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MARCIN ZABAWA

ENGLISH LEXICAL  
AND SEMANTIC  
LOANS  
IN INFORMAL  
SPOKEN POLISH



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NR 2951

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Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



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# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	9
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	11
Chapter 1	
SPOKEN LANGUAGE AS A LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON . . . . .	15
1.1 Introduction . . . . .	15
1.2 The primacy of speech over writing and vice versa . . . . .	15
1.3 Differences between speech and writing . . . . .	18
1.3.1 Introductory remarks . . . . .	18
1.3.2 List of the differences . . . . .	20
1.4 Research done in the field of spoken Polish . . . . .	23
Chapter 2	
THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONCEPT AND THE PROCESS OF BORROWING . . . . .	26
2.1 Introduction . . . . .	26
2.2 The definition of borrowing . . . . .	26
2.3 Types of loans . . . . .	29
2.3.1 Introductory comments . . . . .	29
2.3.2 Lexical and semantic loans . . . . .	32
2.3.3 Other types of loans . . . . .	37
2.3.4 Concluding comments . . . . .	37
2.4 Conditions and motives for borrowing . . . . .	38
Chapter 3	
THE LINGUISTIC OUTCOME OF ENGLISH-POLISH CONTACT . . . . .	42
3.1 Introduction . . . . .	42
3.2 Lexical loans . . . . .	44
3.3 Semantic loans . . . . .	47
3.4 Other types of borrowings . . . . .	48
3.5 Research done in the field of English influence upon Polish . . . . .	49



3.5.1	Introduction . . . . .	49
3.5.2	Lexical loans . . . . .	49
3.5.3	Semantic loans . . . . .	52
3.5.4	Final remarks . . . . .	52
Chapter 4		
	THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS . . . . .	54
4.1	Introduction . . . . .	54
4.2	General information about corpus studies . . . . .	54
4.3	Problems connected with spoken language corpora . . . . .	56
4.4	The corpus used in the study . . . . .	58
4.4.1	Introductory remarks . . . . .	58
4.4.2	The informants . . . . .	59
4.4.3	The recordings . . . . .	61
4.4.4	The type of language used . . . . .	63
4.4.5	The transcription and the use of fonts . . . . .	65
Chapter 5		
	LEXICAL LOANS FOUND IN THE CORPUS . . . . .	69
5.1	Introduction . . . . .	69
5.2	Description of the lexical loans found in the corpus . . . . .	69
5.3	Statistical analysis . . . . .	77
Chapter 6		
	SEMANTIC LOANS FOUND IN THE CORPUS . . . . .	93
6.1	Introduction . . . . .	93
6.2	General description of the semantic loans found in the corpus . . . . .	96
6.3	The process of introducing semantic loans into spoken informal Polish (a hypothesis) . . . . .	99
6.4	The analysis of the semantic loans found in the corpus. . . . .	106
6.4.1	Introduction . . . . .	106
6.4.2	<i>Absolutnie</i> . . . . .	106
6.4.3	<i>Adres, adresat</i> . . . . .	108
6.4.4	<i>Album</i> . . . . .	110
6.4.5	<i>Cyfrowy</i> . . . . .	110
6.4.6	<i>Dinozaur</i> . . . . .	113
6.4.7	<i>Dokładnie</i> . . . . .	114
6.4.8	<i>Globalny</i> . . . . .	118
6.4.9	<i>Ikona</i> . . . . .	119
6.4.10	<i>Inteligentny</i> . . . . .	119
6.4.11	<i>Karta</i> . . . . .	120
6.4.12	<i>Kasa</i> . . . . .	121
6.4.13	<i>Klawiatura</i> . . . . .	123
6.4.14	<i>Konsola, konsolowy</i> . . . . .	125
6.4.15	<i>Konto</i> . . . . .	126

6.4.16	<i>List</i>	127
6.4.17	<i>Ładować</i>	128
6.4.18	<i>Obrazek</i>	129
6.4.19	<i>Opcja</i>	130
6.4.20	<i>Operować</i>	132
6.4.21	<i>Pakiet</i>	133
6.4.22	<i>Partner</i>	134
6.4.23	<i>Piractwo, piracki, pirat</i>	135
6.4.24	<i>Poczta</i>	138
6.4.25	<i>Profesjonalnie</i>	140
6.4.26	<i>Promocja</i>	141
6.4.27	<i>Rozpakować</i>	142
6.4.28	<i>Sieć</i>	143
6.4.29	<i>Słownik</i>	144
6.4.30	<i>Strona</i>	146
6.4.31	<i>Super</i>	150
6.4.32	<i>Test</i>	152
6.4.33	<i>Transfer</i>	154
6.4.34	<i>Wczytać, wczytywać</i>	155
6.4.35	<i>Wejść, wchodzić</i>	155
6.4.36	<i>Wirus</i>	158
6.4.37	<i>Wyjść, wychodzić</i>	159
6.4.38	<i>Zainstalować, zainstalowany, instalacja</i>	160
6.4.39	<i>Zawiesić</i>	162
6.4.40	Other semantic neologisms	163
6.5	Statistical analysis	166
Chapter 7		
	CONCLUSIONS	177
7.1	Introduction	177
7.2	Lexical loans found in the corpus	177
7.3	Semantic loans found in the corpus	180
7.4	Final comments	181
	APPENDICES	185
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	199
	Streszczenie	215
	Zusammenfassung	216



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## INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that nowadays English exerts a strong influence on many European languages, including Polish. Naturally, the changes in the Polish language are most readily visible in the area of vocabulary, as a number of words of English origin have entered Polish in recent years. What is more, new meanings are frequently assigned to already existing native Polish words or older borrowings. Furthermore, other spheres, such as syntax, morphology or even phonology are not free from the influence of English, either.

In general, the lexical influence of English upon written Polish, particularly the language of the press, has been researched relatively thoroughly; however, the influence on spoken informal Polish, both lexical and semantic, has attracted much less attention of linguists, as gathering a sufficient amount of spontaneous spoken language is inherently a very difficult and time-consuming process. This tendency still continues, as much attention is devoted to new vocabulary items appearing in written Polish, especially the one used in the mass media. Much less has been written, however, about the newest semantic borrowings. The aim of the present book is therefore to investigate the lexical and semantic influence of English upon Polish on the basis of the corpus, consisting of informal conversations, recorded, transcribed and analysed by the present author. The main focus of the book is on semantic borrowings.

The only previous work of this type known to the present author is the one written by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000). The present research, however, differs from hers in many respects. Most importantly, the present study does not concentrate on syntax, but instead devotes much more attention to individual loans at the level of words; the majority of them are presented in the context and their meaning and use is discussed in detail. In other words, the loans, especially semantic ones, are discussed not only globally, but individually as well; statistical analyses have also been performed. Moreover,

the author has also aimed at investigating the mechanisms of the emergence of semantic loans in Polish. In addition, the present work concentrates not only on the general informal variety of Polish, but on the Silesian dialect as well.

The book consists of seven chapters and five appendices. The first four chapters have theoretical and introductory character, whereas the next two (fifth and sixth) form the essential part of the book.

Chapter 1 concentrates on some theoretical points concerning the notion of spoken language: the theories of the primacy of speech over writing and vice versa and the differences between the two modes. The final section of the chapter is devoted to the research done in the field of spoken Polish.

Chapter 2 focuses on theoretical aspects of the process of borrowing. The chapter aims at defining the notion of 'borrowing', as it is perceived differently by various linguists. Moreover, the chapter includes the description of the two types of loans (lexical and semantic) as well as the discussion concerning the conditions and motives for borrowing.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the contact between English and Polish. The main part of the chapter focuses on the linguistic outcome of the contact in question. In other words, concrete examples of lexical and semantic borrowings, including less known ones, are given and briefly discussed. Moreover, various other tendencies, i.e. not typical borrowings, which have probably been taken over from English, are mentioned. The final section is devoted to the research done in the field of English influence upon Polish. The aim of the section is not only to present a list of the literature on the subject, but also to highlight the areas which still require further investigation.

The aim of Chapter 4 is to describe the corpus of informal spoken Polish upon which the study is based. The first part gives some general, introductory information on corpus studies and then focuses on various problems connected with spoken language corpora, for example the process of designing such a corpus and gathering of the material. The difficulty and protracted nature of the process is stressed. What is more, many other specific problems arise when the aim of the research is to count and analyse borrowings used in such a corpus, the most important of which are also described in the section. The further part of the chapter is devoted to the description of the corpus used in the study. Various aspects, such as the individual recordings (particularly the setting and the topics), the informants (including their age, sex, education, occupation and knowledge of English) and the conventions used in the transcription are discussed, among other things. Moreover, as some of the informants used — to a lesser or greater extent — the Silesian dialect, some information on its most important features is given.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the lexical loans found in the corpus. The first section focuses on the methodological problems connected with such spheres as

differentiating between English borrowings and borrowings of other origin or distinguishing between borrowings and instances of single-word code switching. The main part of the chapter concentrates on the description of the loanwords found in the corpus. The final section is devoted to statistical analysis of the loanwords.

Chapter 6, the longest and most important, focuses on the semantic borrowings found in the corpus. The first part of the chapter is concerned with the general description of the semantic loans in question as well as with a brief description of the methodological problems. The further part of the chapter aims at explaining the process of introducing semantic loans into spoken Polish by using ARABSKI'S theory of primary counterparts. The main part of the chapter focuses on detailed description of the semantic loans found in the corpus. The final section is devoted to statistical analysis of these semantic borrowings.

Chapter 7 focuses on the conclusions of the study.





## Chapter 1

# SPOKEN LANGUAGE AS A LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON

### 1.1 Introduction

The present chapter concentrates on some theoretical points concerning the notion of spoken language: the theories about the primacy of speech over writing (and vice versa) and the differences between the two modes. The last section of the chapter is devoted to the research done in the field of spoken Polish. Moreover, it tries to show the place of colloquial language in the tradition of Polish linguistic studies.

In general, the aim of the chapter is to describe some of the features of the language used in the corpus (cf. Chapter 4).

### 1.2 The primacy of speech over writing and vice versa

It is a well-known fact (cf. e.g. BIBER, 1988: 5) that historically, writing was regarded as the primary, 'true', form of language whereas speech was thought to be of secondary nature and therefore not worth researching. According to AKINNASO (1982: 98) and BIBER (1988: 5), the situation changed in the 19th century, when speech began to be perceived as something deserving separate study. Furthermore, as they point out, the development of phonetics in Britain (especially through the work of H. SWEET and D. JONES), the process of recording the speech of illiterate peasants conducted by the Brothers Grimm and the studies on American Indian languages (mostly only spoken) carried out by American structuralists contributed to the growing interest in speech as a linguistic phenomenon as well. As a consequence, as BIBER (1988: 6) notes, at the beginning of the 20th century speech was almost unanimously regarded

as primary whereas writing ceased to be perceived as worthy of serious linguistic study. Such a view can be found in numerous linguistic works written in the 20th century. It was for example stated that ‘writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by visible marks’ (BLOOMFIELD, 1933: 21; cf. also BIBER, 1988: 6), ‘speech is fundamental and writing [...] only a secondary derivative’ (HALL, 1964; cited in BIBER, 1988: 6) or ‘[writing is] completely and irremediably artificial’ (ONG, 1980; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 113).

The above views can be summarized using GLEASON’S words: ‘Many linguists consider all forms of writing outside the domain of linguistics and would restrict the discipline to the consideration of spoken language only’ (GLEASON, 1961; cited in BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975: 20). Some linguists, however, present the opposite view, cf. the argument given by VACHEK: ‘The development of a community’s higher culture and civilization is unquestionably conditioned by the existence in its language of a written norm, *the* vehicle of higher needs and wants of the community. It would, then, be completely out-of-place to brand the written norm as an inferior kind of structure’ (VACHEK, 1976; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 119; original emphasis).

In terms of cultural development, speech is clearly primary over writing. Historically, human beings were able to speak long before they were able to write. Furthermore, speech, as against writing, can be found in virtually all cultures. The former is acquired informally in early childhood whereas the latter is learned by fewer people, usually in a formal way, with emphasis on prescriptivism. Writing is thus by no means a universal phenomenon. Moreover, it has been described as a ‘mechanical process’, as opposed to speech, seen as ‘a natural process’ (AKINNASO, 1982: 113).

The primacy of speech over writing is not, however, generally accepted outside the area of linguistics. The so-called ‘social priority’ is still given, at least in Western cultures, to writing:

In fact, the historical view that written, literary language is true language continues as the dominant lay perception to the present time. Our children need to study English at school, which includes written composition and the prescriptive rules of writing, not speech. We criticize immigrant children for not knowing ‘English’ when they are relatively fluent in a conversation; the problem is that they are not literate in English. We expect our grammars and dictionaries to present the correct forms of written language; when dictionaries present both literate and colloquial vocabulary, they are severely criticized for destroying the standards of English, as happened to Webster’s Third, which has been described as a ‘disappointment’, ‘a scandal and a disaster’ (see discussion in Finegan 1980). In our business, legal, and political systems, written commitments are binding and ‘real’ while spoken commitments are often ignored. As teachers, we explain to children that

words like *know* have a silent [k], and words like *doubt* have a silent [b]. Sometimes we even change our pronunciation to reflect an unusual spelling; for example, *often* is now frequently pronounced with a [t], and *palm* with an [l], although these segments were not pronounced at some earlier stages of English. Thus, although speech is claimed to have linguistic primacy, writing is given social priority by most adults in Western cultures. (BIBER, 1988: 6—7)

As AKINNASO (1982: 98) and BIBER (1988: 7) observe, even within the domain of structural linguistics there is no consistency concerning the primacy of speech. On one hand, writing is perceived as derivative of speech. On the other hand, however, speech is also disregarded on the basis of being unsystematic and thus not representative of the structure of a language.

To sum up, as BIBER (1988) notes, the problem of the primacy of speech over writing (and vice versa) can be discussed from three perspectives: linguistic (where writing was first seen as primary; the view changed, however, at the beginning of the twentieth century), cultural/historical/developmental (where speech is clearly primary) and social (where the priority is given to written language, at least in Western cultures). BIBER (1988: 7) rightly observes that all of the aforementioned perspectives grant priority to one of the modes, be it speech or writing. He suggests that it may well be possible that neither speech nor writing should be given primacy over the other. Rather, the two modes, coexisting side by side, are used for different communicative purposes, as GRAMLEY and PÄTZOLD note:

Speech is typically used to create, maintain and enhance social bonds (which Brown and Yule call ‘interactional’ uses; see Brown and Yule 1983: 11), while writing is mostly concerned with the transfer of information (‘transactional’ uses; *ibid.*). Speech meets basic human needs, while writing satisfies less immediate ones. (GRAMLEY and PÄTZOLD, 1992: 42)

Thus the two modes in question are not used completely interchangeably but can be said to be employed in complementary situations, as BIBER and AKINNASO point out, among others:

Usually this choice [i.e. between speech and writing] is unconscious, since only one of the modes is suitable or practical. For example, we have no trouble choosing between leaving a note for someone or speaking to the person face-to-face; the situation dictates the mode of communication. Similarly, we have no problem deciding between writing an academic exposition for an audience and addressing the audience by means of a spoken lecture. We could in fact write a lecture or a note to a physically present audience, but this would take more effort and time than required, and it would fail to take advantage of the opportunities for interaction. Conversely,

speaking a lecture or note to an addressee who is separated by time or place is usually not possible at all; apart from the use of telephones and tape recorders, the written mode is required in situations of this type. (BIBER, 1988: 8—9)

For example, natural conversations are always carried out in spoken language, whereas, in modern industrial societies, speech is inappropriate for much bureaucratic communication such as applying for a job, requesting social services, filling out tax and credit application forms, and so on. (AKINNASO, 1982: 113)

A similar view was also expressed by numerous other linguists, including VYGOTSKY (1962; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 118—119) and SMITH (1978; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 118—119).

As a consequence, one has to agree with BIBER (1988) that neither mode should be given priority. Rather, each of them deserves careful attention. Thus the reasons for choosing spoken Polish, rather than written, as a base for the present book, are not connected with the priority of one mode over the other. The author has decided to concentrate on oral language as loans in spoken Polish have so far been researched much less thoroughly than in the written mode, particularly in the language of the press (see section 3.5 and section 4.3 for more information). From this perspective, it seems desirable to briefly present the theories concerning the differences between speech and writing, as they are important with respect to the choice of the corpus material which should resemble as closely as possible the so-called ‘typical speech’.

## 1.3 Differences between speech and writing

### 1.3.1 Introductory remarks

According to POOLE and FIELD (1976: 305), studies on various aspects of the differences between spoken and written language have a very long history. However, it is possible to formulate a general statement that, while a number of studies concerning the differences between spoken<sup>1</sup> and written language were

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<sup>1</sup> As FOX (1987: 161) rightly observes, the term ‘spoken’ may seem to be too broad since it includes all texts produced by mouth (such as e.g. academic lectures). Consequently, she prefers to use the term ‘conversational’, which refers to non-monologic and spontaneous spoken

carried out (cf. e.g. AKINNASO, 1982; BIBER, 1988; BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975; FOX, 1987; GRAMLEY and PÄTZOLD, 1992; POOLE and FIELD, 1976; TANNEN, 1982), there is not much agreement on the most important features of the two modes. As BIBER (1988: 5) asserts, the general, yet not universally accepted view is that written language is formal, abstract, complex and structurally elaborated whereas spoken language is context-dependent, concrete and structurally simple. Some studies, however, show little linguistic difference between speech and writing or even point out that spoken language is in fact more structurally complex than written (cf. e.g. the results of the study carried out by POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 309; cf. also TANNEN, 1982: 5, who presents fairly critical assessment of their research).

What is more, there is sometimes as much variation among texts within the domain of speech or writing as between the two modes. For example, some spoken genres can be quite different from one another, as in the case of academic lectures and spontaneous conversations between close friends; a similar difference can be detected within written genres, e.g. between academic theses and personal letters. In much the same way, some spoken and written genres can share a number of similarities, as in the case of spontaneous conversations and personal letters or academic theses and academic lectures (BIBER, 1988: 36—37). Furthermore, as TANNEN (1982: 3, 11) observes, the differences between spoken and written variety result not only, or even not mainly, from the two modes as such, but rather from the genre and the degree of formality. A similar view was expressed by AKINNASO (1982: 103), who states that such differences may result from various factors, such as the purpose of the act of communication, the topic, the setting, the nature of the communicative task and many others. Additionally, KRAMSCH (1998: 40) asserts that most of the features (as listed below) are not inherent in the spoken or written mode. Rather, they are connected with the continuum of more or less literate uses of both modes. As a consequence, there is no single feature that would enable us to differentiate between all spoken genres and all written genres.

Nevertheless, BIBER (1988: 37) proposes using the notion of typical speech and typical writing that would refer to the most common and/or frequent type of speech and writing. In addition, such a genre (called ‘unmarked’) should possess the typical features of its mode: typical speech, for example, is (a) dependent on shared space, time and background knowledge, (b) interactive, (c) structurally simple, (d) concrete and (e) fragmented. Consequently, according to

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language. In the present book, nevertheless, the term ‘spoken language’ will be retained, as it is firmly established and convenient (cf. the title of the study). It will be used primarily in the sense of oral, non-monologic, spontaneous language.

BIBER (1988: 37), face-to-face conversation should be perceived as typical speech and informational exposition as typical writing.

### 1.3.2 List of the differences

In general, the differences between written and spoken language can be described from three perspectives: linguistic (which can be further subdivided into quantitative and non-quantitative approaches), situational and functional (BIBER, 1988). However, they will not be discussed in detail, since the primary aim of the chapter is to serve as a description of the language used in the corpus (see Chapter 4). Thus, only a summary of the differences between the two modes will be presented.<sup>2</sup>

As was noted at the beginning of section 1.3.1, a number of studies, whose primary goal was to discuss features that could be used for differentiating between the two modes, were carried out. While a number of different approaches were adopted and, consequently, the results differ from one another, some general conclusions can nevertheless be inferred. In particular, it is generally claimed that spoken language:<sup>3</sup>

- is less structurally complex and elaborate than writing (BIBER, 1988: 47; see also POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 309 for the opposite view), which is indicated by such features as a greater use of finite verbs and lesser of abstract nouns (DEVITO, 1967; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 101), the use of shorter words (i.e. less frequent use of polysyllabic words than in writing), less frequent use of attributive adjectives and the use of a less varied vocabulary (AKINNASO, 1982: 100; BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975: 20; KRAMSCH, 1998: 39), less frequent use of complex nominal structures, complex verb constructions, subordinate constructions and the passive voice (DEVITO, 1967; OCHS, 1979; CHAFE, 1982; all cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 104; GOLUB, 1969; cited in POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 310; TANNEN, 1982: 7; BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975: 21; FOX, 1987: 137), less frequent use of participles functioning as nouns and verb nominalizations, less frequent use of genitive subjects and objects, conjoined phrases and sequences of prepositional phrases, lesser use of relative and

---

<sup>2</sup> Obvious differences, such as phonetic/graphic manifestation (perception by ears/eyes) will not be mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the description here relates to spoken and written English, but a great deal of such differences seem to be universal and thus characteristic of many languages, including Polish. Therefore it can be said that most of such features characterize the informal spoken Polish used in the corpus.

complement clauses (CHAFE, 1982; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 102), the use of shorter sentences (GIBSON et al., 1966; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 101).

- depends on morphosyntactic structures which were learned early in life (OCHS, 1979; cited in TANNEN, 1982: 7).
- is characterized by the repetition of lexical items and similar syntactic constructions (OCHS, 1979; cited in TANNEN, 1982: 7).
- is characterized by a longer text (but see TANNEN, 1982: 11—17 for the opposite case).
- has a lower concentration of new information than writing (STUBBS, 1980; BROWN, and YULE, 1983; both cited in BIBER, 1988: 47); as was asserted, writing is characterized by ‘greater density of ideas’ (DEVITO, 1967; cf. also CHAFE, 1982; both cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 101) and economy (POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 306).
- is more personally involved than writing (BIBER, 1988: 47), which is indicated by such features as a greater use of personal pronouns and self-reference words (DEVITO, 1966; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 102; POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 310). The personal involvement may also be indirectly indicated by less frequent use of Latinate and technical words (AKINNASO, 1982: 103), a preferential usage of deictic terms and demonstrative pronouns instead of the definite article (e.g. *this man* rather than *the man*) or a greater use of imperatives, interrogatives and exclamations (OCHS, 1979; RUBIN, 1980; both cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 104; TANNEN, 1982: 7).
- is less abstract and less detached than writing (CHAFE, 1982; cited in BIBER, 1988: 47).
- is less organized and planned than writing (BIBER, 1988: 47), which is indirectly indicated by such features as the existence of repetitions, digressions, pauses, false starts, hesitations, unfinished sentences and other redundancies (BROWN and YULE, 1983; KRAMSCH, 1998: 38—39; POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 306, 309; see also AKINNASO, 1982: 115 for a more critical approach). Written language, on the other hand, relies on ‘a more deliberate method of organizing ideas, using such expository concepts as “thesis”, “topic sentence” and “supporting evidence”’ (AKKINASO, 1982: 104; RUBIN, 1980; cited in AKINNASO, 1982) and ‘consciousness of style’ (POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 306).
- is more contextualized (context dependent) and more dependent on background situation and shared knowledge (KAY, 1977; OLSON, 1977; both cited in BIBER, 1988: 47; KRAMSCH, 1998: 40; TANNEN, 1982: 3, 7; but see PRINCE, 1981; cited in BIBER, 1988: 48, for a more critical view), which results from the physical properties of speech and the necessity of the proximity of the sender and receiver. As AKINNASO puts it, ‘speech presupposes a common context and point of view for both speaker and listener, whereas writing is relatively independent of context, being addressed



to no one in particular, or, at best, to a distant interlocutor' (AKINNASO, 1982: 112; GOODY and WATT, 1963; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 112).

