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ENGLISH LEXICAL LOANS IN THE POLISH NAMES OF PROFESSIONS

The aim of the present study, set in the Polish-English context, is to discuss the lexical influence of English upon the Polish names of professions. The analysis is based on the official list of professions in Polish, compiled by the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. The loans are classified into different groups, with various criteria taken into account: they are classified (1) according to the time of their first occurrence in Polish (the criterion here is based on their existence or non-existence in two dictionaries, one of general Polish, i.e. *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, and one of English borrowings in Polish, i.e. *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie*); (2) according to the place in which a given borrowing is used (in the very name of the profession or in its peripheral parts) and (3) according to the function of a given borrowing (functioning as the only name of the profession or as an additional name, parallel to the Polish one). Additionally, the roles of the English borrowings in the names of professions are analyzed.

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the world of broadly understood work is in constant change nowadays: old professions disappear, new are being created, old professions are named in a new way, new forms of work are introduced (e.g. working at home with the use of the Internet), etc. It is only natural to expect that in the world of constant changes in the field of work, the language describing it must also be changing. Additionally, it can be expected that the semantic field connected with work will be under heavy influence of English.

It can be stated that English is in constant contact with Polish nowadays: naturally, the direct contact between Polish and English speakers is very limited (restricted practically to the Poles that have emigrated to the United Kingdom, United States or other English-speaking countries), but the contact may and does happen in Poland through the Internet (Internet message boards, chats, Skype, etc.), the English press and television as well as through the process of teaching

and learning foreign languages. The English-Polish contact is thus evident in present-day Poland (Zabawa 2007: 89).

Naturally, there have appeared publications dealing with the English influence upon the Polish language connected with jobs and professions (cf. e.g. Ociepa 2001). However, the semantic field in question is very dynamic and, as was mentioned at the very beginning, is changing all the time. Thus the constant research in the field is a necessity.

2. The influence of English on the names of professions in Polish: general remarks

New constructions influenced lexically by English (connected with broadly understood work) can be roughly divided into three main groups: referring to new professions (new, i.e. not existing before), e.g. *broker edukacyjny*, referring to old, well-known professions, but only named in a new way, e.g. *kierownik call-center*, and referring to new forms of work, e.g. *telepraca, e-praca*. The present paper concentrates on the lexical influence of English on the first two groups, i.e. constructions referring to professions, be they old or new. In other words, it deals with both the names of completely new professions and the new names of already existing professions (existing under a different name).

It should be added at this point that the influence of English upon the names of professions in Polish is not restricted to the existence of lexical borrowings; apart from them, the classes of semantic loans and loan translations (calques) can also be distinguished (for details on various types of English influence upon Polish, cf. Zabawa 2012a; for examples of lexical and semantic loans in the names of professions, cf. also Bartłomiejczyk 2012, Zabawa 2012b). The paper, however, as is suggested in the title, focuses on lexical borrowings alone.

Lexical loans of English origin were used very frequently in the names of professions at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, cf. the following examples: *sales engineer, sales director, marketing manager, branch manager, merchandiser, product manager, unit manager, project manager, account manager, junior account, senior account executive* (Ociepa 2001). A similar view was expressed by Molencki:

Oddzielnym zagadnieniem jest maniera używania w ogłoszeniach prasowych i w samych firmach angielskiego nazewnictwa stanowisk. W ogłoszeniach redagowanych po polsku aż roi się od terminów takich jak *sales engineer, sales promotor, area sales manager, sales manager, product manager, quality manager, finance manager, district manager, administrative manager, human resources director* czy *specjalista d/s public relations* (wszystkie przykłady zaczerpnąłem z działu ogłoszeń z tylko jednego wydania dodatku Gazeta-Praca do Gazety Wyborczej z 10 lutego 1997), choć w większości wypadków istnieją

od dawna przyjęte dobre polskie odpowiedniki (*dyrektor d/s produkcji, jakości, sprzedaży*). (Molencki 1997: 144-145)

