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## **USE OF ANGLICISMS, CODE-SWITCHING AND GRAMMAR MISTAKES IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE OF THE FIRST GENERATION OF SERBIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract:** The paper presents a part of a broader research related to the discourse analysis of the interviews conducted on the first generation of Serbian immigrants in Canada as a part of the CEACS's Canadian Diaspora Project (2008). Based on their attitudes toward other cultures and the characteristics of Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), the interviewees were positioned in one of the phases of the Model prior to discourse analysis. The in-depth discourse analysis was performed with the focus on the use of Anglicisms, code-switching and, the most striking, grammar mistakes the participants made during their interviews. The analysis of these cases aimed to find a correlation between the DMIS phase a participant was in and the use of Anglicisms, grammar mistakes and frequency of code-switching. Firstly, all the examples found in the 23 interviews were classified, and then the analysis strived to find a relation between the target categories and the characteristics of the phases/stages, especially between the ethnocentric and ethnorelative stages of Bennett's Model.

**Key words:** Anglicisms, code-switching, grammar mistakes, interviews, discourse analysis, Serbian immigrants, Canada, intercultural sensitivity, Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)

### **1. Introduction**

This research aims to find a link between the use of Anglicisms, code-switching and grammar mistakes in the discourse of the first generation of Serbian immigrants in Canada and the level of intercultural sensitivity of interviewees reflected in their position in one of the phases and stages of Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Since this is a segment of a much broader research, the 23 participants have already been positioned in one of six phases of the Model based on their subjective attitudes (See Table 1) prior to this discourse analysis. Therefore, an in-depth discourse analysis was performed on the interviews, and it

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<sup>1</sup> 23 interviews that were analyzed in this paper were conducted in the project „Central Europe in Canada: CEACS Diaspora Project“. I would like to thank the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS) and the Diaspora Project, headed by professor Vesna Lopičić, for making their useful materials available to me and other researchers.



focused on the use of Anglicisms, code switching and the most striking grammar mistakes. The interviews were firstly transcribed into written text, and then the occurrences of target categories were extracted and classified accordingly. Another classification presented these examples by interviewee and their position in DMIS in order to determine the number of occurrences by phase and stage of DMIS. After that, the analysis tried to determine how was all this related to the level of intercultural sensitivity of participants, that is, does the worldview have an effect on one's ability to restrain oneself from mixing different languages and/or making mistakes, i.e. to stay within the same cultural framework.

## **2. Intercultural Sensitivity and Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)**

Milton Bennett tried to explain how people or groups tend to think and feel about cultural difference. In order to do that, he created the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) to explain people's reactions to not only cultural difference but also to difference in general □ who we are and where we are in relation to other cultures. This model is valuable because it shows a possibility of progression or regression of a person, including strategies for helping that person move from one stage to another. Some people may stop at one stage and not progress any further; others may occasionally move backwards, depending on the change of their worldviews and attitudes. In this sense, intercultural sensitivity is directly related to people's flexibility in accepting different people and different cultures and how people react to difference in general. In short, intercultural sensitivity is the reflection of people's openness to other cultures and their ability to deal with things and customs that are not familiar to them. For example, what is their reaction to people of some other race, skin color, religion, etc. Therefore, as an attempt to show nuances in an individual's journey and growth from the denial of cultural difference to full integration, Bennett and his associates created and developed DMIS.

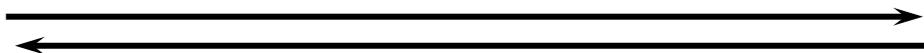
DMIS is based on years of direct observation and research. DMIS provides a theoretical framework for understanding how people experience and react to cultural difference. Six phases of different perspectives describe how people see, think about, and interpret events happening around them from the perspective of intercultural difference. Since DMIS indicates what a person sees and thinks, it also suggests what people do not see or think about. DMIS, therefore, highlights how a person's cultural patterns can both guide and limit their experience of cultural difference. This guiding and limiting aspect is why DMIS is so relevant to, for example, how people work together in the workplace. Working with people involves communicating with them individually or in teams or groups. DMIS theory says that intercultural sensitivity and cultural differences represent a potential obstacle or benefit in developing relationships and communicating effectively with other people (Bennett, 1998; Bennett and Bennett, 2001; Hammer *et al.*, 2003; Bennett and Castiglioni, 2004; Bennett, 2004).