- is less explicit than writing. As BIBER puts it, written language 'has complete idea units with all assumptions and logical relations encoded in the text' (BIBER, 1988: 47). A similar view was expressed by AKINNASO (1982: 104), who states than writing promotes 'the need to produce complete information or idea units and make all assumptions explicit.'
- is multi-modal, i.e. it makes use not only of linguistic cues, but of kinesic, prosodic and contextual as well (AKINNASO, 1982: 112). For example, the meaning of a spoken message may be altered by a pitch or intonation change. Moreover, paralinguistic and non-verbal channels (such as e.g. facial expressions, gestures, the tone of voice) are frequently used for establishing cohesion in speech (TANNEN, 1982: 3).
- is a less 'deliberate activity' than writing (AKINNASO, 1982: 111).
- is not permanent or reproducible (unless recorded) (AKINNASO, 1982: 114; KRAMSCH, 1998: 37).
- is unplanned and unplannable (in the form of spontaneous conversation) (OCHS, 1979; cited in AKINNASO, 1982: 114).
- produces a less varied and more redundant output, indicated by lower type-token ratios. It is thus characterized by less diversification and greater repetition (DRIEMAN, 1962; cited in BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975: 21).
- is believed to be generally a less formal mode than writing (BLASS and SIEGMAN, 1975: 24).
- is characterized by 'little or no opportunity for corrective self-feedback' (POOLE and FIELD, 1976: 309).
- carries less weight and prestige (KRAMSCH, 1998: 38).
- is characterized by the existence of conversational cooperation (KRAMSCH, 1998: 38).
- tends to be people-centered, as opposed to writing, which tends to be topic-centered (KRAMSCH, 1998: 39—40).
- is characterized by fragmentation (as opposed to writing, which is characterized by integration, indicated by its greater structural complexity), resulting from 'the spurt-like nature of speech which probably reflects the jerky nature of thought' (CHAFE, 1980; cited in TANNEN, 1982: 7; cf. also BIBER, 1988: 43). For example, spoken language is characterized by the tendency to present propositions with simple conjunctions, mostly *and* (in contrast to writing, which frequently uses subordinating conjunctions) or even without marking explicitly the relation of one proposition to another (CHAFE, 1980; cited in TANNEN, 1982: 7).
- shows a high degree of involvement, as opposed to writing, which is characterized by detachment (TANNEN, 1982: 7). The involvement of speech is indicated by various features, including imageability, fuzziness, the use of

direct quotations and emphatic particles (e.g. *really*), the emphasis on actions and people, direct reference to a listener (e.g. by using questions or second person pronouns) (CHAFE, 1980; cited in TANNEN, 1982: 8; BIBER, 1988: 43).

In addition, BIBER (1988: 46) lists ten situational characteristics of oral language: multichannel, home acquisition, low social value, high interaction, shared personal knowledge, a negotiable goal, the maintenance of relationship, shared space and time, low interaction with text and low informational focus.

To sum the discussion up, it can be claimed that, using AKKINASO'S words, 'spoken and written language derive from the same semantic base, making use of the same lexico-syntactic system, and varying mainly in the choice and distribution of vocabulary and syntactic patterns in response to modality-specific pragmatic constraints' (AKKINASO, 1982: 119).

Most of the features listed above can be detected in the language used in the corpus of informal spoken Polish upon which the present book is based. Other features of the language used in the corpus, e.g. words and syntactic structures specific to the Silesian dialect, as well as a general description of the corpus, can be found in Chapter 4.

## 1.4 Research done in the field of spoken Polish<sup>4</sup>

As DUNAJ notes (1989; cited in OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 58; cf. also OŻÓG, 2001: 48), the traditional linguistic studies in Poland were based solely on written Polish. As a consequence, there was hardly any research on spoken Polish before the 1960s (or even early 1970s), with the exception of dialectological studies. A similar view was expressed by ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK (1994: 27), who states that the studies on spoken language were intensified only during the last 25 years, dealing mainly with phonetic realization, vocabulary, syntax and semantics.

At first, the studies on spoken language were connected with the research on dialects. It was only in the 1970s that the spoken variety of Polish in general started to be considered as worthy of serious linguistic investigation. One could mention here such works as e.g. PISARKOWA'S study on the syntax of telephone conversation (1975), LUBAŚ'S and KURZOWA'S research on the spoken language of the mass media (LUBAŚ, 1981; KURZOWA, 1985; both cited in OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 63), DUNAJ'S study on formal spoken Polish used by the speakers on the radio (1983), or ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK'S work on text structure of informal conversation (1994). What is more, methodologies used

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<sup>4</sup> Some parts of this section have been used in ZABAWA (2009a).

for researching written and spoken language began to be clearly differentiated (ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK, 1994: 28).

Before extensive recordings of spontaneous spoken Polish were carried out, some theoretical preliminaries were discussed:

- the typology of spoken Polish varieties (BUTTLER, 1982; WILKOŃ, 1987; both cited in ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK, 1994: 28)
- various types of language contact and language varieties (LUBAŚ, 1976, 1979; cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 60)
- components of speech act in a text (PISARKOWA, 1976, 1978; cited in ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK, 1994: 28).

Following those introductory works, studies on urban Polish were carried out, notably in Katowice, Kraków, Łódź and Poznań (cf. ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK, 1994: 9; OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 60—61). As a consequence, the following corpora of spoken Polish, among others, were published:

- in the region of Katowice: *Teksty języka mówionego mieszkańców miast Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia* (LUBAŚ, 1978, 1980)
- in Kraków: *Wybór tekstów języka mówionego mieszkańców Krakowa* (DUNAJ, 1979)
- in the region of Łódź: *Wybór tekstów języka mówionego mieszkańców Łodzi i regionu łódzkiego. Generacja najstarsza* (KAMIŃSKA, 1989), *Wybór tekstów języka mówionego mieszkańców Łodzi. Generacja starsza, średnia i najmłodsza* (KAMIŃSKA, 1992).

Nowadays informal spoken Polish (*polszczyzna potoczna*) attracts more and more attention of linguists. For example, there have been a number of studies dealing with characteristic features of the informal variety of Polish in the sphere of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary (for details see e.g. ADAMISZYN, 1995: 195—197; DUNAJ et al., 1999: 229—247; LUBAŚ, 2000: 62—64; LUBAŚ, 2001: 221—231; LUBAŚ, 2003: 249—259). Other studies deal with the expansion in the use of the informal variety of Polish, particularly its characteristic vocabulary and idiomatic expressions: the words and constructions belonging typically to the informal style (*potoczmy*) are now quite widely used in the press and television, in the language of politicians and other widely-known persons or even in academic and official styles (for details see e.g. LUBAŚ, 2000: 59—68; LUBAŚ, 2001: 235—240; OZÓG, 2001: 48—55). It must be added, however, that the term *potoczny* ('colloquial') itself is not completely unambiguous and can be, and in fact often is, understood differently by the specialists working in the field (cf. LUBAŚ, 2003: 29—32; LUBAŚ, 1999: 145—151; DUNAJ et al., 1999: 227—228). Moreover, the informal variety of Polish (*odmiana potoczna*) is situated differently in various typologies of contemporary Polish. A summary of such typologies (with respect to the position of the informal variety) is given in LUBAŚ (2003: 53—66), who deals quite extensively with six main typologies: by GAJDA (1982: 49, 52;

2001b: 207—219), BUTTLER (1982), BUTTLER and MARKOWSKI (1991: 107—121), MARKOWSKI (NSPP, 2002: 1658—1662), SKUBALANKA (1978) and BARTMIŃSKI (1991). Moreover, LUBAŚ (2003) mentions several minor typologies.

What is more, the informal variety of Polish is not only perceived, but also evaluated differently by various specialists working in the field. As LUBAŚ (2003: 66) notes, BARTMIŃSKI, for example, treats it as ‘the first language of a human being’, ergo, the most important (*‘pierwszy język człowieka’*) and ‘the centre of the system of language styles’ (*‘centrum systemu stylowego języka’*) (BARTMIŃSKI, 2001: 115—117), a similar view being then expressed by other linguists (e.g. ADAMISZYN, 1995: 183—217). As LUBAŚ (2003: 66) notices, other researchers, on the other hand, treat it as a style playing a marginal role in the system of language varieties, either connecting it with unfavourably assessed ‘popular thinking’ (*potoczne myślenie*) (ANUSIEWICZ, 1992: 9—20) or even with an ‘interdialect’ (*interdialekt*) (SKAWIŃSKI, 1992: 81—86).

Normally, however, the informal variety of language (*język potoczny*) is associated with such adjectival expressions as ‘spoken,’ ‘oral,’<sup>5</sup> ‘colloquial,’ ‘everyday,’ ‘widespread,’ ‘unofficial’ (*mówiony, ustny, oralny, codzienny, obiegowy, nieoficjalny*) (cf. WARCHAŁA, 2003: 7, 11), cf. also the definition of *język potoczny* given by *Encyklopedia języka polskiego* (ed. by URBAŃCZYK and KUCAŁA, 1999):

[...] język ogólny, mówiony, jakim się ludzie posługują na co dzień, w swobodnych rozmowach, a więc język mniej staranny od literackiego, z pewnymi cechami regionalnymi (URBAŃCZYK and KUCAŁA, 1999: 159)

[...] general, spoken language, used by people on everyday basis, in casual conversations; thus a language less careful than its literary variety, with some regional features.<sup>6</sup>

In the present book, the term *język potoczny* (informal variety) is understood as a spoken variety of language (with or without dialectal features), used in everyday situations, typically but not exclusively, by friends, equals, members of a family and people on first name terms with one another.

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<sup>5</sup> As BARTMIŃSKI notes, however, the informal variety is not restricted to spoken language. He mentions several examples of the types of written texts that can be said to belong to informal style, such as personal letters and diaries (BARTMIŃSKI, 2001a: 118).

<sup>6</sup> All translations by the present author.

## Chapter 2

# THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONCEPT AND THE PROCESS OF BORROWING

## 2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concentrated on some theoretical points concerning the issue of spoken informal language. The aim of this chapter is to provide some information regarding the notion of borrowing: the definition of the term, types of loans and reasons for the existence of various types of loans.

## 2.2 The definition of borrowing

Before one can analyse the notion of a lexical and semantic loan, it is necessary to establish the general definition of a **loan** (also referred to as a **borrowing**) as the term is perceived differently by various linguists.

*The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* (by CHALKER and WEINER, 1994), for example, defines the process as

[t]he taking over of a word from a foreign language; a word so borrowed (also called a loanword) [...]. (CHALKER and WEINER, 1994: 49)

As one can see, the above definition restricts the process to words only (thus making it equivalent to lexical borrowing).

*Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego* (ed. by POLAŃSKI, 1999), on the other hand, defines the term *zapożyczenie językowe* in a slightly different way:

Element przejęty z obcego języka. Najczęściej jest nim wyraz (np. pol. *afera* z franc. *affaire*), rzadziej prefiks lub sufiks (por. pl. *arcydzieło* z prefiksem *arcy-* pochodzącym z grec. *ἀρχι-*, *pocałunek* z sufiksem *-unek* przejętym z niem., por. niem. *-ung*) [...]. (POLAŃSKI, 1999: 668)

An element adopted from a foreign language. Most frequently it is a word (e.g. Polish *afera* from French *affaire*), less commonly — a prefix or suffix (cf. e.g. Polish *arcydzieło* with the prefix *arcy-* taken over from Greek *ἀρχι-*, *pocałunek* with the suffix *-unek* taken over from German, cf. German *-ung*).

The process here is perceived in a broader way; nevertheless, it seems still restricted, namely to words, prefixes and suffixes. Other linguists define the term in a still broader way; PISAREK'S definition (taken from *Encyklopedia języka polskiego*), for example, reads as follows:

Wszelkie elementy (głoski, fonemy, części słowotwórcze, wyrazy, wyrażenia, zwroty, znaczenia, konstrukcje składniowe) przejęte z innego języka. Zazwyczaj charakter z. [=zapożyczeń] bezpośrednich mają tylko z. [=zapożyczenia] leksykalne, które z kolei umożliwiają lub ułatwiają z. [=zapożyczenia] wtórne w postaci głosek, fonemów, części słowotwórczych itp. [...] (URBAŃCZYK and KUČAŁA, 1999: 440)

All the elements (speech sounds, phonemes, word-formation elements, words, phrases, meanings, syntactic structures) taken over from a different language. Usually lexical borrowings alone have the character of direct loans, and they make the way for indirect loans, i.e. speech sounds, phonemes, word-formation elements, etc.

CRYSTAL, on the other hand, seems to make a distinction between 'borrowing' and 'loan'. He defines 'borrowing' as

[a] term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to linguistic forms being taken over by one language or dialect from another; such borrowings are usually known as 'loan words' (e.g. *restaurant*, *bonhomie*, *chagrin*, which have come into English from French), and several types have been recognized (cf. loan). Less commonly, sounds and grammatical structures may be borrowed, e.g. the pronunciation of the above loan words with a French or quasi-French accent, or the influence of English grammar often found in European languages, e.g. using an English plural *-s* for a noun, as in *drinks*, *ski-lifts*, *goals*, *girls*. (CRYSTAL, 1997: 46)

Furthermore, he states that 'loan' is

[a] linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which has come to be used in a language or dialect other than the one where it originated. Several types of

loan process have been recognized, such as loan words, [...] loan blends [...] loan shifts [...] and loan translations.<sup>1</sup> (CRYSTAL, 1997: 227)

As one can see, according to CRYSTAL, ‘borrowing’ can refer to any linguistic form (e.g. a word, speech sound, a grammatical structure), whereas ‘loan’ is reserved mainly for lexical borrowings.

Nevertheless, one of the most succinct definitions was given by HAUGEN:

The heart of our definition of borrowing is then the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another. (HAUGEN, 1950: 163)

The term ‘borrowing’ can therefore refer not only to the sphere of lexicon, with which it is most easily associated, but to the domains of semantics, syntax, morphology and phonology as well. WEINREICH asserts, however, that if foreign elements enter ‘the more highly structured domains of language’, such as the syntax, morphology or even some areas of vocabulary (e.g. kinship, colours), it is more appropriate to use the term ‘interference’ which implies not ‘mere additions to an inventory’ but ‘rearrangement of patterns’ (WEINREICH, 1974: 1).

To make the discussion of theoretical background of the process of borrowing more complete, it is necessary to mention WEINREICH’S distinction between ‘interference in speech’ and ‘interference in language’ (WEINREICH, 1974: 11). A very similar distinction is drawn by GROSJEAN (1982: 333—335; cf. also LATKOWSKA, 2002: 87), who speaks of ‘speech borrowing’ and ‘language borrowing’, the former being also referred to as ‘language mixing’ (HATCH and BROWN, 1995; cf. also LATKOWSKA, 2002: 87). In the process of speech borrowing the words are borrowed spontaneously by bilingual individuals in order to ‘create certain effects and/or meet a momentary linguistic need’ (LATKOWSKA, 2002: 87) whereas in language borrowing ‘the borrowed words become part of language and are used by its speakers as if they were native lexical items’ (GROSJEAN, 1982; cited in LATKOWSKA, 2002: 87). In other words, the speech borrowing is a result of a speaker’s knowledge of two languages, whereas language borrowing is habitualized and no longer depends on bilingualism (WEINREICH, 1974: 11).

Interestingly enough, the term ‘borrowing’ itself was often perceived as inadequate. However, it seems that it is hardly possible to invent a better one, as linguists themselves admit:

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<sup>1</sup> The types of lexical loans enumerated by CRYSTAL will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.3.2.

At first the term ‘borrowing’ might seem to be almost as inept for the process we wish to analyze as ‘mixture’. The metaphor implied is clearly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender’s consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. The process might be called an adoption, for the speaker does adopt elements from a second language into his own. But what would one call a word that had been adopted — an adoptee? Anthropologists speak of ‘diffusion’ in connection with a similar process in the spread of non-linguistic cultural items. We might well speak of linguistic diffusion, though this would suggest the spread of the language itself rather than of elements from it. The real advantage of the term ‘borrowing’ is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen. It has therefore remained comparatively unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and no apter term has yet been invented. (HAUGEN, 1950: 163)

The process itself is called “borrowing”, but this term requires some caution. Thus, that which is “borrowed” does not have to be paid back; the donor makes no sacrifice and does not have to be asked for permission. Indeed, nothing changes hands: the donor goes on speaking as before, and only the borrower’s speech is altered. (HOCKETT, 1958: 402)

I use the terms *loan-words* and *borrowed words* because they are convenient and firmly established, not because they are exact. There are two essential respects in which linguistic borrowing differs from the borrowing of, say, a knife or money: the lender does not deprive himself of the use of the word any more than if it had not been borrowed by the other party, and the borrower is under no obligation to return the word at any future time. (JESPERSEN, 1964: 208)

In the present study, the terms ‘borrowing’ and ‘loan’ (which will be used interchangeably) will primarily refer to word forms and/or word meanings taken over from another language.

## 2.3 Types of loans

### 2.3.1 Introductory comments

Linguistic units which are used in a language other than the one where they originated can be generally divided into two groups (WEINREICH, 1974):



(a) those affecting ‘more loosely patterned domains of a language,’

(b) those affecting ‘more highly structured domains of a language.’

The (a) group consists primarily of lexical borrowings, or loan words, whereas the (b) group includes grammatical (syntactic and morphological) loans as well as phonic ones.<sup>2</sup>

The two domains of a language are not equally liable to foreign language interference. In general, it seems that the number of linguistic elements affecting the more loosely structured areas is relatively larger than the one affecting more highly structured domains.<sup>3</sup> Numerous linguists tried to establish lists (called **borrowability scale** or **borrowing hierarchy**; HASPELMATH, 2003) concerning this problem. According to WHITNEY (1881; cited in WEINREICH, 1974: 67), for example, the list reads as follows (starting with spheres most prone to foreign language interference):

- words (nouns first)
- suffixes
- inflections
- sounds.

PRITZWALD (1938; cited in WEINREICH, 1974: 67) proposed his own list:

- vocabulary
- sound system
- word-formation and compounding
- syntax
- proper names.

Another list is that of DAUZAT (1927; cited in WEINREICH, 1974: 67):

- vocabulary
- sounds
- syntax
- morphology (‘the fortress of a language’).

Yet another list was proposed by MCMAHON (1994: 209):

- lexicon
- phonology
- morphology
- syntax.

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<sup>2</sup> WEINREICH (1974: 1) asserts, however, that some areas of the vocabulary (e.g. the semantic field of colour) can also be included here (i.e. in (b) group).

<sup>3</sup> In other words, lexical borrowing is the most common outcome of language contact. Such a view has been expressed by numerous linguists, cf. e.g. ‘[...] the most frequent and salient type of contact innovation is the borrowing of lexical items, which usually involves no reanalysis or restructuring of the grammar’ (POSNER, 1995: 217), ‘[...] there is no doubt that lexical borrowing is less restricted to the bilingual portion of a language community than phonic or grammatical interference’ (WEINREICH, 1974: 56).

According to ROT (1986: 208), the list reads as follows (with respect to Hungarian):

- lexis (lexico-semantics)
- syntax
- word-formation
- phonetics/phonology
- morphology.

HASPELMATH (2003) points out that such scales can be interpreted in four ways: temporal, implicational, quantitative and probabilistic. He presents those hierarchies in the form of a horizontal line, so McMAHON'S list would look as follows:

lexicon > phonology > morphology > syntax

The interpretations offered by HASPELMATH are the following:

- **temporal**: 'a language borrows elements on the left before it borrows elements further to the right'
- **implicational**: 'a language that contains borrowed elements on the right also contains borrowed elements further to the left'
- **quantitative**: 'a language borrows more elements belonging to the types on the left than elements belonging to the types further to the right'
- **probabilistic**: 'elements belonging to the types on the left are more likely to be borrowed than elements further to the right' (HASPELMATH, 2003).

As one can see, despite certain differences (regarding mainly the relation between syntax and morphology), it is possible to establish a general pattern: vocabulary is most often transferred, whereas syntax and morphology are more resistant in this matter. In fact, it is widely accepted that lexical items are much more likely to be borrowed than, say, bound morphemes or other grammatical items. As for the domain of lexis, content words are more likely to be borrowed than function words (cf. e.g. VAN HOUT and MUYSKEN, 1994; FIELD, 2002; MORAVCSIK, 1978; all cited in HASPELMATH, 2003; POPLACK and MEECHAN, 1998; cited in SANKOFF, 2001: 12). Moreover, it should be stressed that words belonging to certain spheres of the vocabulary are borrowed more easily than others, as HOCK and JOSEPH note:

From a purely linguistic perspective, the most important fact is that different spheres of the vocabulary are borrowed more easily, others significantly less easily. For instance, the most successful resistance to borrowing is offered by basic vocabulary, words referring to the most essential human activities, needs, etc., such as *eat, sleep; moon, rain; do, have, be, [...]*. (HOCK and JOSEPH, 1996; cited in HASPELMATH, 2003)

### 2.3.2 Lexical and semantic loans

According to POPLACK et al., the process of lexical borrowing can be defined in the following way:

Lexical borrowing involves the incorporation of individual L<sub>2</sub> words (or compounds functioning as single words) into discourse of L<sub>1</sub>, the host or recipient language, usually phonologically and morphologically adapted to conform with the patterns of that language, and occupying a sentence slot dictated by its syntax. (POPLACK et al., 1988: 52)

Lexical borrowings, which are more frequently noticed (in comparison to other types of borrowings, cf. the further part of the chapter) by the native speakers of a given language, do not form a homogenous group; several subclasses can be distinguished. Moreover, various linguists do not term and define these subclasses in the same way (cf. e.g. CRYSTAL, 1997: 227; HAUGEN, 1950; HOCKETT, 1958: 408—416; MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 17—18; MARKOWSKI, 2002: 1773; WEINREICH, 1974; WEINBERG, 1983: 77—79).