What is more, English words and expressions denoting positions are now commonly used in press advertisements and in companies themselves. The job advertisements, although written and edited in Polish, contain a large number of English terms, such as *sales engineer, sales promotor, area sales manager, sales manager, product manager, quality manager, finance manager, district manager, administrative manager, human resources director* or *specjalista d/s public relations* (all the examples are taken from one single job advertisement section of 'Gazeta Wyborcza' ('Gazeta-Praca'), published on 10th February 1997), although most of such terms have good and accepted Polish counterparts (*dyrektor d/s produkcji, jakości, sprzedaży*). [translation mine – MZ]

It should be stated here, however, that the last sentence is questionable: some of the names of new professions indeed do have good Polish counterparts; it is not certain, however, whether it actually applies to most of them. As for examples, the phrase such as *product manager* can obviously be literally translated as *manager/kierownik ds. produktu*; however, it does not sound very natural in Polish. The word *produkt* is an English semantic borrowing[1] (or the entire phrase can be treated as an English calque), which, albeit frequent in Polish nowadays, is not a very fortunate choice in this context. However, the problem of English semantic borrowings in Polish clearly falls outside the scope of the present paper and will not be discussed in detail (for more examples of semantic borrowings, cf. Zabawa 2012b).

It is very interesting and surprising to note that today English borrowings in the names of profession do not seem as frequent as they used to be around 10-15 years ago. Naturally, they do appear, but they seem less frequent; this is especially the case of the names of professions appearing in job advertisements published in specially designed Internet portals, cf. e.g. the names of professions on such portals as *Gumtree* (http://katowice.gumtree.pl, http://warszawa.gumtree.pl, etc.), *pracuj.pl* (http://www.pracuj.pl) or *Jooble* (http://jooble.com.pl).

Interestingly enough, the English loans in the names of Polish professions were frequently used (e.g. in press advertisements) without any further explanation. As a result, it was not infrequently the case that it was not entirely clear

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[1] The word *produkt* is a semantic borrowing from English, noticed and described, among others, by Chłopicki and Świątek (2000: 269-273). Additionally, it must be noted that the status of the construction *kierownik ds. produktu* is different than *manager ds. produktu*. In the former, the word *produkt* is a semantic borrowing from English; thus the word is used in the extended meaning (in traditional Polish the word *produkt* was used in connection with concrete objects only). The latter, by contrast, is a calque of English *product manager* (which additionally makes use of an English lexical borrowing). It should also be added that the distinction between semantic borrowings and calques is a vague one and the two phenomena overlap each other; consequently, many constructions could be classified simultaneously to both groups.

what was actually meant in a given job advertisement. It would seem that the English constructions were often introduced so as to avoid negative connotations of certain professions. *Akwizytor* is a case in point here. The profession is often associated with low social prestige. As a result, it was frequently replaced by such constructions as e.g. *przedstawiciel handlowy*, which, in turn, was then itself replaced by an English construction *sales representative*. Thus the direction here was frequently from Polish into English[2]. The reverse direction is also documented: *inżynier sprzedaży*, an odd construction in Polish (*inżynier* is traditionally connected in Polish with technical education and professions), is most probably a calque of English *sales engineer*. These, however, are only casual, preliminary observations and, as the paper is based on the official list of professions published by the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, they will not be discussed here in detail since they are clearly outside the scope of the present paper.

3. Research design

The present analysis is based on the official list of professions prepared by the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Pracy i Polityki Społecznej z dnia 27 kwietnia 2010 r. w sprawie klasyfikacji zawodów i specjalności na potrzeby rynku pracy oraz zakresu jej stosowania*, *Dziennik Ustaw z dnia 17 maja 2010 r.*). The list can be found online, at http://www.abc.com.pl/du-akt/-/akt/dz-u-10-82-537 (access: 22 February 2013). The list is hierarchical and is composed of five levels of names of professions, marked with numbers: the fewer-digit number, the more general group of professions. The most general names, i.e. of the most general group of professions, rather than professions themselves, are marked with single-digit numbers (1-9 plus 0). The complete list consists of 10 main groups, 43 large groups, 132 middle-sized groups, 444 small groups and 2360 separate professions. In the present study only the most detailed names are taken into account (marked in the list by six-digit numbers; 2360 entries in total). This is done to avoid possible confusion, as different levels are often marked in the same way, cf. the following example:

