of** Petar</u>.'

In English, the Germanic genitive construction, *Petar's telephone number*, would be more appropriate. In Serbian too, this sentence would sound more natural with the order of possessor and object of possession reversed, and the possessor being expressed as the possessive adjective, *Petrov,* agreeing with the head in number, gender and case:

(6.6)   StS

Hteo   bih   takođe da   te   zamolim   za

wish-PTCL   1SG-be-AOR   also   to   you-ACC   1SG-ask-PRS for

Petrov   *telefon*

Petar-ADJ-NOM.SG.m   telephone-ACC.SG.m

'I would also like to ask you for **Petar's** telephone [number].'

The six examples of possessive constructions which deviate from the rules of standard Serbian are found in emails by three participants, with four examples coming from the same person (M16), including both constructions with reversed order of possessor and object of possession.

6.1.2 Case levelling

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are thirteen examples in which Serbian nouns and pronouns are not marked with the correct case endings for genitive, dative, instrumental and locative. Instead, they are in either the nominative or the accusative case.

Case levelling has also been noticed in other Serbian immigrant situations, with a high incidence of accusative forms replacing other cases. Ďurović (1987) reports that the accusative replaces the dative, instrumental and locative in children's speech in Sweden. A similar process was observed by Savić (1995) in immigrant language in the United States, and by Dimitrijević Savić (2008) in Australia. Hlavac (2003) notes the same for Croatian in Australia. Savić (1995) also notices levelling of the animate/inanimate masculine paradigm in the accusative case, with animate nouns taking the nominative form instead of the accusative.

There are not enough examples in the NZSEMC to endorse the conclusion that the accusative is the *casus prepositionalis generalis*, as Ďurović (1987) calls it. The accusative is found in five examples in which a prepositional phrase is replaced with *za* + a noun or a pronoun in the accusative. One example is:

(6.7)   [F17;2011]

*Document[…]   koji   su   razdelili […]   **za   nas***
document   which   AUX   give.out-PTCP   for   we-ACC
Lit. 'The document which they gave out **for us**.'

In an email, a Friend asks me if I can give her my copy of some papers that were given to both of us, because she has misplaced her copy. The construction *za*[21] + accusative expresses a direct object, and tells to what or to whom something is intended or directed. However, the document she refers to was not given <u>for us</u> at the meeting, but it was given <u>to us</u>. Because the pronoun *mi* ('we') has the function of indirect object in the above sentence, it should have been in the dative case and without a preposition:

(6.8)   StS

*Dokument … koji   su   razdelili …   **nama***
document   which   AUX   give.out-PTCP   we-DAT
'The document which they gave us.'

Similarly, in (6.9) the prepositional phrase *sa* + noun in the instrumental case is replaced with *za* + noun in accusative:

(6.9)   [F2;2008]

*Nisam   u   toku   **za   plaćanje***
1SG-be-PRS.NEG   in   loop   for   payment-ACC.SG.n
Lit.'[I] am not up to date **for payments**.'

In this example, again, an indirect object in the instrumental case is replaced with a direct object in the accusative. The correct Serbian construction would be:

---

[21] Preposition *za* governs acusative ('for') and instrumental ('behind', 'following') (Hammond, 2005).

(6.10)   StS

    Nisam   *u*   *toku*   **sa**   **plaćanjem**

    1SG-be-PRS.NEG   in   loop   with   payment-INS.SG.n

    '[I] am not up to date **with payments**.'

The accusative is also observed in the following example where the Serbian possessive pronoun + adjective determine an English noun:

(6.11)   [F10;2011]

    Nisam   *bila*   *na* **tvoj**   **rođendanski**   *parti*

    AUX-NEG   be-PTCP   at   your-ACC.SG.m   birthday-ADJ-ACC.SG.m   party

    'I wasn't at your birthday party.'

In the above example, the verb *biti* ('to be') requires *na* + the locative, not *na* + the accusative, therefore, *tvoj rođendanski parti*, should be in the locative singular. Discussing second generation Croatian speech in Melbourne, Hlavac concludes that "mistakes" of this kind are evidence "that unintegrated items can change the morphological markers of surrounding elements" (Hlavac, 2003, p. 104). However, in the NZSEMC corpus, there are not enough examples to attest Hlavac's argument.

    The other examples where nouns are not marked with correct case endings retain the correct prepositions or determiners, i.e. the changes concern only the nouns, as in (6.12). All except one sentence involve neuter or inanimate masculine nouns, and, because these nouns have the same forms for their nominative and accusative singulars, they cannot be used to support the proposition that the accusative is the *casus prepositionalis generalis* (Ďurović, 1987).

    In example (6.12) below, the noun phrase contains the preposition *osim* ('except') which takes the genitive case (Hammond, 2005, p. 236), but the noun *jare* ('goatling') lacks the expected case suffix:

(6.12) [F12;2012]

Može	*sve*	*osim*	***jare***.	*Ne*	*jedem*	*meso*
3SG-can-PRS	all-NOM.SG	except	goatling	NEG	1SG-eat-PRS	meat-ACC.SG

'That's all OK, except the **goat [meat]**. I don't eat meat.'

Because people have different dietary preferences I have mentioned a few dishes I intend to prepare, in the course of a dinner invitation. A Friend reminds me that she is a vegetarian, and that all the dishes I have mentioned are fine, except the goat meat. Instead of using the genitive singular *jareta,* my Friend leaves the noun *jare* ('goatling') without the genitive case marking. Standard Serbian sentence would be:

(6.13) StS

Može	*sve*	*osim*	***jareta***
3SG-can-PRS	all-NOM.SG	except	kid-GEN.SG.n

The only example of an animate noun undergoing case levelling has the form of a nominative plural, instead of the standard genitive plural which agrees with levelling of the animate/inanimate masculine paradigm in the accusative case noticed by Savić (1995).

(6.14) [F12;2013]

Imam	*ovde*	*dosta*	*prijatelja*	*i to baš*	***doktori***
1SG-have-PRS	here	lots	friend-ACC.PL.m	especially	doctor-NOM.PL.m

'I have lots of friends here, especially **doctors**.'

In standard Serbian the sentence would be:

(6.15) StS

Imam	*ovde*	*dosta*	*prijatelja*	*i to baš*	***doktora***
1SG-have-PRS	here	lots	friend-ACC.PL.m	especially	doctor-GEN.PL.m

Loss of grammatical cases is a feature of the Torlakian dialect, spoken in south-central Serbia. However, it seems unlikely that this is a factor in the NZSEMC as none of the participants who contributed these examples of incorrect case marking are associated with this area, either by birth or residence. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the levelling of cases in the examples observed in the NZSEMC corpus has resulted from contact with English, particularly given the increase in these types of constructions over time.

6.1.3 Compounds

[N[N]] constructions are a very productive path for word formation in English (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1647). However, the use of qualifier nouns without the addition of adjectival suffixes and agreement with head nouns violates basic principles of Slavic morphology and morpho-syntax (Vakareliyska & Kapatsinski, 2014). In spite of this, borrowed [N[N]] constructions are present in all Slavic languages, and are becoming productive in some Slavic languages, for example in Bulgarian (Vakareliyska, 2011; Vakareliyska & Kapatsinski, 2014). They are still not considered a productive method of word formation in Serbian (Klajn, 2002), but some observers expect them to become more productive in the future (Dimković-Telebaković, 2014).

There are no [N[N]] constructions in the NZSEMC corpus where both head and qualifying nouns are Serbian. There are, however, 20 compounds consisting of Serbian and English nouns.

According to Klajn (2002), [N[N]] compounds constructed of Serbian nouns without linking vowels are very rare in standard Serbian, as are compounds in which one of the nouns is Serbian and the other noun is borrowed. Because of this, the [N[N]] constructions in the NZSEMC corpus which consist of one English and one Serbian noun will be considered PAT replications.

Compounds with an English qualifying noun and a Serbian head noun are more productive in NZSEMC. They occur fifteen times, as in (6.16), while compounds with a Serbian qualifying noun and an English head noun occur five times, as in (6.18).

(6.16) [F6;2008]

Brick kuća   _na velikoj_   _sekciji_

brick   house-NOM.SG.f   on   big-ADJ-LOC.SG.f   section-LOC.SG.f

'A **brick house** on a big section.'

The compound _brick kuća_ ('brick house') comes from an email discussing real estate and can be treated as a partial translation of a common English compound. In standard Serbian, this construction would be realised with a qualifying adjective agreeing with the noun in gender, number and case followed by a head noun:

(6.17) StS

Ciglena   **_kuća_**   _na velikoj_   _sekciji_

brick-ADJ-NOM.SG.f   house-NOM.SG.f   on   big-ADJ-LOC.SG.f   section-LOC.SG.f

Standard Serbian equivalents to English [N]N]] compounds (see for example Dimković-Telebaković, 2014) vary in their construction, as mentioned in subsection 5.3.3. In most cases found in the NZSEMC, the qualifying noun should be replaced by an adjective with an adjectival suffix and agreement marker, as in the above example, but some of the compounds have several possible translations. One is the [N]N]] in the following sentence:

(6.18) [F3;2011]

Ksenija   **_box_**   _se_   _puni_

Ksenija-NOM   box-NOM   REFL   3SG-fill.in-PRS

'The **Ksenija box** is filling up.'

One of my work colleagues has organised a fundraiser. I have asked several of my friends to look around their houses and donate a few unwanted items. Friend F3 informs me, in the text message, that she has started filling up a (cardboard) box with items she will give to me. She could have used several constructions, one of them being _Ksenijina kutija_ (adjective + noun). However, this possessive construction would imply that the box belonged to me,

185

which is not correct, as I was not the owner of the box, nor would I ever be. A more appropriate expression would be *kutija za Kseniju* (noun + preposition *za* + noun in accusative), or a relative clause such as *kutija koja je namenjena za Kseniju* (lit. 'the box intended for Ksenija').

As with the compounds consisting of two English nouns, discussed in chapter 5, compounds consisting of one Serbian and one English noun are treated as single lexemes by participants. In example (6.19) below, only the head noun gets marked for the locative singular, while the English qualifying noun remains undeclined. The pronoun and adjective which modify the [N[N]] compound are in agreement with the head noun.

(6.19)   [F3;2013]

Našla	*u*	*toj*	*čuvenoj*	**gift**	**radnji**
found-PTCP	in	this-LOC.SG.f	famous-LOC.SG.f	gift	shop-LOC.SG.f

'I [have] found it in <u>that famous</u> **gift shop**.'

Gift radnja ('gift shop') is the only compound seen more than once, and both tokens are contributed by the same participant (F3) – once in 2011 and once in 2013.

Table 6.1 shows that most [N[N]] compounds occur in the last three years of the period examined, clearly indicating that the productivity of noun compounding has increased over time among Serbians in New Zealand.

[N[N]] constructions with English words offer several advantages over their Serbian equivalents. First, there is no need to deploy derivational morphology on the adjective. Also, the speaker/writer does not have to choose between alternatives, often multiple, to express the relationship between the two nouns. Finally, as Vakareliyska and Kapatsinski (2014) note, noun compounds provide a concise way to deliver a concept. Instead of choosing one of the Serbian alternatives, the speaker/writer leaves the relation underspecified and lets the hearer/reader do the specification. Also, the underspecification of the relationship between the two nouns allows for a greater variety of relations and often may denote relationships that are not expressible by any native alternatives. Consider following example:

(6.20)   [F1;2012]

Biće	*to*	*jedna*	**rakija**	**party**
3SG-be-FUT	this	one	rakija	party-NOM.SG.f

'It will be a **rakija**[22] **party**.'

I have returned from Serbia with a bottle of Serbian brandy, *rakija*. Because *rakija* cannot be purchased in New Zealand, I have invited a few friends to come and share "a taste of home." As with the example (6.18), alternative ways to express the concept in Serbian do exist – *rakijska zabava* (adj + noun), *zabava sa rakijom* ('party with rakija'), *zabava na kojoj će se služiti rakija* ('a party where rakija will be served'), *zabava na kojoj će se probati rakija* ('a party where rakija will be tasted'), and so on. But *rakija party* also includes an additional meaning. Juxtaposing the two nouns brings the concept of two countries and two worlds together in an interesting way – a taste of the old country in the new country's environment.

The underspecified relationship between the two nouns allows the relationship between them to be expressed in a more concise, and at the same time less specific manner than any native alternatives. With this in mind, it can be said that the [N[N]] compounds in the NZSEMC corpus confirm Matras' (2009) claim that bilinguals explore the options offered to them by both languages and maximise communicative efficiency.

6.1.4   Reinstating pronouns

Serbian is a pro-drop language. The elision of personal pronouns in subject position is possible because the subject is indicated by the morphology of the verb, or as Stevanović (1979) points out, the predicate is contained in the subject. The omission or presence of pronouns is conditioned by functional parameters such as given vs. new information, topic, focus, etc.

---

[22] *Rakija* is a Serbian brandy.

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are numerous examples of sentences with semantically and pragmatically non-required subject NPs, as in the following example, where there is no need for *ja* ('I') to be present in both constituent sentences:

(6.21) [M1;2010]

Ja	*bih*	*se*	*rado*	*opredelio*	*za*	*to*	*da*	***ja***
I	AUX	REFL	gladly	1SG-choose-PRS	for	this	that	I

sam	*prevedem*	*sve*
myself	1SG-translate-PRS	everything

'**I** would gladly choose that **I** translate everything myself.'

A Stranger has asked me for two quotes – one for translating and the other for editing his translation of several promotional booklets which he needs for his private business. After receiving the quotes, he opts for the cheaper option. Considering that the verbs in both clauses are marked for the first person and therefore indicate that the subject of the main clause as well as the complement (*da* + present) clause is *ja* ('I'), the subject pronoun should be elided in both clauses. It could be argued that the second pronoun *ja* ('I') is used to emphasise that he will do the translation himself. There is, however, no need for emphasis in the first clause.

The following is similar:

(6.22) [F6;2011]

Da li	*si*	***ti***	*u*	*offisu?*
PTL	2SG-be-PRS	you-NOM	in	office-LOC.SG

'Are **you** in the office?

The subject *ti* ('you') is semantically and pragmatically non-required as the morphology of the verb (second person present) already indicate it. Again, there is no need for emphasis; my Friend just wants to know where I am.

As can be seen from Table 6.1, resetting the pro-drop parameter in accordance with English pragmatic preferences is one of the most frequently replicated patterns in the NZSEMC corpus and has been present almost throughout the ten years that the corpus samples from. It has also been observed by both Savić (1995) and Dimitrijević Savić (2008).

6.2   Verbal phrases

Innovations in verbal phrases observed in the NZSEMC corpus are: simplification of the perfect tense by omitting the auxiliary, placement of the clitic close to the verb, and use of non-standard verbal aspect.

6.2.1   Simplifying perfect tense formation

The Serbian perfect tense is the main past tense in the use today. It is composed of the present tense of the auxiliary verb *biti* ('to be') and the active participle of the main verb, which agrees with the subject in gender and number (Hammond, 2005). There are two situations in which the auxiliary is elided in standard Serbian – in coordinated VPs following the conjunctions *i* ('and') and *a* ('but, and') if the initial VP already contains an auxiliary, and in the third person singular of reflexive verbs. There is also a so-called *krnji*, or elliptic, perfect (Ćorac, 1974, p. 67), a stylistic feature which omits the perfect auxiliary thus reduces story-telling time, and makes the story more dynamic.

If we set aside VPs with reflexive verbs and examples of auxiliary gapping in coordinate conjunctions, there are 49 instances in the NZSEMC corpus where the auxiliary verb is elided, but is expected to be present.

In (6.23) the auxiliary is omitted in the dependent clause following a subordinating conjunction, but the initial VP does not contain the eliminated material:

(6.23)   [F12;2012]

Ana	*stiže*	*iz*	*Evrope*	*gde*
Ana-NOM	3SG-arrive-PRS	from	Europe-GEN	where

trebalo	*da*	*ima*	*izložbu*
suppose-PRCP.SG.n	to	3SG-have-PRS	exhibition-ACC.SG

'Ana is coming from Europe where [she] was supposed to have an exhibition.'

In standard Serbian the sentence would be:

(6.24)   StS

Ana	*stiže*	*iz*	*Evrope*	*gde*	***je***
Ana-NOM	3SG-arrive-PRS	from	Europe-GEN	where	3SG-be-PRS

trebalo	*da*	*ima*	*izložbu*
suppose-PRCP.SG.n	to	3SG-have-PRS	exhibition-ACC.SG

A simplified perfect, i.e. a perfect without the auxiliary, is also found in single VP sentences, as in:

(6.25)   [F3;2013]

Radila	*do*	*pola*	*9*	*večeras*
work-PTCP	til	half	nine	tonight

'[I have] **worked** till half past eight tonight.'

This sentence should be:

(6.26)   StS

Radila	***sam***	*do*	*pola*	*9*	*večeras*
work-PTCP	AUX	til	half	nine	tonight

The above sentence comes from a Skype conversation. The active participle *radila* ('worked') is marked for singular and feminine gender. It is, however, not marked for

190

grammatical person, and without an auxiliary it is not possible to say who the subject of the sentence is. The previous context also does not tell me who the subject of the sentence is. Only because I know that my Friend's daughter is too young to be working, can I guess that my Friend is talking about herself.

Table 6.1 showed that simplifying the perfect correlates with participants' length of time in New Zealand, which supports the presumption that gapping in non-standard situations is a result of the influence of English on New Zealand Serbian. A tendency to simplify the perfect tense by omitting the auxiliary has also been noticed in Serbian-English contact in the USA (Savić, 1995, p. 487) and Australia (Dimitrijević Savić, 2008). Dimitrijević Savić (2008, p. 78) claims that it is observed only with the third person singular clitic (*je*), and because *je* is less stable than other auxiliary clitics in Serbian (Mišeska Tomić, 1996), she notes that *je*-dropping may be a result of contact with English as well as an internally induced simplification process in standard Serbian.

Unlike in Serbian in Australia (Dimitrijević Savić, 2008), in NZSEMC other auxiliary clitics are also omitted, as in (6.26), where the first person singular clitic *sam* is missing.

6.2.2   Clitic placement

In standard Serbian, clitics generally occupy the second position in a clause (Hammond, 2005, pp. 250-251). In the NZSEMC corpus deviations from this rule are seen in five examples, where the clitics are placed next to the verb instead, either preceding it or following it. Out-of-place clitics include the past-tense auxiliary clitic (one token) and the reflexive clitic, *se* (four tokens).

The only example with the past-tense auxiliary clitic comes from a Skype conversation with a Friend about a mishap on my travels:

(6.27) [F3;2012]

Čujemo	*ukrali*	*ti*	*tašnu*	*pa*	*zato*
2SG-hear-PRS	steal-PTCP	you-DAT	bag-ACC.SG	and	therefore

si	***kasnila***
AUX	2SG-be.late-PART

'We hear your bag got stolen and so you have been late.'

In the above example, the auxiliary clitic *su* for the third person plural is omitted from the second sentence, *ukrali [su] ti tašnu* (lit. '[have] stolen you-DAT bag'), in line with the simplification of the perfect tense discussed in subsection 6.2.1. The auxiliary clitic *si,* for the 2nd person singular is also rendered in a non-standard position because precedes the verb in the last sentence. The clitic *si* should instead be placed right after the conjunction *pa* ('and'), in second position, meaning that the standard Serbian equivalent of (6.27) is (6.28):

(6.28) StS

Čujemo	*ukrali*	*su*	*ti*	*tašnu*	*pa*	***si***
2SG-hear-PRS	steal-PTCP	AUX	you-DAT	bag-ACC.SG	and.so	AUX

zato	*kasnila*
therefore	2SG-be.late-PTCP

There are four examples with the reflexive clitic *se* moved out of second position, as in the following example where a Friend comments on her busy social life, and says that there are constant social gatherings she has to go to, and that someone is always celebrating something:

(6.29) [F3;2013]

Stalno	*nešto*	*slavi*	*se*
constantly	something-NOM.SG	3SG-celebrate-PRS	REFL

'Something is constantly being celebrated.'

Here, the clitic *se* is found after the verb *slaviti* ('to celebrate') instead of being in the second position in the clause, after the adjective *stalno* ('constantly'). The correct word order would be:

(6.30) StS

      Stalno   **se**   *nešto*   *slavi*

      constantly   REFL   something-NOM.SG   3SG-celebrate-PRS

It should also be noted that the sentence in (6.29) is not an example of a truly reflexive verb, but rather an impersonal sentence. Serbian impersonal sentences are similar to English passives except that they do not have a subject of any sort and the "addition of *se* focuses more attention on the verbal idea itself by making an active verb passive" (Alexander, 2006, p. 46).

Dimitrijević Savić (2008) notes that reflexive clitic *se* is often moved out of the second position and placed after the verb in Australian Serbian, and that this mirrors the position of the reflexive pronoun in English. There are not enough examples in the NZSEMC to confirm this argument. Two examples with reflexive *se* moved out of second posion have *se* after the verb (as in example 6.29) and two have *se* just before the verb (as in example 6.27).

Looking at all five examples of the reflexive clitic being placed close to the verb, and following Dimitrijević Savić (2008), we can suggest that in some cases participants deviate from standard Serbian and treat verb and clitic as a single constituent.