The following division will be used throughout the present book (HAUGEN, 1950; WEINREICH, 1974)<sup>4</sup>:

- **loan words (loanwords)**, where both form and meaning are borrowed (or imported, as HAUGEN, 1950: 165, calls it), with some degree of substitution of native phonemes, e.g. Polish word *komputer* from English *computer*. According to HAUGEN (1950: 165), however, this term is vague, since it may include practically any of the others listed below.
- **loan blends** (also called **hybrids**), where only part of the form is of foreign origin, while the rest is native, e.g. *ciucholand*.
- **loan translations** (also called **calques**<sup>5</sup>), where the morphemes of the borrowed words or phrases are translated one by one. As HAUGEN (1950: 166) asserts, they may be perceived as being similar to hybrids; however, instead of substituting one half of the word, both are substituted, e.g. *telewizja kablowa* from English *cable television*, *nastolatek* from English *teenager*. According to WEINREICH, this class can be further subdivided into **loan translations proper**, where the model is exactly reproduced, e.g. Louisiana French *marchandises sèches* ‘dry goods’, i.e. textile fabrics for sale (READ, 1931; cited in WEINREICH, 1974: 51), **loan renditions**, where

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<sup>4</sup> This is a revised and updated version of the classification used previously in ZABAWA (2004b).

<sup>5</sup> Additionally, other researchers, for example SILVA-CORVALÁN (1995: 253—254), use the term ‘single-word calques’ for the transfer of meaning into an already existing lexical item, i.e. for semantic loans.

the model only gives a general hint for the reproduction, e.g. Polish *drapacz chmur* after English *sky-scraper* (WEINREICH, 1974: 50), and **loan creations**, i.e. new coinages ‘stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language in contact’, e.g. Yiddish *mitkind* ‘sibling’ (literally ‘fellow child’) created on the stimulus of English *sibling* and/or German *Geschwister* (WEINREICH, 1974: 51). Moreover, HAUGEN (1950: 172) differentiates here a class of **syntactic substitutions**, that is loan translations of complete phrases, e.g. Polish *wydawać się być* on the model of English *seem to be*.

- **semantic loans** (termed **loan shifts** by CRYSTAL<sup>6</sup>), where the meaning is borrowed, but the form is either native or fully assimilated (i.e. borrowed much earlier), e.g. the word *promocja* used in the meaning of ‘advertising or some other activity intended to increase the sales of a product or service.’<sup>7</sup> There is, however, a visible disagreement among linguists: HAUGEN (1950: 166), for example, classifies both semantic loans and loan translations as subtypes of loan shifts.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, he seems to question the appropriateness of the term ‘semantic loan’, saying that ‘all the loans described above [i.e. loan words, hybrids, loan translations and semantic loans] are semantic’ (HAUGEN, 1950: 166). The term will, nevertheless, be used in the present book.

It is possible to subdivide the classes enumerated above even further: HAUGEN, for example, differentiates two subclasses within the group of loan shifts: **loan homonyms**, where the new meaning (of a semantic borrowing) has nothing in common with the old one, and **loan synonyms**, where only a new shade of meaning is added to a native form. Loan synonyms can be further subdivided into **semantic displacements**, where native terms are applied ‘to new cultural phenomena that are roughly similar to something in the old culture,’ and **semantic confusions**, where ‘native distinctions are removed through the influence of partial interlingual synonymy.’ At the same time HAUGEN admits, however, that there is no satisfactory method that might be used to classify degrees of semantic similarity. As a result, it is often not possible to make the distinctions outlined above (HAUGEN, 1950: 172).

It is also possible to classify lexical loans on different bases, with various criteria being employed:

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<sup>6</sup> Still other linguists sometimes use a different name for the same phenomenon, for example LEHNERT (1986: 134) uses the term ‘loan-meaning’.

<sup>7</sup> The English definitions of words are based on *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (ed. by WEHMEIER, 2000), *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ed. by SOANES and STEVENSON, 2003) and *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (ed. by SINCLAIR, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> The present author uses a similar term, namely **semantic shift**, but in a different sense; cf. section 6.2.

1. The stage of assimilation into a recipient language (HAUGEN, 1950: 183; MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 16—17; MARKOWSKI, 2002: 1774):
  - a) **unassimilated loans** (also referred to as **quotes** or **Fremdwörter**), which are used with a foreign spelling and foreign (or foreign-like) pronunciation, with no morphological adaptation, e.g. *sorry*, *ice tea* used in Polish on the model of English.
  - b) **partly assimilated loans**, which are used with a partly (or sometimes completely) adapted spelling and pronunciation. They may or may not inflect, e.g. Polish word *tabu* from English *taboo* and French *tabou*.
  - c) **(fully) assimilated loans** (also referred to as **Lehnwörter**), which are inflected and their spelling and pronunciation are adapted to the system of a recipient language, e.g. Polish words *komputer*, *dżem* borrowed from English *computer*, *jam*. In fact, they are frequently not even perceived by laymen as words of foreign origin.<sup>9</sup>
2. The number of stages (FISIAK, 1962: 287—294):<sup>10</sup>
  - a) resulting from **simple contact**, that is direct transfer from donor into a recipient language, e.g. *dżem*, *mecz* from English *jam*, *match*.
  - b) resulting from **complex contact**, that is transfer from donor into a recipient language via intermediate languages<sup>11</sup>. As for English lexical loans in Polish, three types can be distinguished here:
    - words of English origin transferred to Polish via another language (mainly German, French or Russian), e.g. Polish *farma* from English *farm* via German *die Farm*, Polish *rober* from English *rubber* via French *robber*, Polish *chuligan* from English *hooligan* via Russian *chuligan*, Polish *budyń* from English *pudding* via Dutch *bodeng* (FISIAK, 1962: 289—290).
    - words of foreign origin (both European, excluding English, and non-European) transferred to Polish via English, e.g. Polish *esej* from French *essai* via English *essay*, Polish *skecz* from Italian *schizzo* via English *sketch*, Polish *afryt* from Arabic *ifrit* via English *afrit*, Polish *bambus* from Malaysian *bamboo* via English *bamboo* (FISIAK, 1962: 292—293).

<sup>9</sup> Additionally, ROPA (1974: 524) distinguishes here a fourth group, which consists of words etymologically foreign, but perceived as native, e.g. *but*, *szukać*, *róża*. However, such loans are not noted in the dictionaries of foreign terms (even in the large ones, cf. e.g. *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych*, ed. by BAŃKO, 2003) and are not treated as loanwords in the present book.

<sup>10</sup> A similar distinction has been made by FILIPOVIĆ (1986: 334), who differentiates between **direct loans** (especially if there is direct contact between speakers of the two languages) and **intermediary borrowings** (in FILIPOVIĆ'S understanding of the term, the mass media may also function as an intermediary).

<sup>11</sup> According to WALCZAK (1997: 274—275, 279), however, the emergence of such loans is not a result of one complex process but rather two or more independent and completely unrelated processes (called 'acts of borrowing').

- neologisms composed of Greek and/or Latin morphemes transferred to Polish (as well as to many other languages) via English, e.g. Polish *dyktafon* from Latin *dictare* and Greek *phone* via English *Dictaphone*, Polish *strukturalizm* from Latin *structura* + *-al-* + *-ism* via English *structuralism*, Polish *noktowizja* from Latin *noct-* + *vision* via English *noctovision* (FISIAK, 1962: 293—294).
3. The way of entering a recipient language (FISIAK, 1962: 287; MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19; MIODEK, 2000: 5):
    - a) **oral loans** (called **direct**<sup>12</sup> (*bezpośrednie*) or **phonetic loans** by FISIAK, called **acoustic** (*akustyczne*) by MIODEK, 2000: 5), which are transferred from a spoken donor language. As a result, they are pronounced in a similar way as in a donor language, e.g. Polish words *dog* or *pub* borrowed from English (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19; MIODEK, 2000: 5).
    - b) **graphic loans**, which are transferred from a written donor language. As a result, they are pronounced according to the rules of a recipient language, e.g. Polish word *nylon* borrowed from English<sup>13</sup> (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19). Such loans are not uncommon in contemporary Polish, as Berezowski pointed out:

The monolingual majority [in the context here: the Poles who do not speak English] [...] is encountering now more and more English lexical items in their written form only. Whether it is a sidewalk marketeer, shop assistant, customer or engineer they are all frequently forced to use English lexical items referring to the things they sell, buy or work with, though only rarely are they aware of how these items are pronounced like in that language. And that means that the pronunciations of these loanwords are not based on the original ones, as it was assumed in Fisiak's study, but somehow derived from their spellings, which are the only clues available. (BEREZOWSKI, 1994: 10)

- c) **pseudo-direct loans** (*pseudobezpośrednie*), introduced by FISIAK. According to him, pseudo-direct loans are introduced by people who know the pronunciation of a foreign word, but the form of a loan in a recipient language (after the regular phonological substitution) has been changed under the influence of the spelling of a word in a donor language, e.g. the word *ekonomajzer* (FISIAK, 1962: 287).
4. The reason why they have entered a recipient language (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19):

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<sup>12</sup> As was noted in footnote 10, FILIPOVIĆ uses the term 'direct loans' in a slightly different meaning.

<sup>13</sup> The phenomenon itself is also called 'spelling pronunciation' (HAUGEN, 1950: 175).

- a) **necessary loans** (which roughly correspond to ‘cultural borrowings’, MYERS-SCOTTON, 2002; or ‘items of acculturation’, BROWN, 1999; both cited in HASPELMATH, 2003), which are used to designate new concepts and things that had no names in the recipient language, e.g. Polish *walkman* borrowed from English. This group includes also **internationalisms**, that is words common to many languages, usually of Latin, Greek, French or English origin (cf. MAĆKIEWICZ, 2001: 555—562), e.g. Polish words *laser*, *sport* borrowed from English and **exotics** (cf. MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19), that is words connected with the culture of the country of a donor language, e.g. Polish words *szeryf*, *pudding* borrowed from English.
- b) **unnecessary loans** (which roughly correspond to ‘core borrowings’,<sup>14</sup> MYERS-SCOTTON, 2002; cited in HASPELMATH, 2003), which were borrowed for some other reason, usually because of snobbery. The loans of this type have exact or near-exact equivalents in the native vocabulary, e.g. English borrowings in Polish *shop*, *sorry* existing together with Polish words *sklep*, *przepraszam*.<sup>15</sup> As MYERS-SCOTTON notes, they ‘usually begin life in a recipient language when bilinguals introduce them as singly occurring codeswitching forms in the mixed constituents of their codeswitching’ (MYERS-SCOTTON, 2002; cited in HASPELMATH, 2003). An interesting account of such loans was also given by Jespersen:

When a nation has once got into the habit of borrowing words, people will very often use foreign words where it would have been perfectly possible to express their ideas by means of native speech-material, the reason for going out of one’s own language being in some cases the desire to be thought fashionable or refined through interlarding one’s speech with foreign words, in others simply laziness, as is very often the case when people are rendering thoughts they have heard or read in a foreign tongue. (JESPERSEN, 1964: 210)

Additionally, a group of **pseudo-loans** (also known as **false anglicisms** or **Scheinentlehnungen**, cf. CARSTENSEN, 1980, 1981; cited in LEHNERT, 1986: 146; ZINDLER, 1959; cited in K. VIERECK, 1986: 161; FISIĄK, 1986: 253; FILIPOVIĆ, 1972: 157; W. VIERECK, 1986: 116; called ‘**Selfmade English**’ by BUCK, 1974; cited in LEHNERT, 1986: 146) should be distinguished. They are ‘expressions formed with foreign-building material which do not exist at all in the language from which they appear to be borrowed’ (ZINDLER, 1959; cited in and translated

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<sup>14</sup> Core borrowings are defined as ‘words that more or less duplicate already existing words’ (HASPELMATH, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> According to HOPE (1963; cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 19), however, this division is invalid, as any reason for borrowing a particular word is sufficient. Consequently, no loans can be described as unnecessary.

by K. VIERECK, 1986: 161). As for examples, one could mention the construction *happy end* used in Polish on the model of English *happy ending*.

### 2.3.3 Other types of loans

As was noted before, there exist other types of borrowings, apart from lexical ones, namely phonic and grammatical. Grammatical loans, in turn, can be further subdivided into syntactic and morphological borrowings. In general, both grammatical and phonic loans are much less common than the borrowings in the sphere of lexicon.

On the whole, theoretical aspects of phonic and grammatical borrowings will not be discussed, since these issues are clearly outside the scope of the present book. Detailed information on phonic and grammatical influence of one language upon another can be found in WEINREICH (1974). Additional comments and examples can be found in e.g. JESPERSEN (1964), MCMAHON (1994), SAPIR (1921) and SILVA-CORVALÁN (1995).

### 2.3.4 Concluding comments

It must be stressed that the nature of lexical borrowings is very different from that of grammatical loans. Lexical borrowings, which are sometimes introduced into a language consciously, are usually noticed (or at least some of them) by the native speakers of a recipient language. What is more, such loans are often strongly criticized. For example, the studies by SOBOCIŃSKA (1994) and SATKIEWICZ (1994a)<sup>16</sup> show clearly that the majority of young educated Poles notice the tendency towards the use of words of English origin in contemporary Polish. SOBOCIŃSKA based her research on the group of 136 secondary school students, whereas SATKIEWICZ'S research was conducted on the group of 50 university students. One of the questions considered the most typical features of contemporary Polish. The answers were highly interesting, though perhaps not unpredictable: in the first group, 75% of the respondents complained about

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<sup>16</sup> The studies were based on the questionnaire written by BUTTLER, MARKOWSKI and PUZYŃNINA (the full text of the questionnaire can be found in e.g. DALEWSKA-GREŃ and HANDKE, 1994: 67—70).



the fact of excessive use of lexical loans in contemporary Polish, whereas in the second group the same tendency was noticed by as much as 99% of the respondents (cf. also ZABAWA, 2002).

Semantic borrowings are, on the other hand, much more difficult to notice. The research done by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 124—125) shows this clearly. Her research was conducted on the group of 150 people, mostly students and graduates from universities. The respondents were divided into three even groups, according to their level of English. The percentage of the respondents who noticed given semantic loans in the text varied from 2—56% in the advanced group, 2—34% in the intermediate group and 2—36% in the group of beginners and people who did not know any English. It can be added at this point that the number of the respondents who noticed grammatical loans was also not large.

It can thus be stated that semantic loans possess some characteristics of both lexical and grammatical borrowings. They affect the domain of vocabulary (like lexical loans), but are generally hardly ever noticed by an average Polish native speaker (like grammatical borrowings).

## 2.4 Conditions and motives for borrowing

It is often pointed out that all types of borrowings (lexical, semantic, phonic or grammatical) result from the **language contact**, that is ‘the situation in which two or more languages coexist within one state and [...] the speakers use these different languages alternately in specific situations’ (BUSSMAN, 1998: 260).<sup>17</sup> In other words, the majority of borrowings are first used by **bilingual** people only and it is after some time that they begin to be used by monolinguals. This is particularly evident in the case of lexical loans: a foreign word is usually first used as a **quote** (often appearing in printed texts in italics), thus being similar in character to single word **code switching** or **code mixing** (cf. section 5.2), and later it is fully or partly assimilated on four levels: orthographic, phonological, morphological and semantic<sup>18</sup> (cf. e.g. MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995). Many loans, however, never go beyond the stage of a quote.

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<sup>17</sup> Other linguists do not mention the coexistence of different languages within one state as a necessary condition for language contact. ZYBERT, for example, states simply that ‘language contact arises with an alternate use of two languages’ (ZYBERT, 1983: 99).

<sup>18</sup> As BEREZOWSKI (1994) noted, however, some loans may also be introduced by monolinguals or by people whose knowledge of English is very limited (cf. the quotation in section 2.3.2).

It is worth mentioning at this point that the term **bilingualism** is perceived differently by various linguists, as Lehiste notes:

[...] the theoretical limits to bilingualism might be drawn to encompass the range between the person who uses one nonintegrated loanword and the so-called perfect bilingual who can pass for a monolingual in more than one language. (LEHISTE, 1988; cited in McMAHON, 1994: 200)

As was noted above, the term ‘bilingualism’ is understood differently by the specialists dealing with the problem of language contact. MALMKRJÆR, for example, defines a ‘bilingual person’ as ‘one whose linguistic ability in two [...] languages is similar to that of a native speaker’ (MALMKRJÆR, 1991: 57). Weinreich, on the other hand, defines ‘bilingualism’ more generally as ‘the practice of alternately using two languages’ (WEINREICH, 1974: 1). Another general, though different, interpretation is offered by SPOLSKY: ‘the simplest definition of a bilingual is a person who has some functional ability in a second language’ (SPOLSKY, 1998: 45). Others, like DILLER, try to establish a more precise definition:

We might ask then, when is a person minimally bilingual? Judging from the statistical properties of the lexicon, I would say that in addition to adequate pronunciation and control of grammar, a minimally bilingual person must know at least 10,000 words. [...] This should be a minimal goal, however. (DILLER, 1972: 148)

Moreover, some linguists state that it is possible to talk about the degrees of bilingualism (cf. e.g. CRYSTAL, 1997: 42; EDWARDS, 1994; cited in DORIAN, 1996: 399). EDWARDS, for example, grants a degree of bilingualism to everyone, because everyone knows some foreign words or phrases (at least passively), for example a greeting, or a phrase like *c’est la vie* or *O.K.* A similar view has been expressed by RUSIECKI, who has proposed using the term ‘latent bilingualism’ with regard to an educated Polish speaker who has never learnt English, but nevertheless knows some English words and/or constructions, for example *fifty-fifty*, *O.K.*, *made in Poland*, *I love you* (RUSIECKI, 1980: 97). Furthermore, EDWARDS has proposed a term ‘balanced bilingualism’ and ‘balanced bilingual’ for a person equally fluent in two languages (cf. also SPOLSKY, 1998: 45; a balanced bilingual is sometimes also referred to as ‘equilingual’, MALMKRJÆR, 1991: 58). Nowadays, however, many linguists assume that such perfect bilingualism virtually does not exist (cf. e.g. BAETENS-BEARDSMORE, 1986; cited in MALMKRJÆR, 1991: 58; cf. also MINDAK, 1983: 206).

As MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 16) notes, some linguists state that bilingualism is a social phenomenon and hence cannot be defined with respect

to a single person. For example, *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego* (ed. by POLAŃSKI, 1999) defines it as

Posługiwanie się na co dzień przez daną grupę społeczną dwoma różnymi językami. Dwujęzyczność wytwarza się na terenach o mieszanym składzie etnicznym. Konieczność współżycia na co dzień zmusza przedstawicieli jednej narodowości do używania oprócz swojego języka ojczystego również języka drugiej grupy etnicznej. (POLAŃSKI, 1999: 130)

Using two different languages on a daily basis by a given social group. Bilingualism exists in the areas inhabited by mixed ethnic groups. The necessity of coexistence forces people of one nationality to use — apart from their native language — the language of the other ethnic group.

In the present book, the term ‘bilingualism’ will refer to the ability to speak two languages; the knowledge of the second language may vary from fluent to very basic. The contact between languages is therefore the fundamental condition for the process of borrowing, common to all kinds of loans. It must be noted, however, that nowadays the language contact does not necessarily imply coexistence of two (or more) languages within one state. The contact between languages may and does happen via the Internet, the press, books, television, radio, etc. It seems that the most important factor in such situations is the prestige of the donor language.

The more specific motives for lexical borrowing must also be considered. It should be stressed that they are not only linguistic, but social, cultural and psychological as well. WEINREICH (1974: 56—59) enumerates them as follows:

- the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts
- low frequency of words (relatively infrequent words are more subject to replacement)
- word homonymy, which may lead to misunderstandings
- the tendency of affective words to lose their expressive force
- insufficient differentiation of semantic fields
- the prestige of a donor language.<sup>19</sup>

HOCKETT, on the other hand, mentions two main motives for borrowing: the **need-filling motive** (which seems to embrace all the reasons given by WEINREICH and outlined above, with the exclusion of the last one) and the **prestige motive** (HOCKETT, 1958: 404—406). Others, like PRATT, introduce a dichotomy between **linguistic** and **extralinguistic causes** of borrowing. The former, which correspond roughly to the need-filling motive (cf. HOCKETT, 1958: 404—406), can be further subdivided into extrinsic and intrinsic.

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<sup>19</sup> It seems that the first and last phenomena are especially visible in present-day Poland.

The latter involve the prestige of the donor language and the linguistic snobbery (PRATT, 1986: 361—364).

As one can see, some of the motives (for example the prestige of a donor language, insufficient differentiation of semantic fields) indicate that the process of lexical borrowing can be conscious, at least to a certain extent.

As for hindrance factors in the process of both lexical and structural borrowing, WEINREICH mentions the social value of the recipient language, loyalty to it, puristic attitudes and the stability of systems (WEINREICH, 1974: 64—65). Other linguists, for example GROSJEAN, differentiate between two groups of resistance factors: **structural** and **sociocultural**, the former being connected with the stability of language and firm implementation of phonology, morphology and syntax, whereas the latter — with puristic attitudes and the prestige of a recipient language (GROSJEAN, 1982: 337—338). He mentions French as an example of a prestigious language, which, being the object of much loyalty, is more resistant to foreign borrowings, coming mostly from English. As for individual loans (e.g. separate words), it has been suggested that high-frequency items are less likely to be changed or replaced; as a consequence, frequency (of a word in a recipient language) may also function as one of the factors that inhibit the process of borrowing (cf. e.g. VAN HOUT AND MUYSKEN, 1994; cited in HASPELMATH, 2003).

The present chapter concentrated on the theoretical aspects of language contact and the process of lexical and semantic borrowing. The next chapter will discuss the same issues, but in the specific English-Polish context.

## Chapter 3

# THE LINGUISTIC OUTCOME OF ENGLISH-POLISH CONTACT

### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concentrated on the theoretical aspects of the process of borrowing in general. The aim of this chapter is to give a more specific picture of English-Polish contact that resulted in the existence of various types of loans. The examples of such loans are then given and briefly discussed. The final section of the chapter is devoted to the research done in the field of English influence upon Polish.

It is a well-known fact that the influence of one language upon another is a result of a much wider phenomenon, namely culture contact, as SAPIR pointed out:

Languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves. [...] The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the “borrowing” of words. When there is cultural borrowing there is always the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too. [...] The careful study of such loan-words constitutes an interesting commentary on the history of culture. (SAPIR, 1921: 192—193)

The above view was echoed by other linguists:

Every speech-community learns from its neighbors. Objects, both natural and manufactured, pass from one community to the other, and so do patterns of action, such as technical procedures, warlike practices, religious rites, or fashions of individual conduct. [...] Along with objects or practices, the speech-forms by which these are named often pass from people to people. (BLOOMFIELD, 1933: 445)

No language is entirely free from borrowed words, because no nation has ever been completely isolated. Contact with other nations inevitably leads to borrowings, though their number may vary very considerably. [...] Loan-words always show a superiority of the nation from whose language they are borrowed, though this superiority may be of many different kinds. (JESPERSEN, 1964: 208—209)

As would be expected, the linguistic import and export frequently goes hand in hand with the import and export of things and ideas. (W. VIERECK, 1986: 118)

Historia różnych społeczeństw dostarcza mnóstwa przykładów świadczących o tym, że wyjąwszy jednostkowe wypadki całkowitej izolacji jakiejś grupy ludzi, przede wszystkim przez warunki geograficzne, społeczeństwa współżyją ze sobą, wzajemnie się kontaktują, stykają się ze sobą przy różnych okazjach. Przy takim współżyciu ludzi należących do różnych grup językowych następują kontakty językowe. (RECZEK, 1968: 5; cited in RYBICKA, 1976: 5)

The history of various societies gives a great deal of examples showing that — with the exception of individual cases of complete isolation of a group of people, mostly due to geographical reasons — societies coexist with and contact each other. The language contact occurs during such coexistence.