The key word in defining one’s position in one of the stages of the Model is the viewpoint or worldview. Cultural knowledge, for example, is an important factor in trying to be more culturally sensitive. However, if that knowledge is not properly integrated into someone’s point of view that would make a person aware of cultural differences and able to accept the differences as valid and important, that knowledge becomes useless and that person remains in some of the ethnocentric stages, unable to progress towards the ethnorelative stages. Our viewpoint is the combination of our knowledge and our beliefs and values and the ability to process and accept or deny new information and new knowledge. That is why the development of intercultural sensitivity, and in that way the advancement towards the ethnorelative stages, is seen as a process □ we cannot become more sensitive overnight. This process requires time in order to experience the difference in question, deal with that difference, and expand our viewpoint in order to be able to positively deal with that difference and acknowledge it as legitimate and equally important. The more people expand their viewpoint, the more culturally sensitive they might be.

Ethnocentric worldview is present in people who are not comfortable when experiencing or dealing with difference □ they try to deny it, form some kind of defense against it, or try to avoid it by minimizing its importance. In this worldview, people experience and evaluate other cultures through the eyes of their own culture, and their own culture is usually considered to be more developed and more sophisticated than the other culture(s) in question. Ethnorelative worldview starts to take its shape when people become able to acknowledge other cultures as equal and as equally developed and sophisticated as their own. It is important to say that people do not have to agree with the values and beliefs found in other cultures – they have to accept them as legitimate and as equally valuable to values and beliefs from their own culture.

The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is divided into the ethnocentric stages □ Denial, Defense/Reversal and Minimization, where people see their culture as central to reality, and ethnorelative stages □ Acceptance, Adaptation and Integration, where people see their culture as one of many equally valid worldviews (see illustration below).

<b>Denial</b>	<b>Defense/ Reversal</b>	<b>Minimization</b>	<b>Acceptance</b>	<b>Adaptation</b>	<b>Integration</b>
Ethnocentric			Ethnorelative		



Ethnocentric may be defined as using one’s own set of standards and customs to judge all people, often unconsciously – one’s own culture is experienced as central to reality in some way. On the other hand, ethnorelative is a word coined to express the opposite of ethnocentric; it refers to a person who is comfortable with many standards and customs and who can adapt his/her behavior and judgments to many

interpersonal settings □ one's own culture is experienced in the context of other cultures. The ethnorelative stages are characterized by a positive mindset about cultural difference □ people in these stages are able to at least acknowledge and accept differences between cultures as being equally legitimate and valuable and that there are no 'better' and 'worse' cultures and customs, for example (Bennett, 1998; Bennett and Bennett, 2001; Hammer *et al.*, 2003; Bennett and Castiglioni, 2004; Bennett, 2004).

**Table 1. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS**

Denial	Defense/ reversal	Minimization	Acceptance	Adaptation	Integration
7 (30.43%)	3 (13.04%)	2 (8.70%)	4 (17.39%)	3 (13.04%)	4 (17.39%)
<b>Ethnocentric stages</b>			<b>Ethnorelative stages</b>		
12 (52.17%)			11 (47.83%)		

### 3. Participants, Corpus and Methodology

The participants in this research are the members of the first generation of Serbian immigrants in Canada. It may be important to say that they are from different waves of migration (Tomović, 2002) and they came for various reasons to Canada and in different periods. There are 23 participants, 16 female (69.57%), 7 male (30.43%), and their average age is 45. Most of the interviewees are in their forties and fifties, but there are also the ones in their twenties and thirties, and a few in their sixties. That means that representatives of all relevant age groups are present in the research. The occupation of participants also varies and they come from all spheres of life □ from housewives and watchmakers, to university professors and successful businessmen.