6.2.3 Verbal aspect

Most Serbian verbs have two aspects – imperfective and perfective. The imperfective aspect indicates that the action or state expressed by the verb is duative or repeated frequently, and the perfective aspect indicates that the action has been completed or is of limited duration (Hammond, 2005).

In the NZSEMC, the imperfective aspect is used four times when the perfective would be expected:

(6.31) [F8;2006]

To	*se*	*ne*	*plaća*	*kad*	***prestaješ***	*da*	*radiš*
This	REFL	NEG	3SG-pay-PRS	when	2SG-stop-IPFV	PTL	2SG-work-PRS

'That's not paid when you **stop** working.'

A Friend is explaining the difference between annual leave and sick leave, and points out that annual leave gets paid out when a contract expires, but sick leave does not. Since ending employment is not a long lasting action, the verb should be in the perfective aspect, as in:

(6.32) StS

To	*se*	*ne*	*plaća*	*kad*	***prestaneš***	*da*	*radiš*
This	REFL	NEG	3SG-pay-PRS	when	2SG-stop-PFV	PTL	2SG-work-PRS

Twice perfective aspect is observed instead of the expected imperfective, as in:

(6.33) [F12;2010]

Moja	*najveća*	*sekiracija*	*je*	*da*	***zaboravim***
mine	biggest	vexation-NOM.SG	3SG-be-PRS	PTL	1SG-forget-PFV

jer	*sam*	*matora*	*i*	*zaboravna*
because	1SG-be-PRS	old	and	forgetful

'My biggest worry is that I **forget** because I am old and forgetful.'

Here, the action of forgetting is lasting, and has been repeated often enough to worry my Friend. Using the perfective aspect suggests, on the contrary, that my Friend would like to forget something she cannot. However, the subordinate clause *jer sam matora i zaboravna* ('because I am old and forgetful') explains that she is worrying because of the potential loss of her memory. This sentence should be:

194

(6.34)   StS

Moja	*najveća*	*sekiracija*		*je*	*da*	***zaboravljam***
mine	biggest	vexation-NOM.SG		3SG-be-PRS	PTL	1SG-forget-IPFV
jer	*sam*	*matora*	*i*	*zaboravna*		
because	1SG-be-PRS	old	and	forgetful		

Levelling of the perfective/imperfective distinction is noticed by Savić (1995) too. She, however, observes that it only occurs in the past tense, and suggests that perfective forms are used as default forms regardless of semantic and morphological requirements. Unlike Savić's corpus, all the examples observed in the NZSEMC corpus are in the present tense. Also, replacement of perfective forms with imperfective is more common than the opposite.

6.3   Innovations at the level of clause

According to Matras (2009) the structures of complement, adverbial and relative clauses and the structures of coordination are the first to be targeted in the process of convergence. In the NZSEMC corpus, the most frequent innovations at the level of clause are in the placement of adverbials in the sentence. Other innovations are rare and only sporadically observed in the last three years of the period under examination.

6.3.1   Adverbial placement

In the Serbian sentence, adverbs and adverbial phrases should always be close to the verb they modify (Browne & Alt, 2004; Klajn, 2005). There is also a tendency for single-word adverbs to precede the verb they modify, while multi-word adverbials tend to follow (Browne & Alt, 2004, p. 54).

In the NZSEMC corpus, there are 51 cases which deviate from this tendency, and have adverbials at the very end of the sentence, as in:

(6.35)   [F16;2012]

     da bi   *izvršili*   *plaćanje*   **odmah**

     to   3PL-be-AOR   make-PTCP   payment   at.once

     '… so that they can make the payment **at once**.'

In the above sentence, the adverb of manner is put behind the direct object *plaćanje* ('payment') as it would be in English. In Serbian, the sentence would sound more native-like if the adverb was adjacent to the auxiliary verb:

(6.36)   StS

     da bi   **odmah**   *izvršili*   *plaćanje*

     to   3PL-be-AOR   at.once   make-PTCP   payment

Another example is:

(6.37)   [M3;2012]

     Ja   ću   ti   *proslediti njegovo*   *pismo* **takođe**

     I-NOM AUX   you-DAT   forward-INF his   letter   as.well

     'I will forward you his letter **as well**.'

Here, the adverb *takođe* ('as well') follows the direct object as it would in English. In Serbian, the sentence would sound better if the adverb followed the pronoun *ti* ('you', here in the function of an indirect object):

(6.38)   StS

     Ja   ću   ti   **takođe** *proslediti njegovo*   *pismo*

     I-NOM AUX   you-DAT   as.well   forward-INF his   letter

Because Serbian is considered to have a free word order, it is difficult to claim that putting adverbial phrases at the end of sentences is entirely the result of English influence. However, the large number of sentences with adverbials at the end, which sound non-native-like,

combined with evidence of their increase over time (as seen in Table 6.1) is highly
suggestive of possible modelling on English.

6.3.2   Complement clauses

The Serbian conjunction *da* is often translated with the English word *that*, but unlike *that*, it
can never be omitted (Alexander, 2006, p. 29). However, in the NZSEMC *da* is missing in
six complement clauses, in precisely the syntactic context where English *that* can be omitted.

(6.39)   [M3;2012]

Izgleda   *Petar   dolazi*   *u   Beograd*

3SG-seem-PRS   Petar   3SG-come-PRS   to   Belgrade

'It seems Petar is coming to Belgrade.'

(6.40)   StS

Izgleda   **da**   *Petar   dolazi*   *u   Beograd*

3SG-seem-PRS   that   Petar   3SG-come-PRS   to   Belgrade

'It seems **that** Petar is coming to Belgrade.'

Most of the examples of *da* omission date from the last two years of the period examined.
Four are contributed by the same participant (F3).

6.3.3   Existential predication

Serbian existential verbs *ima* ('have'-3SG.PRS) and *nema* ('not have'-3SG.PRS) are always
in the third person singular (Alexander, 2006, p. 82). In two examples in the NZSEMC an
existential clause is constructed following English rather than Serbian rules, with the verb
imati ('to have') in the third person plural instead of the third person singular:

197

(6.41)   [F11;2013]

Vidim	*da*	***imaju***	*da*	*se*	*iznajme*
1SG-see-PRS	that	3PL-have-PRS	that	REFL	3PL-rent-PRS

'I see that **there are** [campervans] to rent.'

The above sentence comes from an email in which an Acquaintance talks about campervans and says that she has found a place where they can be rented. She omits the noun *campervans*, as she has mentioned them in a previous sentence, and puts the verb *imati* ('to have') in the plural, following English usage, where the verb *to be* often agrees with the noun phrase in number when it follows the expletive *there* (Walker, 2007).

6.4   Lexical semantics

Matras (2009, p. 245) claims that pattern replication in the area of lexical semantics appears to proceed independently of pattern replication at the grammatical level, and that associations between models and target items in the replica language might be triggered by either phonological similarities or polysemy.

In the NZSEMC corpus, extension of meaning is observed in old borrowings, as well as in Serbian lexemes both of which are now discussed in turn.

6.4.1   Extended meanings in old borrowings

Some lexical items independently borrowed from Latin by both Serbian and English, a long time ago, differ slightly in their current meanings in each language. Four nouns and two verbs of Latin origin appear in the NZSEMC with Serbian phonological forms and Serbian grammar but with English semantics. In this case we have PAT-replication which is reinforced by the phonological similarities between the replica and the model words (Matras, 2009, p. 246).

Extended meaning is observed in four feminine gender nouns: *aplikacija* (L. applicatio, E. application), *ekstenzija* (L. extensio, E. extension), *konfirmacija* (L.

confirmation, E. confirmation), and *sekcija* (L. section, E. section), and in the verbs *aplicirati* (L. applicāre, E. to apply) and *konvertirati* (L. convertere, E. to convert). These lexemes are recorded in the Vujaklija (1966) and SANU (1959-) dictionaries but with different meanings to the ones that occur in the NZSEMC. Their new meanings in the NZSEMC are shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 New meanings of old borrowings

Lexeme	New meaning[23]
aplikacija, n.	1. A formal request to an authority for something
	2. Documents for such request
aplicirati, v.	1. To apply for a job
ekstenzija, n.	1. Part that is added to a house to enlarge it
	2. Extra telephone connected to the principal line
konfirmacija, n.	1. Acknowledgement
konvertovati, v.	1. To change from one form to another
sekcija, n.	1. A plot of land
trening, n	1. Teaching a person or animal a particular skill

The example below comes from an email in which an Acquaintance, who is applying for a new job, asks me to read her cover letter and Curriculum Vitae, and give her advice on how to improve them:

(6.42) [F4;2009]

Ja	*ću*	*sutra*	*završiti*	***aplikaciju***		*i*
I	AUX	tomorrow	finish-INF	application-ACC.SG.f		and
poslaću		*ti*	*je*	*još*	*jednom*	
1SG-send-FUT		you-DAT	she-ACC.SG	more	once	

'I will finish the **application** tomorrow and send it to you again.'

---

[23] The dictionaries listed above give several other meanings, but including them here would make the table too long. For this reason, the table lists only the meanings that are not recorded in these dictionaries.

The noun *aplikacija* with the meaning *'molba ili prijava na konkurs'* ('application for a job') is noted in the Vasić, Prćić & Nejgebauer dictionary (2011). However, my Acquaintance tells me that she will make changes to her Curriculum Vitae and cover letter, as suggested by me, and will send them to me for a further check before she submits the application. She extends the meaning of *applikacija* to the documents which she is going to submit.

Another example is:

(6.43)   [F16;2012]

Jutros	*sam*	*bila*	*da*	***convertujem***	*moju*
this.morning	AUX	be-PTCP.f	to	1.SG-convert-PRS	my-ACC.SG.f

vozačku	*dozvolu*
driving-ADJ-ACC.SG.f	license-ACC.SG.f

'This morning I went to **convert** my driving license.'

In the above sentence, the verb has the correct Serbian suffix for the first person singular present. The initial English *c* instead of a Serbian *k* may be an indication that the writer of this message is thinking of *convert* as a foreign word. It may also be explained as an English influence at the orthographic level, as will be discussed in subsection 6.5.2.

The extended meanings of *aplikacija*, *aplicirati, konvertovati* and *training* do match those recorded in a dictionary of recent Anglicisms in Serbian (Vasić et al., 2011), and according to that dictionary, these new meanings have come into standard modern Serbian via English. It is difficult to say whether New Zealand Serbians co-opted the new meanings before or after coming to New Zealand. All the examples do come from the second half of the period that the corpus samples from. Some examples seem to clearly reflect local, New Zealand usage:

(6.44)   [F18;2011]

Vi	*ste*	*definitivno*	*zaljubljeni*	*u*	*tu*	***sekciju***
you	2PL-be-PRS	definitly	in.love-VADJ-NOM.PL	in	this-ACC.SGf	section-ACC.SG.f

'You are definitly in love with this **section**.'

The above sentence came as an answer to an an email in which I told a Friend that my husband I intended to buy a beach property, and described the property in detail.The use of the lexeme *section* with the meaning 'a plot of land' is characteristic of New Zealand English ("Section," 2007).

6.4.2   Lexical calquing

In the NZSEMC, there are 32 examples in which Serbian lexemes have been combined in a novel way and new meanings have been obtained from the combination, or where the meanings of Serbian words have been extended.

One example comes from an email in which a Friend mentions the age of her granddaughter:

(6.45)   [F6;2012]

Ona	*je*	*skoro*	*tri*	*meseca*
she-NOM	3SG-be-PRS	almost	three	months

'She **is** almost three months.'

There are several ways to express someone's age in Serbian (see Alexander, 2006, pp. 205-206; Hammond, 2005, pp. 272-274). Among others, constructions with the verb *biti* ('to be') are used. However, in this case either the person whose age is being told is in the dative case or the adjective *star* ('old') has to be present, as in:

(6.46)   StS

Ona	*je*	*skoro*	*tri*	*meseca*	*stara*
she-NOM	3SG-be-PRS	almost	three	months	old-ADJ-NOM.SG.f

'She **is** almost three months <u>old</u>.'

Another example comes from a Friend who sends me a message that she is back from a holiday:

(6.47)   [F18;2012]

   Stigli   *smo*   ***nazad***
   come-PTCP   1PL-be-PRS back
   'We came back.'

Following the English construction 'to come back', my Friend combines Serbian verb *stići* ('to arrive', 'to come') and adverb *nazad* ('back'). She should have used the Serbian verb *vratiti se*:

(6.48)   StS:

   Vratili   *smo*   *se*
   come.back-PTCP   1PL-be-PRS   REFL

The construction *stići nazad* is also used once by participant F8. The other constructions are found only once, and therefore remain innovations at the individual participant's level. However, fourteen of these innovations involve using the wrong Serbian preposition, as in the example below, where a Friend describes her plans to have a coffee break.

 (6.49)   [F3;2012]

   [da]   *sednem*   *malo*   ***za*** *kafu*
   to   1SG-sit-PRS   a.bit   for   coffee-ACC.SG
   'To sit a bit **for** a coffee.'

The correct Serbian preposition would be *uz* ('with,' 'alongside', 'together'):

(6.50)   [F3;2012]

   [da]   *sednem*   *malo*   *uz*   *kafu*
   to   1SG-sit-PRS   a.bit   **alongside**   coffee-ACC.SG

Lexical calquing is characteristic of numerous contact situations (Matras, 2009, pp. 245-248). In the NZSEMC corpus, lexical calquing is one of the more productive types of PAT-replication (see Table 6.1). It is found in messages written by twelve participants (see Table 6.4), and appears relatively early in the corpus.

6.5   Influence of English spelling on Serbian spelling

Matras' research looked at spoken language, and didn't consider the influence of the donor language on the orthography of the recipient language. The NZSEMC, which is a written corpus, shows significant influence in this area, and this deserves a detailed investigation.

Innovations at the level of orthography in the NZSEMC corpus can be categorised as being of two types, which I will call "intentional" and "unintentional" innovations. "Intentional" innovations are where English spelling is used to make up for the lack of Serbian characters on the keyboard. All other innovations will be called "unintentional" although it is difficult to prove whether some of them are conscious choices or not. These include capitalization that breaches standard Serbian rules, reverse spellings of old borrowings, English spelling in Serbian words, and use of the ampersand. The reason for separating those two types is same as with proper nouns and other lexemes – to enable the influence of the length of contact to be observed.

There are 89 examples of "unintentional" orthographic changes in the corpus. Table 6.3 shows that the frequency of unintentional English-influenced changes increases over time, which suggests that knowledge of Serbian orthographic rules among New Zealand Serbians is decreasing as time passes.

Table 6.3 Serbian words spelled according to English orthographic rules, by year

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
No. of Tokens	0	3	3	1	3	1	8	16	30	24

In the following subsections, I will look into innovations at the orthographic level in more detail.

6.5.1 Use of capital letters

According to Serbian orthographic rules (Matica srpska & Matica hrvatska, 1960; Pešikan et al., 1993, 2013), capital letters are used only in the following cases: proper names, such as *Ana, Berlin*, etc.; at the beginning of sentences and titles; and in the formal second-person pronoun *Vi* ('you'), and other expressions of courtesy such as *Vaše veličanstvo* ('Your Highness').

In the NZSEMC corpus there are 28 examples where people capitalised Serbian words that should not be capitalised. The majority of them are the names of months[24], which are not considered proper names, according to Serbian orthographic rules but are capitalised in English. One example comes from an email in which a Friend recommends a recently published book:

(6.51)   [M16;2013]

Knjiga	*je*	*izašla*	*6og*	***Novembra***
Book-NOM.SG.f	AUX	go.out-PTCP	sixth-GEN.SG.m	November-GEN.SG.m

'The book was published on 6th **November**.'

The sentence is constructed according to Serbian grammatical rules, and the ordinal number *šesti* ('sixth') and lexeme *novembar* ('November') take the masculine genitive singular suffixes. The spelling is, however, modelled on English – my Friend uses a capital letter in the name of month. Being adopted from Latin, names for months are similar in Serbian and English, and this phonetic similarity could be a factor that adds to the potential confusion about the use of capital letters.

---

[24] Serbian orthographic rules prescribe the use of a full stop after Arabic numbers when, as in dates, they represent ordinal numbers. Because auto-correct options in word-processing programs automatically capitalise lower-case letters after full stops, capitalisations in such cases have not been taken into account.

The same argument cannot be applied to other cases, such as the example (6.51) where name of a day, *nedelja* ('Sunday'), is capitalised:

(6.52) [M3;2012]

Da dodjem   *u*   ***Nedelju***   *popodne*

to   1SG-come-PRS   on   Sunday-LOC   afternoon

'To come on **Sunday** afternoon'**.**

Although capitalisation of common nouns is not standard in English, people tend to capitalise words and phrases that should, in fact, be in lower case. In the NZSEMC is present as well, as in the example:

(6.53) [F8;2008]

Ganjaju   *me*   *svi,*   *I*[25] ***Prodavci***

3PL-chase-PRS   I-ACC.SG   all-NOM.PL   and   seller-NOM.PL

I   ***Kupci***   *I*   ***Advokati***

and   buyer-NOM.PL   and   lawyer-NOM.PL

'They are all chasing me, **sellers, buyers** and **lawyers**'.

There are also cases where different spellings are found in the same sentence, which is similar to inconsistencies in spelling of replicated English-origin MAT-items:

(6.54) [M10;2011]

Od   *25.*   *juna*   *do*   *10*   *Jula*

from   25-GEN.SG   June-GEN.SG   till   10-GEN.SG   July-GEN.SG

ove   *godine*

this-GEN.SG   year-GEN.SG

'From 25 **June** till 10 **July** this year'

---

[25] Capitalisation of the "I", as in this example, can be caused by the computer's auto-correct function. Same as capitalisation of lower-case letters after full stops, capitalisations of the "I" have not been taken into account.

In the above example, a friend talks about his and his wife's travel plans, and says they will be away from 25 June till 10 July. He spells the first date according to Serbian orthographic rules, with a full stop after the number, and the name of the month without a capital letter. He, however, follows English rules with the second date, omitting the full stop and capitalising the name of the month.

6.5.2   Old borrowings

There are numerous lexemes in both standard Serbian and English which have been borrowed from other languages over the centuries, or which are derived from old loan words. Most of these lexemes are of Greek or Latin origin. They are sometimes spelt the same in Serbian and English, and sometimes differently. In the NZSEMC corpus spelling replications were observed with the letter *x* (which does not exist in Serbian) instead of the cluster *ks*, the letter *c* instead of the letter *k*, and the letter *s* instead of the letter *z*.

Following the principle that each letter of the alphabet corresponds to only one sound, Greek-origin lexemes with the letter *Ξ* and Latin-origin lexemes with the *X* are rendered with a *ks* cluster in Serbian. In the NZSEMC, there are twelve examples where a *ks* is replaced with an *x* suggesting English influence. One example comes from text messages exchanged between a group of friends who are planning to meet in a café for a birthday celebration. One Friend says he will go directly to the café because he will be late, but no more than half an hour:

(6.55)   [M2;2005]

Nađemo	*se*	*u […]*	*za*	*pola*	*sata*	***maximum***
2PL-find-PRS	REFL	in	for	half-ACC.SG	hour-GEN.SG	maximum

'See you at […] in half an hour **maximum**.'

Another example comes from a Skype conversation, where a Friend talks about her husband who is learning a new skill:

(6.56) [F3: 2012]

*Još   u   **experimentalnoj**   fazi*
still in   experimental-ADJ-LOC.SG.f   phase-N-LOC.SG.f
'[He is] still in an **experimental** phase.'

The phrase *experimental phase,* which my Friend jokingly uses to describe her husband's attempts to apply a newly acquired skill, includes two old borrowings. Grammatically, the phrase follows Serbian rules – the adjective *eksperimentalna* ('experimental') and the noun *faza* ('phase') agree in number (singular), case (locative) and gender (feminine), but there appear to be inroads from English in fading memories of Serbian orthography.

Examples of the following old borrowings are observed written with *x* instead of *ks*: *ekspert* ('expert '), *eksperimentalan* ('experimental'), *maksimum* ('maximum'), *relaksirati* ('to relax'), *taksi* ('taxi'), and *tekst*[26] ('text'). All these lexemes are recorded in the first edition of Vujklija's dictionary of foreign words and expression (Vujaklija, 1966). In addition, there is one example of the lexeme *mikser* ('mixer'), borrowed from English in more recent times for the kitchen utensil. This is first recorded for Serbian in the more recent revised edition of Vujaklija's dictionary (Vujaklija, 1980). All examples retain the correct grammatical forms.

The consonant /k/ is always spelled with letter *k* in Serbian. In the NZSEMC corpus, there are fourteen examples of *c* instead of *k*. However, the word *komedija* ('comedy') originally comes from the Greek *κομῳδία.* In the NZSEMC, there is one example of it written with *c* instead of *k* (Vujaklija, 1966):

(6.57) [F1;2011]

*NZ **comedija**   o   matorcima   u staračkom   domu*
NZ comedy-NOM.SG   about oldie-DAT.PL in retirement-ADJ-LOC.SG   home-LOC.SG
'A New Zealand **comedy** about oldies in a retirement home.'

---

[26] The lexeme *text* as in *mobile texting*, is omitted from the analysis.

The above example comes from an email correspondence in which a Friend and I discuss going out to see a movie. The New Zealand comedy *'Rest for the Wicked'* is mentioned. The word is given the correct Serbian nominative singular feminine suffix.