To sum up, it can be stated that no language is completely free from foreign influence.

The rich history of Poland and its cultural and political relations with the European countries enriched the Polish language with a large number of lexical loans coming from various languages, including Czech, German, Latin, Italian, French, Hungarian, Greek, Russian and Ukrainian, Turkish and Tartar (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 20—22). Nowadays the most important source of borrowings in Polish is undoubtedly English. As OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000) rightly states, one of the most important dates connected with the English influence upon Polish is the turning point of 1989, when Poland regained independence.

What is more, in the 1990s English started to be considered not only useful but also a fashionable language. The development of modern technology, particularly cable and satellite television and the Internet is of great significance here. The dominant position of the United States in the present-day world, as well as the opening of British labour market for the Poles (following the entrance of Poland to the European Union in 2004), have played (and still play) a very important role as well. As a consequence, English words have managed to enter almost all semantic fields of the Polish language (cf. MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1994, 1995, 2006, 2010).

Furthermore, it is apparent that nowadays English affects not only Polish lexis (cf. lexical and semantic borrowings), but grammar (syntax and morphology) and phonology as well. Nevertheless, as the present study focuses on lexical and semantic loans, borrowings belonging to other spheres, i.e. syntax, morphology and phonology, will not be discussed here.

### 3.2 Lexical loans

According to MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1987a, 2006), the earliest English loans in the Polish language date back to the 18th century. This can be proved by the early dictionaries, which list no words of English origin. As MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1987a) asserts, for example, the dictionary by MACZYŃSKI (appeared in 1564) lists no English loanwords, but only geographical names connected with Britain: *Anglia*, *Brytania*, *Londyn* and *Szkocja*; in addition, the dictionary by KNAPSKI (appeared in 1632, cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 24) lists only two words: *brytan* and *Anglia*.

According to KASPRZYCKA (1971, cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 24), the first real anglicisms appeared in SIARCZYŃSKI'S work written in the 18th century (*Geografia, czyli opisanie naturalne, historyczne i praktyczne krajów i narodów we czterech częściach się zawierające*). They were: *cutter*, *ket(c)h*, *sloop*, *yacht* and an ephemeral word *bord*. The dictionary by LINDE (published in 1807—1814), as MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 26—27) asserts, lists 14 words of English origin (*flanela*, *foxal*, *frak*, *galon*, *golf*, *klub*, *kwakier*, *mada*, *muchair*, *pikier*, *piknik*, *poncz/puncz*, *porter*<sup>1</sup> and *rum*).

As MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 30) states, at the beginning of the 19th century there were altogether 21 words of English origin (excluding geographical names): 5 given by SIARCZYŃSKI, 14 by LINDE and 2 by PEŁOWSKI (1957).<sup>2</sup> During the 19th century the number of English loanwords in Polish, as well as in other European languages, was gradually increasing, which was, according to HAUGEN (1988; cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1994: 8; 1995: 39), due to the emergence of the British Empire and the quick development of the United States.

A growing number of the words of English origin is well reflected in the dictionaries of foreign words. The dictionary by AMSZEJEWICZ (published in 1859), as MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 30—32) asserts, contains about 100

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<sup>1</sup> *Porter* is not listed as a separate entry, but is used in the definition of the word *galon* (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 27).

<sup>2</sup> The words given by PEŁOWSKI were *budget* and *bill*.

lexemes of English origin, 30% of which turned out to be ephemeral (e.g. *boll*, *noble*). The dictionary by ZDANOWICZ et al. (published in 1861, also known as *Słownik wileński*), written only two years later, contains, according to WALCZAK (1983: 124), already more than 180 words of English origin. Moreover, MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 34) describes about 30 ephemeral words found in the dictionary in question.

The next dictionary (by KARŁOWICZ, KRYŃSKI and NIEDŹWIEDZKI), written already in the 20th century (1900—1923), also known as *Słownik warszawski*, contains about 250 words of English origin, out of which about 200 are still in current use (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 35—38).

The number of English borrowings in Polish grew rapidly in the 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, as was mentioned above, there were around 250 English words in Polish. In the 1930s KONECZNA (cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 40) noted that 531 words of English origin were used at that time. In 1961, the number of them grew to over 700 (according to FISIĄK'S doctoral dissertation, cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 40) and in 1986 — to over 1,000 (FISIĄK, 1986: 262).

The number of anglicisms in Polish is still growing, which can be proved by a relatively new publication dealing with English loanwords (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1994). In her work she enumerates about 1,600 lexemes of English origin. In 1995 the estimated number of anglicisms grew to over 1,700 (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 67). At the beginning of the 21st century the number of English loanwords grew to more than 3,000 (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 2010). It would seem, however, that many of such loans are highly specialized and are not used in general Polish, cf. such words as *overclocker* (an IT term), *kliwia* (a term related to botany) or *script girl* (a term connected with the film industry); they are not likely to be understood by an average native speaker of Polish. Besides, it is only natural that some of the English loans will turn out to be of the ephemeral character and thus will not survive in Polish.

Today the words of English origin can be found in almost all **semantic fields**.<sup>3</sup> It is thus possible to group English loanwords according to the field they belong to. Such classifications are plentiful in the literature on the subject. One of the most thorough was given by MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 68—73), who divided the words of English origin into 45 semantic fields. Nevertheless, as she admits herself, even such a classification is not complete or exhaustive, as new loans appear constantly in Polish and some of them do not seem to fit into any of the categories introduced before.

<sup>3</sup> A semantic field is understood as 'a set of lexical entries with shared core meanings. That is, it [=a semantic field] groups together lexical items whose meanings are all pertinent to a specific conceptual domain' (CLARK, 1995: 9). For stylistic reasons, the term will be used interchangeably with 'semantic area'.



As one can see, it is beyond doubt that the number of words of English origin in Polish is constantly growing. The tendency is visible mainly in the written variety of Polish, particularly in the language of press articles and press advertisements (cf. ZABAWA, 2004b). As might be expected, nowadays the phenomenon in question evokes strong emotions, not only among linguists. Lexical loans are often perceived as a treat to the Polish language; some other people, however, do not see here any danger (cf. the discussion in BUGAJSKI, 1995; BUTTLER, 1990; R.S., 1988a, 1988b, 2001; PREYZNER, 1990, SZMAŃDA, 1979; WALCZAK, 1992; cf. also GRYBOSIOWA, 2000, who quotes the opinions of Cz. MIŁOSZ, B. GEREMEK and H.G. GADAMER), cf. also MIODEK:

[...] historia naszego języka jest historią nieustannie napływających do niego zapożyczeń [...]. Historia naszego języka jest historią nieustannych procesów adaptacyjnych, przystosowawczych. Więc tak jak poradziłyśmy sobie ze złożem leksykalnym łacińskim, greckim, niemieckim, tureckim, tatarskim, włoskim, węgierskim, hiszpańskim czy francuskim, adaptując je pod względem fonetycznym i morfologicznym, tak samo poradzimy sobie z anglicyzmami. (MIODEK, 2000: 2—3)

[...] the history of our language [i.e. Polish] is the history of constant influx of borrowings [...]. The history of our language is the history of constant assimilation and adaptation processes. We [i.e. Poles] were able to cope with Latin, Greek, German, Turkish, Tartar, Italian, Hungarian, Spanish or French borrowings by adapting them phonetically and morphologically. In the same way, we will be able to cope with the borrowings of English origin.

Interestingly enough, the Polish parliament has relatively recently passed a law concerning the use of the Polish language (*Ustawa o języku polskim* ‘The Polish Language Act’). Among other things, it regulates the use of foreign languages. For example, it is unlawful to use only a foreign language in advertisements and commercials, manuals, written guarantees, offers, invoices, bills and receipts, and in the names of products and services (with the exception of proper names and scientific or technical terminology used customarily).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The full text of the act (in Polish), together with the amendments, is available online at <http://www.abc.com.pl/index.php> (1. Ustawa z dnia 7 października 1999 r. o języku polskim, Dz. U. z dnia 8 listopada 1999 r.; 2. Ustawa z dnia 31 marca 2000 r. o zmianie ustawy o radiofonii i telewizji i ustawy o języku polskim, Dz. U. z dnia 18 kwietnia 2000 r.; 3. Ustawa z dnia 18 lipca 2002 r. o świadczeniu usług drogą elektroniczną, Dz. U. z dnia 9 września 2002 r.; 4. Ustawa z dnia 11 kwietnia 2003 r. o zmianie ustawy o języku polskim, Dz. U. z dnia 30 kwietnia 2003 r.; 5. Ustawa z dnia 2 kwietnia 2004 r. o zmianie ustawy o języku polskim, Dz. U. z dnia 30 kwietnia 2004 r.).

It is interesting to note that the reverse situation, i.e. the influence of Polish on the English vocabulary, is also documented, but such a phenomenon is very limited in scope. PODHAJECKA, for example, enumerates as few as 19 words of Polish origin, noted in *Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition* (abbreviated to OED, ed. by SIMPSON and WEINER, 1989). They are: *bobac, britzka, gmina, hetman, kielbasa, Krakowiak, kromesky, macrolide, Mariavite, mazurka, oberek, obertas, Piast, Polack, polka, pospolite, Sejm, szlachta, złoty* (PODHAJECKA, 2002: 333—337). Moreover, she asserts that the Polish borrowings, being dispensable, play a peripheral role in English. It must be added, however, that she restricted her study to the words borrowed directly from Polish. Consequently, there are a few further words which are included and treated as borrowings from Polish in some other English dictionaries (but not in OED, hence they are not included in the above list), e.g. in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (WID, ed. by GOVE, 1961). The list includes such words as *rendzina, duda, kujawiak, kolomyika, babka, endek, grosz, leukergy, mazur, zubrowka, borscht, horde, pirogi* (PODHAJECKA, 2002: 335).

The English lexical loans found in the corpus are listed and analysed in Chapter 5.

### 3.3 Semantic loans

At the end of the 20th century appeared, apart from a number of English loanwords, two new phenomena: English semantic and grammatical loans. The phenomenon itself is not new; however, semantic loans existing in Polish before the 1990s were in the great majority of Russian or German origin. Most of them were introduced in the past centuries. Examples of these include (RYBICKA, 1976: 98—105):

- of German origin: *zamek* — in the meaning of ‘budowla obronna’ (‘a castle’) on the model of German *das Schloss*; *miasto* — in the meaning of ‘gród’ (‘a medieval city’) on the model of German *die Stadt*
- of Russian origin: *cienki* — in the meaning of ‘subtelny, finezyjny’ (‘subtle’), e.g. *cienki żart* (‘a subtle joke’); *zabezpieczyć* — in the meaning of ‘zapewnić, zagwarantować’ (‘to guarantee’)
- of French origin: *awantura* — in the meaning of ‘zdarzenie, przygoda’ (‘an adventure’).

Semantic loans of English origin are not very numerous in contemporary Polish, especially in comparison with lexical loans. Their number is, however, slowly yet consistently growing. The lists and discussion of English semantic

loans in Polish can be found in, among others, GRYBOSIOWA (1994), MARKOWSKI (1992a, 1999, 2000, 2004), MARKOWSKI and PAWELEC (2001: XIII), OTWINOWSKA (1997), OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000), WASZAKOWA (1995: 7–8), WITALISZ (2004, 2007), WYRWAS (2004b: 320), and in the articles by the present author (ZABAWA, 2004c, 2007b, 2008, 2010a).

The semantic loans found in the present corpus are listed and analysed in Chapter 6.

### 3.4 Other types of borrowings

It must be noted once again that although the influence of English upon Polish is most noticeable and intense in the sphere of vocabulary, it is no longer restricted to it. It seems that nowadays English affects all areas of Polish: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, semantics and pragmatics. What is more, English influences Polish in a number of other ways, cf. such phenomena as e.g. (1) using diminutives of first names in formal or semi-formal publications (e.g. in newspapers and magazines) and in television or radio programmes (cf. MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1993: 281), (2) being on first-name terms with acquaintances or even strangers or using the form *ty* ('you' — informal) instead of traditional *pan*, *pani* ('you' — formal), seen frequently in e.g. television quiz shows and commercials<sup>5</sup> (cf. also GRYBOSIOWA, 1998), (3) making phrases look more English by adding various symbols, such as '&' (cf. CHŁOPICKI and ŚWIĄTEK, 2000: 232–233), (4) the sporadic use of quotation marks on the model of English (“ ”) instead of Polish (, ”), or (5) the sporadic use of dots instead of commas in decimal fractions and in prices.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, it must also be added that the lexical influence has been relatively well researched with respect to written Polish only (particularly the language of the press), whereas little attention has so far been paid to informal, especially oral, Polish (cf. the next section).

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<sup>5</sup> This (and the previous) phenomenon is more connected with culture rather than language itself. As a result, it can perhaps be termed 'a cultural borrowing'.

<sup>6</sup> It seems that the last two phenomena could be termed 'punctuation borrowings' (cf. also the articles by the present author: ZABAWA, 2004c, 2005a).

## 3.5 Research done in the field of English influence upon Polish

### 3.5.1 Introduction

In general, since the book focuses on lexical and semantic borrowings, the publications dealing with other types of loans will not be discussed in detail (but cf. section 3.5.4).

### 3.5.2 Lexical loans

According to MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1987a: 25—26), it is generally, though erroneously, assumed that the influence of English upon Polish vocabulary dates back to the 20th century only. As a consequence, few publications deal with English loans introduced earlier into Polish. To the present author's knowledge, only four publications can be listed here: FISIAK'S doctoral dissertation (1961; quoted in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD 1995, 2006) and the articles by MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1987a), PEŁOWSKI (1957) and WALCZAK (1983).

AS OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 24) rightly notices, the earliest systematic studies on English elements in the Polish language were carried out by FISIAK (1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1985, 1986). FISIAK discussed not only the process of borrowing itself but introduced WEINREICH'S and HAUGEN'S terminology (e.g. simple and complex language contact) into Polish studies as well. Moreover, he discussed the following spheres:

- the mechanisms of lexical borrowing
- using double plural<sup>7</sup> in Polish (e.g. English *Eskimo* — singular; *Eskimos* — plural → Polish *Eskimos* — singular; *Eskimosi* — plural)
- the problem of assigning gender to nouns borrowed from English
- the graphemic and phonemic aspects of English borrowings, including phonological adaptation
- the semantics of English loanwords in Polish.

Further systematic studies on English influence upon Polish have been done by MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1991a, 1991b,

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<sup>7</sup> The Polish term for this phenomenon is *depluralizacja*. KREJA (1963; cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 59) proposed a different name for the same process, namely *syngularyzacja* (lit. 'singularization').

1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2010). She gathered about 1,600 lexemes of English origin and presented them in the form of a dictionary (1994a) with detailed information about individual words, such as the spelling (including possible variants), pronunciation (if different from the spelling), meaning(s) and examples presented in context. Her research was based on various dictionaries, both of foreign terms and general Polish as well as on the language of the press. Additionally, she edited the newest dictionary of English lexical borrowings in Polish available on the market (*Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie*, abbreviated to SZA, 2010). The dictionary contains more than 3,000 entries, giving detailed information about the words, including the spelling (and possible variants), pronunciation, grammatical information (such as the gender of the noun, information on inflectional endings, etc.), the semantic field where a given borrowings may appear, the style/register of the word (with the help of labels) and etymology. Moreover, MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD discussed the following spheres:

- theoretical aspects of the process of borrowing
- a brief history of English-Polish political, cultural and linguistic contact
- the assimilation of English loanwords in Polish on four levels: graphic, phonological, morphological and semantic
- the influence of English upon the Polish of the Poles living in the United States of America
- some new types of English influence upon Polish.

The growing number of lexical anglicisms is well reflected in the number of publications dealing with this phenomenon. The publications in question can be divided into seven main groups:

- dealing with general features of contemporary Polish and thus mentioning the problem of foreign influence as only one of many characteristics of the Polish language, e.g. BAJEROWA (2001), BRALCZYK (1999), DALEWSKA-GREŃ (1994), DUNAJ (2001), DUNAJ, PRZYBYLSKA and SIKORA (1999), GAJDA (2001a), KREJA (2001), LUBAŚ (2003), MAJKOWSKA and SATKIEWICZ (1999), MARKOWSKI (1999), MIODEK (2000), MOSIOŁEK-KŁOSIŃSKA (2000), OŻÓG (2000, 2001), RZESZUTEK (2000), RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (2001), SATKIEWICZ (1994a, 1994b), SMÓŁKOWA (2000, 2001a, 2001b), SOBOCIŃSKA (1994), WASZAKOWA (2001c).
- dealing with theoretical aspects of the process of introducing lexical loans (mainly of English origin) into the Polish language, e.g. CYRAN (1974), FISIĄK (1962), MINDAK (1983), SZMAŃDA (1979), WALCZAK (1997).
- dealing with loans from various languages, including English, e.g. BUTTLER (1981), DAMBORSKÝ (1974), DUNAJ (2000), MARKOWSKI (1995), ROPA (1974), RYBICKA (1967, 1976), SOBCZAK (2000), TEKIEL (1988, 1989), WALCZAK (1984, 1987, 1994, 2001), WASZAKOWA (2001a), WITASZEK-SAMBORSKA (1992, 1993).

- dealing with words borrowed from English, e.g. BEREZOWSKI (1994), BOGUSŁAWSKA (1994), GRABOWSKA (1972), GRYBOSIOWA (2000), KODURA (2002), MARKOWSKI (1992b), NETTMAN-MULTANOWSKA (2003), R.S. (1995), SĘKOWSKA (1993) and the present author (ZABAWA, 2004b, 2010b).
- dealing with loans from a given semantic group, e.g. cuisine: SKUBALANKA (2000); fashion and clothing: BOREJSZO (1990), MYSONA and MARCINKOWSKA (1977), PARAFINOWICZ (1972, 1974, 1975), SKUBALANKA (2000), WILCZEWSKA (1970); bicycles: WOJTAK (2000); business, marketing and economics: DĄBROWSKA (2000); names of professions and positions: OCIEPA (2001); computers: CUDAK and TAMBOR (1995), DZIKIEWICZ and MIODEK (1991), MATUSIAK (1997); sport: OŹDŹYŃSKI (1970); physics: KAJETANOWICZ (1993); army: KANIA (1975); medicine: GÓRNICZ (2000); music: WRÓBLEWSKI (1989); hip-hop culture: BARTŁOMIEJCZYK (2008); sea and seamen: KOŁODZIEJEK (1990); drugs: BARTŁOMIEJCZYK (2006). Moreover, certain works deal with English loans in a given variety of Polish, e.g. in the language of university students (MCGOVERN, 1992). It is also possible here to distinguish a subgroup of publications dealing with the names of shops and companies, many of which are modelled on English, e.g. RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (1994, 1997, 1998a, 1998b), KORNASZEWSKI (1994; cited in RZETELSKA-FELESZKO 2001: 170—171).
- dealing with individual words borrowed from English, both (1) lexical loans, e.g. *AIDS* (A.M., 1991), *puzzle* (A.M., 1994), *krakersy* (CYRAN, 1975), *handicap* (DOROSZEWSKI, 1971), *grill*, *pager*, *notebook* (PIEĆIŃSKA, 2001), *collegelkolegium* (WOJCIECHOWSKA, 1992), *fan* (WRÓBLEWSKI, 1991) and (2) semantic borrowings, e.g. *alternatywa* (MIODEK, 2004), *ikona* (MIODEK, 2005).
- concentrating on the evaluation of the growing number of English loans in Polish, e.g. BUTTLER (1990), MARKOWSKI and PUZYNNINA (2001), PIOTROWSKI (1998), PREYZNER (1990), SZMAŃDA (1979). It is also possible here to distinguish a separate group of publications dealing generally with the number and evaluation of foreign word forms in Polish, e.g. WALCZAK (1992), BUGAJSKI (1995).

As one can see, much has been written about the influence of English upon Polish vocabulary. It must be added, however, that the majority of the publications listed above deal with loanwords in written language, particularly in the press. There is, to the present author's knowledge, still a scarcity of publications dealing with lexical loans of English origin in contemporary spoken spontaneous Polish. The only systematic work of this type known to the present author is the one written by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000). As she notes herself, however, her study focuses primarily on the areas of semantics and syntax. The aim of the present book, on the other hand, is to describe the English influence on informal spoken Polish at the level of words and their meanings.

### 3.5.3 Semantic loans

English semantics loans, which form the second group of borrowings, have been researched much less thoroughly. Older publications, such as written by RYBICKA (1976), deal with semantic loans of Russian, German and French origin. Nevertheless, certain authors dealt with the phenomenon in question, e.g. DUNAJ et al. (1999), GRYBOSIOWA (1994), MARKOWSKI (1992a, 1999, 2000, 2004), OTWINOWSKA (1997), OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000), WASZAKOWA (1995), WITALISZ (2004, 2007) and the present author (ZABAWA, 2004c, 2007b, 2008, 2010a). It must be added, however, that the majority of the publications listed above, with the exception of the ones written by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000) and WITALISZ (2007), concentrate on individual instances of semantic loans in Polish and, while being useful in presenting certain tendencies, can hardly be said to form systematic research on the subject. OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC describes a very limited number (13) of English semantic borrowings in Polish, whereas WITALISZ'S work is fairly comprehensive, as she has collected around 220 semantic loans and presented them in the form of a dictionary. The loans have been collected primarily from mass media (the press, the Internet, television). However, such a publication, albeit very important, gives no information on the frequency of semantic loans in the language. Consequently, there is still a need for systematic research concerning English influence on Polish in the sphere of semantics. Moreover, as WASZAKOWA (1995: 8—9) asserts, the mechanisms of the emergence of semantic loans in Polish remain yet to be analysed. The present author has proposed his own hypothesis concerning the possible ways of introducing semantic loans into spoken Polish (see section 6.3).

