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WHAT LANGUAGE DO EMPLOYERS SPEAK? ON RECENT ANGLICISMS IN THE NAMES OF THE MOST POPULAR PROFESSIONS ADVERTISED ON THE INTERNET

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In this paper, the titles of the most popular professions advertised on the Internet are analyzed for the purpose of identifying those titles which can be classified as a certain type of recent anglicisms. The classification of anglicisms is performed in line with the typology suggested by Prčić (2005), who, based on the form they take, distinguishes between raw, obvious, and hidden anglicisms, indicating the degree of their adaptation within the system of the Serbian language. The following hypotheses are tested by applying a corpus analysis: (1) obvious anglicisms account for the most numerous group of anglicisms in the titles of professions; (2) raw anglicisms account for the least numerous group of anglicisms; (3) the share of anglicisms demonstrates a constant growth within the most popular categories of professions in the period observed in this paper. The presence of anglicisms in the titles of professions, on the one hand, implies that there are certain lexical gaps that need to be filled in so that the register of job titles can be completed, while, on the other hand, it demonstrates an alarmingly increasing number of anglicisms within the same register of the Serbian language.

Keywords: recent anglicisms, job titles, Internet advertisements, Serbian language

JEL Classification: A12

INTRODUCTION

Once the need for introducing new concepts, terms, and ideas has been identified in a language, the language starts importing words and phrases from a language it has been in direct or indirect contact with. When it comes to the Serbian language, it is influenced by the English as a "global language", especially in the

area of business and economics, where this language exerts a recognisably large influence (Crystal, 2003) by introducing, even imposing, new or modified lexical contents into receiving languages, such as the Serbian language. It has recently been noted that there is a significant number of professions whose titles do not correspond to the names of qualifications obtained through formal education, as was not the case in the period preceding the transition in economy, when the job posts advertised in the media contained the titles aligned to the qualifications earned in secondary or higher education (e.g. a cook, a hair-dresser, a locksmith,

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a mechanical engineer, an economist, etc.). However, as some authors note, the process of privatizing public companies as well as the increasingly important role of international and transnational companies in the home market have affected both the changes in corporate culture and behaviour and changes occurring within the Serbian language under the influence of English (Dobrić, 2008a; Dobrić, 2008b; Novakov, 2008). The language of communication within a company and the language of business reporting has switched from the Serbian into the English language, and job posts are increasingly being published in English on specialized Internet portals and websites. Originally, advertisements were published in a foreign language only by international companies. However, this has changed, resulting in Serbian companies publishing ads in the English language, while, at the same time, they demand that applicants be able to demonstrate proficiency in both spoken and written English language. Often enough, ads are written both in the Serbian and the English languages; however, there is a tendency of taking job titles over from English, even when an advertisement is published in the Serbian language. Consequently, such job titles no longer correspond to those found in the formal education system of the Republic of Serbia. Taking certain titles of professions from English and using them in the Serbian language often implies that their form should undergo a process of adaptation and change so as to fit in better in the receiving language. Depending on the stage of their adaptation, or, in other words, depending on the time that has passed since they entered the Serbian language, the forms of such words are themselves a piece of evidence that they originate from the English language. Such words and phrases will be termed as anglicisms here, whereas those anglicisms which have been present in the Serbian language in the last 20 years we will refer to as recent anglicisms.

In this paper, we use a corpus analysis in order to identify recent anglicisms within the corpus of 60 professions most advertised between May, 2007 and the end of 2011, on the following web site: www.poslovi.infostud.com. The anglicisms we found there will be classified according to their form as raw, obvious, and hidden, in line with the typology proposed by Prčić (2005). The presence of anglicisms and their share in the corpus within the individual periods as well as

within the overall period we observe will help us test the following hypotheses: (H1) obvious anglicisms will account for the most numerous subgroup of anglicisms as a result of a relatively fast process of job diversification in the circumstances of the transition economy; (H2) raw anglicisms will account for the least numerous subgroup of anglicisms, and their titles will imply that an equivalent and/or compact solution does not exist in Serbian; and (H3) the share of recent anglicisms in the overall distribution will mark a constant increase over the period we observe.

RECENT ANGLICISMS IN JOB TITLES IN SERBIAN

Filipović (1986, 193) maintains that the term anglicism refers to the words taken over from English, as a contributing language, by a receiving language where they are adapted according to the system of this language in which such words act as “native words”. We draw the reader’s attention to the fact that anglicisms are not only the characteristic of the Serbian language and the territory of the Republic of Serbia. On the contrary, this phenomenon has been noted at a larger scale, and it could even be a sign of linguistic colonialism (Filipović, 2009). According to this view, one can easily notice that countries in the neighbourhood, such as Croatia and Montenegro experience the same problem of frequent, often unjustified overuse of anglicisms (Lakić, 2008), which is closely related to the problems of their orthographic representation, their pronunciation, and often in translation (Antunović, 1996). Although some authors warn of the problem of adapting anglicisms to the systems of the Serbian and the Croatian languages, especially in terms of terminology standardization and avoiding linguistic ambiguities caused by the lack of standardization (Filipović, 1990; Silaški, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c), this issue has not been resolved yet. This is especially true for business discourse ever since the economy of Serbia started the process of transition, as is observed by a number of authors dealing with anglicisms in the area of economics (Papović, 2000; Silaški, 2007).