There is also an example where the same word is spelt in two different ways in the same email. *Dokument*[27] ('document'), from the Latin *documentum*, is spelled in both English and Serbian ways. In the following example participant M12 requests an urgent translation of a medical report from a Belgrade doctor. As he cannot wait for the original to arrive, he forwards me the PDF, and suggests I do a translation based on it. He uses the word document twice; the first time he spells it with a *c* and the second time with a *k*. In both cases the adjective *originalni* ('original'), from the Latin *orīgin-, orīgō,* precedes the word document, and is in the grammatically correct Serbian form, agreeing with the noun in case (accusative), gender (masculine) and number (singular).

(6.58) [M12: 2010]

> *Supruga   mi   je   poslala   originalni*
> wife-NOM.SG   I-DAT   AUX   send-PTCP   original-ADJ-ACC.SG.m
>
> ***document*** …   *Da li   bi   vi   mogli   da*
> document-ACC.SG   PTL   2PL-be-AOR you-NOM.PL can-PTCP   to
>
> *počnete   s   prevodom   koristeći   PdF … a   ja*
> 2PL-start-PRS   with translation-IST.PL use-VAPRS   PDF   and I-NOM
>
> *ću   vam   poslati   originalni*
> 1SG-be-FUT   you-DAT.PL send-INF   original-ACC.SG.m-ADJ
>
> ***dokument…***   *čim   ga   dobijem*
> document-ACC.SG   as.soon.as   it-ACC.SG.m 1SG-get-PRS
>
> '[My] wife has sent me the original **document**… could you start a translation based on the PDF …, and I will send you the original **document** as soon as I get it.'

---

27 The Serbian orthographic manual allows for two versions of this word – with and without an –*a*– between the *n* and *t* in the final syllable, i.e. *dokumenat*, and *dokument* (Vujaklija, 1966, pp. 137-138).

The letter *c* instead of *k* is found in tokens of the following old borrowings: *sertifikovan* ('certified'), *dokument* ('document'), *komedija* ('comedy'), and *komunikacija* ('communication'). All these words are recorded in Vujaklija (1966). The word *dokument* is spelled with *c* by four different people in unrelated messages. Two more lexemes could be added to this group, *karbonara* ('carbonara'), a popular Italian dish, and *kompjuter*[28] ('computer') which, although it originates from the Latin *computus,* came to Serbian via English (Vujaklija, 1980) only in recent times.

The consonant /z/ is represented with the letter *s* instead of the letter *z* six times. In example (6.59), *konfuzan,* a verbal adjective derived from the Latin *confusio*, is spelt with *s* instead of *z:*

(6.59)   [F14;2011]

Ja	*sam*	*danas*	*bila*	*vrlo*	***konfusna***
I	AUX	today	be-PTCP	very	confuse-ADJ-NOM.SG.f

'I was very **confused** today.'

Here, an Acquaintance uses the correct Serbian form – the Serbian adjective *konfuzan*, which conjugates with *ja* ('I') in case, number and gender (the participant is a female). English would use the past participle of the verb *confuse.* My friend, however, mixes Serbian and English spellings, and uses *s* instead of *z*.

The letter *s* is found instead of *z* in the following old borrowings: *konfuzan* ('confused'), *depozit* ('deposit'), *organizovati* ('to organise'), *senzor* ('sensor'), and *viza* ('visa'). All are recorded in Vujaklija (1966), and as we saw with previous examples, are all grammatically integrated.

Double consonants are not used in Serbian language. The lexeme *horor,* from the Latin *horror* (Vujaklija, 1980), is found in one example with a double *r*:

---

[28] Lexemes from the IT domain are not counted as borrowings from English, and are generally ignored in this thesis, because most of them were invented after the Serbian participants came to New Zealand. The lexeme *kompjuter* ('computer'), however, is included in the analysis of spelling, as it was well known in Serbia before the emigration to New Zealand.

(6.60) [F19;2013]

Ona	*ispriča*	***horror***	*priču*	*o*	*svom*
she-NOM.SG	3SG-tell-AOR	horror	story-ACC.SG.f	about	her-LOC.SG.m

mužu
husband-LOC.SG.m

'She told a **horror** story about her husband.'

A Friend retells a story she heard from a colleague, whose husband ended up in hospital and almost died. She uses the expression *horor priča* ('horror story') which is well known in Serbian, and came into Serbian from the English. In Vasić, Prćić and Nejgebauer's dictionary (2011), *horror priča* ('horror story') is recorded as a replication from English and in the examples they provide, the qualifying noun remains unchanged in front of a head noun.

Another English lexeme which was integrated into Serbian long before participants came to New Zealand is *tinejdžer* ('teenager'). The only example of it in the NZSEMC shows uncertainty about the spelling of this old borrowing:

(6.61) [F18;2013]

Imamo	***tinejera***	*u*	*kući*	*koji*
2SG-have-PRS	teenager-ACC.SG.m	in	house-LOC.SG	which-NOM.SG.m

je	*stalno*	*na*	*internetu*
3SG-be-PRS	always	on	Internet-LOC.SG

'We have a **teenager** in the house who is always on the Internet.'

A Friend complains that her husband spends too much time playing games on the Internet. She indicates that his behaviour is not appropriate to his age by using word *tinejdžer* ('teenager'), but misspells it. The first part of this compound noun *teen-* she transcribes correctly as *tin*, with the English long vowel /i:/ spelt with the Serbian letter *i*. The second part, *-ager*, should be spelt as *–ejdžer*. She starts by transcribing the English letter *a,* which has the value /ei/, as *ej*, but stops after the letter *j* which has a /j/ value in Serbian and a /ʤ/ value in English. The lexeme however has the correct accusative singular suffix and marker of gender and animacy.

Here, I should also comment on the spelling of toponyms which have well established forms in standard Serbian, but are written according to English spelling rules.

In standard Serbian, names for countries, major cities and geographic features are either native Serbian exonyms, for example *Nemačka* ('Germany'), or adapted borrowed exonyms, for example *Okland* ('Auckland'), and *Sidnej* ('Sydney'). Some place names are fully or partially translated, for example *Južno Ostrvo* ('South Island'), *Velika Britanija* ('Great Britain'), *Novi Južni Vels* ('New South Wales'), and *Tihi okean* ('Pacific Ocean').

In the NZSEMC, Serbian exonyms are used for names of countries, which is not surprising, since all the participants in the study had Geography as a compulsory subject throughout their schooling. *Fiji* in the example below is the only exception to this: My Friend talks about her holiday plans and lists three places she would like to go to – Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Perth. She does not use the Serbian transcribed form *Fidži* (Prćić, 2004), but the English form *Fiji*. My Friend also omits the case ending for locative singular masculine nouns in *Fiji*, and for feminine nouns in partially abbreviated *Papua Nova Gvineja* ('Papua New Guinea'). The unabbreviated part, *Papua*, is spelled in the same way in both Serbian and English (Prćić, 2004). For Perth, on the other hand, she uses the transcribed form *Pert* (Prćić, 2004), to which she adds the locative singular ending *–u* for masculine nouns.

(6.62) [F8;2006]

[Ja]	*bih*	*rado*	*recimo*	*provela*		*4*	*dana*	*na*
[I]	AUX	gladly	say	1SG-spend-COND.f		4	days	in

Fiji		*ili*	***Papua N.G.***	*ili*	*u*	***Pertu***
Fiji-LOC.SG		or	Papua N.G.-LOC.SG	or	in	Perth-LOC.SG.m

'[I] would gladly spend, say, 4 days in **Fiji**, or **Papua New Guinea**, or in **Perth**.'

Major world cities are also consistently written in the standard Serbian transcribed form, but there is noticeable inconsistency in the use of New Zealand and Australian toponyms (apart from the country names *Novi Zeland* and *Australija*). It would be expected that Serbians have not come across the names of some smaller New Zealand and Australian places, but

Serbian spelling of big cities should be well known to participants. Apart from example (6.61), there are other examples, such as the ones below in which participant M10 uses the English form in (6.63), and the transliterated form in (6.64):

(6.63) [M10;2006]

Kad   dođem   u   Sydney
when   1SG-come-PRS   in   Sydney-ACC.SG.m
'When I come to **Sydney**'

(6.64) [M10;2006]

da negde   izađemo   sa   tobom   u   Sidneju
to   somewhere   1PL-go.out-PRS   with   you-INS.SG   in   Sydney-LOC.SG.m
'So we can go out together somewhere in **Sydney**.'

These examples show a level of inconsistency in the spelling of old borrowings which indicates that the writers are not sure whether the lexemes should be treated as Serbian or English. At least in some cases, such as example (6.58), it can be argued that PAT-replication at the level of orthography is reinforced by phonological similarities, in the same way as extended meanings are given to the old borrowings discussed in subsection 6.4.1.

6.5.3 Non-English lexemes

There are several examples where English spelling is used in lexemes that do not exist in English, or are old borrowings that exist in English, but have acquired a completely different meaning in Serbian.

(6.65)   [F16;2013]

    Sad   *ću*   *da vas*   *pozovem*   *na* **fixni**

    Now   1SG-be-FUT   to   you-ACC.PL   1SG-call-PRS   on   landline

    'I will call you on the **landline** now.'

A Stranger who needs a translation thinks it is going to be easier if she calls me on the landline and explains exactly what she needs. In Serbia, the landline telephone is called *fiksni telefon* as opposed to *mobilni telefon* ('mobile phone'). The root *fix-* is from Latin, and is common in English but is never used in this context.

        English spelling is also found in a Serbian slang word:

(6.66)   [F3;2012]

    Biće   *dobra*   **clopa**.

    3SG-be-FUT   good   food-NOM.SG

    'There will be good **food**.'

Here, a Friend who is inviting me to a party tells me that she plans to make a lot of tasty food, most likely Serbian food, which I will love. She uses the slang, *klopa* (Gerzić & Gerzić, 2002), however, instead of the letter *k*, she uses a *c*.

        There is also an example of the Serbian third person singular of the verb *biti* ('to be'), where letter *j* is replaced with *y*:

(6.67)   [F3;2011]

    Yeste

    3SG-be-PRS

    'It **is**.'

In Serbian, the letter *j* is used for the sound /j/, but the same letter in English represents the consonant /ʤ/. Participant F3 uses letter *y* which in English is pronounced /j/.

        In one example a double letter is used in a Serbian word:

(6.68)   [F3;2012]

    Leppo

    Beautiful-ADV

    '**Nice**.'

In English, a short vowel is often indicated by a double letter. In Serbian, double letters are not used. Also, the first syllable of the word *lepo* has a long rising accent.[29]

    The above mentioned examples of spelling of non-English lexemes can be spelling mistakes characteristic for the EMC writing. However, they are observed in the last three years of the period that the data samples from, where we see the increase of English influence on Serbian. Therefore, we can suggest that at least some of them are the influence of English.

6.5.4   Ampersands

The ampersand, a ligature of the Latin *et* ('and'), is not used in standard Serbian. There are, however, seven cases where ampersand is used in the NZSEMC, as in:

(6.69)   [F12;2013]

    Pozdrav   *tebi*   ***&*** *Dž*

    greeting   you-DAT   and John

    'Regards to you **&** John.'

The above sentence is a closing greeting in an email a Friend sends from her vacation. She uses *Dz* instead of *J,* which indicates that the name John is integrated at the level of orthography. Unfortunately, it is not possible to see if the name is integrated at the level of morphology, as the name is abbreviated.

    The ampersand is twice used in signature, as in:

---

[29] In standard Serbian, accents are not indicated in writing.

(6.70)   [M16;2013]

   Petar&Ana

This example comes from a text message sent to me by a male Friend. He signs off in his own name and that of his wife. This could be a pre-set signature, except that in other messages he uses *i* ('and'), as in:

(6.71)   [M16;2013]

   Petar i   Ana

   Petar   **and** Ana

Ampersand is used by two participants – F12 and M16. Out of seven examples with ampersand, three are found at the end of the message, which very much reminds of the closing greeting *H&K*, discussed in subsection 5.4.4, and which is going to be further discussed in section 7.5. Interestingly, Friends M16 and F12, who used the ampersand, have not used any English-origin greetings.

6.5.5 Lack of Serbian letters on the keyboard

The standard English keyboard does not include a number of Serbian letters (see Table 1.1), and New Zealand Serbians always omit diacritics, and use the letters *c, s, z, dz* instead of *č, ć, š, ž,* and *dž,* and the digraph *dj* for *đ*. In the NZSEMC corpus, the letters *š* and *č* are sometimes replaced with *sh* (nineteen tokens) and *ch* (one token), respectively, while *ž, đ* and *dž* are always *z, dj* and *dz*.

   The only example in which the letter *č* is replaced with *ch* is in the personal name:

(6.72)   [F18;2006]

   Ćao   Linche

   Ciao   Linche-VOC.SG.f

   'Ciao **Linche**'

Participant F18 sends an email to a group of friends including a woman we nicknamed *Linche*. The nickname is constructed from her first name *Lina*, and the suffix *–če*, which is commonly used to form diminutives in the Torlakian dialect. Lina lived in Belgrade, but she was born in a city where the Torlakian dialect is spoken. There is only one example of her name in the NZSEMC corpus, but we use it regularly spelled like this, indicating that she belongs to New Zealand as well.

There are nine examples of *š* being replaced by *sh* in personal names, as in (6.73):

(6.73) [F2;2007]

Tu	*se*	<u>*nasao*</u>	*preko*	**Rashe**
Here	REFL	find-PTCP	through	Rasha-GEN.SG.m

'[He] found himself here through **Rasha**.'

An Acquaintance sends a photo of her cousin, and explains how the photo came to be taken. She says that her cousin was invited by his friend, whose nickname was Raša[30]. She indicates that there should be a letter *š* in Raša by using *sh*, but leaves *našao,* a past participle of the verb *naći* ('to find'), as *nasao*. This illustrates that replacing Serbian diacritics with English selling is inconsistent.

Sh replaces *š* in a common noun ten times, as in:

(6.74) [F17;2011]

da	**mo<u>z</u>esh**	*da*	**pola<u>z</u>esh**	*ispite*	*ranije*
PTL	2SG-can-PRS	PTL	2SG-take-PRS	exams	earlier

'[So] you **can take** exams earlier.'

In the above example, participant M17 uses *sh* twice. Both lexemes, *možeš* ('can'-3SG-PRS), and *polažeš* ('take exam'-3SG-PRS), also should have a letter *ž,* however only *š* is replaced by *ch*, while *ž* is writen as *z*.

---

[30] The name is replaced with pseudonym

The use of *ch* and *sh* is is found in messages of five participants – F1, F2, F18, M1 and M17.

Participants F2 and M1 use it only once, in a personal name. F1 and F18 use it often when referring to their common friend Masha. Interestingly, Masha herself[31] always writes her name with *sh*, however, F1 and F18 use it inconsistently, with both *Masa* and *Masha* occurring. F18 also uses it once with a common noun. Based on the example (6.72) we could say that proper names are more culturally marked and that this is why participants F1, F2, F18 and M1 give them more attention. There are however not enough examples to confirm this hypothesis.

Participant M17 uses *sh* nine times, and only in common nouns. He is the youngest participant in this research, who came to New Zealand in 2009. Replacing *š* with *sh* and *č* with *ch* has been attested among young people in Serbia, particularly on Facebook (Vlajković, 2010), which indicates that, in the case of M17's idiosyncrasy, we have to allow for the possibility of influences similar to ones among young people in Serbia. However, this type of spelling does not occur in any of the emails I have received from friends who live in Serbia.

6.6   Concluding remarks

This chapter has examined morpho-syntactic constructions, modelled on English, and English-influenced orthography and semantics.

The number of replicated English patterns in the NZSEMC corpus is relatively small - only 227 examples of PAT- replications were found in a total corpus of approximately 40,000 words from 1,052 email messages, 439 text messages and 154 Skype conversations.

Some patterns are represented by only a few tokens. For example, there are only six occurrences of the non-standard verbal aspect. We cannot exclude the possibility that at least some of the examples are actually just errors, of the kind common in EMC writing, caused

---

[31] Masha is not a participant in this study.

either by haste or the writers' "whatever attitude" (Baron, 2008). However, because these "mistakes" are much more frequent in the last three years of the period examined (see Figure 6.1), there must be a high probability that they are the consequence of Serbian-English contact.

Figure 6.1 PAT-replications, by year
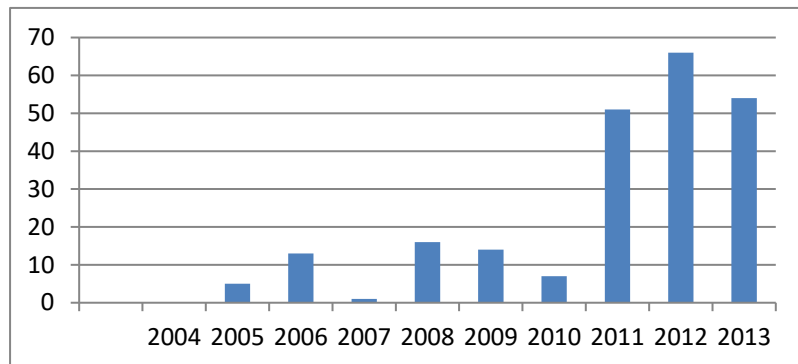
The two most frequent innovations comprise almost half of the total examples (see Figure 6.2). Placement of adverbials encompasses 22.5% and simplification of the perfect tense 22.5%.

Figure 6.2 PAT-replications, by frequency
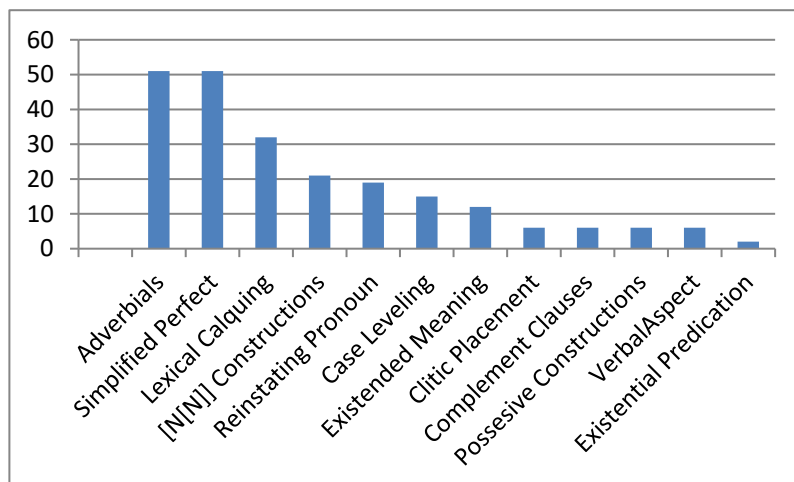
In the case of adverbial placement there is a similarity between English and Serbian at the level of syntax, which makes it possible for adverbs to be moved towards the end of the sentence, as is normal in English. As Kitić (2002) argues, the main difference between Serbian and English word order is at the level of pragmatics rather than syntax. Both languages are SVO languages, but the synthetic, inflectional nature of Serbian means its word order is relatively free, and thus more expressive of pragmatic and stylistic information, while the analytic nature of English means its word order is fixed, and expressive primarily of syntactic and lexical semantic information. The high frequency of adverbials placed according to English syntactic rules can therefore be explained by the fact that their placement, although pragmatically and stylistically anomalous, does not actually violate Serbian syntactic rules.

A similar phenomenon occurs with the reinstatement of the pro-drop parameter and simplification of the perfect tense. As explained in subsection 6.1.4, the subject is often indicated by the morphology of the verb in Serbian. Reinstating the subject is pragmatically marked in Serbian, but it is not incorrect at the level of syntax. Similarly, omitting the perfect auxiliary is in standard Serbian a stylistic feature called the *krnji*, or elliptic perfect which reduces story-telling time (Ćorac, 1974, p. 67).

In the case of most of the PAT-replications found, we can say that they are reinforced by "pivotal" constructions (Matras, 2009; Matras & Sakel, 2007b) in both languages. However, for some of the innovations observed in the NZSEMC, it is not possible to find a pivotal construction in English language, for example, for the use of accusative instead of other cases, as discussed in subsection 6.1.2.

Savić (1995) and Dimitrijević Savić (2008) noticed in Serbian in the USA and Australia an internal tendency towards simplification, overgeneralisation and category reduction; this cannot be said for New Zealand Serbian. The idea that contact-induced change leads to simplification is a common, yet not a universal one (Thomason, 2001, p. 64). Savić and Dimitrijević Savić, for example, notice that the accusative becomes the preferred case in the process of case levelling, that only the third person singular form of the auxiliary *biti* ('to be') is dropped in constructing the perfect tense, and that the reflexive clitic *se* is placed after the verb. The NZSEMC data shows additional variation. Case levelling is

present, but the accusative is not confirmed as the preferred case; other forms apart from the third person singular of the auxiliary *biti* ('to be') are also dropped, and the reflexive clitic *se* is placed before as well as after the verb. One important difference between the Australian and United States contact situations, and the New Zealand one covered by the NZSEMC, is that the NZSEMC research covers only first-generation immigrants. Savić studied speakers from the second generation, i.e. the first generation to be born and raised in the United States, while Dimitrijević Savić's research was done on speakers belonging to both first and second generations. It is therefore understandable that the Serbian they studied in the USA and Australia shows higher levels of attrition.