03   Żołnierze szeregowi
031   Żołnierze szeregowi
0311   Żołnierze szeregowi
031101 Żołnierz szeregowy

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[2] It seems that also e.g. press advertisements are rich in English borrowings for the same reason: to sound better, more sophisticated, etc. This is fairly understandable from the point of view of marketing: the United States dominates today's culture (films, TV series, music, etc.) and thus many people associate, perhaps subconsciously, English language with good quality (Zabawa 2004).

In the present analysis, only the last name (marked with a six-digit number, as was stated above) will be taken into consideration. All those names taken from the list constitute the corpus, upon which the present study is based. The corpus consists therefore of 2360 names of professions, all of which can be considered official.

4. The analysis of the English borrowings found in the corpus

4.1. Introductory remarks

It can be stated at the beginning that English lexical borrowings are not very frequent in the list of official professions. It may seem natural, as the list, since it has officially been prepared (and is updated every few years) by a member of the Polish government, should provide Polish names, rather than resort to English borrowings. In the list, English lexical borrowings appear in total in the names of 135 professions, which is not a very large number, considering the fact that the list consists of 2360 entries (names of professions). It should also be added that the actual number of loans is smaller than 135, as many of the loans (e.g. *trener, menedżer, marketing*) have been used in more than one profession.

All the borrowings found in the names of the professions on the list can be classified into three main groups, with the time being the criterion: (1) older, (2) newer and (3) the newest. The criterion for distinguishing between older, newer and newest borrowings was purely technical: the constructions included in *Uniwersalny Słownik Języka Polskiego* (USJP 2003) have been classified as (1) an older layer of loans, those not included in USJP, but included in *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* (SZA 2010), as (2) the newer, and those not included in SZA as (3) the newest. Naturally, such a criterion has its disadvantages (a given dictionary may lack a borrowing used already at that time); still, it is objective and relatively precise. When a given construction contains more than one lexical borrowing of English origin, as in *broker informacji (researcher)*, cf. Example [104], the construction is classified as belonging to the 'higher' group: for example, the construction *broker informacji (researcher)* contains the older borrowing (*broker*) and the newer one (*researcher*). It is thus classified as the one belonging to the newer group.

4.2. Older borrowings

The following names of professions contain English borrowings classified as older:

[1] boy hotelowy
[2] clown[3]
[3] trener klasy I
[4] trener klasy II
[5] trener klasy mistrzowskiej
[6] broker reasekuracyjny
[7] broker edukacyjny
[8] broker ubezpieczeniowy
[9] spiker radiowy
[10] prezenter muzyczny (discjockey)
[11] dżokej
[12] stewardesa
[13] steward statku morskiego
[14] pozostali stewardzi
[15] autor tekstów i sloganów reklamowych (copywriter)
[16] robotnik portowy (doker)
[17] lobbysta
[18] menedżer zawartości serwisów internetowych
[19] menedżer dyscypliny sportu
[20] menedżer imprez sportowych
[21] menedżer sportu
[22] menedżer klubu muzycznego
[23] menedżer produktu[4]
[24] hostessa
[25] lider klubu pracy
[26] dealer aktywów finansowych
[27] pozostali dealerzy i maklerzy aktywów finansowych
[28] barman
[29] kierownik hotelu / motelu
[30] kierownik kempingu
[31] kierownik działu reklamy / promocji[5] / public relations
[32] specjalista do spraw public relations

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[3] It may seem strange that the author(s) decided to use the spelling typical for an unassimilated borrowing (*clown*), rather than the assimilated one, already very frequent elsewhere in Polish (*klaun*). It should be noted, however, that the dictionaries of Polish are not unanimous as to the spelling of the discussed word. USJP gives as many as three forms: *klaun, klown, clown*, with *klaun* being the main entry, and *klown* and *klaun* only cross-referencing to the main entry; *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (WSWO 2003) and SZA give three forms as well, but, by contrast, the main entry is *klown* while *clown* and *claun* crossrefer to *klown*.

