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The Integration of English Words in Slovene: Orthographic Aspects

Abstract

Orthography, as one of the most salient indicators of integration of English words into Slovene, is examined. Older, well-established loanwords that have undergone a gradual process of complete phonological, morphological and orthographic assimilation into Slovene are compared to more recent cases of English lexical influence on Slovene. The latter show a considerably higher degree of variation in spelling, capitalization and punctuation. In addition to randomly chosen examples from the media, selected words from the Gigafida¹ corpus are analyzed in order to determine the ratio of their original English vs. nativized spelling. The findings point to an increase in the use of original orthographic forms, especially by younger speakers who have been exposed to English on a relatively regular basis. The reasons for such trends should not, however, be sought only in the speakers' level of English proficiency, but also in social factors, specifically very positive attitudes toward borrowing from English as a prestigious lingua franca of today. These developmental trends and their implications for potential changes in Slovene orthography are also discussed.

Vpetost angleških besed v slovenščino: pravopisni vidiki

Avtorica proučuje pravopisno podobo angleških besed, prevzetih v slovenščino, saj je leta med najvidnejšimi pokazatelji njihove vpetosti v slovenski jezik. Primerja starejše, že uveljavljene sposojenke, ki so šle skozi postopni proces popolne glasoslovne, oblikoslovne in pravopisne prilagoditve slovenščini z novejšimi primeri angleškega vpliva na slovensko besedje. Pri teh zadnjih opazamo bistveno višjo stopnjo variabilnosti, in sicer v pisavi

1 I wish to acknowledge Tina Balič's help in conducting the Gigafida search.

in v rabi velikih začetnic in ločil. Poleg naključno izbranih primerov iz medijev analizira izbrane besede iz korpusa Gigafida, da bi določila razmerje med njihovim izvornim angleškim in poslovenjenim zapisom. Ugotovitve nakazujejo porast izvornih angleških zapisov, predvsem med mladimi, ki so v razmeroma rednem stiku z angleščino. Ne glede na to pa razlogov za take težnje ne smemo iskati le v stopnji znanja angleščine pri govoricah, ampak tudi v družbenih dejavnikih, kakršen je na primer izredno pozitiven odnos do prevzemanja besed iz angleščine zaradi njenega prestižnega statusa moderne *lingue française*. Ob tem avtorica razpravlja o možnostih nadaljnjega razvoja na tem področju in o njegovem pomenu za prihodnje možne jezikovne spremembe v slovenskem pravopisu.

1 SLOVENE-ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONTACT THROUGH TIME

While the first contact of Slovene with English occurred via German as an intermediary language several centuries ago, it was not until the second half of the 20th century that the influence of English became more prevalent. It began with the introduction of English as a foreign language in elementary schools soon after WWII and continued with the gradual orientation of the then Yugoslavia and Slovenia toward the West, reflective of the fascination with its modern lifestyle and technological advancement. The process gradually accelerated with greater mobility both in business and personal spheres as well as with the growing influence of media and the (especially American) entertainment industry. Nothing, however, has contributed to the proliferation of English (loan)words in Slovene as strongly as the emergence of the internet which, in the past few decades, coupled with globalization processes, has made English into the unrivaled *lingua franca* it is today. As such, English wields an unprecedented impact on all other languages, Slovene included.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the manner and extent to which English words have been adapted to Slovene through different time periods. While morphological, phonological and to some extent semantic and syntactic aspects of English (loan)words will be considered, the emphasis will be on their orthography. My decision to focus on orthography, which is among somewhat less researched areas, is guided primarily by my belief that spelling conventions are a highly relevant indicator of the degree to which English elements have been nativized, and therefore deserve more attention.

2 METHODOLOGY

Data from different time periods, various sources (from classical print media to digital and social media) various domains and semantic fields (from business, marketing,

politics to sports, entertainment and advertising) and different levels of formality (formal vs. informal and slang) will be used to explain and illustrate the process/degree of adaptation of English words to Slovene. In addition, a selection of individual words from the Gigafida² corpus which are spelled either in their original English or nativized forms will be compared. Specifically, the frequency of occurrence of different orthographic forms of the same words used in different contexts and according to the years covered by the corpus will be analyzed in order to gain an insight into the developmental trends in terms of overall integration of English words into Slovene.