Savić (1994) claims that convergence in the language of second-generation American Serbian college students indicates an undergoing process of Matrix Language turnover, or shift from Serbian to English. This claim is based on the fact that the morpho-syntactic frame of sentences was often English rather than Serbian. Considering that only a small percentage of PAT-replications actually violate Serbian morpho-syntactic rules, it cannot be claimed that the same process is also happening in New Zealand Serbian. It is interesting, however, to look at the language of Participant F3. She supplied significantly more examples of PAT-replication than any other participants (see Figure 6.3) including a number of examples which run counter to Serbian morpho-syntactic rules (see Table 6.2). Considering the frequency of examples in her messages, the possibility of individual Matrix Language turnover cannot be excluded.

The NZSEMC data shows a significant impact of individual contributors on pattern replication – in both the quantity and quality of their replications.

Figure 6.3 Number of PAT-replications and messages, by participant
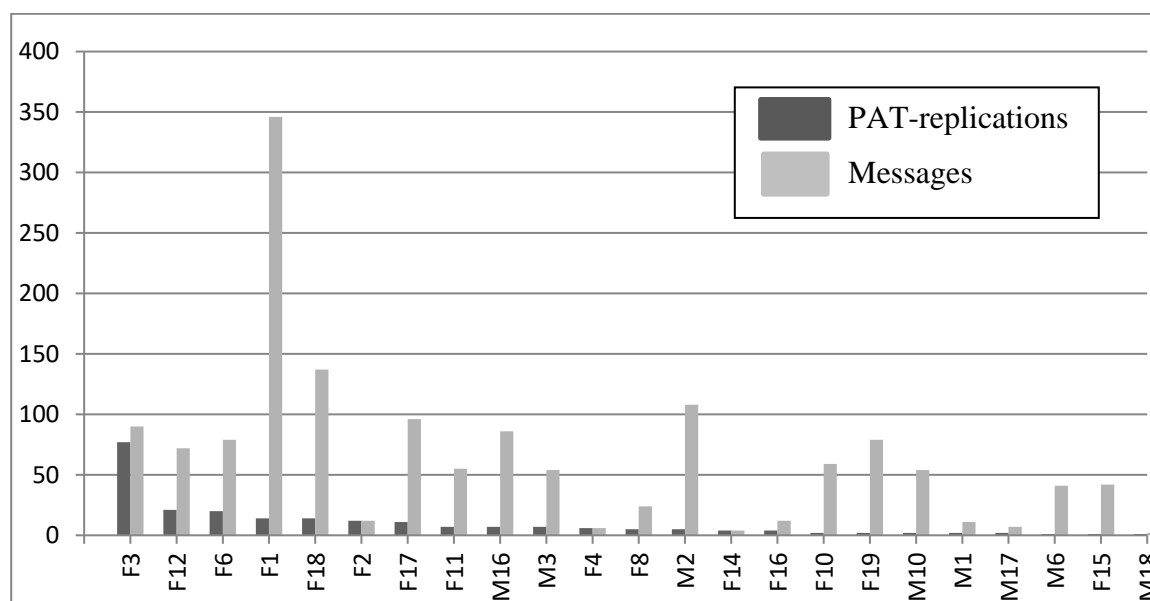
Pattern replication has been found in messages written by 23 of the 37 participants in the study.

Figure 6.1 shows that three participants have contributed much more than the others – F3 (77 examples, which make up 33.9% of the total number of PAT-replications), F12 (21 examples, or 9.2%), and F6 (20 examples, or 8.8%). However, half of the 77 examples from F3 are simplified the perfect tense, and were found in Skype messages. As mentioned earlier, a simplified perfect is used in standard Serbian to save time and to make stories more dynamic. It is possible then that simplification of the perfect in these examples is the result of the kind of high-speed communication characteristic for Skype, rather than the influence of English.

Figure 6.1 also demonstrates that there is a correlation between number of replications and number of messages, as expected, but it is only a partial one. Participant F3, who supplied highest number of PAT-replications is not the participant with the most messages. Participant M2 contributed 108 messages (the third highest number of messages) and only 5 PAT-replications. Participant F14 wrote only 4 messages but they included 4 PAT-replications.

As mentioned earlier, the two most widespread constructions are placement of adverbials in the sentence and simplification of the perfect tense. From Table 6.4 it can be seen that the first is found in messages by sixteen participants, and the second in messages by six participants. It is also noticeable that, although some participants contributed only small numbers of PAT-replications, the type of these replications implies a strong influence of English. For example, M17 contributed only two examples, one of [N[N]] replication and one of case levelling. Participant F19 also contributed only two examples, one of an English-influenced possessive construction and one of lexical calquing. Participant M3 contributed seven examples, three of which show a strong influence from English (case levelling, complement clause and verbal aspect).

Table 6.4 also shows significant variation among participants in the replication of morpho-syntax patterns, and that there are not a lot of widespread implicational relationships between individuals and pattern type. This confirms Matras' finding that diffusion of convergent structures is erratic rather than orderly.

Table 6.4 PAT-replication, by participant and type of pattern

	F3	F12	F6	F1	F18	F2	F17	F11	M16	M3	F4	F8	M2	F14	F16	F10	F19	M10	M1	M17	M6	F15	M18	Total
[N[N]] Constructions	5	2	4	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	21
Adverbials	13	7	6	1	2	3	4	2	2	3	2	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	51
Case Levelling	3	3	-	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	15
Clitic Placement	2	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Complement Clauses	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Existential Predication	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Extended Meaning	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12
Lexical Calquing	7	5	2	2	5	1	3	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
Possessive Constructions	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Reinstating Pronoun	1	-	2	1	-	5	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	20
Simple Perfect	38	3	2	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51
Verbal Aspect	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	77	21	20	14	14	12	11	7	7	7	6	5	5	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	

The influence of English is also noticeable at the level of orthography, and my findings here appear to match what is happening with other replications, demonstrating that the frequency of orthographic influence is growing over time. English spelling in lexemes borrowed from Latin and other languages by both Serbian and English long before immigration to New Zealand is particularly interesting, and suggests that participants think of such words as more recent importations. This is similar to what is found with Latin-origin adjectives, borrowed and adopted into the Serbian language a long time ago, which are being used in their English instead of Serbian form (see subsection 5.3.2).

The NZSEMC data shows that PAT-replication is found in all areas of the grammar of first-generation bilingual Serbians, although at very different rates. There is also considerable variation in the morpho-syntax pattern replications observed in the data from each participant, and it is obvious that there is an erratic rather than an orderly diffusion of patterns. The examples, although small in number, and unevenly spread among participants, show that influence is present at the level of the whole community. It is noticeable that the frequency of replicated patterns increases over time, which confirms that PAT-replication requires long-term bilingualism, as suggested by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and indicates that more changes can be expected in the years to come.

7   NON-LINGUISTIC FACTORS

Most researchers agree that multiple factors play a role in shaping the results of language contact. Contact-induced changes are generally described as dynamic and multiple, and are caused by internal as well as changes external factors (see for example Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1968; Winford, 2003). Chamoreau and Léglise (2012) point out that because contact-induced changes are complex, complementary, and correlated processes, not everything can be covered by the same explanation, and that language change in a bilingual community can best be understood if multiple aspects of language contact are taken into consideration. Labov (1994) argues that analysis which examines the contribution of many constraints on the data is the soundest, and points out the need to separate linguistic and non-linguistic factors that influence language change; in other words to separate out change correlating with social factors, such as gender, and social networks, from change due to internal factors, such as word order, and phrase structure.

Chapters 5 and 6 described innovations in New Zealand Serbian which are the result of contact with English in New Zealand, and discussed linguistic factors that have contributed to this process, while the purpose of this chapter is to discuss non-linguistic factors which contribute to stronger influence from English, or better maintenance of Serbian. The chapter examines seven social, cultural and cognitive factors, including length of contact, topic of conversation, EMC mode and choice of English lexemes and phrases for stylistic purposes. Particular attention will be given to sociocultural factors which motivate the use of English lexemes and phrases for stylistic purposes. Previous chapters have

suggested that these factors are implicated in language alternation among this the first-generation New Zeland Serbians.

7.1   Length of contact and replication

The MAT- and PAT-replications analysed in chapters 5 and 6, demonstrate that length of contact has a huge influence on language contact outcomes (see Tables 5.2 and 6.1), which agrees with findings of many observers on language contact. This subsection will compare the MAT- and PAT-replications with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowings scale (summarised in Table 2.1, on page 39).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that the more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive borrowing will occur. The length of contact and level of bilingualism define the intensity of contact.

Considering that all the participants in this study regularly use both languages on a daily basis, they can be called active bilinguals. The study did not measure levels of bilingualism in the participants at the beginning and end of the study. Through my personal contacts with them I know that their knowledge of English varied widely on arrival in New Zealand. At the time of this study, almost all of them (see section 4.1) were either employed or self-employed, and using English actively in everyday work communication. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that participants' proficiency in English has improved since they immigrated to New Zealand. It is also important to repeat at this point that there was no cultural pressure to adopt English and abandon Serbian among these 1990s migrants, which is the opposite of what Jakich (1975, 1987) reported among earlier waves of Yugoslav immigrants to New Zealand. It is also far easier for 1990s immigrants to maintain their Serbian, thanks to the Internet and the ready availability of Serbian reading matter and television (see subsection 3.2.2).

As noted before, the NZSEMC corpus comprises ten years of data, from 2004 to 2013, which is the second decade of the 1990s Serbian immigration to New Zealand.

Figure 7.1 presents the number of messages and number of MAT- and PAT-replications for each year. It confirmes what was said earlier, i.e. that the number of MAT-

and PAT- replications is more frequent in the last three years, and shows that this jump is not corelated to the number of messages examined.

Figure 7.1 Number of messages, and MAT- and PAT-replications, by year
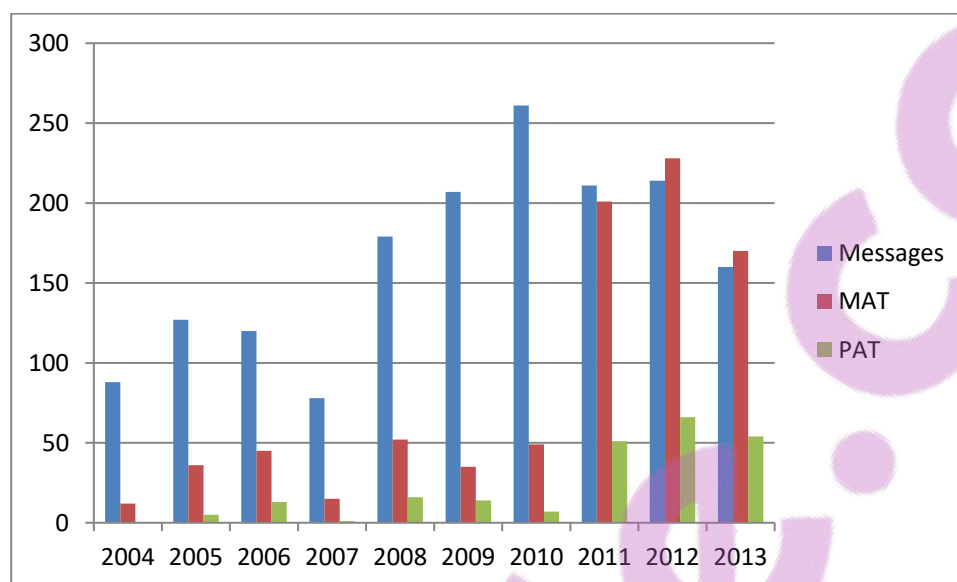
Comparison of MAT- and PAT-replications in the NZSEMC corpus with Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale shows that in the last three years not only does the frequency of replications increase, but their quality is different too. Innovations from the beginning of the period examined belong to Category (2) and those from 2007 onwards to Category (3). At the last three years of the examined period there are also a few features from Category (4).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p. 77) point out that the boundaries between categories in their borrowing scale are fuzzy, and that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between categories. It is therefore understandable that we cannot mark exact boundaries at the ten-year time line of the period examined, and that some features from higher categories are observed very early, but they are rather isolated tokens.

Thomason & Kaufman (1988, p. 74) define Category (2) as of "slightly more intense contact", rather than the "casual contact" characteristic of Category (1). As their borrowing scale predicts, the majority of lexical replications in the first half of the NZSEMC corpus are content words. A few adverbs are found as well. There are also politeness markers and

227

greetings, which I argue have a specific function in the NZSEMC, as will be discussed in section 7.5. Also present are minor syntactic changes, such as placement of adverbials, and occasional lexical semantic features, such as the lexical "calquing" discussed in subsection 6.4.2.

As time passes the number of replicated features grows and there is an increase in Category (3) replications, which are characteristic of "more intense contact" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 74). The NZSEMC data from the second half of the survey period show a rise in replication of function words. Minor structural changes restricted to borrowed lexemes, such as the retention of plural affixes, as in *copyrights* (example 5.37), are also observed. Both MAT- and PAT-replications generally continue to conform to Serbian grammatical rules. For example, most borrowed nouns are assigned correct inflectional suffixes. Also, simplifying the perfect tense and reinstating the pro-drop parameter may not comply with Serbian pragmatic rules, but they are not ungrammatical.

The last three years of the period examined show some of the moderate structural replication characteristic of Category (4), associated with "strong cultural pressure" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 75), including a few examples of loss of inflectional suffixes in Serbian lexemes (discussed in subsection 6.1.2). The number of unintegrated English-origin nouns rises (see Table 5.6).

Because the NZSEMC is a written and not a spoken corpus, it is not possible to draw clear conclusions about phonological replication. As discussed in sections 5.1 and 5.2, more than 50% of borrowed lexemes are not orthographically adapted and therefore there is a possibility that at least some of them are perceived by the users as adhering to English pronunciation.

In summary, comparison of the NZSEMC data with Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale shows that not only the quantity, but also the quality of MAT- and PAT-replications changes over time. The types of MAT-and PAT-replications found at the beginning of survey are what Thomason and Kaufman associate with "slightly more intense" contact, and that, after ten years in the new country, contact clearly becomes "more intense". As noted previously, there has been no cultural pressure to abandon Serbian among first-generation New Zealand Serbians, unlike among early Yugoslav immigrants (Jakich, 1987).

228

Nevertheless, at the end of the period examined contact has become strong enough for some moderate structural replication to occur, which Thomason and Kaufman associate with "strong cultural pressure."

7.2   Topic of conversation and replication

Starting from the premise that topic is a regulator of language use in bilingual settings, and the idea that bilinguals handle some topics "better" in one language than the other (Fishman, 1972, p. 17), this section investigates the frequency of MAT- and PAT-replication by topic of conversation.

It is expected in an immigrant situation that the native language has to be abandoned in a number of interactional domains (see for example Silva-Corvalán, 1994 for Spanish in the USA). New Zealand Serbians use English, the language of the host society, at work, in schools, and when socialising with people who do not speak Serbian. English is also the language of the local New Zealand media and the language of interaction with governmental agencies. Serbian is mainly used in two domains – in the family setting and in interaction with other members of the Serbian community. Yet, it should be noted that the use of Serbian in the family setting depends on other family members, and their ability and willingness to speak it. Table 4.1 (on page 84) shows that some of the participants live with English-speaking partners. It can, therefore, be presumed that they use English at home too, at least to some degree. Figures 5.1 (on page 171) and 6.3 (on page 221), however, do not demonstrate any influence. There are only two participants (F1, the third highest, and F17, the fifth highest) living with English-speaking partners among ten participants who contributed most MAT-replications, and four participants (F1, the fourth highes, F2, sixth highest, F17, the seventh highest, and F11 the eight highest) among ten participants who contributed most PAT-replications.

The NZSEMC corpus only covers interactions between members of the Serbian community. Conversation topics vary, however, and include the participant themselves, other people (for example family members), social events, work, etc. One message can contain more than one conversation topic. For example, in the same message a Friend could

first be talking about her work, and then change the topic, and talk about her children. This makes it difficult to code the whole message for a topic of conversation. Because of this, message segments with MAT- and PAT-replications have been coded by topic rather than whole messages.

Message segments with MAT- and PAT-replications are coded for five topics which dominate conversations in the NZSEMC corpus:

- **Family Life** – The topic is the participant, or members of their family. This can include conversations about raising children, plans to continue education, etc.
- **Social Life** – The topic is a social event, such as organising dinner parties or lunch dates. Smalltalk and expressions of politeness are also coded in the Social Life category.
- **Work** – The topic is the participant's or addressee's work, or is related to finding employment, such as writing CVs.
- **Real Estate** – The topic is buying or selling houses, planning or doing renovations, or general discussions about the real estate market.
- **Translating** – The topic is translating documents, usually needed for settling in New Zealand.

Boundaries between topic categories are sometimes fuzzy, as in the example:

(7.1)   [F8;2006]

On	*je*	*srećnik*	*do*	*sledećeg*	*ponedeljka*	***off***
He	3SG-be-PRS	lucky.one	till	next	Monday	off

'He's the lucky one, **off** till next Monday.'

A Friend starts an email by telling me about her and her husband's social life over the New Zealand public holidays. She then says that she is back to work while her husband is still on annual leave. Although she is talking about an immediate member of her family, *off* is coded

in the Work category. The reason is that it is used in relation to work. Its meaning here, as well as in the other three examples of *off* in the NZSEMC corpus, is 'to be on annual leave'.

The style of messages very much depends on the social relationship (Friends, Acquaintances, and Strangers) between the sender and the receiver. Strangers generally maintain a formal style in their messages. Friends and Acquaintances write in a relaxed, informal style if they are talking about their family or social life, but if they are requesting a translation, or help with a Curriculum Vitae, or something else that could cause roles to change, the writing style becomes more formal.

Table 7.1 presents the numbers of message segments with MAT- and PAT-replications by topic.

Data indicates that the MAT- and PAT-replications show correlation with topic of conversation. The Real Estate, and Work categories have proportionally more segments with MAT- than PAT-replications – 11%, and 30% in MAT-replications, and 4%, and 23% in PAT-replications, respectively, while the percentage of MAT- and PAT-replications is approximately equal in the Social category. On the other hand, the Translation and Family Life categories have proportionally more PAT- than MAT-replications. The Translation category represents only 3% of segments with MAT-replications, but 7% of segments with PAT-replications. The Family Life category has 18% of all MAT- and 31% of all PAT-replication segments.

Table 7.1 Segments with MAT- and PAT-replications, by topic of conversation

Topic	Setting	Social Group	Segments No. %		MAT[32] No. %		PAT No. %	
Family Life	Informal	Friends, Acquaintances	805	20	149	18	66	31
Real Estate	Informal, Formal	Friends, Acquaintances	314	8	89	11	8	4
Social	Informal	Friends, Acquaintances	1542	39	304	38	76	35
Translating	Formal	Friends, Acquaintances, Strangers	203	5	23	3	16	7
Work	Informal, Formal	Friends, Acquaintances, Strangers	1112	27	241	30	49	23

---

[32] This does not include replication of proper nouns.

Table 7.1 demonstrate that Translation and Family Life categories have proportionally more segments with PAT- than MAT-replications. It does appear that in these two categories the level of control over replicating English matter is higher than the level of control over pattern replication. This calls for further explanation.

The Translation and Family Life categories are found at opposing ends of the social relationship spectrum. Replications coded for the Family Life category are primarily seen in messages between Friends, and replications coded for the Translation category in messages exchanged between myself and Strangers. Messages exchanged between Friends are characterised by a high level of intimacy, and it is possible that this weakens control over PAT-replication. Strangers maintain a higher level of formality in their messages and MAT-replications in messages written by Strangers are limited to occasional greetings (see section 7.5) and unique referents (Matras, 2009), i.e. to terminology related to documents that need to be translated, such as *certificate*. The impression is that Strangers manage to impose greater loyalty towards maintenance of vocabulary, but are less aware of, and thus less able to control the replication of pattern.

This highlights the presence of two factors which influence the lessening of control over choice of elements from the Serbian repertoire. One is social (that participants feel less pressure to make context appropriate language choices among friends), and the other is cognitive, (that people are concentrating so hard on avoiding English-origin MAT-items that they have less attention to spare on PAT). This is in line with Matras' (2000, 2009) claim that cognitive pressure to reduce the mental processing overload can be so strong at times, as as to override social and communicative constraints on discourse, and allow structural manifestations of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge.

7.3   EMC mode and replication

The NZSEMC corpus includes communications from three EMC modes – emails, text messages and Skype. It has been proposed that people adapt their language to the requirements of these new communication channels, which are dissimilar in a number of

respects (Crystal, 2001). This section examines whether EMC mode has any influence on frequency or types of innovations.

For this analysis, two differences between emails, text and Skype messages are of particular interest – length of messages because longer messages might offer more oportunities for MAT- and PAT-replication, and speed of exchange because faster communication should offer less time for thinking about the correctness of the language.

All three modes can vary in length and speed of exchange. Baron (2008, p. 16), speaking of emails, says that they are as diverse as the people using them, and the same could be said for the other two modes. There are, however, some general characteristics of the three modes, which are reflected in the NZSEMC corpus too.

Emails messages are usually at least a few paragraphs long, with properly formed sentences. Text messages are very short, often not even whole sentences, and are full of shortened words (see for example Baron, 2008; Thurlow, 2003). Skype conversations, are similar to spoken dialogues; they consist of at least several exchanged sentences, which can vary in length.