In this paper, we focus on the words that already entered but also on those which are still entering the

register of job titles in the Serbian language, with our purpose being that of discovering anglicisms that have emerged in the course of the last 10-15 years in the Serbian language. Such words will be termed as recent anglicisms (some of which may be found in (Vasić et al, 2001). Considering that what we focus on here is the register of job titles, which, in the circumstances of the transition economy, is prone to changes and modifications, older anglicisms, which do exist in Serbian language (e.g. direktor, sekretar, etc.), may be considered as sufficiently adapted to the system of the Serbian language that people no longer perceive them as words from a foreign language. Recent anglicisms, however, due to the short time having passed since they appeared in the Serbian language, do not get adapted that easily. Namely, it is fairly difficult to find equivalents in Serbian for the lexical content carried by such words; for this reason, they are often used in a form not taking into consideration the norms and standards of the Serbian language, which, in turn, may have long-term consequences on the morphological potential of the Serbian language to produce words of its own. As authors of this paper, we would like to point to the alarmingly large number of anglicisms in job titles, but at the same time, we do not wish to take any extreme points of view, either linguistics puritanism or applauding to linguistic carelessness (Bugarski, 1996). Instead, we would like to underline the importance of cooperation and dialogue among employers, educational institutions, creators of language policies and linguists, who should undertake a joint venture of finding appropriate language solutions with the purpose of enriching as well as preserving the Serbian language.

TYPOLOGY OF ANGLICISMS

The way anglicisms are classified is conditioned by the purpose of the authors conducting a research into them. In this paper, various types of recent anglicisms are considered in terms of their form, or in other words, in terms of their respective visual identities, which to a certain extent helps us identify them as words directly transferred from English into Serbian, or as the words modified so as to adapt to the system of the Serbian

language, or finally as words difficult to recognize as foreign words, however actually reflecting the norm not of the Serbian but of the English language.

Drawing the reader's attention to the fact that there are various classifications possible to apply when taking about anglicisms (for example, anglicisms can be classified in accordance with the degree of their adaptation, as suggested by Filipović (1986) classifying them as primary and secondary anglicisms, i.e. as true anglicisms and pseudo-anglicisms), we underline that we are primarily interested in the formal realization of anglicisms within the morphological, phonological, and orthographic systems of the Serbian language, so for this reason we apply the typology of anglicisms proposed by Prčić (2005), classifying them as raw, obvious, and hidden. Raw anglicisms refer to words and phrases used in their original form, as they are found in the English language, without undergoing either primary or secondary adaptation in Filipović's sense (1986). Besides, Prčić claims that, in an orthographic sense, such words are completely unadjusted to the system of the Serbian language, given the fact that they are only integrated at the level of semantics, and are only used in a limited set of circumstances. At the morphological and morphosyntactical levels, many anglicisms are used as they are in English, and for this reason they are seen as unadjusted to the system of the Serbian language. However, there are other words considered to be partially integrated because their pronunciation is adapted to the phonological system of the Serbian language, or in their pronunciation, speakers use some "English-Serbian mixture" (Prčić, 2005, 121). An example of a raw anglicism not yet integrated at the phonological or orthographic level is an acronym found in the field of public relations, where a person who is in charge of them introduces himself or herself as a PR. Some other anglicisms (for example, the word *merchandiser*) are often partially integrated at the level of phonology, i.e. in pronunciation, due to differing quality consonants in Serbian and in English have. For this reason, this word is often heard being pronounced as /merčandajzer/, with a non-standardized and undetermined quality of the consonant /č/, which can be encountered as well as soft /tʃ/, as it is found in the system of the English language. Obvious anglicisms are perceived as the next step in adaptation,

because they comprise lexical units (including affixes) which are taken over from the English language, but which quickly integrate within the system of the Serbian language, where, over time, they receive the status of a native word (e.g. direktor: Eng. director; menadžer: Eng. manager). The third type comprises words and phrases, which although conforming to the morphology of the Serbian language, reflect the usage and norms of the English language (Prčić, 2005, 121), and such anglicisms are termed as hidden, because the Serbian form of a word conceals its true identity. Hidden anglicisms are often made through the processes of translation (e.g. lični pomoćnik/-ica: Eng. personal assistant), reshaping (e.g. administrativni asistent: Eng. administrative assistant), but also by a combined method, i.e. translation and reshaping of the original word (e.g. asistent ljudskih resursa: Eng. human resources assistant). Taking into consideration the characteristics of raw, obvious, and hidden anglicisms, it can be assumed that raw anglicisms have recently appeared in the Serbian language. In the same way, it can be assumed that hidden anglicisms have gone the longest way in the process of adaptation, because they contain a lexical material prepared by using the morphological potentials of the Serbian language. When it comes to obvious anglicisms, however, it is not always possible to provide a reliable opinion on the time they have spent in the Serbian language, because it takes relatively little time for them to adapt and behave as native words within the receiving language. This is particularly the case with certain affixes speakers are exposed to, and for this reason, they adopt them easily (e.g. the suffix -er, as in menadžer), but this is also true for words and phrases without an adequate equivalent in the Serbian language (e.g. programer). A word's belonging to a certain type of anglicisms may indicate the relative age of the word or phrase that came from English into the Serbian language. In other words, if a certain raw anglicism appears as a job title within a given category of jobs, it may be assumed that it will soon start integrating within the receiving language, either as an obvious or hidden anglicism. Milanović (2011) illustrates this on the example of a job title found within the category of Trade. Namely, the word merchandiser (eng. merchandiser), is found to take the following forms in the corpus: merchandiser, merčandajzer, merčendajzer (including examples