3 INTEGRATION OF ENGLISH WORDS INTO SLOVENE

Leaving aside anglicisms³ such as *šport* and *keks* borrowed from the English *sport* and *cake* via German in the 17th and 18th centuries, the period beginning approximately in the 1950s stands out as particularly relevant in terms of the English influence on the Slovene lexicon. This is when Slovene adopts words such as *astronavt*, *tenis*, and *parkirati* for which it has no indigenous terms itself. The primary reason for borrowing is thus a need to fill lexical gaps. The contact with English is indirect, and the process of adapting English words relatively long, so as to allow sufficient linguistic scrutiny before their acceptance into general use. As a result, the majority of English loanwords from this period are fully adapted to Slovene in terms of phonology, morphology and orthography. A typical example is a word such as *intervju* from the English *interview*, which adheres completely to the rules of Slovene grammar in that the final syllable is spelled as *-vju*⁴ rather than with the English graphemes *-iew*, is pronounced in accordance with Slovene phonology (the phonemes *t*, *r*), can be inflected for case and number, (e.g. *intervju-ja*, *intervju-jev*) and can even form derivatives and compounds according to Slovene word-formation principles (e.g. *intervjuvati*, *intervjuvanec*; *radijski intervju* etc.). In short, the word, even though appearing considerably different in its original English form from Slovene, has become fully integrated into Slovene to the point where it is treated by speakers the same way as any other Slovene word. While most loanwords from this period are stable and well-established, there are of course a few exceptions, reflecting the various stages that foreign words undergo on their way to entering another language. An example of such a word is *cocktail*, which may be spelled and pronounced in three alternative ways (*coktajl/koktajl/koktejl*).

2 A most comprehensive corpus of Slovene texts of various genres, containing approx. 1.2 billion words.

3 Any lexical or structural element in a recipient language that can be formally traced back to English (Onysko 2007, 106).

4 Reflecting the English pronunciation.

With time the influence of English, especially its American variety, grew stronger due to the popularity of Anglo-American culture. Consequently, English words were no longer borrowed exclusively out of necessity to name new objects and concepts, but frequently also in cases where perfectly adequate Slovene terms existed. As a result, words such as *consulting* and *marketing*, for instance, began to be perceived as more sophisticated than *svetovanje* and *trženje*, a phenomenon illustrating nicely how less prestigious languages often borrow from those that are considered to be “culturally or politically dominant” (Shukla and Connor-Linton 2006, 294).

The continuous influx of English words into Slovene gathered fresh momentum in the 1990s with the emergence of the internet. A powerful tool of globalization, with English as the most widely used language on it, the internet allows for instantaneous connection of practically everybody everywhere across the world. This gives English an unprecedented advantage over all other languages and at the same time changes the nature of its influence on them. The contact of Slovene with English is thus still indirect, but not as it used to be – it is now predominantly part of the so-called computer-mediated communication (CMC⁵). This is characterized both by the speed with which English infiltrates other languages (Slovene included) and by the considerable variation in the linguistic proficiency of internet users. English is no longer necessarily defined as a geographical variety, but has rather become a “deterritorialized” variety (James 2008, 79) that can be seen “as a globalized or globalizing linguistic resource for intercultural communication and transcultural flows” (James 2009, 86). Put differently, a new American word, for instance, can reach Slovene internet users/online communities the second it is created, thus becoming their property. With no time for linguistic scrutiny and/or gradual transition from a foreign word to a loanword and finally to a completely nativized one, it may continue to be used either in its original English form or it may, in cases when nativized, develop in very diverse and unpredictable ways, more often than not deviating from the Slovene norm. Such cases where “lexical items no longer undergo a general process of adaptation before the recipient community fully assimilates them” (Otwindowska-Kasztelanic 2000, 19) are becoming more and more common, especially in social media and the language of the young, but also in print media, scientific discourse and elsewhere. What is more, not only single words, but longer chunks of discourse in English are sometimes inserted into otherwise Slovene texts. They may be printed in italics or in inverted commas or not even that, but they are clearly foreign and intended for a limited group of speakers rather than general use, the latter being a prerequisite for their total acceptance by the recipient language.

5 Any human communication that occurs through the use of two or more electronic devices, referring to instant messaging, email, chat rooms, online forums, social media platforms, texting and the like. (Herring 1996)

The degree of assimilation is in fact among the major factors that distinguish recent borrowings from older ones, which will be explored from the orthographic perspective in greater detail in the next section.