Name	Phase	Age on arrival	No. of years in Canada	Schooling in Canada (Yes/No)	Occupation (at the time of the interview)
Lidija B.	Denial	6	39	Yes	Logistics coordinator
S. S. (31)	Denial	37	5	No	Rental agent
Ljiljana Đ.	Denial	14	35	Yes	Housewife
V. D. (39)	Denial	35	5	No	Salesperson in a bookstore
Gordana M.	Denial	33	19	Yes	Professor
Vlado M.	Denial	56	11	No	Upholsterer
Marijana T.	Denial	28	7	No	CSR
Bianca L. Q.	Reversal	18	37	Yes	University lecturer
Zoran D.	Defense	26	19	Yes	Electrician
Danka M.	Defense	46	11	No	Housewife
Petar N.	Minimization	21	15	No	Watchmaker
Tamara A.	Minimization	29	6	No	Librarian

Božidar N.	Acceptance	22	46	No	Construction company owner
Aleksandra S.	Acceptance	28	13	No	Housewife
Svjetlana R.	Acceptance	28	13	No	Mechanical designer
Nebojša M.	Acceptance	32	13	No	Journalist
Dušan Đ.	Adaptation	23	24	No	Mechanical engineer
Svetlana Iv.	Adaptation	30	32	No	Babysitter
V. J. (45)	Adaptation	31	13	No	Payroll and benefit team
Svetlana N.	Integration	20	38	No	Housewife
Žarko M.	Integration	17	11	Yes	Interior designer
Ivana S.	Integration	19	25	No	Buyer
Ksenija S.	Integration	3	14	Yes	Salesperson at Serbica Books

The corpus of this study consists of 23 interviews. The interviews were conducted in July 2008 in Toronto, Canada as a part of a cross-cultural project called the „Diaspora Project“, the part called Oral histories, which included 8 countries. This international project was conducted by CEACS (Central European Association for Canadian Studies) and the head of the project was Vesna Lopičić, a full-time professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, whereas the interviewer was Milena Kostić, a teaching assistant at the same faculty. The transcribed versions of the interviews were used in this research, about 60 pages of text, more than 32,500 words. The Diaspora Project ended in 2010 and resulted in two printed Publications. Although 23 interviews of Serbian immigrants were conducted, 10 selected ones were printed in the Publication. As a result of a willing choice of the interviewees, only 3 interviews were conducted in English, whereas the remaining 20 were conducted in Serbian.

The main research method is the qualitative content, that is, discourse analysis, whereas quantitative analysis, statistical processing of data, is also used for individual segments of research. The combination of the qualitative and quantitative analysis is used because of the validity of the results and in order to gain the complete picture. The combination of these two methods gives more complete results, and the conclusions could easily be checked and potential new research on the same corpus should give the same or similar results, having in mind that the corpus itself is not prone to changes. It should also be mentioned that other researchers, such as De Fina (1995) and Schiffirin (2002) also used the quantitative analysis as a support to the qualitative research.

After the interviews were conducted, they were firstly transcribed and translated and then analyzed. Firstly, the attitudes of the interviewees were analyzed in terms of Milton Bennett's DMIS and the participants were positioned in one of 6 phases of the Model. After that, the discourse analysis was performed, and it focused on the use of Anglicisms, code-switching and the most striking grammar mistakes. Finally, the examples found were analyzed in the terms of intercultural sensitivity, that is, DMIS. However, since the differences between the phases of this Model are very small, the analysis focused on the characteristics of people in the ethnocentric stages and ethnorelative stages, since they represent two almost opposing worldviews.

#### 4. Results, Analysis and Discussion

Since the 10 interviews for the Publication were carefully selected and the focus was on the quality of discourse, there are only a few cases of 'code-switching' and linguistic mistakes. However, the unpublished interviews offer much more examples that will mostly be presented in this research. On the other hand, the quality of discourse in each interview is on a very high level since all the immigrants are native speakers of Serbian. Even Ksenija S. who came to Canada at the age of 3 and Lidija B. who came at 6 spoke very decent Serbian. That is why it would be interesting to do a more profound and detailed linguistic analysis with the members of the second generation of immigrants to see how they speak Serbian, or their Serbian sound more like „Serblish“ as Tamara A., one of the interviewees, called the mixture of Serbian and English usually spoken among immigrants.

This analysis focused on code-switching, use of Anglicisms and the most striking grammar mistakes. It is important to repeat that only three interviews were conducted in English, and the only Serbian word mentioned in all three interviews was 'slava' which is a word that cannot be translated into English and which refers to the celebration of the patron saint. Therefore, this word was not taken into consideration in this analysis.