[4] Some of the names, as was noted above (cf. Footnote 1) are not only lexical borrowings, but they are calques as well. This applies to e.g. *menedżer produktu*, calquing English *product manager*.

[5] *Promocja* is a well-assimilated semantic borrowing in Polish; for more information on the meaning and use of *promocja* in current Polish, cf. Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000), Witalisz (2007), Zabawa (2012).

[33] kierownik supermarketu

[34] specjalista do spraw marketingu i handlu

[35] dyrektor marketingu

[36] kierownik działu marketingu

[37] kierownik przedsiębiorstwa świadczącego usługi z zakresu marketingu i sprzedaży

[38] specjalista marketingu społecznego

[39] etyk biznesu[6]

[40] psycholog biznesu

[41] dyrektor rozwoju biznesu

[42] pozostali kierownicy do spraw obsługi biznesu i zarządzania gdzie indziej niesklasyfikowani

[43] kierownik małego przedsiębiorstwa obsługi biznesu

[44] pozostali pośrednicy usług biznesowych gdzie indziej niesklasyfikowani

[45] negocjator biznesowy

[46] instruktor fitness

[47] pozostali instruktorzy fitness i rekreacji ruchowej

[48] egzaminator on-line

[49] specjalista do spraw factoringu

[50] specjalista do spraw konsultingu

[51] ekspedytor sprzedaży wysyłkowej / internetowej

[52] specjalista do spraw rozwoju stron internetowych, Internetu i Intranetu

[53] analityk ruchu na stronach internetowych

[54] sprzedawca reklam internetowych

[55] ekspedytor sprzedaży wysyłkowej / internetowej

[56] organizator obsługi sprzedaży internetowej

[57] projektant grafiki stron internetowych

[58] menedżer zawartości serwisów internetowych

[59] administrator stron internetowych

[60] pracownik pozycjonowania stron internetowych

[61] sprzedawca reklam internetowych

[62] architekt stron internetowych

[63] projektant aplikacji multimedialnych, animacji i gier komputerowych

[64] pozostali analitycy systemowi i specjaliści do spraw rozwoju aplikacji komputerowych gdzie indziej niesklasyfikowani

[65] pozostali administratorzy systemów komputerowych

[66] inżynier systemów i sieci komputerowych

[67] operator sieci komputerowych

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[6] The construction *etyk biznesu* is a calque of English *business ethics*. At the same time, however, it can be classified as a construction containing an assimilated lexical borrowing from English (*biznes*, from English *business*). The two processes overlap here; it must also be underlined once again that it is not always easy to distinguish between calques on the model of English and the constructions created in Polish with the use of English lexical borrowings.

[68] operator bezprzewodowych sieci komputerowych
[69] operator komputerowych urządzeń peryferyjnych
[70] konserwator systemów komputerowych i sieci
[71] operator sprzętu komputerowego
[72] operator systemów komputerowych
[73] pozostali operatorzy sieci i systemów komputerowych
[74] monter elektronik – sprzęt komputerowy
[75] serwisant sprzętu komputerowego
[76] grafik komputerowy multimediów
[77] inżynier biocybernetyki i inżynierii biomedycznej
[78] specjalista do spraw audytu[7] zabezpieczenia
[79] pracownik obsługi monitoringu
[80] maszynista maszyn offsetowych
[81] monter urządzeń laserowych
[82] motorniczy tramwaju
[83] kierowca trolejbusu
[84] maszynista doku
[85] pracownik przygotowujący posiłki typu fast food
[86] nauczyciel akademicki – sztuki filmowe
[87] administrator produkcji filmowej
[88] asystent reżysera filmowego
[89] producent filmowy
[90] reżyser filmowy
[91] pozostali producenci filmowi, reżyserzy i pokrewni
[92] lektor dialogów filmowych i radiowych
[93] asystent kierownika produkcji filmowej / telewizyjnej
[94] kaskader filmowy
[95] kaskader filmowy koordynator
[96] kierownik planu filmowego
[97] oświetlacz filmowy
[98] pirotechnik filmowy
[99] sekretarz planu filmowego
[100] technik organizacji produkcji filmowej i telewizyjnej
[101] operator urządzeń do obróbki błon i filmów fotograficznych
[102] pozostali operatorzy urządzeń do produkcji materiałów światłoczułych
        i obróbki filmów.