### 3.5.4 Final remarks

As was noted in section 3.5.1, the publications dealing with structural and morphological influence of English upon Polish will not be discussed in detail, as they lie beyond the scope of the study. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that such phenomena as e.g. structural influence of English were noticed relatively early, cf. MIODEK, who wrote about the attributive use of nouns (qualifying other nouns) in 1980 (MIODEK, 1980). Other publications dealing with grammatical (syntactic and morphological) borrowings of English origin include CHŁOPICKI and ŚWIĄTEK (2000), CHRUSCIŃSKA (1977), D.B. (1990), DULIAN (2004), DUNAJ (2000), GRYBOSIOWA (2001), KREJA (1993),

MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1993), MARKOWSKI (1992b, 1999), MIODEK (1993), MYCAWKA (2000, 2001), OCHMANN (2000, 2004), OTWINOWSKA (1997), OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000), OŻÓG (2000), PRZYBYLSKA (1995), SAWICKA (1995a, 1995b), SOBCZAK (2000), SZUPRYCZYŃSKA (1995), WALCZAK (1994, 2001), WASZAKOWA (2001b, 2001c, 2002), WYRWAS (2004a), ZAGRODNIKOWA (1982) and the present author (ZABAWA, 2004a, 2009b).

Despite the existence of all the publications listed in the previous sections, there is still a need to investigate English lexical and semantic loans in the Polish language. While a lot of linguists' attention has been devoted to the problem of the lexical influence of English upon written Polish (particularly upon the language of the press<sup>8</sup>), the influence in the domain of the spoken variety of Polish (both formal and informal) is still far from systematically researched. As was mentioned before, the only systematic research in this field, to the present author's knowledge, was conducted by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000). She concentrated on the spoken Polish of the Warsaw variety; special emphasis was given to semantic and syntactic loans. As she admits herself, most of her informants knew English and could be said to be under a strong influence of the English language (due to the character of their study, work and/or interests). However, since the knowledge of English among young Poles (and in the Polish society in general) is still limited (cf. Appendix 1), it seems that the representativeness of the corpus gathered by her would be improved if some informants with little knowledge of the English language were also included in the study. The present corpus, by contrast (cf. Chapter 4), does not exclude texts produced by such people. Besides, the present corpus is not only a collection of spoken informal texts in standard Polish, but it contains a large proportion of the texts in dialectal, i.e. Upper Silesian, Polish.

The present book is similar in its foundations, but it concentrates on the borrowings at word level, that is on lexical and semantic loans. Furthermore, as was noted in the introduction, the present study devotes much attention to individual loans, particularly semantic ones, discussing their use and meaning. Moreover, as was noted above, some of the informants possess little or even no knowledge of English (for details, cf. section 4.4.2). As a consequence, the Polish of such respondents seems to better resemble the language used by an average Pole.

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<sup>8</sup> Many linguists advocate using newspapers and magazines in order to prepare the lists of contemporary borrowings (e.g. RYBICKA-NOWACKA, 1976; CIENKOWSKI, 1978; both cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 40). Others, however, state that the press language is often not representative, because 'it [=the material from newspapers and magazines] frequently reflects the individual journalist's idiolect' (CARSTENSEN, 1980).



## Chapter 4

# THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concentrated on the linguistic outcome of English-Polish language contact as well as on the research done in the field of English influence upon Polish. The aim of the current chapter is to describe the corpus of informal spoken Polish, upon which the study is based. First, however, some theoretical information on the notion of ‘corpus’ is given.

### 4.2 General information about corpus studies<sup>2</sup>

The term **corpus** is defined differently by various specialists working in the field. Some of the definitions are very broad and general, e.g. ‘any collection of more than one text’ (MCENERY and WILSON, 1998; cited in MYRCZEK, 2000: 44), whereas others are narrow, but at the same time fairly comprehensive, e.g.

a collection of linguistic data, either written texts or a transcription of recorded speech, which can be used as a starting-point of linguistic description or as a means of verifying hypotheses about a language. (CRYSTAL, 1997: 87)

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<sup>1</sup> Some parts of this chapter have been published as a separate article (ZABAWA, 2009a).

<sup>2</sup> The aim of the present section is not to give a detailed account of the issues relating to a corpus and corpus studies, but rather to present a general introduction to the description of the corpus used in the book. Further information about corpus studies and various types of corpora can be found in e.g. SINCLAIR (1991) and MYRCZEK (2000).

Corpora can be basically divided into three main groups: (1) containing only written texts, (2) containing only spoken texts (transcriptions) and (3) composed of both written and spoken language. It seems fairly obvious that it is the spoken language corpus that is particularly difficult to construct and analyse. According to SINCLAIR:

Most corpora keep well away from the problems of spoken language — with some honourable exceptions — and, for a corpus which in any way purports to reflect a ‘state of the language’, this is most unfortunate. Many language scholars and teachers believe that the spoken form of the language is a better guide to the fundamental organization of the language than the written form; and many writers comment on the differences. In my own experience, there is no substitute for impromptu speech [...]. (SINCLAIR, 1991: 15—16)

The quotation above answers the question as to why it was decided to collect a corpus of informal conversations for the purpose of the present study, rather than, say, a corpus of press language. As was shown in Chapter 3, a great deal of attention has been devoted to the examination of English loans (primarily lexical ones) in written Polish, particularly of the press. However, the situation looks completely different when it comes to spontaneous spoken Polish (for details see Chapter 3).

The use of a corpus enables linguists to formulate hypotheses about language on solid bases. It is thus possible not only to state the existence of a given feature, but also to provide the evidence that would not be available without a corpus. As for the use of borrowings in a language, for example, a linguist working with a corpus typed into a computer is not only able to state the existence of a given loan in a language, but also to discuss its frequency, both absolute and relative (i.e. compared to other loans), usually in terms of types and tokens, conduct the contextual analysis, determine all the senses in which a word was used and rank them according to their frequency, discuss the relation between the usage of a loan and various other criteria, such as the types of texts, the topics, the informants (their sex, education, age, knowledge of foreign languages). Moreover, as OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000) rightly notices, it is not only the existence of a given feature that may be linguistically and/or statistically significant, but the non-existence of it may also constitute an important observation.

Nowadays large corpora, stored in a computer memory, are an invaluable aid in many branches of linguistics, most notably in lexicography. Here are some examples of the dictionaries (both mono- and bilingual) based on corpora:

- *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, 3rd edition, ed. by SINCLAIR (2001), based on the *Bank of English*, a corpus consisting of around 400 million words.

- *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 2nd edition, ed. by SOANES and STEVENSON (2003), based on the *Oxford English Corpus*, composed of the *British National Corpus* (100 million words), the *Oxford Reading Programme* (around 77 million words) and other databases.
- *Wielki słownik angielsko-polski PWN-Oxford* and *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski PWN-Oxford*, ed. by LINDE-USIEKIEWICZ (2004a, 2004b), both based on the *British National Corpus* and *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*.
- *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, ed. by DUBISZ (2003), *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN*, ed. by BAŃKO (2003), *Wielki słownik ortograficzny PWN*, ed. by POŁAŃSKI (2003), all based on *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*.
- *Czasowniki angielskie. Słownik*, by ARABSKI and ŁYDA (1997), based on a corpus composed of British and American press and literature (consisting of over 200 million words).
- *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* (in preparation), based on *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (The National Corpus of Polish).<sup>3</sup>

### 4.3 Problems connected with spoken language corpora

When one decides to construct a corpus of spoken language and analyse it in terms of borrowed words and/or meanings, three difficulties are predominant: first, it is much more difficult to construct a representative corpus of spoken language, particularly consisting of informal conversations, than, say, of the language of the press. On the one hand, to ensure a good quality of the recording, it should be carried out openly, i.e. non-surreptitiously. On the other, the presence of a tape recorder or a dictaphone may and often does have influence on the linguistic behaviour of speakers (cf. the phenomenon of ‘observer’s paradox’; for details see LABOV, 1972<sup>4</sup>). Moreover, it is often not easy to find appropriate people that would act as informants. Second, the creation of a corpus of spoken language is a difficult and time-consuming process, as the conversations must be recorded, transcribed and finally typed into a computer. The last two phases are particularly time-consuming, especially when compared to the process of creating a corpus of written language, which does not need to be transcribed and, instead of keyboarding, one can use faster and more efficient methods, such as optical scanning, i.e. machine reading (suitable especially for printed books, as SINCLAIR, 1991,

<sup>3</sup> *NKJP* is available online at <http://www.nkjp.pl>.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Professor Rafał Molencki for drawing my attention to Labov’s work.

notices) or the re-use of the material already in electronic form (suitable especially for press texts, which can frequently be found on the Internet). One could of course make use of such quasi-spoken varieties as interviews or film scripts but, as SINCLAIR notes, they are not really instances of spoken, but rather written-to-be-spoken language; hence they do not have typical features of spontaneous informal conversations and could not be included in the present corpus:

If it is impossible in an early stage of a project to collect the spoken language, then there is a temptation to collect film scripts, drama texts, etc., as if they would in some way make up for this deficiency. They have a very limited value in a general corpus, because they are ‘considered’ language, written to simulate speech in artificial settings. Each has its own distinctive features, but none truly reflects natural conversation, which for many people is the quintessence of the spoken language. There is special integrity in a text which is a full record of a public meeting, enquiry, court case, radio or television station, etc., despite the mix of impromptu and considered language that is used — scripts and even read-out statements are common. But such records are not likely to be representative of the general usage of conversation. (SINCLAIR, 1991: 16)

The above quotation answers the question as to why it was decided to exclude such texts as interviews or discussions emitted, e.g. by the television, from the present corpus.

Third, a typical spoken-language corpus does not contain many borrowed words, as POPLACK et al. pointed out:

Gathering enough data for the systematic study of the use of borrowed words in a speech community is inherently very difficult. Tokens of these words are typically rare in monolingual discourse, so that several hours of speech will yield only a few dozen, most of which occur only once. In certain contexts, of course, and for certain topics of conversation, there will be some set of borrowings which are used repeatedly, but the imposition of contextual or topical restrictions would vitiate the comprehensiveness and representativity of any investigation attempting to give a general characterization of borrowing and integration. (POPLACK, SANKOFF and MILLER, 1988: 48—49)

A similar view was expressed by DUNAJ:

Každy, kto zajmował się badaniami języka mówionego, wie, że uzyskanie obfitych materiałów leksykalnych z wypowiedzi mówionych nie jest łatwe. Wymaga żmudnych, długotrwałych obserwacji. (DUNAJ, 2000: 34)

Any person conducting research on spoken language knows that it is not easy to obtain rich lexical material from spoken utterances. It requires long and laborious observations.

The above quotations answer the question as to why corpora of spoken language are infrequently used for the systematic study of loans in a language. Instead, as POPLACK et al. (1988: 49) note, most studies dealing with the use of borrowed words in spoken language resort to three alternatives:

1. Artificial methods of the elicitation of data, used by e.g. POPLACK and SANKOFF (1984), who prepared a random series of photographs of 45 everyday items which could be designated by concrete nouns. The bilingual (Spanish-English) informants were then asked to name the object and provide any additional words for the same concept they could think of.
2. The analysis of a few isolated borrowings that occurred naturally, a method used by e.g. MOUGEON et al. (1985; cited in POPLACK et al., 1988: 49).
3. The analysis of anecdotal lists of borrowed words, a method used by e.g. NASH (1970, cited in POPLACK et al., 1988: 49).

Nevertheless, it seems that such methods as e.g. using photographs to elicit nouns from the respondents can provide only indirect data and thus the results obtained in this way are not necessarily representative of the use of loanwords in informal spontaneous conversations. As a consequence, it was decided for the purpose of the present book to gather a corpus of spontaneous conversations, since there is still a shortage of studies dealing with the use of borrowings, particularly semantic ones, in spoken discourse. Some of the recordings included in the corpus (6 out of 20) are connected with the topic of computers, the Internet or modern technology so as to ensure that a larger number of lexical and semantic loans will be available for analysis (cf. also section 4.4.3 dealing with the topics of the recordings).

## 4.4 The corpus used in the study

### 4.4.1 Introductory remarks

To ensure the reliability and homogeneity of the corpus, it was decided that only natural spontaneous conversations will be included. This automatically excludes not only all written-to-be-spoken forms (such as film dialogues) but also conversations conducted in a formal setting, such as interviews, discussions or talk shows emitted by the television.

The entire corpus consists of twenty recordings (60,564 running words altogether), recorded in 2003 and 2004. One could possibly state that the size of the corpus is too small to draw general conclusions concerning the use of lexical and semantic loans in spoken Polish. It seems, however, that it is large enough to highlight certain tendencies. Besides, the entire corpus was collected, transcribed and analysed by only one person, namely the author of the book. As a consequence, it could not be very large for practical reasons.

#### 4.4.2 The informants

Altogether, 48 people (including the author of the study) participated in the conversations (31 women and 17 men). They are uniquely coded throughout all the recordings. In other words, the same person is given the same symbol in all the conversations in which he or she took part. The codes for female speakers are F1, F2, ... , F30, F31 whereas the codes for male ones are M1, M2, ... , M16, M17. The author of the book is symbolized by M6.

It must be noted at this point that nine speakers were not taken into account in the present study. Five of them were accidental speakers (e.g. people asking for something), who uttered only a few words altogether. The rest of the excluded informants (four persons) were under the age of 18, and their contribution to the recorded conversations was also insignificant. The group of excluded speakers comprises the following respondents: F8, F14, F18, F19, F20, F23, M5, M10 and M12.

The number of speakers taken into consideration in the present book is thus 39 (25 women and 14 men). The basic information about the speakers (gathered in 2003) is presented in Table 4.1.

As one can see, most of the informants are university graduates, but there is also a small percentage of people having secondary or vocational education. The age of most of the speakers (27 out of 39) ranges between 21 and 36.

To make the corpus conversations as varied as possible, it was decided to choose respondents representing various occupations, including the following trades and professions: primary and secondary school teachers (of various subjects), a university teacher, a computer programmer, computer specialists, office workers, an entrepreneur, an interpreter, a lawyer, a bank clerk, security guards, an electrician, a lorry driver, an electronics engineer, shop assistants, a psychologist, a cleaner, a cook, a doctor (physician), hairdressers, an old-age pensioner and unemployed persons.

**Table 4.1** Basic information about the speakers

Speaker	Age	Sex	Education	Knowledge of English <sup>a</sup>
1	2	3	4	5
M1	26	male	higher (physical education)	intermediate
M2	36	male	higher (history)	basic
M3	25	male	higher (English studies)	advanced
M4	25	male	higher (physical education)	basic
M5	not taken into account in the present study			
M6	26	male	higher (English studies)	advanced
M7	23	male	higher (computer science)	intermediate
M8	54	male	higher (law)	none
M9	38	male	secondary (technical education)	none
M10	not taken into account in the present study			
M11	49	male	secondary (technical education)	basic
M12	not taken into account in the present study			
M13	24	male	secondary (technical education)	none
M14	27	male	higher (computer science)	basic
M15	26	male	higher (physical education)	intermediate
M16	50	male	secondary (technical education)	none
M17	22	male	secondary (general education)	basic
F1	26	fem.	higher (psychology)	intermediate
F2	40	fem.	higher (Russian studies, English studies)	advanced
F3	25	fem.	higher (biology)	basic
F4	27	fem.	higher (English studies)	advanced
F5	55	fem.	higher (biology)	none
F6	46	fem.	higher (history)	none
F7	29	fem.	higher (psychology, English studies)	advanced
F8	not taken into account in the present study			
F9	25	fem.	higher (biology)	intermediate
F10	29	fem.	higher (Polish studies)	intermediate
F11	31	fem.	higher (theology)	basic
F12	29	fem.	higher (Polish studies)	intermediate
F13	35	fem.	higher (chemistry)	none
F14	not taken into account in the present study			
F15	36	fem.	higher (library science)	basic
F16	27	fem.	higher (German studies)	basic
F17	48	fem.	higher (German studies)	basic
F18	not taken into account in the present study			
F19	not taken into account in the present study			
F20	not taken into account in the present study			

cont. tab. 4.1

1	2	3	4	5
F21	69	fem.	primary (general education)	none
F22	36	fem.	vocational (gastronomy)	none
F23	not taken into account in the present study			
F24	47	fem.	vocational (technical education)	none
F25	51	fem.	higher (medicine)	basic
F26	23	fem.	vocational (hairdressing)	basic
F27	23	fem.	vocational (gastronomy)	basic
F28	24	fem.	vocational (hairdressing)	none
F29	35	fem.	higher (geography)	basic
F30	50	fem.	higher (law, English studies)	advanced
F31	24	fem.	higher (marketing and management)	intermediate

<sup>a</sup> The knowledge of English of most of the informants was established by means of informal conversations and/or short placement tests. With this end in view, a four-point scale was used: none, basic, intermediate and advanced. It must be added that most of the speakers from the first group know a few English words and expressions, at least passively. The last group, in turn, includes also informants fluent in English.

All of the speakers come from Upper Silesia; to be more specific, they live in the following cities: Siemianowice Śląskie (the majority of the informants), Chorzów, Świętochłowice, Bytom, Katowice and Piekary Śląskie.

#### 4.4.3 The recordings

Altogether, there were twenty conversations recorded for the purpose of the present study. All of them were recorded with a digital voice recorder Olympus VN-900. All the recordings were conducted surreptitiously, in order to ensure as objective performance on the part of the speakers as possible. In fact, there was one pilot recording conducted non-surreptitiously, i.e. the speakers were informed that their conversation was going to be recorded; the purpose of the recording was not, however, revealed to them (they were informed only that it was for scientific purposes). They expressed their agreement, but it was visible that their linguistic behaviour was clearly influenced: for example, one person felt inhibited and thus unable to speak in a natural way. As a result, it was decided not to include the pilot recording in the corpus. Consequently, as was mentioned above, all the conversations were recorded surreptitiously. Naturally, all the personal data (such as first names, surnames, names of companies, etc.) have been removed from the transcript and, consequently, the informants remain anonymous.

Most of the conversations were recorded in informal situations, happening both indoors, during such events as a birthday party, a meeting with friends,



etc., cf. recordings 5, 12 and 20 (12,022 words in total) and outdoors, during walks, often with a dog, e.g. in a park or the woods, along the lake shore, through a housing estate etc., or during informal meetings with friends and/or family members, e.g. in a garden, cf. recordings 1, 6, 9, 14, 16, 18 and 19 (25,871 words in total). Some other recordings, viz. number 2, 10 and 13 (6,581 words in total), were conducted in a place of work, namely in a staffroom in a junior high school during long breaks. The situation was thus more formal than in the previous cases, but nevertheless the conversations could be safely described as informal, as most of the teachers taking part in them were on first name terms with one another. The rest of the recordings, namely number 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 15 and 17 (16,090 words in total) were conducted between the students learning German in a foreign language school. The conversations were spontaneous and informal (recorded before the actual classes), as all the people involved were again on first name terms.

The number of running words and the topics of particular recordings are presented in Table 4.2. The entire corpus consists of 60,564 words.

**Table 4.2** The topics and the number of words of particular recordings

Recording	Topic of the conversation	Number of running words
1	dogs, holidays, sport contests, fishing	3,966
2	school, teachers, pupils	2,868
3	computers, the Internet, computer programs	1,620
4	student exchange, computers and e-mail, exams and cheating	2,027
5	acquaintances, family matters, working, excursions, holidays	3,290
6	computers, computer games, computer magazines, the Internet	3,654
7	computers and e-mail, student exchange, learning German	2,348
8	teaching and learning foreign languages	3,144
9	a wedding, doing shopping, business matters	3,327
10	school, pupils and teaching, doctors and health-care	2,178
11	correspondence, computers (esp. using a text processor)	2,393
12	family matters, acquaintances, keeping dogs at home	3,848
13	films, teaching and giving grades, marriages	1,535
14	looking for work, doing business, computers and the Internet	4,060
15	weather, holidays	2,229
16	looking for work, learning abroad, moving to another country	3,895
17	learning foreign languages, taking exams	2,329
18	birthdays, films, new technologies, software piracy	3,807
19	grilling and smoking food, working in the garden, ticks and other insects	3,162
20	everyday life, cooking and eating, family, taking care of a baby	4,884

As one can see, it was decided to include conversations on various topics. Three of them, however, seem to be prevailing: (1) everyday activities, such as working, living, talking about one's family, friends and/or acquaintances (recordings number 5, 9, 12, 19, 20), (2) computers and the Internet (recordings number 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 18) and (3) teaching and learning (recordings number 2, 8, 10, 13, 17). The conversations about computers have turned out to be particularly interesting, as they contain a large percentage of both lexical and semantic loans found in the corpus (compared to other recordings). This is hardly surprising, especially when one considers the fact that the number of lexical loans has always been substantial in the sphere of modern technology, especially computers, particularly when compared to other semantic fields. It is more surprising, however, that the aforementioned semantic area was rich in semantic loans as well.

The lexical and semantic loans found in the corpus are discussed separately in two subsequent chapters (number 5 and 6).

#### 4.4.4 The type of language used

As was noted above, the entire corpus has been composed of spontaneous conversations, hence the language used in it can be safely described as naturally occurring Polish.

The type of the language used in the corpus conforms to all or almost all of the oral situational characteristics of the genre of 'ordinary conversation' (based on BIBER, 1988: 46; see section 1.3.2 for more information): multichannel, home acquisition, low social value, high interaction, shared personal knowledge, negotiable goal, maintenance of the relationship, shared space and time, low interaction with text and low informational focus (as opposed to unichannel, school acquisition, high social value, low interaction, low shared personal knowledge, non-negotiable goal, relationship backgrounded, separate space and time, high interaction with text and high informational focus, all belonging to literate situational characteristics of the most typical literate genre, i.e. academic prose) (BIBER, 1988: 46).

It must be noted that the language of some of the speakers has visible features of the Silesian dialect (notably the one of F21, F22, F24, F25, F28, M6, M7, M8, M9, M11, M13 and M16<sup>5</sup>). Some recordings are thus examples

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<sup>5</sup> It must be added that the situation of most of the speakers taking part in the study can be characterized as diglossic; in other words, the informants are able to speak both standard Polish and the Silesian dialect and alternate between them according to the situation.

of naturally occurring Silesian dialect (especially number 1, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 18 and 19).

In general, the Silesian dialect differs from regular Polish in the sphere of phonology (indicated by a special pronunciation, e.g. the common use of narrow vowels — *samogłoski ścieśnione*, special pronunciation of nasal sounds and simplification of certain consonant clusters), morphology (indicated by changes in inflection and the use of special endings), syntax (indicated e.g. by the special use of prepositions and the passive voice or changes in word formation) and semantics (indicated by the use of special vocabulary) (SKUDRZYKOWA et al., 2001: 157—209). Detailed information about the Silesian dialect (including samples of dialectal texts) can be found in SKUDRZYKOWA et al. (2001), TAMBOR (2002) and ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK (1992). The dictionaries of special Silesian vocabulary are also available, cf. e.g. CZAJKOWSKI et al. (1996), CZĄSTKA-SZYMON et al. (1999), WYDERKA (2000—2004). In addition, some general information about Polish dialects is given e.g. in MAZUR (2001) or in *Encyklopedia języka polskiego* (ed. by URBAŃCZYK and KUĆAŁA 1999). Furthermore, a great deal of information on the notion of dialect in general can be found in BEREZOWSKI (1997).