Some examples:

- V obdobju nigerijskega spama, ruskih hekerjev, blockchain poneverb, fake newsa, wikileaks, Cambridge Analytica in še česa tem bolj. (Crnković 2018, 98)
- Pri čemer, treba je biti pošten, za širjenje nepreverjenih informacij niso krivi le novinarji in njihovi uredniki, v medijskem “breaking news” habitatu, kjer ni časa za razmišljanje /.../(Trampuš 2018, 23)
- S pomočjo instagrama, facebooka in podobnih platform se danes širi ideja tega, kako naj bi bilo kul, z lajkanjem pa se oblikuje kulturno soglasje, ki dizajn še bolj poenoti. (Salecl 2018, 32)
- Kar je bilo včasih šala, je v današnjem svetu twitterjev, snapchatov, facebookov in drugih orodij za takojšnjo politično zadovoljstvo realnost. (Pikalo 2018, 19)
- Najvišji lodging predstavlja vrhunec luksuza in glamurja, saj so bivalni objekti fiksno umeščeni v naravno okolje, dodatna ponudba pa mora biti preprosto top. (Petek 2018, 6)
- Imamo redne sestanke, brifinge, načrtujemo tudi strokovno ekskurzijo in teambuilding. (Bezjak 2018, 14)
- Mimogrede, digitalne oglasne pasice (tako imenovani *bannerji*) so daleč na dnu seznama. /.../ Toda nekaj se je s širitvijo spleta in digitalne povezljivosti v 21. stoletju le spremenilo: zaposleni so postali ključni ne le z vidika proizvodnega procesa ali izvedbe same storitve, temveč tudi celotnega prodajnega procesa in nakupovalne poti (angl. *customer journey*). (Mancevič 2018, 5)
- Slovenija je pri transformaciji vojske po osamosvojitvi, pravi obramboslovec dr. Klemen Grošelj, uporabila »nekritični copy & paste« pristop. (Mekina 2018, 9)
- Krema za roke je must-have vsepovsod. (Grudnik 2018)
- Hejj girlls.To je moj prvi blog zato sem se odločila da mal več povem o sebi. Pač kot ste že lahk razbrale z mojga uporabniškega imena mi je ime Amadeja in stara sn 14 let.Živim blizu celja in res ful mam rada Youtube.Moje najlubše Youtuberke so mylifeaseva,mamamiamakeup,lepa afna,lana novak in izakaraljica.Gledam še dosti drugih but tote so mi res tk the best.Ful rada mam makeup in shoppingiranje kot pac usaka basic punca haha.V naslednjih blogih bom pisala predvsem o lifestylu,delala bom kakšne rewijuje za kakšne izdelke ki jih želite kupiti ampak niste prepričane če so dobri,objavljala bom tudi recepte za maske za obraz ki sem jih že sprobala in so res top,delila zvami moj usakdanji makeup...itd.Upam da vam bodo moji blogi všeč in da jih boste z veseljem spremljale. (First blog 2017)

4 ORTHOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH (LOAN)WORDS IN SLOVENE

Older, well-established English loanwords will be compared to more recent examples in order to establish the differences and similarities between the two categories when these exist. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation will be considered.

4.1 OLDER VS. RECENT ENGLISH INFLUENCE

The main difference between the two categories is that the spelling of older loanwords is much more stable and consistent than in recent ones. Due to the considerable differences in the graphemic and phonemic systems of English and Slovene, stable spelling could only be achieved through gradual and considerable adjustment processes. In general, English graphemes that are not part of the Slovene alphabet had to be substituted by their Slovene near-equivalents (e.g. $w > v$), with the concept of graphemic-phonemic correspondence also being taken into account. The following are among the most common types of adaptation:

- replacement of *q, w, x, y* with *k, v, ks, j* (e.g. *quiz* > *kviz*, *weekend* > *vikend*, *mixer* > *mikser*, *Yeti* > *Jeti*)
- replacement of double consonants with single ones (e.g. *pullover* > *pulover*)
- replacement of double vowels with single ones (e.g. *boomerang* > *bumerang*)
- replacement of atypical consonant and vowel doublets with single consonants and vowels (e.g. *thriller* > *triler*, *sandwich* > *sendvič*, *finish* > *finiš*; *goal* > *gol*)
- replacement of *c* with *k* (e.g. *picnic* > *piknik*)