typed using the Cyrillic script: мерчендајзер and мерчандјазер), but also as Ser. pospešitelj prodaje. All forms of this word are identified as anglicisms; however, while the first one is identified as raw (i.e. merchandiser), the following two job titles can be identified as reshaped and adapted obvious anglicisms (merčandajzer, merčendajzer). Milanović (2012, 38) concluded that the latter represents a translated anglicism whose role is to fulfil a lexical gap in the Serbian language, occurring due to a lack of a Serbian word with the same meaning, while simultaneously being shaped in the form of the Serbian language, which makes it acceptable in the receiving language.

CORPUS

Given the fact that we intend to identify recent anglicisms in job titles published in advertisements online, we will analyze a corpus consisting of 39 job categories, within which we found 60 job titles (see Appendix for the full list of job titles found in the corpus; note, however, that recent anglicisms are typed in bold letters). All job titles are found in advertisements published on the Internet in the period from May, 2007 to the end of 2011. The corpus and the periods analyzed here were selected on the basis of the availability of data matching the purpose of our research. The data used in the paper are available at www.poslovi.infostud.com. They are related to the most popular job categories and professions sought by employers in the observed period, during which over 70,000 advertisements were published on this web page. The following job categories were found in the corpus: (1) administration and accounting; (2) architecture; (3) banking, finance; (4) biology; (5) beauty care; (6) design; (7) general economics (8) electrical engineering; (9) pharmacy; (10) physics; (11) graphic design; (12) construction engineering; (13) chemistry; (14) IT; (15) language, literature; (16) human resources; (17) marketing, PR; (18) mechanical engineering; (19) media, culture; (20) middle management, (21) higher management, consulting; (22) security; (23) education, child care; (24) insurance; (25) agriculture, forestry; (26) law; (27) food technology; (28) psychology; (29) traffic, logistics; (30) sociology; (31) technology, metallurgy; (32) telecommunications; (33) transportation, warehousing;

(34) trade; (35) tourism, hospitality; (36) arts; (37) veterinarian medicine; (38) environment protection; (39) health care. The source provides information related to the share of the given category in the overall distribution per period, as well as the share of the respective professions in the overall distribution of sought-after jobs.

At this point, we find it worth making a distinction between the following three groups of job titles found in the corpus:

- Job titles published in Serbian corresponding to the names of qualifications earned in formal education (e.g. Ser. metaloglodadž). Examples of the members of this group can be found in the following job titles: Ser. advokatski pripravnik, vatrogasac, zavarivač, etc.;
- Job titles generated under the influence of a foreign language (English, French, German, etc.), which have long been in use, as a result of which speakers of Serbian no longer consider them to be “foreign”, because they have already become part of the norm in the Serbian language. As such, they have already found their place in the names of qualifications earned in formal education (e.g. Ser. diplomirani mašinski inženjer). Examples for the members of this group can be found in the following job titles: Ser. direktor, frizer, inženjer, etc. Given the fact that this group contains words originating from English as well, we will term such words as older anglicisms;
- The third and final group contains job titles which have been entering the Serbian language for the last 10-15 years, while their true origin is in the English language. These words have not conformed to the norms and standards of the Serbian language yet, and they are termed as recent anglicisms here. Some of these appear in job titles, i.e. qualifications earned in formal education (e.g. Ser. diplomiraniprogramer), but a number of these stay out of the system of qualifications. Examples for the members of this group can be found in the following job titles: Ser. HoReCa menadžer (and often HoReCa Manager), Ser. merčendajzer (but also merchandiser, merčandajzer, and even

„мерчендајзер“), Ser. sistem inženjer (instead of inženjer informacionih sistema), etc.

It should be noted that a significant number of job advertisements are published in foreign languages, most often in English (although there are examples of ads published in the German, French, and Russian languages), especially when the employing company comes from abroad, or when this is an international company entering the Serbian market. However, there are two more tendencies observed with employers posting job advertisements on the Internet:

- companies advertise vacancies by posting a text typed in the Serbian language, in the Latin script, whereas the job title as well as the list of requirements expected of applicants are provided in English, and
- the tendency contradicting the norms and orthography of the Serbian language when job posts are published in the Cyrillic script, while the job title itself is provided in English, using the Latin script.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this paper, we apply a corpus analysis in order to identify recent anglicisms, as well as to examine their share in the overall distribution of the most popular jobs during each of the observed periods. The analysis aims at finding examples of raw, obvious, and hidden anglicisms and their respective distributions within the following four periods observed here: Period 1 (May 2007 – December 2008), Period 2 (2009), Period 3 (2011) and Period 4 (2012). The criterion for observing a category in the list of 39 categories provided in the corpus is the minimal share of 1.5% in the overall distribution, which brings us to the number of 15 job categories to observe in the corpus (the last category will contain all those with a share of less than 1.5% in the overall distribution). In other words, to be considered relevant for the research, a category must be present with at least 300 job posts per year. The data we have obtained by analyzing the 14 most popular job categories and the data we have obtained by analyzing

recent anglicisms, being divided into three types, will help us test the following hypotheses:

- (H1): Obvious anglicisms will account for the most numerous subgroup of anglicisms as a result of the relatively fast process of job diversification in the circumstances of the transition economy.
- (H2): Raw anglicisms will account for the least numerous subgroup of anglicisms, and their titles will imply that an equivalent and/or compact solution does not exist in Serbian.
- (H3): The share of recent anglicisms in the overall distribution will mark a constant increase over the observed period.