Email and text messages are asynchronous. Senders of emails and text messages do not expect an immediate answer. On the other hand, messages exchanged via Skype are synchronous, i.e. they are exchanged in real time. When messages are sent in real time the senders, (the "chatters") have less time to worry about the correctness of their language, and it is realistic to expect that the level of control over replication will be reduced.

Table 7.2 Number of messages with MAT- and PAT-replications, by EMC mode

Mode	Messages, Total		Messages with MAT		Messages with PAT	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Email	1,052	63.95	506	68.47	135	67.16
Skype	154	9.36	139	18.80	57	28.35
Text	439	26.68	94	12.71	10	4.97

As Table 7.2 shows, emails comprise almost 64% of the messages, and they contribute the approximately same proportion to messages with both MAT- and PAT-replications. Skype

conversations are only 9.36% of all the messages in the NZSEMC corpus, but 18.80% of the messages with MAT-replications and 28.35% of all messages with the PAT-replications. Text messages make up 26.68% of all messages, but only 12.71% of messages with MAT-replications and 4.97% of messages with PAT-replications.

It is important to note that text messages are very short, and that this might be the cause of the discrepancy between the numbers of messages and the numbers and ratio of MAT- and PAT-replications in text messages.

Out of 57 Skype message with PAT-replications, 69 are contributed by participant F3. The same participant contributed 81, or 58% of the 139 Skype messages with lexical replications.

One reason for these distributions, certainly, could be the nature of Skype messages. Skype messages in many ways imitate speaking – and "speakers" are not so concerned with correctness. This allows for tolerance of spelling and grammatical mistakes. Thus one possible explanation would be that F3 does not bother with self-correcting in order to save time. Sometimes, she even makes comments about it, as in:

(7.2)   [F3; 2012]
         Pogrešila, izvini, žurim kad kucam [...] misli mi nekad idu brže od pisanja.
         'I made a mistake, sorry, I'm typing in a hurry [...] my thoughts are sometimes faster than my writing.'

A few other explanations could be proposed here, but ethical considerations prevent any speculation which might allow the participant to be identified.

7.4   Social factors

Social factors are well recognised as having an effect on both motivating language change (Labov, 2001) and on the distribution and acceptance of contact-induced innovations among the whole community (Matras, 2012). Analysis of innovations by topic of conversation

(section 7.2) indicates that more formal social situations (e.g. requests for translations), which typically require a formal style, produce less MAT-replication than informal, casual social situations where an informal, colloquial style is normal. This section discusses the influence of four other social factors – age of participants, education, gender, and social relationships, all of which have been demonstrated to have a significant influence on sociolinguistic variables (see for example Labov, 2001).

   The participants in this study were of different ages, ranging between 25 and 69 years old when the study commenced. However, the NZSEMC data does not indicate any significant correlation between age and replication from English.

Table 7.3 Age of participants and MAT- and PAT-replication, by number of messages

Age Group	Participants No.	%	Messages, total No.	%	Messages, MAT No.	%	Messages, PAT No.	%
20-29	4	10.81	125	7.59	60	8.11	12	5.97
30-39	7	19.91	297	18.05	153	20.70	86	42.78
40-49	10	27.02	720	43.76	245	33.15	38	18.90
50-59	12	32.43	464	28.20	275	37.21	65	32.33
60-69	4	10.80	39	2.37	6	0.81	0	0.00

Figure 7.2 shows that the percentage of MAT- and PAT-replications mostly corresponds to the percentage of participants in each group. One exception is seen in the higher proportion of messages with PAT-replications in the age group 30-39. This is caused by the high number of PAT-replications contributed by one particular participant, (F3), who was responsible for 73% of the PAT-replications from her age group. Also, fewer MAT- and PAT- replications are found in the age group 60-69 than in the age group 20-29, which has the same number of participants. This can be explained by the much smaller number of messages that the age group 60-69 contributed (the age group 20-29 contributed 84 emails, 23 text messages and 19 Skype conversations, while the age group 60-69 contributed only 28 emails and 11 text messages). The disproportion is also seen in the number of messages for the group 40-49, which can be explained bythe fact I belong to this group, and I have contributed more messages than other participants (see Table 4.2).

Figure 7.2 Distribution of MAT- and PAT-replication across six age groups
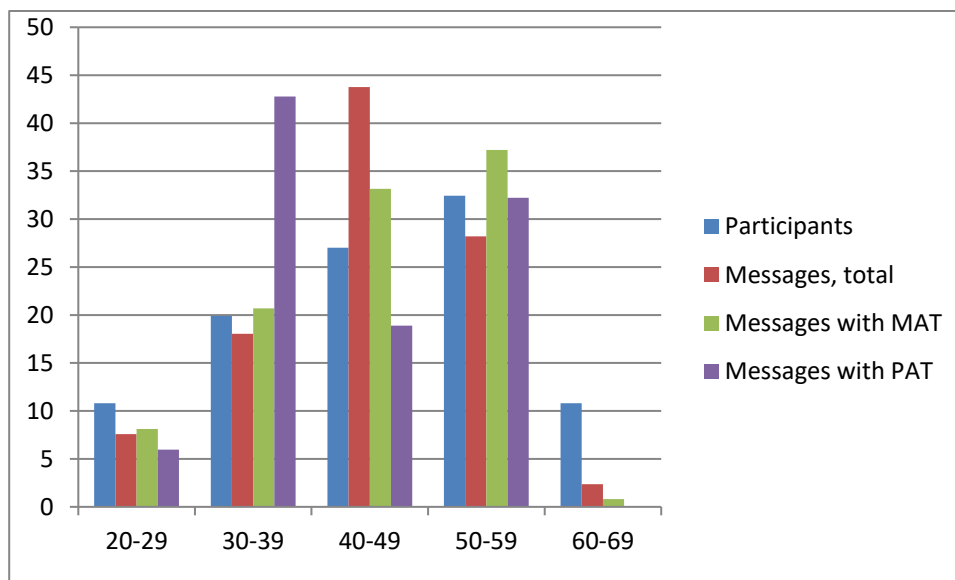
According to Labov (2001, p. 101), the influence of age on language variables correlates with life stages, such as the beginning of regular employment and family life, full engagement in the work force and family responsibility, and retirement. Although first-generation New Zealand Serbians belong to different age groups, they are almost all at the same stage of life – being recent immigrants who are establishing themselves as professionals in a new country.

A similar lack of correlation is seen with education, which varies between high school diploma and doctorate (see Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 Highest level of education completed

Highest level of education completed	Participants		Messages, total		Messages, MAT		Messages, PAT	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
High School Diploma	8	21.60	283	17.20	180	24.35	74	36.81
Bachelor's Degree	17	45.94	585	35.56	291	39.37	63	31.34
Master's Degree	3	8.10	434	26.38	175	23.68	25	12.43
Doctorate	9	24.32	334	20.30	93	12.58	41	20.39

236

Figure 7.3 shows that the percentage of MAT- and PAT-replications corresponds to percentage of participants in each group. One exception is seen in the higher proportion of PAT-replications in the group with high school diplomas, but as before, this can be explained by the high number of PAT-replications in messages from participant F3, who contributed 90% of the PAT-replications from this group. It is also noticeable that the Master's degree group has higher proportions of both MAT- and PAT-replications than its proportion of participants. This can be explained by the high number of examples contributed by myself, (F1), being 66% of the MAT-replications and 56% of the PAT-replications for this education group.

Figure 7.3 Distribution of MAT- and PAT-replications across four education groups
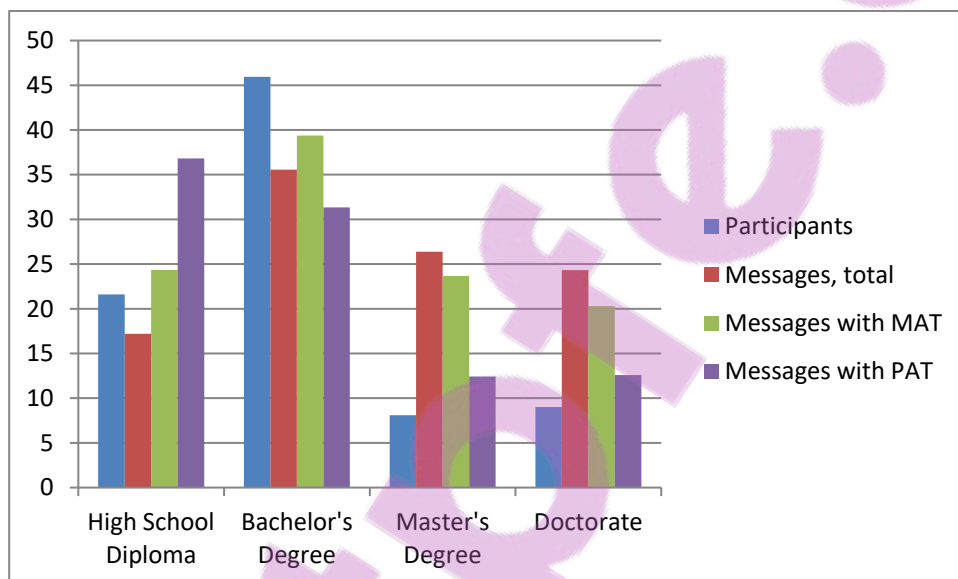
Education generally correlates with income, social class and prestige in its effects on language change. However, different levels of education among the participants in this study do not show any measurable effect on replication from English. As with life stage, despite differences in education, the NZSEMC participants all belong to roughly the same social class – the professional middle-class.

There is also another factor to be considered. All the NZSEMC participants came to New Zealand as adults, and had completed all or the majority of their schooling in Serbia, where they had developed a strong grounding in written and oral Serbian.

On the other hand, gender and social relationships do play a role, which is noticeable in the choice of English-origin greetings and politeness markers.

English-origin greetings are, after nouns and compounds, the most frequent lexical replications in the NZSEMC corpus. Some greetings are found only once or twice, mostly at the end of the period. However, the greetings *Hi, Kiss, Love,* and *H&K* (spelt in full as well as abbreviated), are present from the beginning (see Table 5.14. on page 164). The distribution of their usage across the three social groups (Friends, Acquaintances, and Strangers) and by gender is shown in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Usage of English-origin greetings, by gender and social groups

Author	Social Relationships		
	Friends	Acquaintances	Strangers
Female	*Hi*	*Hi*	*Hi*
	Kiss		
	Love		
	H&K		
Male	*Hi*	*Hi*	*Hi*

Greetings *Kiss, Love* and *Hugs and Kisses* are used only by female Friends, at the end of messages.

Kiss is the commonest. It is used by Friends F1, F3, F6, F8 (once), F18, and by Acquaintance F10 (once). Only F3 and F6 also use *Love*. F3 sometimes writes *Kisssss*, with the letter *s* multiplied. There is also *Hugs and Kisses,* abbreviated as *H&K,* and used only by Friend F8 and myself in messages to F8. Although the shared repertoire apparent here is one of the three criteria used to define a community of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Meyerhoff & Strycharz, 2013), the other two criteria (mutual engagement and jointly negotiated enterprise) are satisfied only weakly, and we cannot think of this network as a

238

community of practice. Participants F1, F3, F6, and F8 are my friends, but they are not each other's friends and they do not send each other messages.

The opening greeting *Hi,* which does not encourage intimacy, like the greetings discussed above, is not restricted by gender and social group. It occurs in messages sent by all three groups of participants, and by both sexes.

A number of other English-origin greetings (listed in Table 5.14 on page 160) are used, but only rarely. They are found in both formal and informal settings. With the exception of *Regards*, and *Look forward* which are contributed by male Friends, they are mostly from the same female Friends (F3, F6, and F18). Because of the small number of examples, it is not possible to comment on any patterns in their usage.

English-origin politeness markers are less common than greetings. There are 20 tokens of *please*, six tokens of *sorry*, and six tokens of *thanks*.

Table 7.6 Use of politeness markers, by gender and social groups

Author	Social Relationships		
	Friends	Acquaintances	Strangers
Female	*Please*	*Please*	*Please*
	Sorry	*Sorry*	
	Thanks	*Thanks*	
Male	*Please*		
	Sorry	*Sorry*	
	Thanks		

As with greetings, the usage of English politeness markers correlates with social group and the social distance between the sender and receiver of the message. As proposed by Terkourafi (2011), and observed by Minčić-Obradović (2013/2014), English-origin markers of social politeness are used primarily in informal settings, i.e. among Friends. Acquaintances and Strangers use English politeness markers only rarely: *please* is used once by a female Acquaintance and once by a female Stranger; *sorry* once by a male Acquaintance, and once by a female Acquaintance; and *thanks* once by a female Acquaintance.

239

The usage patterns of the English-origin greetings *Hi, Hugs and Kisses, Kiss* and *Love,* and English politeness markers, and their distribution across all ten years of the examined period, indicate that members of the Serbian community are using them with the intention of adding "a layer of social meaning" (Eckert, 2012). This will be further discussed in the following section.

7.5   Social identity markers

Identity, which has been a central concern in biculturalism research (see for example Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Cortés-Conde & Boxer, 2002), is put on the line in an immigrant situation, together with one's sense of self (Block, 2007, p. 75). Most support systems existing prior to migration have been removed, and have had to be rapidly replaced by new ones. The immigrant needs to find a place in the new society, create a balance between the home and host cultures and use that balance in the creation of a new personal identity (Trenčić, 2012).

It appears that New Zealand Serbians, in their intention to incorporate both New Zealand and Serbian components in their individual identities, use English-origin greetings and politeness markers to show that they belong to a unique social group – New Zealand Serbians – and to stimulate feelings of in-group solidarity (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014).

The greetings *Hi, Kiss, Love,* and *H&K,* which are, as discussed in section 7.4, used among close female friends, intensify the bonds and deepen the friendship. The example below comes from an e-mail entirely written in Serbian except for the greeting:

(7.3)   [F6;2005]

Kiss	*od*	*tvoje*	*drugarice*
kiss	from	your-GEN.SG.f	friend-GEN.SG.f

'A **kiss** from your friend'

Hi in messages by Strangers is also very interesting because in all the messages which start with *Hi*, the writer is asking me to do them a favour (such as an urgent translation), which, again, indicates the sender's wish to stimulate feelings of in-group solidarity.

Other English-origin greetings are used less often (Table 5.14), but for some of them the same claim can be made. For example, in all three instances of the English *Welcome back,* the message recipient had just returned from Serbia, and the greeting evokes a feeling of belonging to the new homeland:

(7.4)   [F19;2010]

    Pa **welcome back**

    'Well, **welcome back**.'

When I discuss English greeting usage with Friends who contributed to the NZSEMC corpus, they tell me that they use English-origin greetings with close friends and relations in New Zealand, and with Serbians who lived in New Zealand but moved to other countries, including Serbia. With friends and relations in Serbia who have not lived in New Zealand, they use the equivalent Serbian greetings, such as ***Voli** te tvoja drugarica* ('Your friend **loves** you'), which although slightly different at the morpho-syntactic level, shows the same level of intimacy.

The English politeness markers *please, sorry* and *thanks*, like the English greetings, are also expressing a locally significant social dimension. They enhance the strength of the pleas, apologies and thanks and, as such, draw on in-group solidarity to persuade the person receiving the message to do what the sender wants them to do.

Pragmatically-induced borrowing of politeness expressions has been attested by other researchers as well. Kim (2007) argues that New Zealand Koreans use lexical items borrowed from English to speak about specific impolite topics. Terkourafi (2011) finds that usage of the borrowed politeness markers *thank you*, *sorry* and *please* in Cypriot Greek, reflects the social dimension. Peterson and Vaattovaara (2014) claim that *pliis,* a borrowing from English *please,* serves as a marker of positive politeness in Finnish.

Below are some examples illustrating the use of English politeness markers. Example (7.5) comes from a close female Friend. She starts the e-mail by asking me to send

her a few words because she is feeling sad and says that she would like to get an e-mail from me, as that would make her feel better. At the end of her message, she repeats that she would like to hear from me:

(7.5)   [F6;2009]

*Ćao,   javi   se,   **please***
Bye,   2SG-contact-IMP   REFL   please
'Bye, send me a message, **please**'

F6 usually ends her message with *love*, or *kiss*. This time, however, she deviates from her usual practice and uses the common Serbian greeting, *ćao,* but adds the English *please* to emphasise the importance of her request.

Another example comes from a male Friend who intends to send me an important message, and knowing that my mobile phone is not always turned on, asks me to make sure it's on:

(7.6)   [M2;3013]

*Drži   mobilni   uključen   **plizzzz***
2SG-keep-IMP   mobile-ACC turn.on-VADJ   please
'**Please** keep the mobile on.'

The above example uses a Serbian spelling of the borrowed form but with the letter *z* multiplied to further emphasise the importance of the request. The lengthening of the fricative draws on conventional means of signalling "begging" (especially from lower status to higher status participants, e.g. child to adult) in English-only discourse, which suggests that New Zealand Serbians have mastered the pragmatic norms for English in respect of this word, and are borrowing it with its usage conventions.

Sorry appears to be used in a similar manner. Example (7.7) is part of an e-mail exchange with an Acquaintance. Although we have met a few times, we do not know each other well. He now sends me a message to ask for a favour. The whole message is quite formal and all in Serbian. At one point he does not understand me properly, and I have to

242

repeat what I said. Noticing this, he apologises, but instead of the Serbian *izvini* he uses the English *sorry*, and repeats it twice to further stress his apologies:

(7.7)   [M7;2011]
        Sorry, sorry, sorry.

Example (7.8) comes from a Skype conversation in which a Friend and I wish each other a nice time during the Easter holidays, with lots of sun and opportunities to rest. We also used many emoticons, and after I sent her one she liked very much, she answered:

(7.8)   [F3;2012]
        Ohhhhhhhh, ***thanks***

In informal conversation, I have asked Friends who contributed to the NZSEMC corpus to explain when they use the Serbian *molim te* and when the English *please*. They all say that they feel *molim te* is more formal than *please.* Nevertheless, they also say that although *please* is less strong as an expression, they feel that *please* will better ensure the request will be fulfilled.

The examples discussed above clearly strengthen the proposal (Minčić-Obradović, 2013/2014) that New Zealand Serbians add an additional layer of meaning to English-origin greetings and politeness markers, and use them as in-group identity markers (Matras, 2009). English-origin greetings and politeness markers signal that the sender and receiver belong to the same group of people – Serbian immigrants in New Zealand, and say: We are Serbians, but different from other Serbians who are still living in Serbia; we are also New Zealanders, but different from other New Zealanders with whom we do not share the same experiences. We have known each other since we came to New Zealand, we faced the same problems, and this has made our friendship a "special kind of friendship".

Serbian culture, like other cultures from Southern and Eastern Europe, is classified as a culture that favours closeness rather than distance, as noted by Schlund (2014a) who suggests that the wars and sanctions of the 1990s helped to create a strong feeling of

togetherness and solidarity among Serbians, and claims that this manifests itself in strong in-group awareness. Although Schlund's research considers Serbians in Serbia, it is reasonable to assume that the circumstances of the 1990s (which is when this group of immigrants came to New Zealand) created the same kind of in-group awareness among Serbian immigrants as well. It is in fact reasonable to assume that this solidarity was even stronger in countries of immigration where the daily newspapers were full of news of Serbians as "baddies".

All linguistic politeness phenomena have the function of cooperatively regulating social relations (Schlund, 2014b). English politeness markers in the NZSEMC corpus, have additional meaning to Serbian markers. They draw on in-group solidarity to persuade the person receiving the message to do what the sender wants them to do. As such, they are expressing a locally significant social dimension and serving as in-group identity markers. So, here, again, we have a common repertoire and shared goal as in a classic community of practice.

It seems that a strategy of politeness of solidarity (Schlund, 2014a) is present, and that members of the Serbian community are using politeness particles to draw upon the same "special kind of friendship", noticed with greetings, to ensure that the recipient of the message understands the importance of the matter.

This quite specific use of greetings and politeness markers is in line with Matras' (2000) claim that the intentions and needs of participants in particular communication situations are important in analysing language contact data.

Because of this very specific usage of greetings and politeness markers, I have checked on their use in messages received from twenty friends and acquaintances living in Serbia (as mentioned in section 4.6). In those messages, only Serbian greetings and politeness markers are used.

7.6   Stylistic functions of lexical insertions

Early studies of bilingualism (among others Haugen, 1953; Surdučki, 1978b; Weinreich, 1968) often involved the assumption that keeping languages separate was in itself a measure of bilingual ability. Modern researchers argue that studies of language contact should

consider bilinguals' expressiveness and richness of language in both languages, and their ability to seamlessly choose the right language for the right concept (Matras, 2009). Gumperz (1982) lists a number of functions that replications may serve, including quotations, interjections, reiterations, and personalisation versus objectivisation (p. 75-81). Weston and Gardner-Chloros (2015) point out that replications can have rhetorical expressiveness in both bilingual literary works and conversations. Replications are seen as a tool that can be used to perform numerous functions, including adding emphasis, intensifying a meaning, adding humour, evoking richer images, instructing about a particular concept, marking closeness, familiarity, or distance and exclusion (Jonsson, 2010).