In contrast to the above cases, which no longer display overt signs of being foreign, we see how many recent borrowings from English are marked by typically English orthographic features which set them apart from the rest of the Slovene lexicon. The following are among the most salient examples:

- *q, w, x, y* (e.g. *ql*, *wellness*⁶, *detox*, *party*)
- double consonants (e.g. *jacuzzi*, *mobbing*)
- double vowels (e.g. *street food*)
- *x* instead of *ks* (e.g. *relax*, *extra*)
- *ch* instead of *č* or *š* (e.g. *ketchup*, *chef*)
- a typical English suffix *-ing* (e.g. *scouting*, *glamping*)

6 *Wellness* is an extreme case of foreign spelling as it contains a non-Slovene grapheme *w* as well as two double consonants (*ll, ss*). Double graphemes are not in the spirit of the Slovene language and tend to assimilate fairly quickly (e.g. the spelling *mobing* is much more frequent than *mobbing*). In the case of *wellness*, however, Gigafida shows as many as 5461 occurrences of *wellness* and only 96 of *velnes*.

- graphemes with Slovene diacritical marks č, š, ž spelled as c, s, z (either intentionally or erroneously due to fast typing and sloppiness; e.g. *res kul casi, po spešl ceni, a lahk pisete knjige vredne branja*).
- incorrect and/or inconsistent capitalization (e.g. *Torek je spet tu! Danes najprej ogled LIge prvakov potem pa PARTY PARTY v dveh nadstropjih!*)
- incorrect, inconsistent, foreign or even so-called “loud” punctuation (e.g. *Zdravje&Prehrana, z' dežele; Latino večer & Havana party with DJ Mar-nix!!!.K giveaway-u sem se odločil dodati tudi 2x brezplačno ličenje! Trust 10.4.at 19:30??!?? Taggaj najbolj sladkosnedo prijateljico ☺*)
- abbreviations, acronyms, combinations of letters and figures in netspeak⁷, in SMS's and in slang (e.g. *OMG, BRB, 4EVER, GR8; fidbek, luzer, dizaster, gejmer, bro, autsajder, dbest, mišn imposibl, wishlisti, mejbi, kripi, fejl, čila-ti, skenslati...; Ok nujno. Any idea kaj lahko naredim če se word kar naenkrat odloči da ne more aktivirat izdelka (maturitetna seminarska naloga, rok oddaje jutri, situacija je resna)? PROSIM, ANYONE; PANIČNI NAPAD MAM. HOLA! A lahk plis pisete ...*).

It should be noted that it is not only individual words that are marked orthographically by English but often also hybrid structures (e.g. *stand up komik, online nakupovanje, senior ponudba, comfort cona, cost-benefit analiza, multi-fusion-jet tehnologija*) and longer portions of discourse inserted into otherwise Slovene texts (e.g. a flyer at the Maribor Faculty of Arts cafeteria reads: *Noro dobri cupcakes - Love at first bite. Ponujamo vam: mini cupcake različnih okusov - čokolada, red velvet, snickers, malina*).

Another feature typical of recent lexical influence is the high degree of variation in spelling, whereby the same word may be spelled in two or more different ways. Consequently, pronunciation is also unstable, as speakers with greater exposure to English often try to approximate the original pronunciation⁸, thus reducing or even eliminating the graphemic-phonemic correspondence characterizing older and fully assimilated loanwords. The following section will thus focus on the variation found in the spelling of the selected words from Gigafida.

4.2 DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS

In an attempt to establish the ratio of original English spellings vs. nativized ones, I examined a number of words from Gigafida. Taking into account the various

7 Internet discourse, also referred to as *Weblish, Netlish, Globish, Webspeak* and the like (Crystal 2001).

8 Primarily in the case of vowels (e.g. *band, notebook*), but not with non-Slovene phonemes such as interdental fricatives (e.g. *smoothie*).

genres and semantic fields in which these words occur according to years, I was hoping to detect developmental trends in their orthography. I was, however, somewhat hampered in this, as Gigafida only records data for the period from 1990 to 2011, which meant that data for the past seven years are not available. In other words, some new borrowings that are currently in wide use are not included at all (e.g. *selfie* vs. *selfi*). Also, while the corpus does contain examples from newspapers, magazines, fiction, non-fiction and the internet, these genres and specific sources are not presented consistently for all words and cannot be compared. Similarly, information on the years for the occurrence of individual words varies and can only be compared in some cases, not in all. For this reason, I decided to include, in parentheses, only the total number of occurrences for each individual spelling of a word and comment on them only selectively when relevant to the discussion.