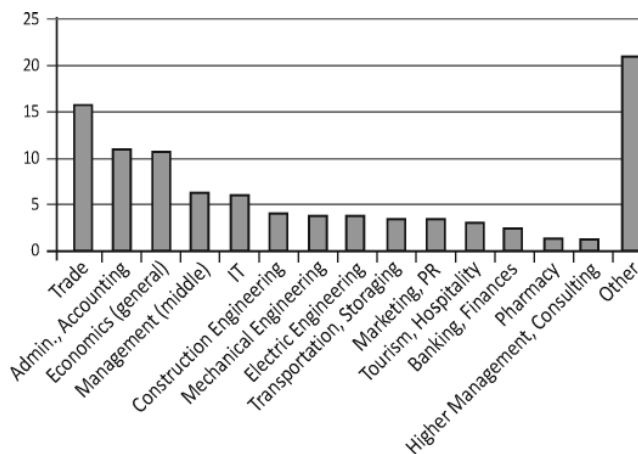
CORPUS ANALYSIS

In this paper, we analyze the corpus in order to determine the type of anglicisms present there and their share in the overall distribution of the most advertised vacancies. The analysis includes 4 periods: Period 1 (May, 2007 – December, 2011), Period 2 (2009), Period 3 (2010), and Period 4 (2011).

Period 1

The earliest data made available by our source are those of the period between May, 2007 and the end of 2008, during which over 20,000 job advertisements were published on the following web site: www.poslovi.infostud.com (Infostud, 2009). In this period, the most popular jobs with employers were the jobs within the following 15 categories (Graph 1): (1) trade (16.23%); (2) administration, accounting (10.89%), (3) general economics (10.28); (4) middle management (6.63); (5) IT (6.32%); (6) construction engineering (4.14%); (7) mechanical engineering (3.99%); (8) electrical engineering (3.94%); (9) transportation, warehousing (3.55%); (10) marketing, PR (3.54%); (11) tourism, hospitality (3.19%); (12) banking, finance (2.58%); (13) pharmacy (1.78%); (14) higher management, consulting (1.71%); (15) other (21.23%).

The most popular professions within these 14 categories (category 15 contains all the categories whose share in



Graph 1 The structure of the most popular professions in the period between May, 2007 and the end of December 2008

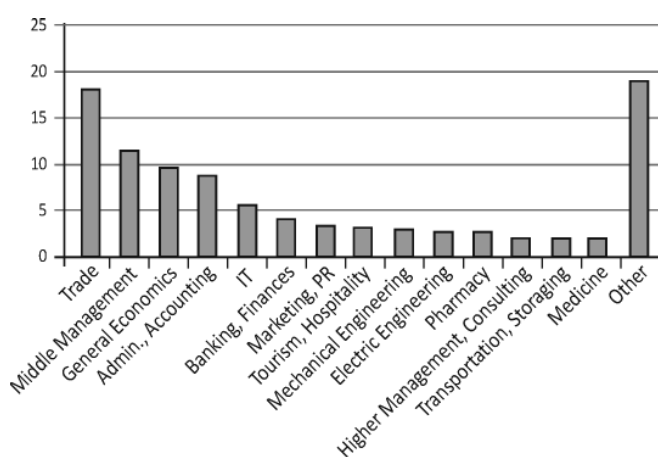
Source: Authors, based on Infostud, 2009

the overall distribution is less than 1.5%) (Numbers correspond to the job category in which the job titles are found): (1) komercijalista (Eng. commercial representative), prodavac (Eng. office assistant); (2) knjigovođa (Eng. book-keeper), poslovni sekretar (Eng. business secretary); (3) knjigovođa (certain job titles appear more than once in the corpus, but they are considered as a single job title), menadžer prodaje (Eng. sales manager); (4) menadžer prodaje; (5) programer (Eng. programmer), sistem inženjer (Eng. system engineer); (6) građevinski inženjer (Eng. construction engineer); (7) mašinski inženjer (Eng. mechanical engineering), (8) diplomirani inženjer elektrotehnike (Eng. electric engineer), (9) vozač (Eng. driver), magacioner (Eng. warehouse keeper); (10) saradnik u marketing (Eng. marketing officer), promoter (Eng. promoter); (11) konobar (Eng. waiter), kuvar; (12) saradnik (Eng. associate), kreditni službenik (Eng. loan officer); (13) diplomirani farmaceut (Eng. pharmacist), medicinski predstavnik (Eng. medical representative), farmaceutski tehničar (Eng. pharmaceutical technician); (14) komercijalni direktor (Eng. commercial manager), HR manager (Eng. HR manager), (15) other (Infostud, 2009).