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Translation or explanation</b>
Lidija B. (Denial)	...to oni zovu <b>small talk</b> ...	...they call it <b>small talk</b> ...
	...nisam sigurna da bih htela da moja deca rastu u ovoj <b>melting pot</b> .	...I am not sure I would like for my children to grow up in this <b>melting pot</b> .
S. S. (31) (Denial)	Ja sam sada postala <b>landed immigrant</b> ...	I have now become a <b>landed immigrant</b> ...
Ljiljana Đ. (Denial)	...a posle sam <b>išla za travel agenciju</b> ...	...and then I studied (to work in) a <b>travel agency</b> ...  Also a grammar mistake, wrong word. The form 'išla' is correct, but cannot be used in this context.
	...idemo od kuće do kuće gde se prave <b>parties</b> ...	...we go from house to house where they throw <b>parties</b> ...
	...u vezi <b>biznisa</b> ...	...related to <b>business</b> ...
	...nisam zadovoljna u vezi <b>medical care</b> .	...I am not satisfied with the <b>medical care</b> .
	Problem je i sa <b>public schools</b> ...	The problem is also with the <b>public schools</b> ...
...i zavisi od <b>individuale</b> .	...and it depends from the <b>individual</b> .  Also a grammar mistake, it should be <b>individue</b> in Serbian.	

V. D. (39) (Denial)	...a najstariji ima 14 godina i kreće u <b>high school</b> .	...the oldest one is 14 and will start his <b>high school</b> .
Gordana M. (Denial)	...ali posle sam <b>realizovala</b> kada sam pročitala sva ona pisma pisalo je <b>Mister</b> jer su mislili Gordana je Gordan.	...but I <b>realized</b> later when I read all those letters, it said <b>Mister</b> because they thought Gordana is Gordan.
	...i gledali su plus da li imate <b>Canadian experience</b> .	...and they also asked for the <b>Canadian experience</b> .
	Što se jezika tiče, ja sam bila <b>fluent</b> .	Regarding the language, I was <b>fluent</b> .
	...nego sam bila baš u <b>familiji</b> da naučim engleski <b>proper</b> .	...I was in a <b>family</b> to learn <b>English properly (or proper English)</b> .
	...imam tetke i <b>sestre od tetaka</b> ...	Grammar mistake. It should be <b>sestre od tetki</b> in Serbian.
Vlado M. (Denial)	...on mora da plaća jako, jako, jako veliki <b>interest</b> .	...he must pay a very, very, very large interest.
	...ako slučajno imaš neki <b>accident</b> ...	...if you have an accident...
Zoran D. (Defence)	Imao sam možda neke <b>preference</b> u drugim zapadnim zemljama...	I might have had some <b>preferences</b> in other western countries...
	Srbo-Kanađanin, što bi oni rekli. <b>Serbian-Canadian, yes</b> .	Serbian-Canadian, as they would say. <b>Serbian-Canadian, yes</b> .
	Uglavnom <b>sretate</b> ljude...	Grammar mistake. It should be <b>srećete</b> in Serbian.
	To su više <b>biznis</b> kontakti...	These are more <b>business</b> contacts...
	Srbija je kao neka prva ljubav <b>koja nikada se ne može da zaboravi</b> ...	Grammar mistake, word order. It should be <b>koja nikada ne može da se zaboravi</b> .
Danka M. (Defence)	...a imam i jednu prijateljicu koja je tu u <b>svakom vremenu</b> da dođe...	Grammar mistake. It should be <b>u svako vreme</b> or <b>u svako doba</b> in Serbian.
	...od oktobra počnu pripreme za <b>krismos (Christmas)</b> ...	...preparations for <b>Christmas</b> start in October...  The pronunciation is also wrong /'krismos/ instead of /'krismos/s/.
	...bačena na <b>garbage</b> , na đubre...	...thrown on <b>garbage</b> , on garbage...
Petar N. (Minimization)	...ušao sam u zemlju samo dan pre isticanja moje <b>landing</b> vize.	...I entered the country just a day before my <b>landing visa</b> was to expire.
Tamara A. (Minimization)	...bila sam <b>indiferentna</b> .	...I was <b>indifferent</b> .