4.2.1 POLITICS

Four words belonging to political discourse were selected: *impeachment* (304) vs. *impičment* (118), *hearing* (263) vs. *hiring* (91), *establishment* (344) vs. *establišment* (693), and *fake news* (1) vs. *fejk njuz* (0). We see that both *impeachment* and *hearing* predominantly retain their original spelling, while in the case of *establishment* the nativized form is almost twice as frequent as the original one. We can only guess at the reason for the difference – it might be related to the relevance of the concept for the Slovene political situation. This is certainly the case with *fake news*, which only features once – in 2010 – and is explained as “lažno novinarstvo” (in reference to Jon Stewart’s TV show) and was at the time practically an unknown phenomenon. Since then, especially recently, its use has become widespread because of the changed political situation in the US and elsewhere. As illustrated by the following example, it is even capable of serving as a base for forming new lexemes:

Predvsem Twitter se zdi v medmrežju najprimernejši za objavo različnih stališč in je včasih lahko odlično sredstvo za podajanje, izmenjavo in vir informacij, čeprav žal tudi premnogih “sfejkanih”. (Sivka 2018, 8)

4.2.2 BUSINESS AND MARKETING TERMINOLOGY

The words *manager* (11305) vs. *menedžer* (41735) and *brand* (3530) vs. *brend* (1659) were chosen. The form *manager* was used only once – in 1991 – while the first occurrence of *menedžer* is registered in 1994. Nevertheless, *menedžer* has by far exceeded the use of *manager*, reflecting perhaps the extent to which the introduction of a new economic system after 1990 has affected Slovene. The

situation with *brand*, on the other hand, is an example of a prestigious borrowing, with the original spelling prevailing.⁹ Two other words *leasing* (8955) vs. *lizing* (7292) and *design* (10096) vs. *dizajn* (9430) are typical examples of the vacillation between original and adapted spelling within the period covered by Gigafida, even though the current situation would most likely display a tendency toward Slovenicized forms because of the greater familiarity with the concept and role they play in our daily lives.

4.2.3 COMPUTER TERMINOLOGY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

The comparison of the three co-existing forms *e-mail* (21294), *mail* (27426) and *mejl* (584) shows the prevalence of *mail* as a simpler and more economical form than *e-mail*, but nevertheless not entirely nativized. *Software* (3438), on the other hand, predominantly retains its original form. Contrary to most other words in all categories which may be inflected even when spelled in their original forms (e.g. *establishmenta*; in netspeak even in some strange, unnaturally sounding cases such as *da vas update-am*), *software* is used only in the uninflected version. This is not the case with *softver* (1056) which, however, occurs much more rarely.

An interesting case is *facebook* (22037), which is predominantly spelled in the English fashion (probably also because it is a brand name) as opposed to *fejsbuk* (145), while the difference between *tweet* and *tvit* is considerably smaller (91 vs. 55) and, I assume, by now strongly in favor of the Slovenicized form (the reason being both the graphemic-phonemic discrepancy of the vowel which lends itself naturally to the pronunciation of *i* in Slovene and the ease with which it forms new words such as *tvitati*, *tviteraš* etc.). The less formal spelling *fejsbuk*, on the other hand, is more common on the internet than in other genres.

4.2.4 SPORTS

The ratio of English to nativized spelling in the case of relatively new sports is consistently in favor of the former. The reason appears to be the novelty of the disciplines¹⁰, an extreme case being certain mixed martial arts techniques such as *grappling* and *teep*, which have no Slovenicized forms at all. The following terms were chosen for illustration purposes: *kickboxing* (355) vs. *kikboksing* (47), *squash* (913) vs. *skvoš* (404), *bowling* (2800) vs. *bovling* (1553).

9 For a detailed discussion of *brand* and related forms see Šabec (2014).

10 *Curling*, for instance, by far exceeds the terms *kerling* or *krling*. It is also the term used in the name of the official Slovene Curling Association (*Curling zveza Slovenije*).