Period 2

In this period, employers were mostly interested in candidates possessing qualifications related to the following job categories (Graph 2): (1) trade (18.63%); (2) middle management (11.44%), (3) general economics (9.75%); (4) administration, accounting (9.18%); (5) IT (5.60%); (6) banking, finance (3.94%); (7) marketing, PR (3.59%); (8) tourism, hospitality (3.25%); (9) mechanical engineering (3.07%); (10) electrical engineering (2.90%); (11) pharmacy (2.89%); (12) higher management, consulting (2.26%); (13) transportation, warehousing (2.22%); (14) medicine (1.71%); (15) other (19.16%).

By using a corpus analysis, we identified the following job categories as those which were the most popular ones with employers in 2009: (1) komercijalista, prodavac; (2) menadžer prodaje, poslovoda (Eng. senior manager); (3) računovođa, direktor prodaje; (4) poslovni sekretar, knjigovođa, telefonski operater (Eng. call center operater); (5) programer, PHP developer (Eng. PHP developer); (6) kreditni službenik, blagajnik (Eng. cashier), finansijski analitičar (Eng. financial analyst); (7) marketing menadžer (Eng. marketing manager), promoter, brendmenadžer (Eng. brand manager); (8) konobar, kuvar (Eng. chef); (9) mašinski inženjer, bravar; (10) serviser, električar; (11) stručni saradnik



Graph 2 The structure of the most popular professions in 2009

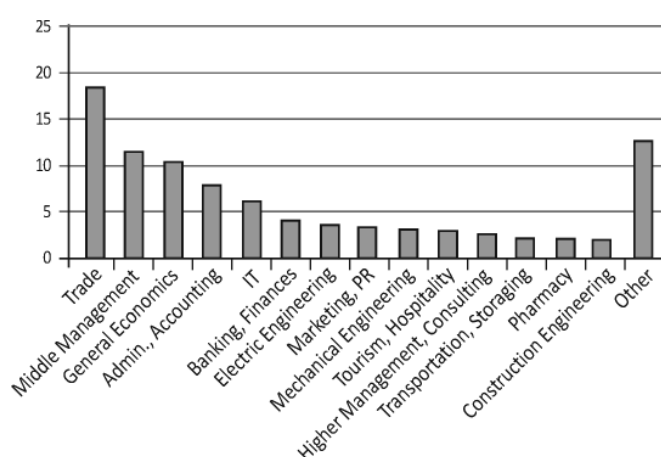
Source: Authors, based on Infostud, 2010

u farmaciji (Eng. pharmaceutical representative), diplomirani farmaceut; (12) generalni direktor, izvršni direktor; (13) magacioner, vozač; (14) lekar, stručni saradnik u medicini; (15) other (Infostud, 2010).

Period 3

In the period between January and December 2009, employers were mostly interested in the following job categories (Graph 3): (1) trade (17.90%); (2) middle management (10.87%); (3) general economics (10.26%); (4) administration, accounting (8.06%); (5) IT (6.17%); (6) banking, finance (4.04%); (7) electrical engineering (3.71%); (8) marketing, PR (3.56%); (9) mechanical engineering (3.38%); (10) tourism, hospitality (3.17%); (11) higher management, consulting (2.84%); (12) transportation, warehousing (2.29%); (13) pharmacy (2.27%); (14) construction engineering (1.95%); (15) other (13.37%).

In 2010, the most popular professions found within the 14 most popular categories are as follows: (1) komercijalista, merchandiser (Eng. merchandiser), prodavac; (2) menadžer prodaje i izvoza (Eng. sales and exports manager), poslovoda; (3) diplomirani ekonomista, finansijski direktor; (4) administrativni



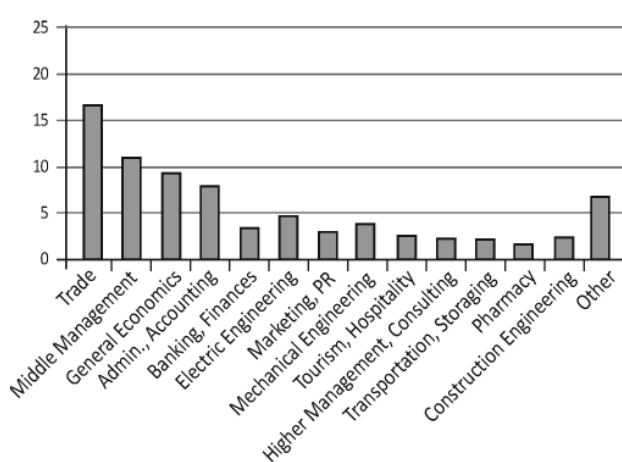
Graph 3 The structure of the most popular professions in 2010

Source: Authors, based on Infostud, 2011

radnik (Eng. administrative officer), poslovni sekretar, knjigovođa; (5) administrator baza podataka (Eng. data base administrator), programer, web dizajner (Eng. web designer); (6) bankarski službenik; (7) serviser, električar; (8) marketing menadžer, promoter, brend menadžer (Eng. brand manager); (9) mašinski inženjer; (10) menadžer ugostiteljstva (Eng. hospitality manager), konobar, kuvar; (11) menadžer projekta (Eng. project manager), direktor; (12) magacioner, vozač; (13) diplomirani farmaceut; (14) diplomirani građevinski inženjer, građevinski tehničar (Eng. construction officer), građevinski projektant (Eng. construction project engineer); (15) other (Infostud, 2011).