As one can see, the constructions can be subdivided into two different classes, depending on the function of the borrowing in a given construction: (Class 1) the constructions where English borrowings constitute the very name

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[7] The form *audyt* is classified by USJP and SZA as a borrowing from English; *audytor* (also appearing on the list: *audytor ekologiczny, audytor energetyczny*), however, is classified a Latin borrowing.

of the profession (it is thus used in the central part of the name of a given profession, cf. Examples [1-28], and (Class 2) the constructions where English borrowings do not constitute the very name of the profession, but are used only in peripheral parts which serve only as additional modifiers of a central name, cf. Examples [29-102]. As for examples, in [34], the central part of the name (*specjalista*) is not an English borrowing (USJP classifies the word as a borrowing from French); the borrowing is used only in the peripheral part of the name (*marketing*). Most of the constructions in this group, irrespective of the class, make use of well-assimilated loans of English origin, adapted and used in Polish on a regular basis, cf. such borrowings as *trener*, *dżokej* or *stewardesa* (from Class 1) and *marketing*, *biznes* or *film* (from Class 2).

4.3. Newer borrowings

The following is a list of constructions containing newer borrowings:

[103] opiekun marki (brand manager)
[104] broker informacji (researcher)
[105] ekspozytor towarów (merchandiser)
[106] projektant stron internetowych (webmaster)
[107] sztauer-trymer
[108] kierownik centrum obsługi telefonicznej (kierownik call center)
[109] grafik komputerowy DTP[8]
[110] operator DTP
[111] specjalista do spraw kontrolingu
[112] monter samochodowej instalacji gazowej (LPG[9]).

As one can see, the group is not very numerous in comparison with the previous group (cf. Section 4.2). Again, two classes can be distinguished, as in the group of older borrowings: Class 1, Examples [103-107] and Class 2, Examples [108-112]. The fact that the group is relatively small shows clearly that most of the constructions affected by English make use of well-assimilated loans of English origin, adapted and used in Polish on a regular basis, included already in a dictionary of general Polish (USJP).

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[8] This construction can be assigned simultaneously to two groups, as it contains both the older borrowing (*komputerowy*, an adjective created on the basis on the borrowed noun *komputer*) and the newer one (*DTP*, standing for *desktop publishing*, SZA).
[9] *LPG* stands for *Liquefied Petroleum Gas* (SZA).

4.4. Newest borrowings

The last group contains the newest borrowings:

[113] ewaluator[10] programów edukacji
[114] wykładowca na kursach (edukator[11], trener)
[115] specjalista zarządzania ryzykiem (underwriter)
[116] analityk trendów rynkowych (cool hunter[12])
[117] specjalista do spraw kluczowych klientów (key account manager)
[118] promotor marki (trendsetter)
[119] tajemniczy klient (mystery shopper)
[120] kodowacz (koder[13])
[121] fryzjer zwierząt (groomer)
[122] sprzedawca obwoźny z samochodu (vanseller)
[123] tester[14] oprogramowania komputerowego
[124] tester systemów teleinformatycznych
[125] organizator imprez rozrywkowych (organizator eventów)
[126] operator zintegrowanych systemów zarządzania zasobami firmy (ERP[15])
[127] doradca EURES[16]
[128] administrator zintegrowanych systemów zarządzania klasy CRP[17]
[129] administrator zintegrowanych systemów zarządzania klasy ERP[18]

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[10] The base form *ewaluacja* is classified by USJP as a borrowing from French; the form *ewaluator* may be a derivative of the base form. However, it may also have been created in Polish on the basis of English *evaluator*. It should also be added that the word is a novelty in Polish: in Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP), there is only one occurrence of the word before the year 2000 (in 1999); the rest of the occurrences (24) are dated 2000 onwards. What is more, the form is not included in USJP, which also points to the fact that the form is a recent formation.