Although it is not possible to single out all the occasions in the NZSEMC data when English lexemes and phrases are used consciously, there are numerous places where this can be said for certain. An example is (7.9) which is an excerpt from an email in which a Friend makes a comment about his five-year old son:

(7.9)   [M8;2005]

Pre	*neki*	*dan*	*mi*	*je*	*objašnjavao*
ago	some	day-ACC.SG	I-DAT	AUX	explain-PTCP

(na	*engleskom,*	***of course)****…*
in	English-ADJ.LOC.m	of.course

'A few days ago [he] explained to me (in English, **of course**)…'

A Friend is talking about his son going to Serbia to visit grandparents, and indicates that there may be some complications with communication with grandparents due to his son's lack of Serbian. The email is entirely in Serbian, except for the discourse marker in (7.9). Both the English *of course* and its Serbian equivalent *naravno* would tell us that he thinks his son's language choice is quite understandable, as other New Zealand-born children of this age are not confident in Serbian either. However, the Friend's choice of English over Serbian adds the emphasis to this fact, and is therefore a stylistic tool (Jonsson, 2010).

There are also examples where the choice of English over Serbian reflects cultural concepts, as in:

(7.10)   [F19;2010]

*Došli   [su],   što bi rekli,   **from overseas***
come-PTCP   AUX   as.they.would.say   from overseas
'They came, you might say, **from overseas**.'

In an email, an Acquaintance tells me that she has guests from Australia. As Serbia is a landlocked country, guests from foreign countries come from "abroad". The choice of the common New Zealand expression, *from overseas* adds a bit of humour to the sentence as well, and here, as in example 7.9, we have the use of English material as a stylistic tool. My Acquaintance introduces the English phrase with the sentence *što bi rekli* (lit. 'as they would say'), which is a common way to introduce someone else's words, or opinion. The use of a specific quotative to mark a switch from one language to another has been noticed in other studies of bilingual conversations (Gumperz, 1982) as well as in bilingual literary texts (Weston & Gardner-Chloros, 2015).

Another example is:

(7.11)   [F18;2010]

*I   tako   svaki   dan   imamo   **"fun"***
And   so   every-NOM.m day-NOM.m   2PL-have-PRS   fun-ACC.SG
'And so we have **"fun"** every day.'

In the email above, a Friend tells me that her family is enjoying their new puppy, but that they have many problems with training it. She then concludes the message by saying that they have a lot of fun with their new puppy. Using the English word *fun,* which she even puts in quotation marks to indicate that it is not a Serbian word, to describe this situation adds a bit of sarcasm to what she is saying.

7.7   Difference in semantic meanings

It is noticeable that a borrowed word can differ semantically from its Serbian "equivalent". An example is seen below in (7.12), where the English word *lunch* is used instead of the Serbian *ručak*:

(7.12) [F3;2012]

Jel'	*se*	*mi*	*vidimo*	*danas*	*za*	***lunch?***
PTL	REFL	we	1PL-see-PRS	today	for	lunch

'Are we going to meet for **lunch** today.'

In the above sentence, the English word *lunch* captures a certain quality that the Serbian word *ručak* does not have. Firstly, *ručak* is the main meal of the day, so *lunch,* as a small meal is not the same. Secondly, this message is part of a longer conversation in which a social event is organised during a break in the work day. So *lunch* also refers to a time as well as a break in the working day. Traditionally, the working day starts earlier in Serbia than in New Zealand, and *doručak* ('breakfast') is a meal eaten in the break rather than *ručak*.

The above example comes from a situation where a Friend and I were actually planning to have a meal during the lunch break. There are, however, situations (not in the NZSEMC corpus unfortunately) where an invitation for lunch did not even imply a meal. On several occasions a Serbian colleague invited me "for lunch", and I arrived thinking that we would eat something, but my colleague told me that she had already eaten, and suggested we go for a walk. Situations like this strengthen the claim that "lunch" can mean a break in the middle of the business day.

This agrees with Backus' (2001) notion that semantic specificity stimulates codeswitching. Backus argues that something that is considered highly specific is difficult to relace with another lexical term. Because translation equivalents often have differing connotations of their own, bilinguals use untranslated expressions, which thus remain maximally specific.

247

In this context it is interesting to note examples from the corpus where English words are added after their Serbian "equivalents" to avoid confusion, as below, where we find both Serbian *useljenje* and English *housewarming*:

(7.13)   [F18;2012]

Znači	*može*	*jedno*	*uselenje[33] / **housewarming***
3SG-mean-PRS	3SG-can-PRS	one	uselenje / housewarming

'[That] means [we] can [have] one **housewarming**.'

The Serbian word *useljenje* primarily means *moving in*, but it can also mean a party to celebrate moving into a new house or flat. By adding *housewarming* after *useljenje*, my Friend clarifies that she is thinking of a party rather than helping to move the furniture.

Kurs[34] and *training* are used in a similar way in example (7.14) below, where a Stranger who asks me for help with her CV and covering letter also tells me that she has enrolled for job search training.

(7.14)   [F4;2009]

Trenutno	*imam*	*i*	*taj*	*kurs - **training***
at.the.moment	1SG-have-PRS	and	this-ACC.SG.m	course training
za *traženje*	*posla*			
for finding	jobs			

'At the moment I also have this course – **training** for finding a job.'

Replications like the above are enriching the vocabulary of New Zealand Serbians in a similar way as they do in Serbia itself, where enriching the vocabulary via importation of foreign words is a well recognised strategy (Klajn, 2001, p. 91).

---

[33] The correct form of this noun is *useljenje* not *uselenje* (see Klajn, 2004, p. 271).
[34] *Kurs,* from Latin *cursus*, and French *cours* (Vujaklija, 1966).

7.8 Concluding remarks

Exploration of the influence of non-linguistic factors, with particular attention to those of salience to the Serbian community in New Zealand, confirms that contact-induced changes in this bilingual community can best be understood if multiple aspects of language contact are taken into consideration (Chamoreau & Léglise, 2012).

The NZSEMC data shows that length of contact, gender, social relationships, and motivations to achieve some kind of special conversational effect have a strong influence on replication. EMC message mode (email, text and Skype) and topic of conversation may have some influence, but no direct relationship between age or education and MAT- and PAT-replication is apparent.

Length of contact is a factor whose strong influence was noted throughout the description of MAT- and PAT-items in chapters 5 and 6. A comparison of NZSEMC data with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale shows that contact phenomena observed in the first five years were restricted to Category (2), and that in the second half of the period examined, innovations that belong to Category (3), with a few features from Category (4) were present.

The studies on which Thomason and Kaufman based their scale were carried out on communities which differ from the New Zealand Serbian one in socio-economic status, as well as in attitudes towards maintaining the language and opportunities to do so. As described in chapter 3, New Zealand Serbians are mostly educated professionals who value both of their languages, and who have various opportunities to maintain their native language, including the Internet, satellite television, and frequent visits to Serbia. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that intensity of contact strongly correlates with borrowing. The NZSEMC data implies that, after ten to fifteen years, contact has been strong enough to show the same trends as can be seen in other communities, with different attitudes and fewer opportunities to stay in contact with their native languages.

It is noticeable that huge numbers of English-origin lexemes are conscious and deliberate choices, and are inserted to "obtain a special conversational key" (Matras, 2012, p. 47). As Sakel (2007, p. 17) points out, borrowed MAT-elements are rarely mere copies of

their counterparts in the source language, and their functions can be extended in the recipient language.

The NZSEMC is a written corpus, and is limited by the medium of writing. In spoken discourse, paralinguistic signs, such as tone and pitch of voice, facial expressions, and gestures are used to add emphasis, or clarification. Writing lacks such non-verbal information. Among writers of EMC messages emoticons and other symbols are popular way to express similar meanings when writing. However, emoticons are rare in the NZSEMC corpus. Importing items from a second language provides a similar opportunity to convey additional meaning, and is consistent with Matras' (2010) argument that bilinguals consciously exploit the repertoires of both their languages and deliberately mix their languages to achieve various kinds of special conversational effect (Matras, 2012).

It is impossible, of course, to pinpoint every situation in which an English MAT-item has been chosen consciously, but there are numerous situations in which it appears that the choice of an English rather than a Serbian lexeme was intentional, with the purpose of adding humour or emphasis, as in examples (7.9 - 7.10).

Another interesting finding is that, in some cases at least, the English lexeme is not a simple replacement for the Serbian lexeme. As explained in the case of *lunch* and *ručak*, the two lexemes may have subtly different meanings, and in cases like this it might be said that the lexical insertions (as in standard Serbian), are enriching the vocabulary of New Zealand Serbian.

The deliberate mixing of two languages is also evident in the use of English-origin greetings and politeness markers. The English greetings *love*, *kiss, hugs and kisses* and *hi* stimulate the bonds between sender and receiver of the message. English-origin politeness markers draw on in-group solidarity, when the sender wants the recipient to do something for them. The frequency of occurrence of English-origin greetings and politeness markers and the fact that they are found in socially marked contexts, suggests that they carry additional social meanings. In fact, they are used as social identity markers and convey the message: "I am a Serbian English bilingual and so are you, the addressee."

NZSEMC data also proves that social motivations have an important role in the replication of English-origin lexemes, and their wider acceptance within the community

250

(Matras, 2012), also that the intentions and needs of the particpants in particular communication situations are important in analysing the results of language contact (Matras, 2000).

       Chapters 5 and 6 described the MAT- and PAT-items replicated from English. Analysis of social, cultural and cognitive factors allow this study to move beyond the structural limitations inherent in MAT- and PAT- analysis, and help to give voice and agency back to the participants.

8 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter first summarises the results of the study, then goes back to the initial propositions, in order to determine whether the initial statements about the influence of English on Serbian in this particular setting are correct.

The chapter also reflects on the limitations of the present study and makes suggestions for future research.

8.1 Summary

This analysis of the language contact situation of the Serbian bilingual community in New Zealand has endeavoured to shed light on the following issues – what is happening to Serbian in New Zealand as a result of contact with English, and what factors are contributing to the outcome of this contact.

The Serbian community in New Zealand is small. According to the 2006 and 2013 Census, there are only about 1,100 Serbians living in New Zealand. The majority came to New Zealand during the years of the Yugoslav wars (1991-1995) which contributed to creating bonds of solidarity among them.

The study has examined the Serbian language of 37 late bilinguals. Although their language competence was not measured in either Serbian or English, it can be said that they are all active bilinguals, who use both of their languages every day – Serbian at home and with friends, and English at work, in their professional-level occupations.

The study has focused on electronic writing, and joins a small but increasing amount of research on the language of electronically mediated communications (including Georgakopoulou, 1997; Hinrichs, 2006; Laroussi, 2011), a medium well-recognised as falling between the norms of conversational speech and writing (Baron, 1998; Crystal, 2001; Tagg, 2011).The choice of medium has allowed the study to include consideration of how bilinguals exploit their bilingual orthographic resources.

The NZSEMC (New Zealand Serbian Electronically Mediated Communication) data consists of 1,491 email and mobile text messages and 154 Skype conversations exchanged between participants and myself in the period 2004-2013.

An explanatory sequential design was employed to analyse the data, meaning that quantitative results were interpreted using qualitative methodology (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This combined methodology enabled a description as well as a frequency analysis of the contact phenomena, and this has supported an investigation of the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that are influencing outcomes, and a comparison with Matras' (2009) and Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing hierarchies.

Matras' functional model (2009) has been employed as a framework. Matras' approach is based on the view that language is a social activity and that communication is goal-driven.

Matras' framework proved to be an appropriate theoretical framework for describing the processes and results of this contact situation. Observed phenomena are classified as "matter" and "pattern" replications, as proposed by Matras and Sakel (2007a, 2007b). They define MAT-replication as replication of morpho-phonological items from the donor language in the recipient language, and PAT-replication as replication of patterns of the donor language (i.e. the organisation, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meanings), while the form itself is not borrowed. This categorisation proved to be helpful in describing consequences of Serbian-English contact in New Zealand.

Matras (2009, 2012) claims that bilinguals, who cannot completely deactivate either of their language systems, face two opposing pressures – one is to choose only structures and forms which are context-appropriate, and the other one is to make full use of their bilingual repertoires of linguistic forms and structures. Negotiating between their two languages

254

results in innovations, which are products of the creativity of individual speakers, and which may or may not be accepted by the whole bilingual community.

Matras recognises four types of innovations and argues that they are arranged on a continuum and range from "selection malfunction", which is not voluntary, and therefore is an error in code selection, to less extreme "pattern-replication", which is also the result of non-conscious negotiation, to "lexical insertion" which implies a certain level of conscious negotiation, and finally to "conscious manipulation" of speech which is employed to achieve special effects. Analysis of MAT- and PAT-replications in the NZSEMC corpus shows that all four types of contact-induced innovations are present in New Zealand Serbian.

It was found that lexical insertions are the most common type of innovation. This is not surprising because in an immigrant situation the lexicon is affected more than other aspects of language, as noticed by Winford (2003).

The examination confirmed the findings of other studies (see for example Haugen, 1950; Matras, 2009) that nouns are the first word class to be borrowed, and by far the most common replication. As expected, lexical insertions include unique referents, for example institutional terminology such as *broker*, *notary*, and *mortgage,* which are concepts relating to life in the new country. Furthermore, replicated words may differ semantically from their Serbian "equivalents", as discussed in example (7.12) where the English noun *lunch* is used instead of the Serbian *ručak* to denote a break (with or without meal) in the middle of a working day.

The investigation of constructions which use Serbian lexemes but are modelled on English language patterns found that pattern-replication is less frequent type of innovation than insertion of English-origin lexical items. The majority of PAT-replications are related to the placement of adverbials, simplification of the perfect tense and relaxation of the pro-drop parameter. These morpho-syntactic constructions do not comply with Serbian pragmatic rules, but crucially they are not ungrammatical. Constructions modelled on English which break Serbian grammatical rules are represented by fewer tokens. This reinforces the conclusion in chapter 5 that Serbian is still the pragmatically dominant language for the first-generation New Zealand Serbians.

Pattern replication has been found in messages written by 23 of the 37 participants in the study. This indicates that the process of pattern replication is definitely present, although most PAT-replications are not well propagated throughout the community.

The study confirmed that the replicated constructions are created through a creative procedure which Matras (2009) calls "pivot-matching". An example is the possessive construction described in subsection 6.1.1, where participant F16 picks up the English construction: head noun (the object of possession) + the preposition *of* + the modifier part (the possessor), seems to match it to a counterpart in Serbian, and replicates the English construction using the Serbian *od* + genitive construction, although this actually has an ablative not a possessive function in Serbian (Stevanović, 1979, p. 213).

Although classification of any token of language mixing can present difficulties, there are indications that at least some NZSEMC matter and pattern replications belong to selection malfunction and speech manipulation, the two types of innovation Matras places at two opposite ends of his creativity and innovations continuum.

As selection malfunctions in the NZSEMC can be categorised the presence of English-origin discourse markers which signal relationships between the segments they introduce and prior segments (Fraser, 1999; Schegloff, 1987). Matras (2009) argues that the pragmatic role of discourse markers as highly automatic conversational routines, makes it difficult for bilinguals to maintain control and monitor the boundaries between different linguistic repertoires, which leads to selection errors.

There are only a few English-origin discourse markers in the NZSEMC corpus (discussed in subsection 5.4.4). Their presence cannot be explained neither by the "gap hypothesis" as there is no need for them to replace their Serbian equivalents, nor by the "prestige hypothesis" as the usage of English-origin discourse markers does not generate any kind of prestige in the New Zealand Serbian Community. Their usage also does not achieve any special effect. Therefore, Matras' suggestion that they are result of the fusion of Serbian and English, and errors in language selection is the best explanation.

The study found high number of lexical insertions which are used consciously and to achieve special conversational effects. This kind of speech manipulation, which Matras places at the conscious end of his continuum, is confirmed by other researchers as a tool that

256

can be used to perform numerous functions, including to add emphasis, to intensify meaning, and to add humour (Gumperz, 1982; Jonsson, 2010; Weston & Gardner-Chloros, 2015). Section 7.6 described some of the situations in which English-origin lexemes are used deliberately in the NZSEMC, to create layers of additional meaning, as for example in the email in which a friend talks about his son who, *of course*, speaks better English than Serbian.

Particularly interesting is the usage of English-origin greetings and politeness markers. They are found throughout the period examined and in messages by many participants, as discussed in sections 5.4.7, 5.4.8 and 7.5. Based on their frequency of usage, and that they accentuate feelings of in-group solidarity, I argue that they are employed as social identity markers, and as a tool to help members of this immigrant community re-create their identities (section 7.5). They express a locally significant social dimension, and support Matras' (2012) claim that social factors are involved in facilitating the successful propagation of innovations in a bilingual community.

8.2   Confirming the initial presumptions

Data observed in the NZSEMC corpus confirms the initial propositions laid out in section 1.3 – that the Serbian language of first-generation New Zealand Serbian immigrants will show the influence of English at various levels; that the frequency and types of replications will increase over time; and that there will be no language shift among these first-generation immigrants.

Analysis of the NZSEMC data has shown existence of numerous innovations in orthography (such as capitalising names of days and months), morphology (as the absence of case markings in Serbian lexemes), syntax (as in placement of adverbials), semantics (such as extended meanings for old borrowings), and pragmatics (such as replication of English-origin discourse markers).

Not all of the innovations observed are present in the messages of all of the participants. Therefore, many of the innovations can be characterised as "individual creativity", as noted by Matras (2012). One example is the only two tokens of ordinal

257

numbers which both come from participant F12. Similarly, the adjective *happy* is used only by participant F6. To this could be added the possessive constructions contributed by participants M16 (four tokens), F3 (one token), and F19 (one token).

Other innovations, however, seem to be adopted by a wider community. Such is the adjective *busy*, found early in the corpus, and used 22 times by five participants (F1, F17, F3, F6, and M3). Two of the most widely replicated constructions – placement of adverbials and simplification of the perfect tense – are found in messages by sixteen participants and six participants respectively. Also evident is the usage of English-origin greetings and politeness markers. They are used throughout the period examined, and by 22 participants. In total, they represent 20% of all lexical insertions.

Apparent is also that participants have contributed equally neither in frequency nor in types of innovations. Particularly interesting is that participant F3 alone contributed one third of all PAT-replications. The same participant provided the largest number of MAT-replications, but her contribution was not as unproportional, being 18.60% of the total, as against participant F6's 17.77%.

Another proposition was that there would be no language shift in the language of first-generation Serbians in New Zealand. Several findings confirmed this presumption.

Analysis has shown that alternating between Serbian and English is minimal. Unlike situations with ongoing shift, where there are frequent code-switchings (Winford, 2003), the NZSEMC data confirms that participants primarily use Serbian, while English provides only isolated content elements, mostly single lexical units. The NZSEMC corpus of 1,491 email and mobile text messages and 154 Skype conversations includes only 1,330 instances of English matter-items (including proper names). This means that there are fewer MAT-items replicated from English than messages in the corpus. Approximately half of the messages contain only one transfer from English, one quarter include more than one English-origin matter-item, and one quarter have none. This leads to the conclusion that Serbian is still the matrix language among first-generation New Zealand Serbians, with embedded English islands (Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

Serbian also supplies the morpho-syntactic frame. Looking at the replication of English patterns in the language of second-generation Serbian college students in the USA,

Savić (1995) claimed that the convergence in their language indicated a matrix language turnover. Although the language of her corpus and that of the NZSEMC both demonstrate characteristics of Category (2), (3) and (4) effects, according to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale (section 7.1), it cannot be claimed that the same is happening in New Zealand Serbian. In the NZSEMC, only a small proportion of the 227 PAT-replications actually violate Serbian morpho-syntactic rules. The moderate structural borrowing characteristic of Category (4), such as the lack of case markings in English (see Table 5.6) and on Serbian nouns (see subsection 6.1.2), are not common in the NZSEMC. Also, in the examples where they are present, only part of an English structure is imposed on an otherwise Serbian sentence. The morpho-syntactic frame of the sentences remains Serbian.

The study confirmed that Serbian remains the pragmatically dominant language for these first-generation Serbians in New Zealand. This conclusion is based on the lack of English and the presence of Serbian-origin discourse markers and other utterance modifiers, and adopting Matras' (2000, 2009) approach, that the pragmatically dominant language is the system which is the target of fusion around utterance modifiers.

A number of circumstances contribute to maintaining Serbian linguistic dominance, including the fact that most Serbians have only lived in New Zealand for fifteen to twenty years, and that there is not much peer pressure to adopt English and abandon Serbian. Strong contacts with Serbia and with the standard Serbian language have enabled Serbians to refresh their knowledge of their native tongue. Also, New Zealand Serbians are largely middle-class people, and valorisation of bilingualism is very much a middle class trait (Bourdieu, 1991).

The level of exposure to the native language is high, thanks to the availability of Serbian books, journals and TV programmes via the Internet, and affordable phone communication with friends and family in Serbia. Most of the immigrants came to New Zealand as educated professionals and found jobs soon after arrival. This enabled them to achieve a relatively high socio-economic status, which in turn has enabled them to travel to Serbia on a regular basis, and contributed to better maintenance of their native language.

Being the pragmatically dominant language among these first-generation bilinguals, Serbian still regulates and constrains replications. There are, however, numerous indications that English is becoming pragmatically stronger.