For the sake of clarity, only some most noticeable features of the Silesian dialect are marked in the corpus:

- some aspects of the special pronunciation, especially its most noticeable features, e.g. special endings, extra consonants or *mazurzenie*:

M7: aaa to **jo** tam **ida zaro** [...]

M11: **jo** już **zaczekom jo** nie **byda** trzydzieści złoty płaćił tyła piniędzy te [...]

F21: ale **łonemu** szybko rosną [...]

M9: jak to teraz **mom** nocki to **ło** **cwortej chopie wiys** jak **łone** jada [...]

Moreover, some words (not necessarily connected with the Silesian dialect) are written in a special way so as to reflect their pronunciation, e.g. *dwajścia*, *naobkolo*, *piniędzy*, *zaczło*.

- some aspects of the special morphology, e.g. the use of special words such as *zech*:

M8: bo eee dla odmiany jo **zech** czytoł

- the use of special vocabulary, e.g. *godać*, *synek*, *dziotcha*, *kaj*:

M11: z tyj wysokij / no jak tak z daleka patrę to ci **godom** [...]

M11: a on czerwony się zrobił cały / mówi ale ja nie byłem przygotowany na takie pytanie / a ten **synek** miał może góra siedemnaście lat / tam się kładli ze śmiechu **dziotchy** a on nie wiedzioł / drugie pytanie mu też coś zadali [...]

F25: cóż to za **dziotcha** / zamiast to mieć / fajno różowo kiecka z falbankami [...]

F25: **kaj** mocie ta idiotka?

#### 4.4.5 The transcription and the use of fonts

As the study focuses on loanwords (particularly their semantics and morphology, not phonology) and semantic loans, it was not necessary to transcribe the recorded conversations phonetically. Instead, it was decided to use orthographic transcription. However, no punctuation marks were used, with the exception of a question mark, used for marking questions (indicated by the intonation used by a speaker). Moreover, the slash symbol (/) was used to show short (up to one second) pauses in the speech. Such a notation is aimed at reflecting the natural flow of speech. The convention used for the transcription of the recordings used for the purpose of the present study is thus very similar to the one used by ŻYDEK-BEDNARCZUK (1994; cf. also section 1.4 on the research on spoken Polish), who conducted a study on the structure of informal conversation.

A speaker's turn is always indicated by his or her code, i.e. a letter (F for women, M for men) followed by a number and a colon. All names, surnames, nicknames and some other expressions denoting people (with the exception of some of them referring to celebrities) are replaced by common nouns given in curly brackets (e.g. {name}, {surname}, {nickname}, {person} — e.g. instead of *dyrektor* or *ojciec*) in order to keep the informants and the people they speak about anonymous, e.g.:

M6: a tyś szedł z {name}?

M11: z {name} i z {name} my szli z kościoła

Moreover, when it has seemed necessary, a case of such nouns is indicated:

F25: ale {name} co by się nie powiedziało to wiesz / te {name-genitive} dziewczyny / są ładne zgrabne / yyy partnerów mają przystojnych / bo i jedna i druga starszych ma

Similarly, some place names, e.g. of cities, town districts, as well as the names of companies, are also replaced by common nouns in curly brackets:

F6: w {city} tak że po# podejrzewam że to byli jednak ludzie tacy majątni [together 2 sec.] tylko miał w sobie coś muszę powiedzieć / a już kawały

All quotations from the corpus given in Chapters 5 and 6 as well as in Appendix 5 are preceded by the word 'Recording' and the indication of the number of the recording (given in square brackets), where the fragment in question can be found:

[Recording 7]

F29: a do ciebie doszło?

M14: doszedło / doszedło

Other features marked in the transcriptions include:

- non-verbal behaviour of the speakers, such as laughter, a cough, a whistle, etc., with the indication of its duration,<sup>6</sup> given in square brackets:

F29: każdy ma coś innego

[laughter 2 sec.]

- semi-verbal behaviour, expressing some kind of indecision, tacit agreement or having no real semantic function, marked as *mmm*, *yyy*, *mhm*:

F29: a teraz jak ten / jak właśnie mam te stałe łącze / to tak mmm / tak się trochę napaliłam na to

[...]

F29: dobra / zapisane [pause 2 sec.] a ja ostatnio właśnie też / yyy Gadu Gadu sobie zainstalowałam

M14: mhm

- background noises, which drowned out the words or made them indistinguishable, together with their duration, indicated in square brackets:

F29: nie nie nie / no to się

[background noise 6 sec.]

This group includes also the sounds of various machines or appliances:

M11: a tu / jak mnie to swędzi tu

[grinder 23 sec.]

- words whispered and thus indistinguishable:

M14: wiesz tam [whisper 2 sec.] we dwójkę

- longer pauses (lasting more than one second), with the indication of their duration:

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<sup>6</sup> In general, the duration of the phenomena lasting up to one second is marked as '[1 sec.]'. The only exceptions are short pauses marked with a slash (/).

F29: yyy ma raczej lepsze ikony / jakiś taki wygląd graficzny trochę inny / no nie wiem [pause 2 sec.] ja tam aż tak wiesz nie korzystam dużo to mmm dla mnie to fajny

- overlapping speech. In general, it was not necessary to mark overlapping speech in a detailed way. Instead, it is marked with the word ‘together’ and the duration of the overlap, given in square brackets:

M14: mhm / to trzeba jeszcze  
[together 1 sec.]

M6: chyba coś źle / chyba mmm może coś źle zapisałeś se ten adres

When the speech of one person was drowned out by louder and/or more distinct speech of another person, then the sentence uttered by the former person was broken in the middle and marked with an asterisk:

F29: mhm / no dziwne / dziwne / a wczoraj \*

M6: chociaż czasem się chyba rzeczywiście zdarza że

When the speech of one person was interrupted by another speaker giving a short remark expressing e.g. confirmation or agreement (but not drowning out the words uttered by the former interlocutor), then the moment of the interruption is marked with the sign ^. It also indicates that the next words uttered by the first speaker are directly connected with his or her previous utterance (marked with ^):

M14: to nie jest / gwarantowana usługa^

M6: no to nie jest gwarantowana

M14: ale się nie zdarza żeby nie dochodziło

- moments of unclear speech and thus indistinguishable words, indicated by the word ‘unclear’ and the duration, given in square brackets:

M8: ale ten pies bardzo posłuchliwy bo go wołał i [unclear 1 sec.]

- incomplete words, indicated by a hash sign (#):

M8: ja to źle mówię / brakowało mi dwadzieścia sze# eee dwadzieścia dni do dwudziestu sześciu lat

The English borrowings (lexical and semantic) found in the corpus are written in bold for easy reference.<sup>7</sup> For the sake of clarity, only a word dealt

<sup>7</sup> Sometimes a word can be both a lexical and semantic borrowing, cf. e.g. *test*.

with in a given section is marked (always written in bold). All the other borrowings (i.e. not dealt with in a given section) are not marked in any way. The borrowings from other languages (mostly German) are not marked in any way, either.

The English lexical and semantic borrowings found in the corpus will be described in detail in the next two chapters.

## Chapter 5

# LEXICAL LOANS FOUND IN THE CORPUS<sup>1</sup>

## 5.1 Introduction

In general, it can be stated that there exist two main methods of introducing foreign vocabulary into contemporary Polish: (1) by means of loanwords (where both form and meaning are borrowed, cf. section 2.3.2) and (2) by means of semantic loans (where only the meaning is borrowed, cf. section 2.3.2). This chapter is concerned with the first method (i.e. lexical loans), whereas semantic loans, which constitute the most essential part of the book, are presented in Chapter 6.

## 5.2 Description of the lexical loans found in the corpus

Altogether, 78 English lexical loans (types) were found in the corpus (225 tokens). This number includes derivatives, such e.g. *komputerowy*, *komputeryzacja* from *komputer* (70 types when derivatives are excluded). They can be roughly divided into four main groups, the criterion being the time of their first occurrence in Polish: (1) introduced before 1990, (2) introduced in the 1990s or later, noted in the new dictionary of contemporary Polish and/or dictionary of foreign terms, i.e. *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, ed. by Dubisz 2003, abbreviated to USJP and *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN*, ed. by Bańko 2003, abbreviated to WSWO,<sup>2</sup> (3) introduced only recently and

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<sup>1</sup> The description of English lexical loans in informal spoken Polish can also be found in ZABAWA (2007a, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Naturally, the loans belonging to this group may have been noted in other Polish dictionaries. See also the tables in Appendices 3 and 4, which indicate the existence or



not yet noted in the aforementioned dictionaries, but noted in the newest dictionary of English lexical loans in Polish, i.e. *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie*, ed. by MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD 2010, abbreviated to SZA, and (4) newest loans of English origin, not noted in SZA. The last group comprises mostly lexical loans which were used only occasionally and whose meaning is not yet well defined. In fact, some of the loans belonging to the fourth group may be, and often are, examples of single-word code-switches rather than unassimilated borrowings. Additionally, the corpus contains some forms which are not typical loanwords, but which seem, nevertheless, to be modelled on English (or sometimes also German). Naturally, such forms do not appear in either Polish or English dictionaries. They are not counted as lexical borrowings, but they are listed as a separate group in Table 5.1. Moreover, the corpus contains some expressions quoted directly from English or used metalinguistically. Such constructions are not counted as lexical borrowings, either.

It must be underlined at this point that it is sometimes not easy to decide whether a given loanword is of English origin or not. According to MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1994: 9), such problems may arise in the case of internationalisms (cf. the definition of the term in section 2.3.2), as such words exist by definition in many European languages and, consequently, it is not easy to decide where the word has originated. For example, the Polish word *kulis*, coming probably from Indian *koli*, exist in many European languages, such as English (*coolie*), French (*coolie*) and German (*Kuli*). As a consequence, while it seems probable that Indian is the genetic source of the borrowing in question, it is not easy to establish its immediate source, i.e. the direct donor language (English, French or German) (MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1994: 9). The dictionaries are often of no great help, either, as they not infrequently give different etymologies for the same word. Consequently, the dictionaries cannot unfortunately be said to be fully reliable: PIOTROWSKI (2009), for example, gives the example of the Polish word *beton*, treated erroneously in WSWO as an English borrowing. This, in his view, is the result of the fact that etymology is frequently treated as the least important piece of information in a dictionary.

Furthermore, it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the date of the first occurrence of a given English loanword. The National Corpus of Polish (NKJP, *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*, <http://www.nkjp.pl>) is of great help here; nevertheless, it must be noted that the division of the loanwords found in the corpus into four groups mentioned

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non-existence of the English loanwords (found in the corpus) in various other dictionaries of contemporary Polish and dictionaries of foreign terms.

at the beginning of the present section is in many cases only presumptive and by no means definite.<sup>3</sup>

It must also be stressed that the corpus contains a number of proper names, which are not, however, treated as loanwords.<sup>4</sup> They are either taken over directly from English (e.g. *McDonald's*, *X-Box*) or created in Polish, but using only English elements (e.g. *CD Action*, *Top Secret*). Moreover, some of them, combining both English and Polish, belong to the class of hybrid constructions (e.g. *CyberMycha*). It must also be added that it is very often the case that proper names are built up of common nouns, e.g. *CD Action* (a title of a computer magazine), consisting of two nouns: *CD* and *Action*. Such forms are not counted as borrowings, either.<sup>5</sup> The list of English proper names found in the corpus is given in Appendix 2.

Additionally, a corpus contains a number of words, many of which are internationalisms, of unclear origin. Such loanwords were not counted as lexical borrowings of English origin due to the problems outlined above. Examples of such words found in the corpus include *elektryczny*, *globalny*, *kajak*, *kod*, *produkt*.

Moreover, it is sometimes very difficult, if not impossible, to make a clear-cut distinction between single-word code switching (or code mixing) and unassimilated borrowing.<sup>6</sup> The linguists offer two main criteria that can be used to distinguish between them: (1) the degree of phonological and morphological adaptation and (2) the number of occurrences (i.e. frequency) of a given form (cf. e.g. MYERS-SCOTTON, 1993; cited in BENTAHILA, 1995: 39; MACSWAN, 1997; MALMKRJÆR, 1991). Still, it is necessary to note that such a division is in many cases not definite, as the criteria seem to be insufficiently precise. For this reason, both types (i.e. single-word code switches and borrowings) have been counted as loanwords and discussed in the present chapter.

As was noted in Chapter 2, it is generally assumed that lexical borrowings are introduced into a language by bilingual people (but cf. also footnote 18 in Chapter 2). It is only after some time that they begin to be used by monolinguals. Furthermore, a given loan usually becomes completely or partly assimilated on one or more levels: spelling, phonology, morphology and semantics (for details, cf. MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995, 2006). It must be added,

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<sup>3</sup> This is true especially in the case of distinguishing between the loans from the first and second groups.

<sup>4</sup> They can function, however, as a base for derivatives, e.g. *microsoftowy* from *Microsoft*. In the present study, such derivatives are treated as lexical borrowings.

<sup>5</sup> The form *CD* is treated as a lexical borrowing because it was also used in the corpus as an independent word, i.e. not as a part of a proper name.

<sup>6</sup> For more information on code switching and code mixing (including definitions and references), cf. the article by the present author (ZABAWA, 2011).

however, that many unassimilated borrowings (or instances of single-word code switching) never go beyond the stage of a quote, and, as a result, may soon be forgotten.

The Table 5.1 (cf. also ZABAWA, 2011) shows all the English borrowings found in the corpus. As was noted at the beginning of the current section, the loans are divided into four groups. The table includes also derivatives, which, for the sake of clarity, are presented as separate entries.

The additional, fifth group comprises some other forms, non-existent in either English or Polish dictionaries, but which nevertheless appear to be modelled on English and/or German. Naturally, the forms belonging to this group are not counted as borrowings.

**Table 5.1** Lexical borrowings of English origin found in the corpus

Group	Description of the group	Borrowings found <sup>a</sup>
1	English borrowings introduced before 1990	anglikański, biznes, camping, disc jockey, dolar, dubbing, film, gadżet, grill, hi-fi, hipis, hobby, komfort, komputer, komputerowy, komputeryzacja, OK, parking, parkować, partner, przetrenować, pub, serial, sponsorować, standard, standardowo, startować, szok, test, trener, trening, weekend, wysportowany, zdopingować, zoo
2	English borrowings introduced in the 1990s or later (noted in USJP and/or WSWO) <sup>b</sup>	CD, CD-ROM, CV, DVD, edytor [=word processor], e-mail, firewall, hip-hop, HTML, interaktywny, Internet, internetowy, jacuzzi, kartridż, klikać, kompakt, mail, modem, multimedialny, non-stop, OEM, on-line, PC, serwer, SMS <sup>c</sup> , subwoofer, top [ <i>na topie</i> ], van
3	new English borrowings (not noted in USJP or WSWO, but noted in SZA)	net, screen, strongman, wow
4	newest English borrowings (not noted in SZA)	boxowy, hand-held, impossible, IP, mailowo <sup>d</sup> , microsoftowy, multiplayer, pass, PDF, single <sup>e</sup> , zip file
5	other forms modelled on English and/or German (not counted as loan-words) <sup>f</sup>	divix, empetrójka, erpeg, foluwa, integrale, menago

<sup>a</sup> Variations in spelling in the case of some of the borrowings are possible, e.g. *biznes/business*, *disc jockey/dysk dżokej*, *kartridż/cartridge*, etc. In such cases, only one form (the one believed more frequent, cf. their occurrence in NKJP) is given.

<sup>b</sup> Interestingly enough, this group comprises the highest percentage of acronyms. Many of them are, however, not felt as acronyms by an average native speaker of Polish, cf. e.g. the form *DVD*.

<sup>c</sup> The form *SMS* is of English origin (an acronym for 'short message service'). Interestingly enough, it is used in Polish, but not in English, where the construction *text* or *text-message* is used (both *text* and *text-message* can function as nouns and/or verbs). Additionally, the form *text-messaging* is also documented. I am grateful to Professor Rafał Molencki for drawing my attention to this fact.

<sup>d</sup> This is a derivative (an adverb) of *mail*. For the sake of clarity, it is listed as a separate borrowing.

<sup>e</sup> SZA lists the forms *singel* and *singiel*. The form found in the corpus, however, was pronounced differently (close to English *single*, as indicated by its spelling) and used in a different meaning, not included in the dictionary.

<sup>f</sup> As the forms were only spoken, not written, their spelling is quite arbitrary.

The borrowings from the first, second and third groups have already been noted in the dictionaries of Polish or of foreign terms (USJP, WSWO and/or SZA).<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that some of them have quasi-native counterparts. The counterparts are, however, usually loan translations or loan renditions from English (hence the label *quasi-native* counterparts), e.g. *zapora ogniowa* or *ściana ogniowa* (English *firewall*), *plyta kompaktowa* (English *compact disc*), *wersja pudełkowa* (English *box version*), *zrzut ekranowy* (English *screen dump*) and *poczta elektroniczna* (English *electronic mail*).

Additionally, it must be stressed here that some of the English constructions are used in Polish in a more restricted sense than in English. As for examples, *firewall* is used in Polish in the meaning of ‘a part of a computer system or network which is designed to block unauthorized access while permitting outward communication’ (ODE), whereas the core meaning of English *firewall* is not connected with computers: ‘a wall or partition designed to inhibit or prevent the spread of fire’ (ODE). In Polish, by contrast, it cannot be used outside the context of computers. Another example of this kind includes *komputer/computer*, which can be used in English, but not in Polish, in the sense of ‘a person who makes calculations’ (ODE).<sup>8</sup> A reverse situation, though less frequent, can also be detected: some borrowings are used in Polish in the meaning absent in English. As for examples, *non stop* can function informally in Polish, but not in English (cf. OALD, ODE), as a noun in the meaning of ‘a type of a nightclub, especially a discotheque’.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the process of conversion must have been in operation here, as *non-stop* does not function as a noun in English.

In other cases, English borrowings are used in Polish in the meaning slightly different than the one in which the words appear in English. As for examples, the form *weekend* can be mentioned: in English, the form is used to denote ‘Saturday and Sunday’ (ODE), whereas in Polish it denotes the period from Friday afternoon till Monday morning (USJP).

More importantly, some of the forms found in the corpus, namely *camping*, *DVD* (in one of its uses), *OEM* and *van* have been used in the meaning

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<sup>7</sup> In spite of this, the status of some of such words appears to be still unclear. As for examples, in the case of *Internet*, it is not clear whether the word should be obligatorily capitalized or not, since dictionaries often give contradictory hints. NSPP allows only a capital letter, WSWO, USJP and SZA accept both (additionally, the form *internet*, i.e. not capitalized, is classified in WSWO and SZA as rarer), and WSO allows also both forms, but with a difference in meaning: *Internet* — ‘a global computer network’, *internet* — ‘an independent, separate network or a fragment of the Internet’ (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 61).

<sup>8</sup> Further examples (from the corpus) include *klikać* (English *to click*), *kartridż/catridge* (English *cartridge*) and *serwer* (English *server*).

<sup>9</sup> This usage has been noted in USJP but not in WSWO. Naturally, the word can also be used in Polish, in the same way as in English, as an adverb or adjective in the meaning of ‘without stopping or pausing’ (cf. ODE).

different than the one noted in the dictionaries of Polish and/or of foreign terms (USJP, WSWO, SZA). Table 5.2 always indicates the meaning in which a given word was used in the corpus.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 5.2** The meaning(s) of the lexical loans found in the corpus

Group	Word (part of speech)	The meaning(s) in which the word appeared in the corpus <sup>a</sup>
1	2	3
1	<i>camping</i> (n)	a small, simple, single-storey house, used to live during one's holidays
2	<i>CD</i> (abbr: n)	1. a small disc on which music or information is stored 2. a small empty disc on which music or information can be recorded 3. a machine for playing CDs; a CD player (the abbreviation for <i>compact disc</i> )
	<i>CD-ROM</i> (abbr: n)	1. a kind of CD on which information can be stored, for the use on a computer 2. a machine, usually built into a computer, for reading CD-ROM discs; a CD-ROM drive (the abbreviation for <i>compact disc read-only memory</i> , OALD)
	<i>CV</i> (abbr: n)	'a brief account of a person's education, qualifications, and previous occupations, typically sent with a job application' (ODE)
	<i>DVD</i> (abbr: n)	1. a small empty disc, similar to a CD, on which large amounts of information or video can be recorded 2. a disc on which large amounts of information or video is stored 3. a film recorded on such a disc (the abbreviation for <i>digital videodisc</i> or <i>digital versatile disk</i> , OALD)
	<i>edytor</i> (n)	a computer program for storing, manipulating, and formatting text entered from a keyboard (cf. ODE)
	<i>e-mail</i> (n)	an address of electronic mail
	<i>firewall</i> (n)	'a part of a computer system or network which is designed to block unauthorized access while permitting outward communication' (ODE)
	<i>hip-hop</i> (n)	'a style of popular music of US black and Hispanic origin, featuring rap with an electronic backing' (ODE)
	<i>HTML</i> (abbr: n)	'a standardized system for tagging text files to achieve font, colour, graphic, and hyperlink effects on World Wide Web' (ODE; the abbreviation for <i>Hypertext Markup Language</i> , ODE)
	<i>interaktywny</i> (adj)	'(of a computer or other electronic device) allowing a two-way flow of information between it and a user; responding to the user's input' (ODE)
	<i>Internet</i> (n)	a global computer network

<sup>10</sup> The borrowings from the first group are not included in the table, since they are already well assimilated and their meaning is obvious (e.g. *komputer*, *parking*, *serial*, *zoo*). The only exception is *camping*, as it was used in the corpus in the meaning different from the one noted in the dictionaries (SJP, USJP).