Aleksandra S. (Acceptance)	Ja sam učila engleski tako što sam proučavala <b>flajerse</b> .	I learned English by analyzing <b>flyers</b> .  Also, a grammar mistake in Serbian, wrong plural form, because it should be <b>flajere</b> .
	...recimo nisam mogla da znam šta je <b>double match</b> i slično.	...for example, I couldn't have known what <b>double match</b> is and similar things.
	...u svakom momentu može da nazove <b>immigration officer</b> i da pita za dozvolu da vam da <b>library card</b> .	...she can call an <b>immigration officer</b> at any moment and ask for a permission to issue you a <b>library card</b> .
Svjetlana R. (Acceptance)	...jer smo svi došli kao <b>landed immigrants</b> ...	...because we all came here as <b>landed immigrants</b> ...
	...dogovorimo se na <b>bajkanje</b> , na <b>hajk</b> ,...	...we arrange to go biking, hiking,...
	Našla sam taj <b>fol</b> i bilo mi je dobro.	I came up with that <b>foul</b> and it was fine for me.
Nebojša M. (Acceptance)	...kao na primer <b>China Town</b> ...	... <b>China Town</b> for example...
Dušan Đ. (Adaptation)	... <b>prvih</b> dve godine sam bio...	Grammar mistake, it should be <b>prve</b> dve godine...
	...ili <b>sami mi</b> se družimo...	Grammar mistake, word order, it should be <b>mi sami</b> .
Svetlana Iv. (Adaptation)	...trebalo mi je oko 6 meseci da dobijem <b>landing</b> vizu.	...i needed about 6 months to get a <b>landing visa</b> .
V. J. (45) (Adaptation)	...na tom nekom <b>levelu</b> ...	...on such a <b>level</b> ...
Ivana S. (Integration)	...u kontaktu sa svojom <b>community</b> ...	...I am in touch with my community...
Ksenija S. (Integration)	Otišla sam pravo u <b>kindergarten</b> ...	I went straight into the <b>kindergarten</b> ...

Table 3. Results. Examples by phase/stage of DMIS

Phase of DMIS	No. of examples	Per cent (%)
Denial	17	40.48
Defense/Reversal	8	19.04
Minimization	2	4.76
<b>Ethnocentric stages</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>64.29</b>
Acceptance	7	16.67
Adaptation	4	9.52
Integration	2	4.76
<b>Ethnorelative stages</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>35.71</b>
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>

The most striking thing that can be seen from Table 1 and 2 is that the most examples are taken from the interviewees in the ethnocentric stages, especially Denial. It is clear that their intercultural awareness is at a low level, because they are not able to perceive cultural differences and be careful about code-switching and the use of Anglicisms. It is also clear that English plays a significant role in their lives, but the ability to 'control' oneself apparently comes with the higher phases of DMIS. On the other hand, people in the ethnorelative stages are able to switch between cultures and are able to at least control their state of mind and avoid code-switching and the excessive use of Anglicisms. However, in order to analyze the data from Table 1 in the most efficient manner, the examples are grouped into four categories – code-switching, Anglicisms, Anglicisms and grammar mistakes, and grammar mistakes.

<b>Type</b>	<b>Example</b>
<b>Code-switching</b>	'small talk', 'melting pot', 'landed immigrant', 'parties', 'medical care', 'public schools', 'high school', 'Mister', 'Canadian experience', 'fluent', 'proper', 'interest', 'accident', 'Serbian-Canadian, yes', 'garbage', 'landing visa', 'double match', 'immigration officer', 'library card', 'landed immigrants', 'China Town', 'landing visa', 'community', 'kindergarten'.
<b>Anglicisms</b>	'u vezi biznisa', 'realizovala', 'u familiji', 'preference', 'biznis kontakti', 'krismos', 'indiferentna', 'bajkanje', 'hajk', 'fol', 'levelu'.
<b>Anglicisms and grammar mistakes</b>	'posle sam išla za travel agenciju', 'zavisi od individuale', 'flajerse'.
<b>Grammar mistakes</b>	'sestre od tetaka', 'uglavnom sretate ljude', 'koja nikada se ne može da zaboravi', 'u svakom vremenu', 'prvih dve godine', 'sami mi'.