[11] Cf. Footnote 10. *Edukator* can be seen as a derivative of *edukować*, but it may also be seen as a lexical borrowing from English *educator*.

[12] It is worth noting that *cool hunter* is classified in ODE as informal; in other dictionaries, such as e.g. OALD, the construction in question is not included at all.

[13] The word *koder* has been included both in USJP and SZA, but in the meaning different from the one used in the construction in question; in the dictionaries, the word is defined with reference to a device only (not a human being). The form *koder* can thus also be treated as a semantic, rather than lexical, borrowing from English.

[14] As in the case of *koder* (cf. Footnote 13), *tester* has been included in USJP and SZA, but in a different meaning from the one used on the list.

[15] *ERP* stands for *Enterprise Resource Planning*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enterprise_resource_planning.

[16] *EURES* stands for *European Employment Services*; for more on this, cf. http://ec.europa.eu/eures/.

[17] *CRP* stands for *Capacity Requirements Planning*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capacity_Requirements_Planning.

[18] Cf. Footnote 15.

[130] administrator zintegrowanych systemów zarządzania klasy MRP[19]
[131] operator systemu VTS[20]
[132] spawacz metodą MAG[21]
[133] spawacz metodą MIG[22]
[134] spawacz metodą TIG[23]
[135] operator minilabu fotograficznego.

The group of the newest borrowings is slightly bigger than the one of the newer borrowings, but is much less numerous than the group of the older borrowings. This shows again that most of the borrowings used in the names of professions are in fact relatively old and well-assimilated in Polish. The new borrowings, by contrast, are not used very frequently. As in the previous cases, the borrowings can be subdivided into two classes: Class 1, Examples [113-124] and Class 2, Examples [125-135].

4.5. Additional comments

It is interesting to note that the English constructions are used in two different ways (apart from the classification presented above, cf. Class 1 and 2): they appear either as the only name of a given profession (henceforth Type 1), cf. e.g. Examples [1-10] or as an additional description, functioning in a way parallel to Polish, usually given in brackets (henceforth Type 2), cf. e.g. Examples [10, 15-16, 103-106, 114-122].

It should be added at this point that such additional descriptions in brackets are also occasionally provided in Polish. It is, however, not a very frequent phenomenon:

[136] dźwigowy (windziarz)
[137] zmywacz okien (czyściciel szyb)
[138] oczyszczacz kanalizacyjny (kanalarz)
[139] operator suwnic (suwnicowy)
[140] operator sprzętu zdjęciowego (wózkarz[24])
[141] kombajnista (kierowca kombajnu)
[142] specjalista do spraw rodziny (familiolog)

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[19] *MRP* stands for *Manufacturing Resource Planning*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manufacturing_Resource_Planning.

[20] *VTS* stands for *Vessel Traffic Service*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vessel_traffic_service.

[21] *MAG* stands for *Metal Active Gas*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gas_metal_arc_welding.

[22] *MIG* stands for *Metal Inert Gas*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gas_metal_arc_welding.

[23] *TIG* stands for *Tungsten Inert Gas*; for more on this, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/TIG_welding.

[24] It is worth noting that the word *wózkarz* is not listed at all in USJP.

[143] szef kuchni (kuchmistrz)
[144] realizator filmu wideo (wideofilmowiec)
[145] monter instalacji i urządzeń telekomunikacyjnych (telemonter)
[146] pozostali sprzedawcy sklepowi (ekspedienci)
[147] nanotechnolog (inżynier nanostruktur)
[148] konwojent (konduktor) wagonów specjalnych
[149] elektromonter (elektryk) zakładowy.

Such examples indicate that most probably the intention of the compiler(s) of the list was to provide an additional explanation and clarification or to make a given term more specific. In some cases, the names in brackets may also be a different official name of the same profession, as in Examples [139, 142, 144].

The use of the constructions of English origin from the point of view of their being necessary or unnecessary will be discussed in the next, i.e. final, section of the article.