1	2	3
	<i>internetowy</i> (adj)	(an adjective derived from <i>Internet</i> )
	<i>jacuzzi</i> (n)	'a large bath with a system of underwater jets of water to massage the body' (ODE)
	<i>kartridż/ cartridge</i> (n)	a case containing a computer program or game, designed for insertion into a games console
	<i>klikać</i> (v)	'to press one of the buttons on a mouse to select a function or item on the screen' (ODE)
	<i>kompakt</i> (n)	a compact disc
	<i>mail</i> (n)	1. a message sent via e-mail 2. an e-mail address 3. an electronic mailbox 4. a system of electronic mail
	<i>modem</i> (n)	'a combined device for modulation and demodulation, for example, between the digital data of a computer and the analogue signal of a telephone line' (ODE)
	<i>multimedialny</i> (adj)	'using more than one medium of expression or communication' (ODE), e.g. using text, sound, pictures and film
	<i>non stop</i> (adv)	'without stopping or pausing' (ODE)
	<i>OEM</i> (abbr: n, adj)	a special version of a computer program, usually an operating system, sold together with a computer or a piece of hardware, such as e.g. a hard disk (the abbreviation for <i>original equipment manufacturer</i> , ODE, or <i>official equipment manufacturer</i> , WSWO)
	<i>on-line</i> (adj)	'available on or performed using the Internet' (ODE)
	<i>PC</i> (abbr: n)	'a microcomputer designed for use by one person at a time' (ODE; the abbreviation for <i>personal computer</i> )
	<i>serwer</i> (n)	'a computer or computer program which manages access to a centralized resource or service in a network' (ODE)
	<i>SMS</i> (abbr: n)	a text message sent via a mobile phone (the abbreviation for <i>Short Message/Messaging Service</i> , ODE)
	<i>subwoofer</i> (n)	'a loudspeaker component designed to reproduce very low bass frequencies' (ODE)
	<i>top</i> (n)	'the highest or most important rank, level, or position' (ODE)
	<i>van</i> (n)	(the word refers to <i>Seicento Van</i> , i.e. a kind of car used for carrying goods and one or two persons)
3	<i>net</i> (n)	the Internet (informal)
	<i>screen</i> (n)	a photograph (shown e.g. on an Internet site or published in a computer magazine) of an image displayed by a computer game or a program
	<i>strongman/ strongmen</i> (n)	1. weightlifting contest (organized by a sponsor in a popular holiday resort) 2. a man/men of great physical strength

1	2	3
	wow (interj)	(used to express the feeling of astonishment mixed with admiration)
4	boxowy (adj)	a special version of the operating system (packed in a cardboard box) which can be installed on a given computer and used without any further restrictions
	hand-held (n)	a video game that is small enough to be held in the hand while being used
	impossible (adj)	impossible
	IP (abbr: n)	'a unique string of numbers separated by full stops that identifies each computer attached to the Internet' (ODE; the abbreviation for <i>Internet Protocol</i> , ODE)
	mailowo (adv)	(an adverb derived from the noun <i>mail</i> and the adjective <i>mailowy</i> )
	microsoftowy (adj)	(an adjective derived from the proper name <i>Microsoft</i> )
	multiplayer (n)	a computer game (or a mode of playing a computer game) designed for or involving several players, usually, but not necessarily, involving the use of the Internet
	pass (n)	'a success in an examination' (ODE)
	PDF (abbr: n)	'a file format for capturing and sending electronic documents in exactly the intended format' (ODE; the abbreviation for <i>Portable Document Format</i> , ODE)
	single (n)	a computer game (or a mode of playing a computer game) designed for one player
	zip file (n)	a compressed computer file
5	divix (n)	'a piece of software that compresses video from virtually any source down to a size that is transportable over the Internet without reducing the original video's visual quality' ( <a href="http://www.divx.com">http://www.divx.com</a> )
	empetrójkal MP3 (n)	a popular compressed audio file format
	erpeg (n)	RPG; 'a game in which players take on the roles of imaginary characters who engage in adventures, typically in a particular fantasy setting overseen by a referee' (ODE)
	foluwa (n)	a lot of people, a crowd [modelled on either German <i>voll</i> or English <i>full</i> , or both]
	integrale (n)	type of selling (of the products having all the necessary parts, rather than of the individual elements)
	menago (n)	a variant of Polish <i>menedżer/menadżer/manager</i> ('a person who is in charge of running a business, a store, bank, hotel or a similar organization', OALD)

<sup>a</sup> In some cases the words were used in the corpus in exactly the same meaning as their English counterparts are used in English. In such cases the definitions were directly quoted or modelled on English monolingual dictionaries: *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6th edition* (by A. S. HORNBY, ed. by WEHMEIER, 2000) and *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2nd edition* (ed. by SOANES and STEVENSON, 2003).

As the book focuses primarily on semantic loans, the use of the lexical loans will not be discussed in further detail (but cf. Appendix 5).<sup>11</sup> Instead, the loans will be analysed statistically (cf. section 5.3).

In addition to the loans given above, the corpus contains also some instances of direct quotations from English<sup>12</sup> (functioning as multi-word code switches) and English phrases used metalinguistically. As for the former, the constructions *where are you from?* and *I am from France* have been used in the corpus (as a quote of what somebody has written during a multiplayer game session); as for the latter, the construction *redred hair* and *sales engineer* have been used. One of the speakers has pointed out that sometimes English words and phrases are used in advertisements in order to make the products they advertise seemingly more sophisticated or even to confuse the reader.<sup>13</sup> The very phenomenon of using English terms in Polish press advertisements was noticed and commented upon by many linguists, cf. e.g. MOLENCKI (1997: 144—145).

All the loans found in the corpus (with the exception of the constructions from the fifth group, direct quotations from English and the expressions used metalinguistically), have been included in statistical analysis (see the next section).

### 5.3 Statistical analysis

The aim of the current section is to present the statistical analysis concerning the lexical influence of English on contemporary spoken Polish.

The frequency of occurrence of the lexical loans discussed in the present chapter is summarized in Table 5.3.<sup>14</sup>

As one can see, some of the loanwords were used either only once or by one speaker, but others appear to be relatively common. Moreover, a number of new loans, not described before, were used in the present corpus.

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<sup>11</sup> More information on the meaning and use of the lexical loans found in the corpus can be found in the article by the present author (ZABAWA, 2011). A short summary (in Polish) can also be found in ZABAWA (2007a). In addition, the examples of the use of some of the loans from the corpus are given in Appendix 5 in the present book.

<sup>12</sup> The phenomenon was termed ‘verbatim quotes’ (also used as a verb, ‘to quote verbatim’) by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000).

<sup>13</sup> For more information on the use of English unassimilated loans in Polish press advertisements, cf. ZABAWA (2004b).

<sup>14</sup> A similar table was compiled by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000), but with respect to semantic borrowings only.



**Table 5.3** The use of the lexical borrowings in the corpus

Group	Lexical loan <sup>a</sup>	Number of occurrences of the word	Number of speakers that used the word	Number of recordings in which the word appeared
1	2	3	4	5
English loans introduced before the 1990s	anglikański	1	1	1
	biznes (business)	1	1	1
	camping	1	1	1
	disc jockey (dyskdżokej) <sup>b</sup>	2	2	1
	dolar	5	3	2
	dubbing	1	1	1
	film	12	4	4
	gadżet	1	1	1
	grill	1	1	1
	hi-fi	1	1	1
	hipis (hippis)	1	1	1
	hobby	2	1	1
	komfort	3	1	2
	komputer	18	5	6
	komputerowy	6	3	4
	komputeryzacja	1	1	1
	OK	2	1	1
	parking	7	3	2
	parkować	1	1	1
	partner	2	1	1
	przetrenować	1	1	1
	pub	3	2	2
	serial	1	1	1
	sponsorować	1	1	1
	standard	2	2	2
	standardowo	1	1	1
	startować	1	1	1
	szok	2	2	2
	test	11	5	6
	trener	1	1	1
trening	1	1	1	
weekend	6	3	3	
wysportowany	1	1	1	
zdopingować	1	1	1	
zoo	2	1	1	
English loans introduced in the 1990s or later (noted in USJP and/or WSWO)	CD	5	3	3
	CD-ROM	3	2	2
	CV	2	1	1
	DVD	11	2	1
	edytor	2	1	1
	e-mail	1	1	1
	firewall	2	2	1

cont. tab. 5.3

1	2	3	4	5
	hip-hop	1	1	1
	HTML	1	1	1
	interaktywny	1	1	1
	Internet	10	5	7
	internetowy	5	2	2
	jacuzzi	2	2	1
	kartridż (cartridge)	1	1	1
	klikać	1	1	1
	kompakt	2	2	1
	mail	14	3	5
	modem	1	1	1
	multimedialny	2	1	1
	non-stop	3	3	3
	OEM	2	1	1
	on-line	3	1	1
	PC	3	2	1
	serwer	13	2	4
	SMS	1	1	1
	subwoofer	5	2	1
	top	2	2	1
	van	1	1	1
New English borrowings (not noted in USJP or WSWO, but noted in SZA)	net	1	1	1
	screen	1	1	1
	strongman, strongmen	4	3	2
	wow	2	1	2
Newest English loans (not noted in SZA)	boxowy (boksowy)	2	1	1
	hand-held	1	1	1
	impossible	1	1	1
	IP	1	1	1
	mailowo	2	1	1
	microsoftowy	1	1	1
	multiplayer	1	1	1
	pass	1	1	1
	PDF	1	1	1
	screen	1	1	1
	single	1	1	1
	zip file	1	1	1
Other forms modelled on English/German (not co- counted as loanwords)	divix	2	2	1
	empetrójka	6	2	1
	erpeg	1	1	1
	foluwa	1	1	1
	integrale	1	1	1
	menago	1	1	1

<sup>a</sup> For the sake of clarity, derivatives are listed as separate entries.

<sup>b</sup> The form appeared once as *dyskdżokej* and once as *dżokej* (in the same meaning).

As was stated above, some of the loanwords found in the corpus were used only once, probably to ‘satisfy a momentary linguistic need’ (cf. Chapter 2). Such loans belong to the group of **momentary** or **nonce borrowings** (a term used by POPLACK et al., 1988: 52). Others, by contrast, were repeated relatively frequently and thus belong to the group of **recurrent borrowings** (POPLACK et al., 1988: 57). It is thus possible to divide the loanwords found in the corpus into five groups<sup>15</sup> (as in the case of semantic loans, cf. section 6.5): **nonce borrowings** (that occurred once in the corpus), **idiosyncratic borrowings** (used by one speaker), **recurrent borrowings** (that occurred at least four times in the corpus), **widespread borrowings** (used by at least four speakers<sup>16</sup>) and **mid-frequent borrowings** (the author’s own term), i.e. the ones which do not belong to any of the previous four groups. The results of the classification are presented in Table 5.4.<sup>17</sup>

Interestingly enough, the group of widespread loans is the smallest in terms of the number of loan types (4). However, as all of the loans from this group were used by at least four speakers, it constitutes a significant group in terms of loan tokens (51).

The group of nonce borrowings consists of 39 types, while the group of widespread loans (used by at least four speakers) comprises only 4 loan types. The former group constitutes thus 50.00% of loan types from the entire corpus,<sup>18</sup> whereas the latter only 5.13%. When the two groups are compared with respect to the number of loan tokens, however, the situation looks quite different: the group of nonce borrowings consists of 39 tokens (17.33% of the tokens from the entire corpus), whereas the class of widespread borrowings comprises as many as 51 tokens (22.67% of the tokens from the entire corpus). As a consequence, one can state that an average speaker uses more widespread than nonce loans. To be more precise, each of the widespread borrowings was used 12.75 times on average, whereas each of the nonce borrowings was by definition used only once. The loans belonging to idiosyncratic class were used on average only slightly more than once (1.29). Consequently, the nonce and idiosyncratic groups, although large in terms of loan types, are in fact not very significant when it comes to loan tokens and the number of uses of each individual loanword.

Interestingly but perhaps not surprisingly, the largest group in terms of loan tokens (but not types) is the class of recurrent borrowings (132 tokens).

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<sup>15</sup> Some loans belong simultaneously to more than one group, e.g. *anglikański* belongs to the group of both nonce and idiosyncratic borrowings (the word was used once by one speaker).

<sup>16</sup> The number of speakers (four) is roughly 10% of the informants taking part in the conversations that constitute the present corpus.

<sup>17</sup> This is an extended and revised version of the classification used by POPLACK et al. (1988: 57). As they note, nonce borrowings are by definition idiosyncratic and widespread loans are by definition recurrent.

<sup>18</sup> The entire corpus includes 78 loan types and 225 loan tokens.

**Table 5.4** The classification of the lexical loans found in the corpus according to their frequency

Nonce borrowings	Idiosyncratic borrowings	Recurrent borrowings	Widespread borrowings	Mid-frequent borrowings
Loans <sup>a</sup>				
anglikański, biznes, camping, dubbing, e-mail, gadżet, grill, hand-held, hi-fi, hip-hop, hipis (hippis), HTML, impossible, interaktywny, IP, kartridż (cartridge), klikać, komputeryzacja, komputeryzacja, mikrosoftowy, modem, multiplayer, net, parkować, pass, PDF, przetrenować, screen, serial, startować, trener, training, van, wow, wysportowany, zdopingować, zip file, zoo	anglikański, biznes, boxowy, camping, CV, dubbing, edytor, e-mail, gadżet, grill, hand-held, hi-fi, hip-hop, hipis (hippis), hobby, HTML, impossible, interaktywny, IP, kartridż (cartridge), klikać, komfort, komputeryzacja, mailowo, mikrosoftowy, modem, multimedialny, multiplayer, net, OEM, OK, on-line, parkować, partner, pass, PDF, przetrenować, screen, serial, single, SMS, sponsorować, standardowo, startować, trener, training, van, wow, wysportowany, zdopingować, zip file, zoo	CD, dolar, DVD, film, Internet, internetowy, komputer, komputerowy, mail, parking, serwer, strongman (strongmen), subwoofier, test, weekend	film, Internet, komputer, test	CD-ROM, disc jockey (dyskdżokej), firewall, jacuzzi, kompakt, non-stop, PC, pub, standard, szok, top
Types (N)				
39	52	15	4	11
Tokens (N)				
39	67	132	51	26
Tokens:types ratio				
1	1.29	8.8	12.75	2.36

<sup>a</sup> The words modelled on English (or German), but not actual loanwords (e.g. *empetrójka, menago*) are not included in this and any further tables. Derivatives (e.g. *komputerowy, komputeryzacja* derived from *komputer*) are listed and counted as separate entries.

Each of the loans belonging to this group was used 8.8 times on average. However, most of these loanwords were used by fewer than four speakers, which means that they were popular and widely used among a limited group of speakers.

As for individual loanwords, the most frequent ones were *komputer* (used 18 times), *mail* (used 14 times), *serwer* (used 13 times), *film* (used 12 times), *test* (used 11 times), *DVD* (used 11 times) and *Internet* (used 10 times).<sup>19</sup> All of them were used by more than one speaker (5, 3, 2, 4, 5, 2 and 5 respectively). When the number of speakers is taken into consideration, then *komputer*, *test* and *Internet* are among the most widespread, since all of them were used by five informants.

It is not surprising that the majority of the commonest loanwords in the corpus are well assimilated (with the exception of *DVD* and *mail*). It is more interesting, however, that five out of seven commonest lexical borrowings are connected with the semantic area of computers, the Internet and modern technology. This seems to be due to the fact that the respondents, when talking about the subjects in question, used repeatedly a limited number of loanwords. Moreover, the semantic field of computers, the Internet and modern technology is known to have a large number of loanwords of English origin.

As for the parts of speech of the loanwords found in the corpus, it can be observed that the vast majority of the borrowings belong to the class of nouns, as Table 5.5 shows.

It is interesting, though hardly surprising, that the percentage of nouns is much higher when compared to other parts of speech. What is more, the group of abbreviations/acronyms can be added to the class of nouns (cf. footnote a in Table 5.5). The group of nouns would then constitute as much as 71.05% of the loanwords found in the corpus. Additionally, one can note that most (though not all) adjectives and adverbs are not 'independent' loanwords but merely derivatives of nouns, e.g. *standardowo* (derived from *standard*), *mailowo* (derived from *mail*), *komputerowy* (derived from *komputer*), *wysportowany* (derived from *sport*), *internetowy* (derived from *Internet*). These facts make the predominance of nouns even more striking.

The preponderance of nouns is even greater when one compares the number of loanwords belonging to different parts of speech in terms of tokens (not types), as Table 5.6 illustrates.

As one can see, when tokens are taken into account, the nouns constitute as much as 68.61% of the loanwords found in the corpus. When the group of abbreviations/acronyms is added to the class of nouns, the latter would constitute as much as 82.06% of the loanwords found in the corpus.

<sup>19</sup> It is evident that the number of occurrences of the loans would be higher when one is to include derivatives: *komputer/komputerowy/komputeryzacja* (used 25 times altogether), *mail/mailowo* (used 16 times altogether), *Internet/internetowy* (used 15 times altogether).

**Table 5.5** The number of lexical loans (types) belonging to different parts of speech

Parts of speech						
nouns	verbs	adjectives	adverbs	abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>a</sup>	other	
Types – 78 (76) loans (types) in total <sup>b</sup>						
44	6	11	3	10	2	
Loans						
biznes, camping, disc jockey, dolar, dubbing, edytor, e-mail, film, firewall, gadżet, grill, hand-held, hip-hop, hobby, Internet, jacuzzi, katridż, kompakt, komfort, komputer, komputeryzacja, mail, modem, multiplayer, net, parking, partner, pub, screen, serial, serwer, standard, strongman (strongmen), subwoofer, szok, trening, test, top, trener, van, weekend, zip file, zoo	klikać, parkować, przetrenować, sponsorować, startować, zdopingować	anglikański, boxowy, hi-fi, impossible, interaktywny, internetowy, komputerowy, microsoftowy, multimedialny, on-line, wysportowany	mailowo, non-stop, standardowo	CD, CD-ROM, CV, DVD, HTML, IP, OEM, PC, PDF, SMS	wow, OK	
% of the total group						
57.89 <sup>c</sup>	7.89	14.47	3.95	13.16	2.63	

<sup>a</sup> According to *Encyklopedia języka polskiego* (ed. by URBAŃCZYK and KUĆALA, 1999: 349), acronyms belong to the class of nouns. In the present table, however, they are listed separately as their character appears to be quite distinct from regular nouns.

<sup>b</sup> The words *single* and *pass* are not taken into account here, as it is unclear which part of speech they belong to. The words modelled on English (or German) but not actual loanwords (e.g. *empetrójka, menaço*) are not included in the current table, either. Derivatives (e.g. *komputerowy, komputeryzacja* derived from *komputer*) are listed and counted as separate entries.

<sup>c</sup> 71.05% when the group of abbreviations/acronyms is to be included here.

**Table 5.6** The number of lexical loans (tokens) belonging to different parts of speech

Parts of speech	Tokens <sup>a</sup> (223 in total)	% of the total group
Nouns	153	68.61 <sup>b</sup>
Verbs	6	2.69
Adjectives	24	10.76
Adverbs	6	2.69
Abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>c</sup>	30	13.45
Other	4	1.79

<sup>a</sup> Cf. footnote b in Table 5.5.

<sup>b</sup> 82.06% when the group of abbreviations/acronyms is to be included here.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. footnote a in Table 5.5.

As for other parts of speech, adjectives seem to constitute a relatively high percentage of the loanwords (14.47% in terms of types, 10.76% in terms of tokens), especially in comparison with verbs (7.89% in terms of types, 2.69% in terms of tokens). It must be added at this point, however, that, as was stated above, most borrowed adjectives found in the corpus were not ‘independent’ borrowings but only derivatives, which were, nevertheless, counted as separate loanwords (*anglikański* derived from *anglikanin*, *internetowy* from *Internet*, *komputerowy* from *komputer*, *microsoftowy* from *Microsoft*, *multimedialny* from *multimedia*, *wysportowany* from *sport*). If one were to exclude such derivatives, then only five adjectives would remain in the group (*boxowy*, *hi-fi*, *impossible*, *interaktywny*, *on-line*), i.e. 6.58% of the loanwords found in the corpus in terms of types and 3.59% in terms of tokens. As one can see from the percentages, the independently borrowed adjectives (i.e. not derivatives) were considerably less frequent in the corpus than the adjectives derived from nouns.

As might have been expected, adverbs do not constitute an important group of borrowings, either (at least in quantitative terms). The class in question constitutes 3.95% of the loanwords found in the corpus in terms of types and 2.69% in terms of tokens.

Verbs also constitute a minor class in the group of loanwords: only six types were found, each of which was used only once in the corpus. As a result, verbs do not constitute a high percentage of the loanwords (7.89% in terms of types, 2.69% in terms of tokens).

It is also worth noting that there are very few English interjections or exclamations in the corpus. Altogether, only two were used: *wow* and *OK*, both of which occurred twice in the corpus. However, *OK* was not really used as an exclamation borrowed from English, but rather as a direct quotation of one of the options displayed on a computer screen (the second being ‘cancel’):

- (1—2) [Recording 11]  
 F29: najpierw mi coś napisał że / że niby nie mam takiego słownika czy jest za za ubogi coś tam jakoś taki taki / yyy wiesz komunikat jakiś tam  
 M6: aha aha  
 F29: komunikat wyskoczył / no ale że ja / mmm **OK OK** / i najpierw^  
 M6: aha aha  
 F29: mi się pojawiło / wiesz / że mówię ci że / czy chcesz sprawdzanie też gramatyczne i ten

Thus it is possible to say that the interjections of the English origin are virtually non-existent in the corpus, the only exception being *wow*, used twice by the same speaker M2. Consequently, pace Ożóg (2001: 189, 236—237)<sup>20</sup>, English interjections and exclamations do not appear to be widely used by native speakers of Polish.

It is interesting, and perhaps surprising, to note that there was a relatively high percentage of abbreviations/acronyms in the group of loans found in the corpus (13.16% in terms of types, 13.45% in terms of tokens). Although they can be treated as nouns (cf. footnote a in Table 5.5), it is also possible to list them separately as their character seems to be quite distinct from regular nouns.

As was stated before, nouns predominate in the group of the loanwords found in the corpus. This predominance becomes even more striking when the results of the classification (cf. Table 5.6) are compared with the general classification of the words used in the corpus (i.e. all words, not only loanwords). With this end in view, a sample of the corpus (consisting of 2,000 words) was carefully analysed and the words appearing in it were classified according to the parts of speech they represented. The sample consists of first 100 words taken from each of the 20 recordings that constitute the corpus. The results of the classification are presented in Table 5.7.

**Table 5.7** The number of words (taken from a sample of 2,000 words) belonging to different parts of speech

Parts of speech	Tokens (2,000 in total)	% of the total group
Nouns	269	13.45
Verbs	300	15.00
Adjectives	80	4.00
Adverbs	42	2.10
Abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>a</sup>	0	0.00
Other <sup>b</sup>	1,309	65.45

<sup>a</sup> Cf. footnote a in Table 5.5.

<sup>b</sup> This group includes mainly pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and particles.

<sup>20</sup> It must be added, however, that Ożóg's remarks were connected mainly with the speech of young Poles, not Poles in general.



Table 5.8 combines the data from Tables 5.6 and 5.7 in order to show the difference in percentages.

**Table 5.8** The comparison of the percentage of different parts of speech in the corpus sample (2,000 words) and in the group of loanwords

Parts of speech	Corpus sample		Loanwords <sup>a</sup> (225/223 tokens)	
	N	%	N	%
Nouns	269	13.45	153	68.61 <sup>b</sup>
Verbs	300	15.00	6	2.69
Adjectives	80	4.00	24	10.76
Adverbs	42	2.10	6	2.69
Abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>c</sup>	0	0.00	30	13.45
Other <sup>d</sup>	1,309	65.45	4	1.79

<sup>a</sup> Cf. footnote b in Table 5.5.

<sup>b</sup> 82.06% when the group of abbreviations/acronyms is to be included here.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. footnote a in Table 5.5.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. footnote b in Table 5.7.

As one can see, the difference in percentages is enormous. The borrowed nouns constitute a very large class among the group of loanwords, especially when compared with the percentage of nouns among all the words taken from the corpus sample (68.61% and 13.45% respectively). The borrowed verbs, by contrast, constitute a surprisingly small group in comparison with the percentage of the verbs among all the words taken from the corpus sample (2.69% and 15.00% respectively).