Period 4

In 2011, employers were largely interested in the following job categories (Graph 4): (1) trade (16.66%); (2) middle management (10.84%), (3) general economics (9.22%); (4) administration, accounting (7.94%); (5) electrical engineering (4.77%); (6) mechanical engineering (3.98%); (7) banking, finance (3.55%); (8) marketing, PR (3.05%); (9) tourism, hospitality (2.69%); (10) construction engineering (2.39%); (11) higher management, consulting (2.27%); (12) transportation, warehousing (2.26%); (13) law (1.86%); (14) pharmacy (1.75%); (15) other (13.37%).



Graph 4 The structure of the most popular professions in 2011

Source: Authors, based on Infostud, 2012

In 2011, the most popular professions found within the 14 most popular categories are the following ones: (1) HoReCa menadžer (Eng. HoReCa manager), merchandiser, prodavac; (2) menadžer prodaje i izvoza; (3) diplomirani ekonomista; (4) administrativni radnik, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater; (5) serviser, električar; (6) mašinski inženjer; (7) blagajnik; (8) marketing istraživač (Eng. marketing researcher), PR menadžer (Eng. PR manager), PR (Eng. PR), brendmenadžer; (9) menadžer ugostiteljstva, glavnikuvar, kuvar; (10) diplomirani građevinski inženjer, građevinski projektant; (11) direktor; (12) kurir (Eng. courier), magacioner, vozač; (13) diplomirani pravnik; (14) diplomirani farmaceut; (15) other (Infostud, 2012).

CORPUS ANALYSIS: TYPES OF ANGLICISMS AND THEIR SHARE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOST POPULAR PROFESSIONS

Period 1: Having analyzed the corpus, we conclude that there are 23 job titles found in the list of 14 most popular job categories advertised in the period between May 2007 and December 2008. Relying on the adopted typology of anglicisms, and in line with the research methodology of our choice, it has been established that, based on their form, 9 job titles can be identified as anglicisms. Dividing them into different types, based on their form as well, we found that there are examples of obvious, hidden, and raw anglicisms in the corpus. Obvious anglicisms are: komercijalista, programer, promoter and sistem inženjer. Hidden anglicisms are: kreditni službenik, medicinski predstavnik, menadžer prodaje, poslovnisekretar, whereas there is only one raw anglicism: HR manager (Table 1). Judging by the number of the anglicisms found in this period, it can be concluded that they account for 39.13% of all job titles found in this subcorpus.

Period 2: In the following period, namely, in 2009, the overall number of job titles found in the corpus is somewhat higher than in Period 1, since there are 31 job titles found in Period 2. Among all job titles found in this subcorpus, we identified 11 anglicisms out of which obvious, hidden, and raw anglicisms have all been identified. Obvious anglicisms are: komercijalista,

Table 1 Types of recent anglicisms in the names of the most popular professions per period

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
Obvious anglicisms	komercijalista, programer, promoter, sistem inženjer	komercijalista, programer, finansijski analitičar, marketing menadžer, promoter, brend menadžer	komercijalista, administrator baza podataka, programer, web dizajner, marketing menadžer, brend menadžer, menadžer projekta	HoReCa menadžer, PR menadžer, brend menadžer
Hidden anglicisms	kreditni službenik, medicinski predstavnik, menadžer prodaje, poslovni sekretar,	kreditni službenik, menadžer prodaje, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater	administrativni radnik, menadžer prodaje i izvoza, poslovni sekretar, menadžer ugostiteljstva, građevinski projektant	menadžer prodaje i izvoza, administrativni radnik, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater, marketing istraživač, menadžer ugostiteljstva, građevinski projektant
Raw anglicisms	HR manager	PHP developer	merchandiser	merchandiser, PR
Share in total distribution	39.13%	35.48%	46.66%	44.44%

programer, finansijski analitičar, marketing menadžer, promoter, brend menadžer. The following belong to the group of hidden anglicisms: kreditni službenik, menadžer prodaje, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater. The following raw anglicism was found within the category of Information technologies: PHP developer (Table 1). Based on the number of anglicisms found in the subcorpus, it can be concluded that their share in the overall distribution of job titles is 35.48%.

Period 3: In the year 2010, the number of the most popular job titles is by one lower than in 2009, resulting in 30 job titles found in the subcorpus, out of which there are 14 anglicisms. The analysis of this subcorpus shows evidence of obvious, hidden, and raw anglicisms in the job titles of this group. Obvious anglicisms are as follows: komercijalista, administrator baza podataka, programer, web dizajner, marketing menadžer, brend menadžer, menadžer projekta. The following are identified as hidden anglicisms: administrativni radnik, menadžer prodaje i izvoza, poslovni sekretar, menadžer ugostiteljstva, građevinski projektant. There is also one raw anglicism identified within the subcorpus: merchandiser (Table 1). Based on the number of anglicisms found in the subcorpus, it can be concluded that their share in the overall distribution of job titles is 46.66%.