Replications from English have become more frequent over time. Particularly noticeable is the sudden increase in MAT- and PAT-replications in the last three years of the period examined. PAT-replications occur mostly in the last three years of the period examined (as Table 6.1 demonstrates). Obvious are also higher numbers of examples of levelling of Serbian cases, lexical calquing, and English-origin discourse markers (see Table 5.11), PAT-replications that break the rules of Serbian grammar, and unintegrated MAT-replications. Growing uncertainty about the spelling of old borrowings from Latin and Greek is also noticeable (E. *maximum*; StS *maksimum*). There are even cases of English spelling of Serbian lexemes that do not exist in English, such as *clopa* instead of *klopa* (slang for 'food'). The study also found examples of Latin-origin nouns and adjectives being used in their English instead of their long-established Serbian forms, such as *magic* instead of Serbian *magija*; *protective*, instead of Serbian *protektivan*, and *relaxing*, instead of Serbian *relaksirajući*. This indicates that participants are not always sure whether these lexemes belong to Serbian or English.

Comparison of NZSEMC MAT- and PAT-replications with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale, shows that the moderate structural replication characteristic of their Category (4) are present in the last three years of data, associated by them with "strong cultural pressure" (p. 75). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that the more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive borrowing will occur. This leads to the conclusion that after ten to fifteen years in New Zealand, contact has been strong enough to intensify borrowing and enable innovations that break Serbian morpho-syntactic rules.

In conclusion, it may be reiterated that Serbian remains the pragmatically dominant language of first-generation Serbian immigrants in New Zealand. English, however, is becoming stronger. It remains difficult to predict whether English will become the pragmatically dominant language at some point in the future. Because of the social settings which enable first-generation New Zealand Serbians to maintain their language, a shift will probably occur only in the second generation.

8.3   Limitations of the study

Every empirical study is limited by its data and analytical scope. Some of the methodological problems encountered were discussed at the beginning of the literature review. As mentioned, one potential issue was the fact that the NZSEMC data comes from real correspondence between myself and the participants, and as such it is "naturalistic data" (Kirjavainen & Theakston, 2012). Numerous researchers have stressed that data obtained from actual conversations is the best data for the analysis of bilingual speech (see for example Auer, 1988; Auer, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1993b). The advantage of "naturalistic" data is that it exposes how people actually use their language, and accurately reflects the language situation. Participants do not adjust their behaviour in any way.

One of the main disadvantages of naturalistic data is that it does not allow for controlling for variables, as noted by Wolfson (1986). Particular constructions may occur only rarely in the NZSEMC data, while they are actually widely used by New Zealand Serbians. Also, participants' contributions vary in size, and the lack of some feature in the contributions of a particular participant to the NZSEMC does not mean that this feature is absent from the language of that participant. With this in mind, it can be said that the NZSEMC is a snapshot of New Zealand Serbian rather than a dependable representation.

Another thing to keep in mind is the hybrid nature of EMC messages. Although they are very much considered to be "speech", they are still conveyed in writing, which means that they offer greater opportunities for writers to think about which language to choose the needed elements from, and to go back and correct what they have written.

The corpus did prove to be sufficiently large to answer some basic questions, but for a systematic investigation of more complex features (such as the influence of topic of conversation on matter and pattern replication) a larger corpus would be desirable.

8.4   Suggestions for future research

This thesis has restricted its scope to the influence of English on Serbian. It would also be interesting to see how Serbian influences English in the same group of participants. When bilingual speakers explore their whole repertoires, separation of the components belonging to the two languages is compromised (Matras, 2009, 2012) whatever language they are speaking. If we accept the notion of discourse markers being the point of fusion of two languages, we might expect Serbians to use Serbian discourse markers when speaking English. Considering that Serbian word order is more pragmatic, we might also expect Serbians to move adverbials to the beginning of English sentences when they want to emphasise, for example, the time when an action occurred.

Unlike English, standard Serbian does not have any articles, and it would be interesting to chart the difficulties that Serbian and other Slavic language speakers experience in incorporating them into their English discourse.

Another possible topic for further research would be to investigate whether attitudes towards multilingualism influence language contact outcomes. Clyne's (1982) study of community languages in Australia argues that South-eastern Europeans maintain their first languages better than immigrants from other parts of Europe. Out of seven groups of immigrants who came to Australia as adults or young children, Greek-born immigrants showed the lowest rate of shift, followed by Italian-born and Yugoslav-born. As the most important factors determining language shift and language maintenance, he lists "cultural code values, degree of cultural similarity to the dominant group and extent of intermarriage" (Clyne, 1982, p. 55).

One other factor might be at work, however. Greeks and Serbians both come from a part of Europe which has been characterized by extensive multilingualism – the Balkan Sprachbund, well-known to linguists for the centuries-long coexistence and mutual reciprocal influence of multiple languages (more details in Thomason, 2001, pp. 105-109). Geographically the area covers only the south-eastern part of Serbia, but multilingualism is recognised in other parts of Serbia as well, particularly in the northern province of Voivodina, with its six official languages ("The Statute of the Autonomous Province of

Vojvodina," 2014). There is an old Serbian saying *Što više jezika znaš, više vrediš* (Lit. 'The more languages you know, the more you are worth') which is known in other parts of the Balkans in similar forms. This study did not investigate participants' familiarity with other languages additional to English and Serbian. From my own knowledge, some are fluent in French and German. However, all participants come from a part of the world where bilingualism and multilingualism are the norm rather than the exception and the question arises whether being born and raised in this part of the world, and being surrounded by many languages since birth, has any influence on native language maintenance.

Future research might also investigate how many of the MAT- and PAT-items noticed in the NZSEMC data will be incorporated more widely and more permanently into New Zealand Serbian. Matras (2012) claims that every contact-induced change is a product of a task-bound, goal-oriented innovation. However, contact-induced innovations may or may not be replicated by the same speaker, or by other speakers in the speech community. Therefore, innovations may or may not result in permanent language change (Matras, 2012). Further research could then also investigate whether any of the innovations found in the NZSEMC have led to full-scale contact-induced change, and which changes have continued to propagate in the wider New Zealand Serbian community.

The most interesting question would be to investigate future developments in New Zealand Serbian. This study has shown that the contact situation has become stronger with time, and that this has caused more borrowing to occur, as predicted by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). With this in mind, we can expect that English will continue to influence New Zealand Serbian. However, based on a number of studies of immigrant contact situations, Yilmaz (2013) predicts a ceiling effect at around ten years of residence in a new country. She claims that the influence of the host language does not increase proportionally with time, and that after the initial impact (which happens approximately at the end of the first decade of immigration) native language skills remain fairly stable in terms of morphological and syntactic structures.

This study analysed the period between ten and twenty years of residence in the new country, and has shown that the influence of English increased over time, both in the frequency of MAT- and PAT-replications, as well as in the type of replications. A follow-up

263

study of the same group of people in another ten years' time might show whether current phenomena represent a ceiling effect in the Serbian language of the first-generation immigrants to New Zealand. The study might focus on several areas, including whether current trends will continue, what factors might have the strongest influence and whether Serbian has remained the pragmatically dominant language.

9 REFERENCES

Adelung, Johann Christoph. (1782). *Grundsätze der Deutschen Orthographie*. Leipzig: Breitkopf.

Al-Sahafi, Morad Abdulaziz. (2005). *Patterns of language maintenance and shift amongst Arabic-speaking immigrants in Auckland.* (Unpublished master's thesis), University of Auckland, Auckland.

Al-Sahafi, Morad Abdulaziz. (2010). *The dynamics of language maintenance among Arabic-speaking Muslim immigrant families in New Zealand.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of Auckland, Auckland.

Alexander, Ronelle. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian: A grammar with sociolinguistic commentary*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Appel, René, & Muysken, Pieter. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London; Baltimore, Md.: E. Arnold.

Auer, Peter. (1988). A conversation analytic approach to codeswitching and transfer. In Monica Heller (Ed.), *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 187-213). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Auer, Peter. (1998). *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10017007

Backus, Ad. (2001). The role of semantic specificity in insertional codeswitching: Evidence from Dutch-Turkish. In Rodolfo Jacobson (Ed.), Codeswitching worldwide II (pp. 125-153). Berlin: Mouton De Groyter. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/auckland/detail.action?docID=3040460.

Baetens Beardsmore, Hugo. (1986). *Bilingualism: Basic principles.*   Retrieved from
    http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=23392

Baron, Naomi S. (1998). Letters by phone or speech by other means: The linguistics of
    email. *Language & Communication, 18*, 133-170.

Baron, Naomi S. (2008). *Always on: Language in an online and mobile world.*   Retrieved
    from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10215769

Benet-Martínez, Verónica, & Haritatos, Jana. (2005). Bicultural Identity Integration (BII):
    Components and Psychosocial Antecedents. *Journal of Personality, 73*(4), 1015-
    1050. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2005.00337.x

Benet-Martínez, Verónica, Leu, Janxin, Lee, Fiona, & Morris, Michael W. (2002).
    Negotiating biculturalism: Cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional
    versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 33*(5),
    492-516. doi:10.1177/0022022102033005005

Benson, Morton. (1967). English loannwords in Serbo-Coatian. *American Speech, 42*(3),
    178-189.

Benson, Morton, & Šljivić-Šimšić, Biljana. (1990). *SerboCroatian-English dictionary* (3rd
    ed.). Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bentahila, Abdelâli, & Davies, Eirlys E. (1992). Code-switching and language dominance.
    In Richard B. Harris (Ed.), *Cognitive Processing in Bilinguals* (pp. 443-458).
    Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bergman, Manfred Max. (2008). *Advances in mixed methods research: Theories and
    applications*. Los Angeles; London: Sage.

Bjelica, Maja. (2011). *Phonological and morphological adaptation of English words in the
    TV show 'Život u trendu'.* Paper presented at the The first international conference on
    English Studies, English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT)
    Novi Sad.

Block, David. (2007). *Second language identities*. London; New York: Continuum.

Bolinger, Dwight L. (1946). Thoughts on 'Yep' and 'Nope'. *American Speech, 21*(2), 90-95.
    doi:10.2307/486479

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Retrieved from
    http://www.aspresolver.com/aspresolver.asp?SOTH;S10023879

Browne, Wayles, & Alt, Theresa (Eds.). (2004). *A Handbook of Bosnian, Serbian and
    Croatian*. Durham, NC: Slavic and East European Language Research Center.

Bugarski, Nataša. (2002). Morfološka adaptacija glagola pozajmljenih iz engleskog jezika.
    Prilozi proučavanju jezika, 33, 58-77.

Bugarski, Ranko. (1996). Strane reči danas: Pojam, upotreba, stavovi. In Judita Plankoš
    (Ed.), *O jezičkim pozajmljenicama* (pp. 17-25). Beograd: SANU.

Bugarski, Ranko. (2004). Overview of the linguistic aspects of the disintegration of former
    Yugoslavia. In Ranko Bugarski & Celia Hawkesworth (Eds.), *Language in the
    Former Yugoslav lands*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

Chamoreau, Claudine, & Léglise, Isabelle. (2012). A multi-model approach to contact-
    induced language change. In Claudine Chamoreau & Isabelle Léglise (Eds.),
    Dynamics of contact-induced language change (pp. 1-15). Berlin; Boston: De
    Gruyter Mouton.

Ćirilov, Jovan. (1991). *Novi rečnik novih reči: Reči, izrazi i značenja preuzeti iz drugih
    jezika ili nastali u srpskohrvatskom jeziku posle drugog svetskog rata*. Beograd:
    "Bata".

Clyne, Michael. (1972a). *Perspectives on language contact: Based on a study of German in
    Australia*. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press.

Clyne, Michael. (1972b). Some (German-English) language contact phenomena at the
    discourse level. In Evelyn Scherabon Firchow, K. Grimstad, & N. Hasselmo (Eds.),
    Studies for Einar Haugen (pp. 132-144). The Hague: Mouton.

Clyne, Michael. (1982). *Multilingual Australia: Resources, needs, policies*. Melbourne:
    River Seine Publications.

Clyne, Michael. (1991a). *Community languages: The Australian experience*. Cambridge,
    UK; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, Michael. (1991b). Overview of "immigrant" and community languages. In Suzanne
    Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (pp. 215-227). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge
    University Press.

Clyne, Michael. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10069883

Clyne, Michael. (2005). *Australia's language potential*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Clyne, Michael, & Kipp, Sandra. (2006). Australia's community languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2006*(180), 7-21. doi:10.1515/ijsl.2006.037

Comrie, Bernard, Haspelmath, Martin, & Bickel, Balthasar. (2008). *The Leipzig glossing rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.* Retrieved from http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf

Ćorac, Milorad. (1974). *Stilistika srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*. Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

Ćorović, Vladimir. (1938). Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864). *The Slavonic and East European Review, 16*(48), 667-677. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4203428

Cortés-Conde, Florencia, & Boxer, Diana. (2002). Bilingual word-play in literary discourse: The creation of relational identity. *Language and Literature, 11*(2), 137-151. doi:10.1177/096394700201100203

Creswell, John W., & Plano Clark, Vicki L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Crezee, Ineke. (2008). *I understand it well, but I cannot say it proper back: Language use among older Dutch migrants in New Zealand.* (Doctoral disertation, Auckland University of Technology). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10292/547

Crystal, David. (2000). *Language death*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David. (2001). *Language and the Internet.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=5008037

Crystal, David. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Damjanovski, Nela. (2014). Svojstva hibridnog srpsko-engleskog jezika među srpskom dijasporom u Kanadi: Nacrt za istraživanje. In Tvrtko Prćić (Ed.), *Engleski jezik i*

anglofonske književnosti u teoriji i praksi: Zbornik u čast Draginji Pervaz (pp. 103-113). Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet.

Dedaić, Mirjana N., & Mišković-Luković, Mirjana. (2010). *South Slavic discourse particles.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/id/10387185

Di Sciullo, Anne-Marie, Muysken, Pieter, & Singh, Rajendra. (1986). Government and code-mixing. *Journal of Linguistics, 22*(1), 1-24.

Dimitrijević, Jovana. (2005). *Bilingual language practices in a migrant community: Language shift and codeswitching in a Serbian language community in Melbourne.* (Unpublished doctoral disertation), University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Dimitrijević Savić, Jovana. (2004). Contact-induced change in a case of language shift: The Serbian language in Australia. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku, 47*(1-2), 75-91.

Dimitrijević Savić, Jovana. (2006). Questioning macro-sociological accounts of language maintenance: Peasants, rock 'n' roll, and church lunches. *Facta universitatis - series: Linguistics and Literature, 4*(1), 33-46.

Dimitrijević Savić, Jovana. (2008). Convergence and attrition: Serbian in contact with English in Australia. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics, 16*(1, Winter - Spring), 57-90. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_slavic_linguistics/v016/16.1.dimitrijevic-savic.pdf doi:10.1353/jsl.0.0010

Dimitrijević Savić, Jovana. (2011). The relevance of structural description for analyses of bilingual talk-in-interaction: Some evidence from Serbian–English bilingual interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(8), 2187-2203

Dimković-Telebaković, Gordana. (2014). Prevođenje engleskih specijalizovanih složenih leksema na srpski jezik i njihovi prevodni obrasci. In Tvrtko Prćić (Ed.), *Engleski jezik i anglofone književnosti u teoriji i praksi: Zbornik u čast Draginji Pervaz* (pp. 116-). Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet.

Doucet, Jaques. (1991). First generation Serbo-Croatian speakers in Queensland: Language maintenance and language shift. In Suzanne Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (pp. 270-248). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dröschel, Yvonne. (2011). *Lingua franca English: The role of simplification and transfer.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10589310

Ďurović, Lubomír. (1987). The development of grammar systems in diaspora children's language. In Lubomír Ďurović & Alla Binder (Eds.), *Child language in diaspora: Serbo-Croatian in West European countries: Papers from a symposium* (pp. 51-85). Lund: Slaviska institutionen vid Lunds universitet.

Echu, George, & Obeng, Samuel Gyasi. (2004). *Africa meets Europe: Language contact in West Africa*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Eckert, Penelope. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *The Annual Review of Anthropology, 41*, 87-100.

Eckert, Penelope, & McConnell-Ginet, Sally. (1992). Communities of practice: Where language, gender and power all live. In Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz, & Birch Moonwomon (Eds.), *Locating Power: Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference* (pp. 89-99). Berkeley Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Ervin, Susan M., & Osgood, Charles E. (1954). Second language learning and bilingualism. In Charles E. Osgood & Thomas A. Sebeok (Eds.), *Pshycholinguistics: A survey of theory and research problems* (pp. 139-146). Baltimore: Waverly Press.

Ethnologue: Languages of the world. (n.d.).   Retrieved from http://www.ethnologue.com

Field, Frederic W. (2002). *Linguistic borrowing in bilingual context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Filipović, Rudolf. (1961). The morphological adaptation of English loan-words in Serbo-Croat. *Studia romanica et Anglica: Zagrebiensia, 11*, 91-103.

Filipović, Rudolf. (1967). *Jezici u kontaktu i lingvističko posuđivanje*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu.

Filipović, Rudolf. (1986). *Teorija jezika u kontaktu: Uvod u lingvistiku jezičnih dodira*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti; Školska knjiga.

Filipović, Rudolf. (1987). *Contrastive analysis of English and Serbo-Croatian. Volume III, Verbal tenses*. Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.

Filipović, Rudolf. (1990). *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku: Porijeklo, razvoj, značenje*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti; Školska knjiga.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development. *Linguistics, 2*(9), 32. doi:10.1515/ling.1964.2.9.32

Fishman, Joshua A. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1971). The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary approach. In Joshua A. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1972). The relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and when. In John Bernard Pride & Janet Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings* (pp. 15-32). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing language shift theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages.* Retrieved from http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=16823

Fishman, Joshua A. (2001a). From theory to practice (and vice versa): Review, reconsideration and reiteration. In Joshua A. Fishman (Ed.), *Can threatened languages be saved?: Reversing language shift, revisited : A 21st century perspective* (pp. 451-483). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters

Fishman, Joshua A. (Ed.) (2001b). *Can threatened languages be saved? reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Fraser, Bruce. (1990). An approach to discourse markers. *Journal of Pragmatics, 14*(3), 383-398. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(90)90096-v

Fraser, Bruce. (1999). What are discourse markers? *Journal of Pragmatics, 31*(7), 931-952. doi:10.1016/s0378-2166(98)00101-5

Gafaranga, Joseph. (1999). Language choice as a significant aspect of talk organization: The orderliness of language alternation. *Text - An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse, 19*(2), 201-225. doi:10.1515/text.1.1999.19.2.201

Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. (1997). Self-presentation and interactional alliances in e-mail discourse: The style- and code-switches of Greek messages. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 7*(2), 141-164. doi:10.1111/j.1473-4192.1997.tb00112.x

Gerzic, Ana. (2001). Language use and maintenance in Serbian/Croatian speaking community in Auckland and the prospects for the maintenanceof Serbian/Croatian Language. In Allan Bell (Ed.), *The collection of student esseys* (pp. 26-52). Auckland: AUT, Faculty of Arts, School of Languages.

Gerzić, Borivoj, & Gerzić, Nataša. (2002). *Rečnik savremenog beogradskog žargona = A dictionary of contemporary Belgrade slang*. Beograd: Istar.

Graddol, David (2001). English in the future. In Caroline Coffin & Anne Burns (Eds.), *Analyzing English in a global context: A reader* (pp. 26-37). London: Routledge.

Greenberg, Robert D. (2004). *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grenoble, Lenore A., & Whaley, Lindsay J. (2006). *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Grosjean, François. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, François. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10568024

Grubor, Jelena. (2011). Stav govornika srpskog jezika prema (neologizmima) anglicizmima u srpskom jeziku. *Prilozi proučavanju jezika, 42*, 65-79.

Gumperz, John Joseph. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, Stuart. (1995). New culture for old. In Doreen B. Massey & P. M. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world?: Places, cultures and globalization* (pp. 175-213). Milton Keynes, UK: Oxford; New York: The Open University; Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, Ruqaiya. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Hammond, Lila. (2005). *Serbian: An essential grammar*. New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor and Francis.

Hansen, Björn. (2011). Slavonic languages. In Bernd Kortmann & Johan van der Auwera (Eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Europe: A comprehensive guide* (pp. 97-124). Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Haugen, Einar. (1950). The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language, 26*(2), 210-231.

Haugen, Einar. (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Heine, Bernd, & Kuteva, Tania. (2005). *Language contact and grammatical change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Herring, Susan C. (2003). Computer-mediated discourse. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, & Heidi E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 612-634). Oxford: Blackwell.

Hinrichs, Lars. (2006). *Codeswitching on the web: English and Jamaican Creole in e-mail communication*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Hlavac, Jim. (2003). *Second-generation speech: Lexicon, code-switching and morpho-syntax of Croatian-English bilinguals*. Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang.

Hoffer, Bates L. (1996). Borrowing. In Hans Nelde Goebl, Peter H. Stary, & Wolfgang Zdenek Wolck (Eds.), *Kontaktlinguistik: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung* (Vol. 1, pp. 541-549). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Holmes, Janet, & 'Aipolo, 'Anahina. (1991). The Tongan language in Wellington. In Janet Holmes & Ray Harlow (Eds.), *Threads in the New Zealand tapestry of language*. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Huddleston, Rodney D., & Pullum, Geoffrey K. (2002). *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ivic, Pavle. (1995). Standard language as an instrument of culture and the product of national history. In Pavle Ivic (Ed.), *The history of Serbian Culture*. Edgware: Porthill Publishers.

Ivić, Pavle. (1991). *Iz srpskohrvatske dijalektologije*. Niš: Prosveta.

Jakich, Miranda. (1975). *A personal description of the interference occurring in the Serbo-Croatian/English language contact situation in New Zealand and the factors that*

influence the contamination of Serbo-Croatian. (Unpublished master's thesis), Victoria University, Wellington.