It can be seen that a large number of code-switching examples are terms related to (im)migration or technical terms, and there are also 'everyday' terms. It is understandable why the interviewees used English immigration-related terms such as 'melting pot', 'landed immigrant', 'landing visa', or 'immigration officer', because it is very difficult to find proper Serbian translations of these terms, mostly because migration procedures are different in Serbia than in Canada. Moreover, these are the terms the interviewees probably heard for the first time either prior to going to Canada or upon the arrival in Canada, so they acquired them in their original form, without trying to find Serbian equivalents (for example, 'stapanje razlika', 'privremeni državljanin', 'privremena viza', or 'službenik iz Imigracionog

odeljenja'). On the other hand, all of the other terms are commonly used in Serbian and can be translated into Serbian, except for 'double match' which has different meanings in different contexts, and it is a bit difficult to think of a possible translation quickly.

Technical terms, such as 'medical care' (zdravstvena zaštita), 'Canadian experience' (radno iskustvo u Kanadi), 'fluent' (tečno govoriti jezik), 'interest' (kamata), 'accident' (nesreća), and 'library card' (članska karta biblioteke), are used in Serbia on daily basis in everyday communication, so the code-switching in these cases might be because the interviewees found it easier or quicker to remember the English 'versions' of these terms, maybe they use the more often in English discourse. The same situation is with the rest of code-switching examples, because they are definitely used on daily basis in Serbian discourse. However, it may be interesting to mention the case of Danka M. in which she firstly used the English word 'garbage' and then remembered the Serbian equivalent 'đubre' and 'corrected' herself. That fact contributes to the above-mentioned claim that people who use code-switching in discourse find it easier to remember the English 'versions' of some terms, and then the Serbian 'versions'.

There are also some Anglicisms mentioned in the interviews, some of which can also be found in Serbian and some of which are 'custom-made' by the interviewees or might be a part of the jargon of their social group. For example, 'biznis' (business) is an Anglicism that can also be found in Serbian, but not in these constructions and in these contexts. The Serbian word more commonly used in these contexts instead of 'biznis' is 'posao', so it would be 'u vezi posla' or 'vezano za posao' and 'poslovni kontakti' rather than 'biznis kontakti'. Similarly, the Anglicism 'u familiji' is used in the false pair of the English word 'family' which is translated in Serbian as 'porodica' in the context in which the interviewee used this word.

The next group of Anglicisms, 'realizovala' (realized-shvatila), 'preference' (preferences-dati prednost nečemu), 'indiferentna' (indifferent-bitu ravnodušan), and 'level' (level-nivo), is not so common in Serbian and may sound a bit odd, but these terms are present in the Serbian language and are used in some occasions, so people usually understand them. The final group of examples in this category is the group of custom-made Anglicisms. They are probably jargon-related and common to certain social groups, so it may be very interesting to see how people turn English words into 'Serbian' words on their own. The first example 'krismos' is put in this group because of the irregular pronunciation of what is supposed to be 'Christmas' (Božić). The other examples refer to sports □ 'bajkanje' and 'hajk' from 'biking' and 'hiking,' while the last example 'fol' is very difficult to explain □ the English translation is probably 'foul' and the intended meaning in Serbian is 'fora' in the sense that the interviewee discovered the right outfit combination for the cold days in Canada.

The third group of examples lists Anglicisms and grammar mistakes. There are only three examples in this group, but they are very complex. The first example 'posle sam išla za travel agenciju' is supposed to describe how the interviewee continued her schooling in the way that she can work in a travel agency. The grammatical issue is with the verb 'išla' because the literal meaning is 'went' ('went for a travel agency')

and it should be 'školovala' ('školovala za rad u travel agenciji'). Moreover, the Anglicism 'travel' in 'u travel agenciji' should be changed into 'turističkoj agenciji' so this part has a proper form and meaning in Serbian. In the second example 'zavisi od individuale', the problem is in turning the English word 'individual' into an Anglicism □ the correct form in Serbian would be 'individue' or 'pojedince'. The final example from this group 'flajerse' is incorrect because the correct plural form of 'flajer' (English 'flyer') should be 'flajere' (English 'flyers'), so the interviewee made the plural based on the English word and not on the Serbian pair.