4.2.5 SLANG

Slovene slang is heavily influenced by English and as such an ideal variety to explore from an orthographic perspective. Gigafida finds it mostly on the internet, where its users, in the interest of speed and efficiency, tend to compress their communication, using abbreviations, acronyms, combinations of letters and figures and the like. At the same time they are very innovative and creative, playing with words. A more detailed analysis of this type of non-standard and very informal discourse would exceed the scope of this article¹¹, which is why I have limited myself to the following words: *friend* (867) vs. *frend* (1405), *sorry* (1571) vs. *sorči* (98), and *cool* (4886), which may be spelled as *kul* (9239 – the number of recorded occurrences rising from 1 in 1992 to 3038 in 2010), *qul* (12) and even *ql* (952).

In addition, I checked the frequency of occurrence of the interjection *oops* (107) vs. *ups* (2265), featuring occasionally as *uups* (10). The reason for choosing this little word is connected to identity. Interjections/exclamations are very spontaneous expressions, more often than not uttered almost subconsciously. As such, they may be very revealing about our identity. The fact that the English *oops* has been adopted so whole-heartedly especially by the young and then further adapted to *ups* (largely displacing its Slovene equivalents (*o)joj*, *ojej*) strikes me, if nothing else, as somewhat intriguing and deserving of further attention.

5 INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Random examples taken from media and from Gigafida clearly show how very strong the English influence on Slovene has been in recent decades and how it is still growing. The speed with which English words are being imported into Slovene more or less indiscriminately can no doubt be at least partly attributed to the kind of world we currently live in – from the pressure to conform to globalizing trends and to “Americanize” our way of life, to the feeling that we need to be au courant all the time, meeting all sorts of deadlines with no chance to pause and reflect, let alone on the way we use our language. The contact of Slovene with English has thus gone beyond the casual to the more intense Stage 3 (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), involving the impact of English on basic and non-basic vocabulary as well as moderate structural borrowing. This is true of various types of discourse from media language to business and scientific terminology, but particularly of informal registers typical of internet language. The unconventional,

11 For a more thorough discussion of Sloglish (mixture of Slovene+English) see Šabec (2009).

often sensationalist spelling and punctuation, while still largely limited to net-speak is nevertheless spreading to other areas such as advertising in order to grab consumers' attention more effectively (e.g. Gorenje: *Simplicity collection. It's so me!*). English-like spelling is also frequently used in the names of companies, music bands, artistic names of performers (e.g. *City Center, Credit Express, trgovina Chemo kotiček; Alya, Big Foot Mama, 6 pack Čukur, Kingston*) and even in the names given to newborn babies such as *Liam* and *Vanessa* (the latter reported in Sicherl 2015, 273-274). We are obviously dealing with a highly dynamic process that might lead to the acceptance of certain features that once would have been completely unacceptable.

The sheer quantity of such examples speaks of the popularity/prestige attributed to English. Another observation supporting this claim is a recent trend to reverse the spelling of certain words that had already been completely Slovenicized back into English (e.g. *jeans, jazz, gin, show* rather than *džins, džez, džin, šov*¹²). This may be because speakers, especially younger ones, are showing off their command of English, their preference for it or both. By choosing English (not only in borrowings, but also in their blogs, nicknames, etc.) they may be simply trying to reach a wider audience, or alternatively signal that they feel part of a global rather than local community. This again touches upon the very complex and often fluid issue of personal, social and cultural identity.

In either case, the issue is not a purely linguistic one but is related primarily to the social/pragmatic attitudes toward borrowing from English. Our concern for Slovene and the frequently expressed overt resistance against excessive borrowing does not always match our practice, which often shows a degree of tacit consent to English infiltration. It is difficult to predict what the long-term effect of this tension between the prescribed norm and the actual causal use will be on Slovene orthography. If we could see the spelling of a word such as *jeans* in a few decades' time, we might have a better idea about it; however, as it is, we can only make an informed guess. The trend of anglicization might continue and, to some extent, spread from informal to formal discourse, while on the other hand it might diminish or, in some cases, even disappear with time, which would correspond with Thomason and Kaufman's claim that contact-induced change cannot be predicted from the prestige that the source language enjoys among target language speakers. In either case, Slovene orthography, which is currently very heavily influenced by English, remains a challenging subject of investigation and calls for further, more comprehensive research based on a larger data sample.

12 The number of occurrences for *jeans* vs. *džins* is 4073 vs. 3164 respectively, for *jazz* vs. *džez* 30271 vs. 2959 respectively.

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