Period 4: In 2011, which is the final period analysed in this paper, the number of anglicisms found is lower than in the previous year since there are only 27 job titles found in advertisements. The analysis of these job titles helped us identify 12 anglicisms, among which there are examples of obvious, hidden, and raw anglicisms. Obvious anglicisms are: HoReCa menadžer, PR menadžer, and brend menadžer. Hidden anglicisms are the following ones: menadžer prodaje i izvoza, administrativni radnik, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater, marketing istraživač, menadžer ugostiteljstva, građevinski projektant. Two raw anglicisms have been identified in the subcorpus. One of them is merchandiser, whereas the other is PR, which appears in the corpus of the most popular professions in 2011 (Table 1). Based on the number of the anglicisms found in the subcorpus, it can be concluded that their share in the overall distribution of job titles is 44.44%.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

There is a total of 60 job titles we have analyzed within the 14 most popular job categories, covering the period from May, 2007 to the end of 2011. As a result, we

identified 26 job titles whose form represents this or that type of anglicisms, meaning that 43.33% of all job titles are obvious, hidden, or raw anglicisms.

Table 2 shows the raw, obvious, and hidden anglicisms identified in the corpus:

Table 2: Types and share of anglicisms in the corpus

Type of anglicisms:	Raw anglicisms	Obvious anglicisms	Hidden anglicisms
Anglicisms	HR manager, merchandiser, PHP developer, PR	administrator baza podataka, brend menadžer, finansijski analitičar, HoReCa menadžer, komercijalista, marketing menadžer, menadžer prodaje projekta, PR menadžer, programer, promoter, sistem inženjer, web dizajner	administrativni radnik, građevinski projektant, kreditni službenik, marketing istraživač, medicinski predstavnik, menadžer prodaje, menadžer prodaje i izvoza, menadžer ugostiteljstva, poslovni sekretar, telefonski operater
The number of anglicisms found in the corpus	4	12	10
Share of anglicisms in %	15,38	46,15	38,47

Considering the fact that our analysis of the corpus shows evidence of anglicisms in it, below we analyze the findings with respect to our hypotheses set at the beginning of this paper:

H1: Obvious anglicisms will account for the most numerous subgroup of anglicisms as a result of

therelatively fast process of job diversification in the circumstances of the transition economy.

Having found 12 obvious, 10 hidden, and 4 raw anglicisms in the total of 26, we conclude that this hypothesis is confirmed since the share of obvious anglicisms in the total number of anglicisms is 46.15%.

In the circumstances of the transition economy, privatized and foreign companies emerging on the markets in Serbia "dictate" changes at all levels of corporate culture and behaviour, including changes in the descriptions of jobs that people take with such companies. However, the qualifications earned in the formal system of education in the Republic of Serbia do not always correspond to the job titles found in these groups, and for this reason such job titles cannot be regarded as Serbian, although they do conform to the phonological and orthographic system of the Serbian language. Considering the fact that obvious anglicisms are found in this corpus, we can make the following deductions:

- There is a considerable interest on behalf of employers for such professions, with a repetitive interest occurring in the case of some professions (e.g. komercijalista, brend menadžer, marketing menadžer, etc.).
- Some of the job titles in this group reflect a need to fulfill the lexical gaps existing in the Serbian language (e.g. programer), whereas the others reflect carelessness in using anglicisms instead of the Serbian equivalents (e.g. upravnik or rukovodilac instead of menadžer).

H2: Raw anglicisms will account for the least numerous subgroup of anglicisms, and their titles will imply that an equivalent and/or compact solution does not exist in Serbian.

There are the following raw anglicisms found in the corpus: HR manager, merchandiser, PHP developer, PR. If we take into consideration the fact that the number of raw anglicisms is 4, it can be concluded that they account for 15.38% of all the identified anglicisms in the corpus. This consequently confirms H2.

Raw anglicisms can be found in relatively recent job titles for which there are still no adequate solutions in the Serbian language. Some of these anglicisms, if frequently used, can be found in their intermediate, adapted forms, as indicated by the example of *merchandiser* in Milanović (2011). It is assumed by H2 that raw anglicisms are found on such occasions when the Serbian language does not offer lexical solutions for a given term in the English language, or even if it does, the solution is insufficiently compact, so that users opt for more concise solutions for the sake of linguistic economy. This can be illustrated by an example found in the category of IT: *PHP developer*. Although the term denotes a person involved in developing PHP applications, there is no equivalent in Serbian to be sufficiently concise to express the same meaning as in English.

H3: The share of recent anglicisms in the overall distribution will mark a constant increase over the period we observe.

During the first and the third period, the share of anglicisms is higher than in the remaining two periods, their share being 39.13% and 46.66% in Period 1 and Period 2, respectively. In the second, as well as in the fourth period, the share of anglicisms decreases in relation to the preceding periods, since they account for 35.48% of total job titles in Period 2, and 44.44% in Period 4. Based on these results, it can be concluded that H3 is rejected, since the share of anglicisms does not display a constant growth over periods. Instead, it can be concluded that the periods of growth are succeeded by the periods of decline. Based on the data illustrated in Table 1, certain professions can be assumed to be losing popularity over time, because of which they are no longer present in the subcorpus of the following period. For example, job titles such as *sistem inženjer*, *HR manager*, *medicinski predstavnik* are included in the list of the most popular professions in Period 1, after which they leave the corpus, whereas some other job titles such as *telefonski operater* display a tendency of cyclic reoccurring over time (Period 2 and Period 4). By this, it can be concluded that once the market has become saturated with certain professions, they lose appeal with employers.