Jakich, Miranda. (1987). The Yugoslav language in New Zealand. In Walter Hirsh (Ed.), *Living languages - Bilingualism and community languages in New Zealand* (pp. 117-125). Auckland: Heinemann.

Jezici i nacionalizmi. (n.d.).   Retrieved from http://jezicinacionalizmi.com/

Jonsson, Carla. (2010). Functions of code-switching in bilingual theater: An analysis of three Chicano plays. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(5), 1296-1310. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2009.08.012

Jutronic-Tihomirovic, Dunja. (1982). The effect of dialectal variations on the adaptation of loanwords. In Roland Sussex (Ed.), *The Slavic language in emigre communities* (pp. 61-71). Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.

Kim, Sun Hee. (2007). *First language attrition in a second language learning environment: The case of Korean-English late bilinguals.* (Doctoral disertation). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/2292/2366

Kirjavainen, Minna, & Theakston, Anna. (2012). Naturalistic data. In Carol A. Chapelle (Ed.), The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics. doi:10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0859

Kitić, Slobodanka. (2002). On function of word order in English and Serbian. *Facta Universitatis. Series: Linguistics and Literature, 2*(9), 303-312. http://facta.junis.ni.ac.rs/lal/lal2002/lal2002-03.pdf

Klajn, Ivan. (2001). Neologisms in present-day Serbian. *International Journal of Sociology of Language, 2001*(151), 89-110. http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.2001.2001.issue-151/ijsl.2001.050/ijsl.2001.050.xml

Klajn, Ivan. (2002). *Tvorba reči u savremenom srpskom jeziku*. Beograd; Novi Sad: Institut za srpski jezik SANU: Matica srpska.

Klajn, Ivan. (2004). *Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica*. Beograd: Srpska školska knjiga.

Klajn, Ivan. (2005). *Gramatika srpskog jezika*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.

Klajn, Ivan. (2008). Purizam i antipurizam u današnjem srpskom jeziku. *Južnoslovenski filolog, LXIV (2008)*, 153-176.

Klajn, Ivan, & Šipka, Milan (Eds.). (2010). *Veliki rečnik stranih reči i izraza* (3rd ed.). Novi Sad: Prometej.

Kordić, Snježana. (2010). *Jezik i nacionalizam*. Zagreb: Durieux.

Kuncha, Rekha M., & Bathula, Hanoku. (2004). *The role of attitudes in language shift and language maintenance in a new immigrant community: A case study*. Auckland, NZ: AIS St Helens, Centre for Research in International Education.

Labov, William. (1994). *Principles of linguistic change. Vol. 1, Internal factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, William. (2001). *Principles of linguistic change. Vol. 2, Social factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Langston, Keith, & Peti-Stantic, Anita. (2003). Attitudes towards linguistic purism in Croatia: Evaluating efforts at language reform. In Mirjana N. Dedaić & Daniel N. Nelson (Eds.), *At war with words* (pp. 247-282). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Laroussi, Foued. (2011). *Code-switching, languages in contact and electronic writings*. Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang.

Lehmann, Christian. (2004). Interlinear morphemic glossing. In Geert E. Booij, Christian Lehmann, & Joachim Mugdan (Eds.), *Morphologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung* (Vol. 2, pp. 1834-1857). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lenneberg, Eric H. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.

Li Wei. (1994). *Three generations, two languages, one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Li Wei. (2005). "How can you tell?": Towards a common sense explanation of conversational code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics, 37*(3), 375-389. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2004.10.008

Lloyd-Jenkins, Douglas. (2003). *Jovan Rancich and Wally Silva: Pioneer potters*. [Waitakere City, N.Z.]: Corban Estate Arts Centre.

Lopičić, Vesna, & Albu, Rodica. (2010). *Migrating memories: Central Europe in Canada*. Brno; Niš: Central European Association for Canadian Studies.

Mair, Christian. (2013). Speculating on the future of English as a contact language. In Daniel Schreier & Marianne Hundt (Eds.), *English as a contact language*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Maschler, Yael. (2000). What can bilingual conversation tell us about discourse markers?: Introduction. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 4*(4), 437-445. doi:10.1177/13670069000040040101

Matica srpska, & Matica hrvatska. (1960). *Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika sa pravopisnim rečnikom*. Novi Sad; Zagreb: Matica srpska; Matica hrvatska.

Matras, Yaron. (1998). Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing. *Linguistics, 36*(2), 281-331.

Matras, Yaron. (2000). Fusion and the cognitive basis for bilingual discourse markers. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 4*(4), 505-528.

Matras, Yaron. (2007). The borrowability of grammatical categories. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (Eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective* (pp. 31-74). New York: Mouton de Groyter.

Matras, Yaron. (2009). *Language contact*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Matras, Yaron. (2010). Contact, convergence, and typology. In Raymond Hickey (Ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact* (pp. 66-85): Wiley-Blackwell.

Matras, Yaron. (2011). Universals of structural borrowing. In Peter Siemund (Ed.), *Linguistic universals and language variation* (pp. 204-233). Berlin: Mouton de Groyter.

Matras, Yaron. (2012). An activity-oriented approach to contact-induced language change. In Claudine Chamoreau & Isabelle Léglise (Eds.), *Dynamics of contact-induced language change* (pp. 17-52). Berlin; Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.

Matras, Yaron, & Sakel, Jeanette. (2007a). Introduction. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (Eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Matras, Yaron, & Sakel, Jeanette. (2007b). Investigating the mechanisms of pattern replication in language convergence. *Studies in Language, 31*(4), 829-865. doi:10.1075/sl.31.4.05mat

Meyerhoff, Miriam, & Nagy, Naomi. (2008). Social lives in language. In Miriam Meyerhoff & Naomi Nagy (Eds.), *Social lives in language: Sociolinguistics and multilingual speech communities : celebrating the work of Gillian Sankoff* (pp. 1-16). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Meyerhoff, Miriam, & Strycharz, Anna. (2013). Communities of practice. In J.K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 428-447): John Wiley & Sons.

Milroy, Lesley, & Muysken, Pieter. (1995). Code-switching and bilingualism research *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Minčić-Obradović, Ksenija. (2013/2014). English-origin discourse markers in New Zealand Serbian. *Te Reo, 56/57*(2013/2014), 13-34. http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=674610854818862;res=IELHSS

Minović, Milivoje. (1987). *Sintaksa srpskohrvatskog-hrvtskosrpskog jezika za više škole: Rečenica, padeži, glagolski oblici*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost.

Mišeska Tomić, Olga. (1996). The Balkan Slavic clausal clitics. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 14*(4), 811-872. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00133364 doi:10.1007/bf00133364

Mišić Ilić, Biljana. (2011). Anglosrpski i serglish: Dva varijeteta srpskog jezika nastala pod uticajem engleskog. In Vera Vasić (Ed.), *Primenjena lingvistika u čast Ranku Bugarskom* (pp. 73-93). Novi Sad: Društvo za primenjenu lingvistiku Srbije.

Mission of Sinaxis of Serbian King St. Milutin. (1998). Svetosavsko slovo: Vesnik misionarskog podrucja Sveti kralj Milutin srpski za Okland i Hamilton. *Svetosavsko slovo : vesnik misionarskog podrucja Sveti kralj Milutin srpski za Okland i Hamilton.*

Muysken, Pieter. (1995). Code-switching and grammatical theory. In Lesley Milroy & Pieter Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on on code-switching*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1993a). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1993b). *Social motivations for codeswitching: evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1998a). Structural uniformities in codeswitching vs. community differences. In Rodolfo Jacobson (Ed.), Codeswitching Worldwide (Vol. I, pp. 91-108): De Gruyter. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/auckland/detail.action?docID=3040659.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1998b). A way to dusty death: the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. In Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: language loss and community response* (pp. 289-316). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (2006a). *Multiple voices : an introduction to bilingualism* Retrieved from http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=136521

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (2006b). *Multiple voices: An introduction to bilingualism.* Retrieved from http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=136521

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (2008). Language contact: Why outsider system morphemes resist transfer. *Journal of language contact, 2*(1), 21-41.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. (2010). Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 13*(1-2), 19-39.

Myers-Scotton, Carol, & Jake, Janice L. (2001). Explaining aspects of code-switching and their implications. In Janet L. Nicol (Ed.), *One mind, two languages: Bilingual language processing* (pp. 84-116). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Nettle, Daniel, & Romaine, Suzanne. (2000). *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Odlin, Terence. (1989). *Language transfer: Cross-linguistic influence in language learning*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Panić-Kavgić, Olga. (2006). *Koliko razumemo nove anglicizme*. Novi Sad: Zmaj.

Peddy, Roger. (2005). Planning for the future? Language policy in New Zealand. In Allan Bell, Ray Harlow, & Donna Starks (Eds.), *Languages of New Zealand* (pp. 30-55). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Pešikan, Mitar, & Institut za srpski jezik (Belgrade). (1959-). *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika*. Belgrade: Institut za srpski jezik, SANU.

Pešikan, Mitar, Jerković, Jovan, & Pižurica, Mato (Eds.). (1993). *Pravopis srpskoga jezika*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska.

Pešikan, Mitar, Jerković, Jovan, & Pižurica, Mato (Eds.). (2013). *Pravopis srpskoga jezika* (3rd ed.). Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

Peterson, Elizabeth, & Vaattovaara, Johanna. (2014). Kiitos and pliis: the relationship of native and borrowed politeness markers in Finnish. *Journal of Politeness Research, 10*(2), 247-269. doi:10.1515/pr-2014-0011

Phillipson, Robert. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, Robert. (2009). *Linguistic imperialism continued*. Hyderabad, India; New York: Orient Blackswan Private Ltd.

Poplack, Shana. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentance in Spanish y termino en Espanol: Toward a typology of code-swithcing. *Linguistics, 18*, 581-618.

Poplack, Shana, & Dion, Nathalie. (2011, August). *Can borrowing and codeswitching be distinguished? [Abstract]*. Paper presented at the Methods 14, University of Western Ontario. http://www.sociolinguistics.uottawa.ca/abstracts/Poplack.Dion.2011.methods.ab.pdf

Poplack, Shana, Sankoff, David, & Miller, Christopher. (1988). The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation. *Linguistics, 26*(1), 47-104. doi:10.1515/ling.1988.26.1.47

Pranjković, Ivo. (2001). The Croatian standard language and the Serbian standard language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2001*(147), 31-50. doi:10.1515/ijsl.2001.004

Prćić, Tvrtko. (2004). *Englesko-srpski rečnik geografskih imena*. Novi Sad: Zmaj.

Prćić, Tvrtko. (2005). *Engleski u sprskom*. Novi Sad: Zmaj.

Prćić, Tvrtko. (2008). *Novi transkripcioni rečnik engleskih ličnih imena* (2nd ed.). Novi Sad: Zmaj.

Prćić, Tvrtko. (2012). Lexicographic description of recent Anglicisms in Serbian. In Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini, & Félix Rodríguez González (Eds.), *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Prćić, Tvrtko. (2014). English as the nativized foreign language and its impact on Serbian. *English today, 30*(1), 13-20. doi:10.1017/S0266078413000515

Rapatahana, Vaughan, & Bunce, Pauline. (2012). *English language as hydra: Its impacts on non-English language cultures*. Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Republički zavod za statistiku. (2003). *Stanovništvo: popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u 2002. 3. Veroispovest, maternji jezik i nacionalna ili etička pripadnost prema starosti i polu*. Beograd: Republički zavod za statistiku.

Roberts, Mary Lucy. (1991). The New Zealand-born Chinese community of Wellington. In Janet Holmes & Ray Harlow (Eds.), *Threads in the New Zealand tapestry of language*. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Roberts, Mary Lucy. (1999). *Immigrant language maintenance and shift in the Gujurati, Dutch and Samoan communities of Wellington.* (Doctoral disertation, Victoria University of Wellington). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10063/1311

Sakel, Jeanette. (2007). Types of loan: Matter and pattern. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (Eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective* (pp. 15-29). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Salmons, J. O. E. (1990). Bilingual discourse marking: Code switching, borrowing, and convergence in some German-American dialects. *Linguistics, 28*(3), 453-480. doi:10.1515/ling.1990.28.3.453

Sankoff, Gillian. (1972). Language use in multilingual societies: Some alternative approaches. In J. B. Pride & Janet Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Sankoff, Gillian, Thibault, Pierrette, Nagy, Naomi, Blondeau, Hélène, Fonollosa, Marie-Odile, & Gagnon, Lucie. (1997). Variation in the use of discourse markers in a

language contact situation. *Language Variation and Change, 9*(2), 191-217. doi:doi:10.1017/S0954394500001873

Savić, Jelena M. (1994). *Serbian/English and Spanish/English code-switching: toward a more comprehensive model.* (Doctoral disertation, Purdue University), Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database.   (UMI No. 304130271)

Savić, Jelena M. (1995). Structural convergence and language change: Evidence from Serbian/English code-switching. *Language in Society, 24*(4), 475-492. http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4177788

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1987). Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organisation. In Graham Button & John R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and Social Organisation* (pp. 70-85). Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Schiffrin, Deborah. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, Deborah. (2003). Discourse markers: Language, meaning, and context. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, & Heidi E. Hamilton (Eds.), The handbook of discourse analysis. Oxford: Blackwell Reference Online. doi:10.1111/b.9780631205968.2003.00004.x

Schlund, Katrin. (2014a). Aspects of linguistic politeness in Serbian: A data-based comparison with German. *Linguistic Online, 69*(7). doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.13092/lo.69.1657

Schlund, Katrin. (2014b). On form and function of politeness formulae. *Journal of Politeness Research, 10*(2), 271-296. doi:10.1515/pr-2014-0012

Sebba, Mark. (2011). *Societal bilingualism*. London: SAGE Publications.

. Section. (2007)Oxford dictionaries. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/.

Shameem, Nikhat. (1995). *Hamai log ke boli, our language: Language shift in an immigrant community: The Wellington Indo-Fijians.* (Unpublished doctoral disertation), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. (1994). *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.

Šipka, Milan. (2010). *Pravopisni rečnik srpskog jezika sa pravopisno-gramatičkim savetnikom*. Novi Sad: Prometej.

Spradley, James P. (1979). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stančić, Nikša. (1985). Gajeva klasifikacija juznoslavenskih jezika i naroda u vrijeme nastanka "Kratke osnove Horvatsko-slavenskog pravopisanja" iz 1830. godine. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest, 18*(1), 69-106. http://hrcak.srce.hr/57346

Starks, Donna, Harlow, Ray, & Bell, Allan. (2005). Who speaks what language in New Zealand. In Donna Starks, Ray Harlow, & Allan Bell (Eds.), *Languages of New Zealand* (pp. 13-29). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Statistics New Zealand. (2007). *2006 census: meshblock dataset [Data file]*.

Statistics New Zealand. (2014). *2013 Census QuickStats about culture and indentity [Data file]*. Retrieved from: http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (n.d.). Census.   Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census.aspx

The Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, (2014 22 May).

Stevanović, Mihailo. (1979). *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik 2: sintaksa* (3rd ed.). Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

Stevanović, Mihailo. (1989). *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik: (Gramatički sistemi i književnojezička norma) 1: Uvod, fonetika, morfologija*. Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

Stoffel, Hans-Peter. (1981a). The morphological adaptation of loanwords from English in New Zealand Serbo-Croatian. *Wiener slawistischer Almanach, 7*, 243-252.

Stoffel, Hans-Peter. (1981b). Observations on the Serbo-Croatian language in New Zealand. *New Zealand Slavonic Journal, 1*, 53-64. doi:10.2307/40921163

Stoffel, Hans-Peter. (1991). Common features in the morphological adaptation of English loanwords in migrant Serbo-Croatian. In Vladimir Ivir & Damir Kalogjera (Eds.), *Languages in contact and contrast* (pp. 418-429). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Stoffel, Hans-Peter. (1994). Dialect and standard language in a migrant situation: The case of New Zealand Croatian. *New Zealand Slavonic Journal, 1994*, 153-170.

Stoffel, Hans-Peter. (1996). The Dalmatian and their language in New Zealand. In Stephen Adolphe Wurm, Peter Muhlhausler, & Darrell T. Tryon (Eds.), *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific* (Vol. 2, pp. 191-194). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stoffel, Hans-Peter, & Corne, Chris. (1996). General introduction and notes on the map "Aotearoa - New Zealand: population, ethnicity, languages". In Stephen Adolphe Wurm, Peter Muhlhausler, & Darrell T. Tryon (Eds.), *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas* (Vol. 2, pp. 147-151). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stojčić, Violeta, & Ognjanović, Dejan. (2006). The influence of jargon in lexical borrowing from English. *Philologia, IV*(4), 41-47. http://philologia.org.rs/Files/broj_4.pdf

Stubbs, Michael. (1983). *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Surdučki, Milan. (1978a). Noun compounding by juxtaposition in Serbo-Croatian. *Canadian slavonic Papers, 20*(3), 398-404.

Surdučki, Milan. (1978b). *Srpskohrvatski i engleski u kontaktu: Rečnik i morfološka analiza engleskih pozajmljenica u standardnom srpskohrvatskom jeziku i jeziku Srba i Hrvata iseljenika u Kanadi*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

Tagg, Caroline. (2011). *The discourse of text messaging: Analysis of text message communication*. New York: Continuum International Pub. Group.

Tasić, Miloš. (2010). Uticaj engleskog jezika na stručnu mašinsku terminologiju u srpskom jeziku. *Komunikacija i kultura online, 1*(1), 162-182. http://komunikacijaikultura.org/KK1/KK1Tasic.pdf

Terkourafi, Marina. (2011). Thank you, sorry and please in Cypriot Greek: What happens to politeness markers when they are borrowed across languages? *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(1), 218-235. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.024

Thomason, Sarah Grey. (2001). *Language contact: an introduction*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Thomason, Sarah Grey, & Kaufman, Terrence. (1988). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thurlow, Crispin (2003). Generation Txt? The sociolinguistics of young people's text-messaging. *Discourse Analysis Online,* (1). http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a3/thurlow2002003.html

Trenčić, Saša. (2012). *The construction of linguistic and cultural identity in the environment of a second language and culture, exemplified by the first-generation Serbian immigrants in English-speaking Canada.* (Unpublished master's thesis), University of Niš, Niš.

Vakareliyska, Cynthia M. (2011). The new English [N[N]] constructions in the Slavic languages, and why the Baltic languages don't have it. *Slavistica Vilnensis, 56*(2), 45-52.

Vakareliyska, Cynthia M., & Kapatsinski, Vsevolod. (2014). An Anglo-Americanism in Slavic morphosyntax: Productive [N[N]] constructions in Bulgarian. *Folia Linguistica, 48*(1), 277. doi:10.1515/flin.2014.009

Vasić, Vera, Nejgebauer, Gordana, & Prćić, Tvrtko. (2011). *Du yu speak anglosrpski: Rečnik novijih anglicizama* (2nd ed.). Novi Sad: Zmaj.

Verivaki, Maria. (1990). *Language maintenance and shift in the Greek community of Wellington.* (Unpublished master's thesis), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Vlajković, Ivana (2010). Uticaji engleskog jezika na srpski na planu pravopisa, leksike i gramatke u komunikaciji na Fejsbuku. *Komunikacija i kultura online, 1*(1), 183-186. http://www.komunikacijaikultura.org/KK1/KK1Vlajkovic.pdf

Vujaklija, Milan. (1966). *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza*. Beograd: Prosveta.

Vujaklija, Milan. (1980). *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza* (3rd ed.). Beograd: Prosveta.

Vuković-Vojnović, Dragana, & Nićin, Marija. (2012). English as a global language in the tourism industry: A case study. In Georgeta Rata, Ioan Petroman, & Cornelia

Petroman (Eds.), *The English of Tourism* (pp. 3-18). Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Walker, James A. (2007). "There's bears back there": Plural existentials and vernacular universals in (Quebec) English. *English World-Wide, 28*(2), 147-166. doi:doi:10.1075/eww.28.2.03wal

Walters, Laura. (2014, October 14). Faces of Auckland: Serbian culture still strong. *Stuff*. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/auckland-faces/10609864/Faces-of-Auckland-Serbian-culture-still-strong

Weinreich, Uriel. (1968). *Languages in contact: Findings and problems.* Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/lib/auckland/Doc?id=10585523

Weston, Daniel, & Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. (2015). Mind the gap: What code-switching in literature can teach us about code-switching. *Language and Literature, 24*(3), 194-212. doi:10.1177/0963947015585066

Winford, Donald. (2003). *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Winford, Donald. (2005). Contact-induced changes – classification and processes. *Diachronica, 22*(2), 373-427. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/jbp/dia/2005/00000022/00000002/art00004 http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~dwinford/cind-fnl.pdf

Winford, Donald. (2013). Social factors in contact languages. In Peter Bakker & Yaron Matras (Eds.), *Contact languages: A comprehensive guide* (pp. 363-416). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter

Wolfson, Nessa. (1986). Research methodology and the question of validity. *TESOL Quarterly, 20*(4), 689-699. doi:10.2307/3586519

Yılmaz, Gülsen. (2013). *Bilingual language development among the first generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands.* (Doctoral disertation, University of Groningen). Retrieved from http://www.let.rug.nl/languageattrition/Papers/Yilmaz%20dissertation%202013.pdf