The last group is reserved for the most striking grammar mistakes. It should be said that similar mistakes happen even to people who spend their entire life in Serbia, so these mistakes were taken for illustrative purposes and not to criticize the interviewees for making them. However, there might have been more of these mistakes if the interviewees had not been aware that their interviews were being recorded. The grammatically correct version of 'sestre od tetaka' is 'sestre od tetki', the correct version of 'uglavnom sretate ljude' is 'uglavnom srećete ljude', the correct version of 'koja nikada se ne može da zaboravi' is 'koja nikada ne može da se zaboravi', 'u svakom vremenu' is 'u svako doba', 'prvih dve godine' is 'prve dve godine', and finally, the correct version of 'sami mi' is 'mi sami.'

## 5. Conclusion

Based on the analyzed interviews, it can be concluded that there are many language-related indicators that can be used to justify the placement of the participants in one of the stages of DMIS as well as in making a difference between the people in the ethnocentric and ethnorelative stages. For example, people who speak only Serbian at work or with friends are more likely to be socially isolated from people who are different from them, so they are less likely to develop their intercultural skills, because they lack other intercultural contacts. This means that, for example, a mixed 'choice' of friends positively contributes to one's intercultural sensitivity and indicates the placement in the ethnorelative stages. Similarly, the ability to 'control' one's language apparently comes with the higher stages of DMIS—people in the ethnorelative stages are able to fully switch between cultures and are able to at least control their state of mind and avoid code-switching and the excessive use of Anglicisms.

It is very interesting that these results and occurrences of target categories by stages of DMIS are in accordance with interviewees' position in one of the phases of DMIS, that is, their level of intercultural sensitivity—we may even say intercultural awareness. Their attitudes determined their position in DMIS, whereas their language confirmed that position since it showed their lack of ability to realize that they should be focused on one cultural framework and act in accordance with the norms and standards that are valid in that framework. If you willingly decide to speak in Serbian, you should act in accordance with that choice. That is why people in the ethnocentric stages, especially in the lowest phase called Denial,

dominate in the number of examples □ their cultural awareness is at a low(est) level. Therefore, almost two thirds of examples were found in the interviews of people in the ethnocentric stages.

Finally, it can be concluded that people in the ethnocentric stages are more likely to use Anglicisms and code-switching than people in the ethorelative stages. This happens because they are not able to ‘control’ themselves and adapt to cultural situations due to their lower level of intercultural sensitivity. This means that people in the ethnorelative stages, especially people in Adaptation and Integration, are able to switch between cultures and change their mindset to respond to various intercultural situations and frameworks since their sensitivity is at the highest level. Since these results proved to be in accordance with DMIS, it would be very interesting to test the quality of discourse and model on the second generation of Serbian immigrants in Canada or some other English-speaking diaspora.

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## **UPOTREBA ANGLICIZAMA, PREBACIVANJE KODA I GRAMATIČKE GREŠKE U GOVORNOM DISKURSU PRVE GENERACIJE SRPSKIH IMIGRANATA U KANADI**

### Rezime

U ovom radu je predstavljen deo šireg istraživanja vezan za analizu diskursa u formi intervjua koji su rađeni sa predstavnicima prve generacije srpskih imigranata u Kanadi u okviru projekta Canadian Diaspora (2008) koji je sproveo CEACS. Na osnovu njihovih stavova o drugim kulturama i karakteristikama Razvojnog modela interkulture osetljivosti koji je kreirao Milton Benet, ispitanici su pre analize diskursa svrstani u jednu od faza ovog Modela. Potom je urađena detaljna analiza diskursa sa fokusom na upotrebi anglicizama, prebacivanju koda i nalaženju (najupečatljivijih) gramatičkih grešaka koje su ispitanici načinili u toku intervjua. Analiza uočenih primera je imala za cilj da pronade vezu između pozicije ispitanika u okviru Modela i upotrebe anglicizama, pravljenja gramatičkih grešaka i učestalosti prebacivanja koda. Primeri pronađeni u 23 analizirana intervjua prvo su klasifikovani, a potom je analiza težila da pronade vezu između ciljnih kategorija i karakteristika pojedinačnih faza, a naročito između grupa etnocentričnih i etnorelativnih faza Modela koji je kreirao Milton Benet.

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