If we analyze the above-mentioned findings from the perspective of the national language policy, it can be concluded that the number of anglicisms in this register is (alarmingly) increasing. During the first two periods, anglicisms account for about 30% of all job titles in the corpus. In the two periods following them, this number increases, amounting to and even exceeding 40%. A conclusion can be made that such a sudden increase in the use of anglicisms may have an adverse effect on the usage of the morphological potentials of the Serbian language. Otherwise, one can only deduce that the Serbian language does not possess linguistic resources to fill in lexical gaps in the register of job titles. Some authors warn about the frequently unjustified use of anglicisms in job titles (Milanović 2011; Milanović & Milanović, 2012a; Milanović & Milanović, 2012b), suggesting that equivalent solutions may also be found by using the potentials of the Serbian language.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we analyzed the corpus consisting of the job titles advertised on the Internet, with the purpose of identifying and classifying recent anglicisms in the names of the most popular professions in the period between May, 2007 and the end of 2011. Assuming that economic trends affect all spheres of life, we wanted to examine the extent to which the linguistic globalization and omnipresence of the English language affect the language solutions in the register of job titles in the Serbian language. This issue is closely related to the existence and application of a national language policy aimed at the preservation as well as enrichment of the Serbian language. In this paper, we tested three hypotheses. The first hypothesis related to the assumption that a number of obvious anglicisms will account for the largest number of anglicisms found in the corpus was confirmed because we identified 12 obvious, 10 hidden, and 4 raw anglicisms in the corpus of 60 job titles. Based on such a high number of obvious anglicisms (46.15%), we can draw a conclusion that these professions have been present on the labour market for a longer time than those found within the other two groups of anglicisms. Furthermore,

it can be deduced that there is a real need to devise adequate language solutions in Serbian for them. In their absence, these words display an adapted form (at the morphophonological level) of recent anglicisms used so as to fill in the lexical gaps in the Serbian language. However, despite the partial justifiability of their use, it can be noted that in many cases the potentials of the Serbian language are overseen in the circumstances of "angloculture" as Prčić calls it (2005). The second hypothesis, assuming that raw anglicisms will account for the smallest proportion in the overall distribution, was also confirmed, given the fact that only 4 anglicisms were identified to belong to this group. Their presence witnesses that there is a lack of lexical means to transfer lexical contents easily from English into the Serbian language. Given that raw anglicisms are of late, it can be assumed that, in the adaptation stages to follow, these will become adjusted and become obvious and/or hidden anglicisms, provided no other solution has been found by that time. The third hypothesis assuming that the share of anglicisms will mark a constant growth throughout the periods observed was rejected after the analysis had been performed. Instead of a constant growth, we observed a fluctuation marked by a slight fall from 39.13% to 35.48% in Period 2, which was followed by a slight rise to 46.66% in Period 3, and finally a slight fall to 44.44% in the Period 4. However, regardless of the fact that there is no constant growth in the share of anglicisms within the overall distribution, it can be noted that the share of anglicisms increases at the level of the total period, because it exceeds 40% in Periods 3 and 4.

At the end of this paper, we would like to say that we are aware of some of its limitations as well as of the need for conducting a further research that may be motivated by this one. Namely, we used data made available by our main source, based on the tens of thousands of the advertisements published in the period which there are available data for (May, 2007 – December 2011). It is possible, however, that a large-scale corpus analysis encompassing the texts of all the published advertisements may result in more comprehensive findings, particularly in terms of the intermediate forms of anglicisms (as is the case with the word *merchandise*, discovered in Milanović

(2011)). Apart from that, the data we processed here could be analyzed from the perspective of disciplines other than contact linguistics and sociolinguistics, for example, from the perspective of economics, language planning, etc. Finally, we would like to underline the fact that one of the main reasons for conducting this research and sharing results based on it is our wish to inspire a dialogue between employers providing a number of job titles and linguists who may help them do that in order to enrich and preserve the Serbian language.

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APPENDIX

The most popular professions advertized

(Recent anglicisms are printed in bold)

administrativni radnik	farmaceutski tehničar	kurir	PR
administrator baza podataka	finansijski analitičar	kuvar	PR menadžer
bankarski službenik	finansijski direktor	lekar	prodavac
blagajnik	generalni direktor	magacioner	programer
bravar	glavni kuvar	marketing istraživač	promoter
brend menadžer	građevinski inženjer	marketing menadžer	računovođa
diplomirani ekonomista	građevinski projektant	mašinski inženjer	saradnik
diplomirani farmaceut	građevinski tehničar	medicinski predstavnik	saradnik u marketingu
diplomirani građevinski inženjer	HoReCa menadžer	menadžer prodaje	serviser
diplomirani inženjer elektrotehnike	HR manager	menadžer prodaje i izvoza	sistem inženjer
diplomirani pravnik	izvršni direktor	menadžer projekta	stručni saradnik u farmaciji
direktor	knjigovođa	menadžer ugostiteljstva	telefonski operater
direktor prodaje	komercijalista	merchandiser	vozač
električar	komercijalni direktor	PHP developer	web dizajner
	konobar	poslovni sekretar	
	kreditni službenik	poslovođa	

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