5. Final remarks and conclusions

As was stated before, English lexical loans do not appear very frequently in the official Polish names of professions. Altogether, they were used in 135 constructions (out of 2360); thus, only 5.72% of the official names of Polish professions resort to English borrowings (in any part of the construction, including the peripheral parts, i.e. not the very name).

In the case of the old borrowings, their existence is fully understandable, as they are mostly well assimilated and generally understood, even among the Poles that do not know English at all, cf. such borrowings as e.g. *dżokej, trener, clown, stewardesa* or *marketing*. What is more, they can be described as necessary (for the discussion on the distinction between necessary and unnecessary borrowings, cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 19), as they rarely have native, i.e. Polish, counterparts. Some of them, admittedly, may be less known, cf. e.g. *broker, menedżer* or *on line*; they can, however, be found in the dictionary of general Polish (USJP).

A somewhat different picture appears in the case of the newer and newest loans. Most of the borrowings in those groups belong to Type 2, i.e. they are usually given in brackets and used alongside the Polish name. Naturally, this shows that in these cases the Polish counterparts of the English names do exist. When such loans are analyzed, a conclusion can be made that in some cases the use of the English constructions can be justified or even desirable, as in the case of *underwriter*, cf. Example [115], which, for the people with a good knowledge of English, can better explain the very nature of the profession than the quasi-Polish construction *zarządzanie ryzykiem*[25]. Another example of this kind is

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[25] Quasi-Polish, because the term *zarządzanie ryzykiem* is most probably itself the calque of English *risk management*. It is worth noting that the phrase *zarządzanie ryzykiem* does not sound very natural

trendsetter, cf. Example [118], which also explains the nature of the profession in a more unambiguous way than the Polish counterpart *promotor marki*.

In fact, a short questionnaire has been designed and given to 33 students studying in the Institute of English at the University of Silesia (3rd year, students of the translation programme with German and of the translation programme with Arabic as the third language). The students were given the names of two professions (*tajemniczy klient* and *promotor marki*), together with the English names (as in the list, i.e. *mystery shopper* and *trendsetter*, cf. Examples [118, 119]); next, they were asked whether the English names would help them in understanding the nature of the profession. The results were quite interesting: in the case of *tajemniczy klient / mystery shopper*, the English name would help to understand the nature of the profession in the case of 3 people only (out of 33). In the case of *promotor marki / trendsetter*, however, the situation looks quite different: the English name would help in the case of as many as 17 respondents, i.e. more than 50%. Naturally, the results cannot be generalized to all Polish speakers, as the respondents were students of English; it can indicate, nevertheless, that in some contexts the existence of an English construction can facilitate comprehension.

Other examples of English constructions (used alongside the Polish ones), which may be seen as justified, include such constructions as *copywriter, discjockey* or *webmaster*[26], cf. Examples [10, 15, 106].

Some of the newest English constructions, however, seem completely unjustified, particularly from the linguistic (but also legal) point of view, cf. Examples [121, 122, 125]: *fryzjer zwierząt (groomer), sprzedawca obwoźny z samochodu (vanseller), organizator imprez rozrywkowych (organizator eventów)*. The Polish descriptions seem completely unambiguous in these cases, and, consequently, the addition of English constructions seems completely unnatural and unreasonable[27].

To sum up, it can be stated that English borrowings do not appear in the official list of Polish professions with a great frequency. What is more, most of them are old, well assimilated loans and are not very likely to cause any problems with comprehension. It must also be added, however, that the existence of a few borrowings, particularly the newest ones, is hardly understandable, as they are not helpful; in fact, they may even hinder the comprehensibility. This, however, is clearly the minority.

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in Polish (the word *zarządzanie* forms rather such collocations as *zarządzanie przedsiębiostwem, zakładem, gospodarstwem, finansami*, etc., cf. the examples provided for the word by USJP).

[26] In the case of *webmaster*, a good Polish counterpart has been created, viz. *projektant stron internetowych*. Its only disadvantage is the length: the word is much longer that its English counterpart.

[27] It is worth adding here that the constructions *groomer* and *vanseller* have not been included in SZA or WSWO, which adds to the absurdity of including them alongside Polish constructions.

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