It is perhaps even more surprising that there were no abbreviations/acronyms found in the corpus sample. As a consequence, it appears that most of such constructions used in the corpus were of English origin.

It may also be puzzling that nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs constitute only 34.55% of the word tokens from the entire sample (2,000 words). When a small excerpt from the corpus is analysed, however, it becomes evident that the number of words belonging to other classes (such as e.g. pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions and particles) is much larger than the one of nouns (but not pronouns), verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Here are some examples:

M7: tak tak no on tam pilnuje tego parkingu  
(one noun, one verb, six words belonging to other classes)

M6: to właśnie chyba była taka godzina / nie / chyba to koło drugiej / czy  
jakoś tak  
(two nouns, one verb, eleven words belonging to other classes)

F7: moi też chcą na to iść ale na to z nimi nie pójdę bo ja takich filmów nie lubię  
(one noun, four verbs, fourteen words belonging to other classes)

What is more, even when the words belonging to such classes as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, etc. (i.e. not belonging to one of the four main classes) are not taken into account, nouns still do not constitute the largest group, as Table 5.9 indicates.

**Table 5.9** The number of words (excluding the ones from the ‘other’ group) belonging to different parts of speech

Parts of speech	Tokens <sup>a</sup> (691 in total)	% of the total group
Nouns	269	38.93
Verbs	300	43.42
Adjectives	80	11.58
Adverbs	42	6.08
Abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>b</sup>	0	0.00

<sup>a</sup> Excluding words belonging to the ‘other’ group.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. footnote a in Table 5.5.

It is interesting to compare now the percentage of nouns (as well as other parts of speech) in the corpus sample (excluding the words belonging to the ‘other’ group) and in the group of the loanwords. The difference, although not as striking as the one shown in Table 5.8, is still considerable, especially with respect to nouns, verbs and abbreviations, as indicated in Table 5.10.

**Table 5.10** The comparison of the percentage of different parts of speech in the corpus sample (excluding the words belonging to the ‘other’ group) and in the group of loanwords

Parts of speech	Corpus sample (691 word tokens)		Loanwords <sup>a</sup> (221/219 tokens)	
	N	%	N	%
Nouns	269	38.93	153	69.86 <sup>b</sup>
Verbs	300	43.42	6	2.74
Adjectives	80	11.58	24	10.96
Adverbs	42	6.08	6	2.74
Abbreviations (acronyms) <sup>c</sup>	0	0.00	30	13.70

<sup>a</sup> Cf. footnote b in Table 5.5.

<sup>b</sup> 83.56% when the group of abbreviations/acronyms is to be included here.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. footnote a in Table 5.5.

It must be added at this point that the preponderance of nouns in the group of loanwords is by no means restricted to Polish. In fact, linguists of various nationalities have pointed out that nouns are most easily borrowed (cf. section 2.3.1; cf. also FISIĄK'S doctoral dissertation, cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 54; WHITNEY, 1881; cited in WEINREICH, 1974: 67; HAUGEN, 1950; WEINREICH, 1974; MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995). Moreover, some of the scholars have tried to explain the tendency in question. As HAUGEN (1950; cited in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 55) notes, for example, the vocabulary of a language usually contains more nouns than words belonging to other classes. According to WEINREICH (1974: 56—57; cited also in MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD, 1995: 55), on the other hand, one of the universal causes of lexical innovation (and thus borrowing) is the need to designate new concepts and things, for which nouns are used.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the referents of nouns are 'more readily delineable from the environment' (HUTTAR, 2002). Moreover, nouns are less integrated structurally (POPLACK et al., 1988: 65) and, as WHITNEY has pointed out, 'whatever is more formal or structural in character remains in that degree free from the intrusion of foreign material' (WHITNEY, 1881; cited in HAUGEN, 1950: 176). It is interesting, however, that in the corpus the percentage of nouns in the group of loanwords is still much higher than among all the words used in the corpus<sup>22</sup> (at least in terms of tokens, cf. Tables 5.8 and 5.10). This corroborates the observation made by HAUGEN (1950) and MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (1995: 55).

The next table (5.11) illustrates the relation between the number of loanwords found in the corpus (in terms of both types and tokens) and the topic of a given conversation.

As Table 5.11 indicates, the number of the loanwords found in the corpus seems to depend on the topic of the conversation. This is especially visible in the case of the borrowings belonging to the area of computers, the Internet and modern technology. It must be added that some other loans, though not very numerous, are also topic-dependent, e.g. *test* is likely to appear in the context of teaching and learning, being thus connected with the teaching profession.

However, a considerable number of loans do not appear to depend on the topic of the conversation. Such borrowings either (1) occurred in various recordings throughout the corpus (e.g. *parking, film, pub, non stop, standard, weekend, dolar*) or (2) were used accidentally in a given recording and could have possibly been used in any other recording (e.g. *gadżet, szok, hipis, biznes, zoo, hobby*).

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<sup>21</sup> This can also be seen in the present corpus, where many of the borrowed words refer to new devices or concepts, mostly connected with computers, the Internet and modern technology.

<sup>22</sup> As was noted before, the statement is formulated on the basis of the corpus sample consisting of 2,000 words (first 100 words taken from each of the 20 recordings which constitute the corpus).

**Table 5.11** The use of lexical loans in particular recordings

Recording <sup>a</sup>	Topic of the conversation	List of loans (N) <sup>b</sup>
1	2	3
1	dogs, holidays, sport contests, fishing	CD (3), gadżet (1), sponsorować (1), strongman, strongmen (2), wysportowany (1), [foluwa (1)]
2	school, teachers, pupils	*Internet (1), SMS (1), szok (1), test (2), wow (1)
3***	computers, the Internet, computer programs	*boxowy (2), *edytor (2), film (2), impossible (1), *interaktywny (1), *Internet (2), *internetowy (3), *IP (1), *komputer (4), *mail (2), *microsoftowy (1), *OEM (2), *serwer (1)
4**	student exchange, computers and e-mail, exams and cheating	*mail (8), *mailowo (2), *modem (1), *serwer (1), test (2)
5	acquaintances, family matters, working, excursions, holidays	hipis (1), *Internet (1), *komputer (1), parking (6), parkować (1), pub (2)
6***	computers, computer games, computer magazines, the Internet	biznes (1), CD (1), *firewall (2), *hand-held (1), hip-hop (1), *kartridż (cartridge) (1), *klikać (1), kompakt (2), *komputer (3), *komputerowy (2), *multimedialny (2), *net (1), *on-line (3), parking (1), *PC (3), pub (1), *screen (1), *serwer (5), test (1), [empetrójka (6)], [erpeg (1)]
7**	computers and e-mail, student exchange, learning German	*CD-ROM (2), dubbing (1), *e-mail (1), *komputer (5), *mail (2), serial (1), zoo (2)
8	teaching and learning foreign languages	*mail (1), top (2)
9	a wedding, doing shopping, business matters	dysk dżokej <sup>c</sup> (2), non stop (1), partner (2), standard (1)
10	school, pupils and teaching, doctors and health-care	*HTML (1), test (1), wow (1)
11**	correspondence, computers (esp. using a text processor)	*Internet (1), OK (2), zdopingować (1)
12	family matters, acquaintances, keeping dogs at home	film (1), *komputer (1), non stop (1), strongman, strongmen (2)
13	films, teaching and giving grades, marriages	anglikański (1), film (1), standard (1), test (3)
14*	looking for work, doing business, computers and the Internet	*zip file (1)
15	weather, holidays	komfort (2), *komputerowy (1), *komputeryzacja (1), weekend (3), [integrale (1)]
16	looking for work, learning abroad, moving to another country	dolar (3), *Internet (3), *komputerowy (1), standardowo (1), [menago (1)]
17*	learning foreign languages, taking exams	hobby (2), *Internet (1), komfort (1), pass (1), *PDF (1), startować (1), test (2), weekend (2)
18**	birthdays, films, new technologies, software piracy	CD (1), *CD-ROM (1), dolar (2), DVD (11), film (8), hi-fi (1), *Internet (1), *internetowy (2), *komputer (4), *komputerowy (2), *mail (1), *multiplayer (1), non stop (1), *serwer (6), *single (1), subwoofer (5), [divix (2)]

1	2	3
19	grilling and smoking food, working in the garden, ticks and other insects	camping (kemping) (1)
20	everyday life, cooking and eating, family, taking care of a baby	CV (2), grill (1), jacuzzi (2), przetrenować (1), szok (1), trener (1), trening (1), van (1), weekend (1)

- <sup>a</sup> An asterisk (\*) after the number of the recording indicates that the Internet and/or computers were very briefly mentioned during a given conversation. However, such a recording cannot really be said to deal with the topic of computers. Two asterisks (\*\*) indicate that the Internet and/or computers (among other topics) were discussed during the conversation in question; three asterisks (\*\*\*) indicate that the entire conversation was about computers and/or the Internet.
- <sup>b</sup> The loans preceded by an asterisk belong to the semantic field of computers and the Internet. The forms modelled on English or German (e.g. *empetrójka*, *menago*, *foluwa*) are given in square brackets. They are not, however, counted as loanwords in subsequent tables.
- <sup>c</sup> Cf. footnote b in Table 5.3.

The next table (5.12) indicates the number of the loanwords (in terms of both types and tokens) found in particular recordings. The loans are divided into two groups: Group A, which is comprised of the loans belonging to no specific semantic field (or to various semantic fields, with the exception of computers) and Group B, which consists of the loans belonging to the area of computers and the Internet.

**Table 5.12** The number of types and tokens of lexical loans in particular recordings

Recording <sup>a</sup>	Group A		Group B		Both groups combined	
	types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens
1	5	8	0	0	5	8
2	4	5	1	1	5	6
3***	2	3	11	21	13	24
4**	1	2	4	12	5	14
5	4	10	2	2	6	12
6***	7	8	12	25	19	33
7**	3	4	4	10	7	14
8	1	2	1	1	2	3
9	4	6	0	0	4	6
10	2	2	1	1	3	3
11**	2	3	1	1	3	4
12	3	4	1	1	4	5
13	4	6	0	0	4	6
14*	0	0	1	1	1	1
15	2	5	2	2	4	7
16	2	4	2	4	4	8
17*	6	9	2	2	8	11
18**	7	29	9	19	16	48
19	1	1	0	0	1	1
20	9	11	0	0	9	11

<sup>a</sup> See footnote a in Table 5.11 for the explanation of the system of asterisks.

As Table 5.12 indicates, the number of lexical loans (in terms of both types and tokens) is larger in the conversations where the Internet and computers were discussed. Such a finding is hardly surprising, as one has to bear in mind that a high percentage of the loanwords found in the corpus belong to the aforementioned semantic fields. It must be stressed, however, that the difference is visible only in Group B (and thus A+B), i.e. among the loans belonging to the area of computers and the Internet. As regards the loans belonging to other semantic fields (Group A), their number does not appear to depend on the topic of the conversation. The only exception is a large number of A-Group loan tokens in Recording 18 (29), but this is due to the repeated use of the word *DVD* (11 times), *film* (8 times) and *subwoofer* (5 times).

The next table (5.13) shows the number of lexical loans (tokens) as the percentage of the total number of words, counted separately for each recording.

**Table 5.13** The number of lexical loans (tokens) shown as the percentage of the total number of words

Recording <sup>a</sup>	Total number of words (tokens)	Number of lexical loans (tokens)	Lexical loans as % of the total number of words (tokens of lexical loans ÷ number of words)
1	3,966	8	0.20
2	2,868	6	0.21
3***	1,620	24	1.48
4**	2,027	14	0.69
5	3,290	12	0.36
6***	3,654	33	0.90
7**	2,348	14	0.60
8	3,144	3	0.10
9	3,327	6	0.18
10	2,178	3	0.14
11**	2,393	4	0.17
12	3,848	5	0.13
13	1,535	6	0.40
14*	4,060	1	0.02
15	2,229	7	0.31
16	3,895	8	0.21
17*	2,329	11	0.47
18**	3,807	48	1.26
19	3,162	1	0.03
20	4,884	11	0.23
Total	60,564	225	0.37

<sup>a</sup> See footnote a in Table 5.11 for the explanation of the system of asterisks. Moreover, cf. the analogous table compiled by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000).

Table 5.14 shows the same data as Table 5.13, but the figures are arranged according to the percentage of English loanwords in particular recordings. As a consequence, the table below better illustrates the relation between the particular recordings and the percentage of lexical borrowings.

**Table 5.14** The percentage of loanwords in particular recordings

% of the lexical loans	Number of the recording <sup>a</sup>
0.02	14*
0.03	19
0.10	8
0.13	12
0.14	10
0.17	11**
0.18	9
0.20	1
0.21	2
0.21	16
0.23	20
0.31	15
0.36	5
0.37	average
0.40	13
0.47	17*
0.60	7**
0.69	4**
0.90	6***
1.26	18**
1.48	3***

<sup>a</sup> See footnote a in Table 5.11 for the explanation of the system of asterisks.

As one can see, Table 5.14 indicates clearly that there is a close correspondence between the topic of the conversation (especially when the Internet and computers have been discussed) and the number of loanwords (tokens), expressed as the percentage of the total number of running words of a given recording (cf. also Tables 5.12 and 5.13). As regards the percentage, almost all of the conversations connected with the Internet and/or computers were above the average. Such a tendency cannot thus be accidental, but it shows clearly that the semantic field of computers and the Internet (in spoken Polish) is particularly rich in lexical loans of English origin. As one will see, a similar tendency is visible in the case of semantic loans (see Chapter 6). It must be underlined once more, however, that the topic of the conversation does not appear to have a significant influence on the number of loanwords belonging to other semantic fields or to general Polish (cf. Table 5.13).

## Chapter 6

# SEMANTIC LOANS FOUND IN THE CORPUS

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concentrated on the lexical loans found in the corpus, whereas the aim of the present chapter is to describe and analyse semantic loans.

The methodology used for describing and discussing semantic borrowings found in the corpus is similar to the one used by such linguists as DUNAJ et al. (1999), MARKOWSKI (1992a, 1999), WASZAKOWA (1995) and OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000). First, the corpus was carefully analysed and searched for words which were used in new contexts, i.e. other than encountered so far. Second, the meaning of a given Polish word was checked in the new dictionary of contemporary Polish (*Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, ed. by DUBISZ, 2003, abbreviated to USJP) and, for comparative purposes, in the older Polish dictionary (*Słownik języka polskiego*, ed. by SZYMCZAK, 1982—1983, abbreviated to SJP). If a given meaning of the word (i.e. the one in which the word was used in the corpus) was not included in the dictionary, particularly in the newer one, then it was assumed that the word is a semantic neologism. Third, the meanings of an English counterpart (cf. section 6.3) of the Polish word were analysed and compared with the senses of the Polish word. For the purpose of the comparison, both English and Polish monolingual dictionaries were used.<sup>1</sup> The details about Polish dictionaries are given above; as for the English ones, the following were used: *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2nd edition* (ed. by SOANES and STEVENSON,

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<sup>1</sup> According to SMÓLKOWA, monolingual dictionaries constitute the major source of information for a linguist dealing with lexical and semantic neologisms. Additional information sources include dictionaries of foreign words, encyclopedias, and bilingual dictionaries (SMÓLKOWA, 1997: 258).



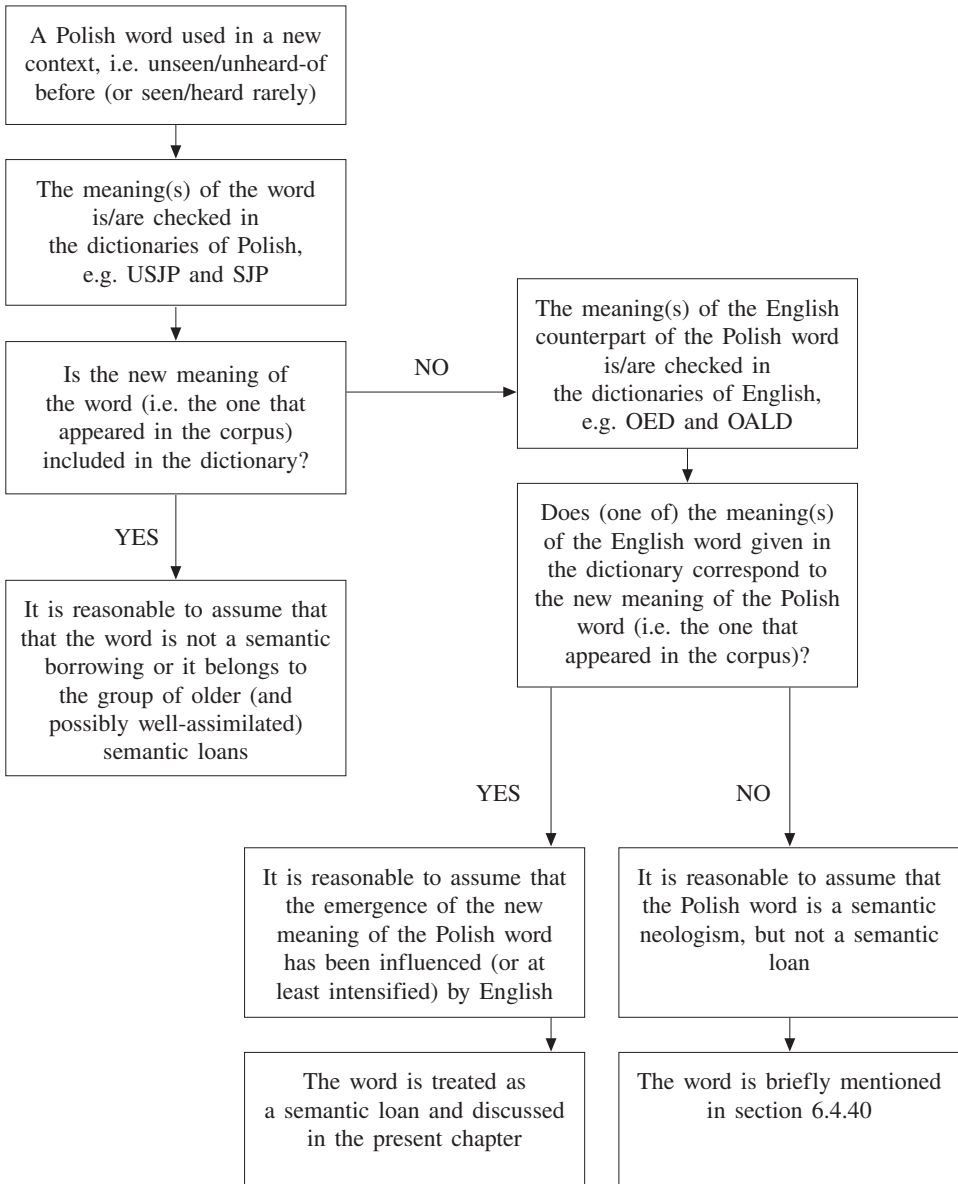
2003, abbreviated to ODE), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 6th edition* (by HORNBY, ed. by WEHMEIER, 2000, abbreviated to OALD) and *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (ed. by SINCLAIR, 2001, abbreviated to CCED). Additionally, the results of the comparison were confronted with English-Polish and Polish-English bilingual dictionaries (mainly *Wielki słownik angielsko-polski PWN-Oxford* and *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski PWN-Oxford*, ed. by LINDE-USIEKIEWICZ, 2004a, 2004b, abbreviated to WSAP and WSPA respectively). The crucial thing here was to decide if there was a correspondence between the new meaning or meanings of the Polish word (the one or ones appearing in the corpus) and the meaning or meanings of its English counterpart given in English dictionaries. If so, then it seemed reasonable to assume that the emergence of a new meaning of a Polish word had been triggered (or at least intensified) by English<sup>2</sup> (or, to be more precise, by imperfect translations of English words and phrases; cf. also section 6.3 for the description of the presumptive process of introducing semantic borrowings into spoken Polish). Consequently, such a word was counted as a semantic loan and included in the present chapter. Additionally, it was determined if the word was used in new collocations, unheard of before. The entire process is illustrated in Diagram 6.1.<sup>3</sup>

The methodology used for analysing semantic loans was thus inductive rather than deductive. In other words, first the particular instances of semantic borrowing were identified and analysed and then the general rules governing the process in question were inferred. For the sake of clarity, however, the general facts concerning the process of semantic borrowing are placed in sections 6.2 and 6.3, i.e. before the discussion of individual semantic loans (section 6.4). The last section of the present chapter (6.5) is concerned mostly, but not exclusively, with statistical information relating to the use of semantic borrowings in the corpus.

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<sup>2</sup> This is generally in line with the findings of MARKOWSKI (2004: 39), who also postulates that it is reasonable to assume that a given Polish word is a semantic loan when there is a correspondence between its new meaning and the older meaning of its English (or other foreign-language) counterpart.

<sup>3</sup> Diagram 6.1 has also been presented and briefly discussed in ZABAWA (2007b: 157—158).



**Diagram 6.1** The procedure used for finding semantic loans in the corpus

## 6.2 General description of the semantic loans found in the corpus

Altogether, there are 44 types of semantic loans found in the corpus (158 tokens), discussed in detail in sections 6.4.2—6.4.39. They can be divided into two main groups: (1) belonging to no specific semantic field (or to various semantic fields, with the exception of computers) and (2) belonging to the semantic area of computers and the Internet.<sup>4</sup> The first group comprises the following words: *absolutnie, album, cyfrowy, dinozaur, dokładnie, globalny, kasa, obrazek, opcja, operować, partner, profesjonalnie, promocja, super, test*, whereas the second consists of the following ones: *adres (adresat), ikona, inteligentny, karta, klawiatura, konsola (konsolowy), konto, list, ładować, pakiet, piracki (piractwo, pirat), poczta, rozpakować, sieć, słownik, strona, transfer, wirus, wczytać/wczytywać, wejść/wchodzić, wyjść/wychodzić, zainstalować (zainstalowany, instalacja), zawiesić*. Moreover, the corpus contains some other semantic neologisms whose emergence results probably from the internal development of Polish; the English language, however, may have intensified such processes. This group comprises the following words: *dojść (dochodzić, doszło), wysłać (wysyłać, wysłane, wysyłacz), przysłać (przysyłać), przestać (przesyłać), kawiarenka, oryginalny (oryginał), system, ściągać (ściąganie), stacjonarny, gazeta, mega, kilo, chodzić, komórka, plik, złącznik*. The overall analysis of those words, including the description of three older semantic loans connected with the sphere of computers (*program, gra/grać, dysk*) is given at the end of the chapter, section 6.4.40.

Most of the semantic loans found in the corpus are **semantic extensions**, i.e. their meaning has been extended, probably under the influence of English, but some words display also certain characteristics of **a semantic shift** understood in the present book as an extension of meaning followed by a gradual disappearance of the traditional sense (as in the case of the words *piracki* and *konsola*, see sections 6.4.23.b and 6.4.14 respectively; the term ‘semantic shift’ is used in historical linguistics in a similar sense, cf. e.g. MOLENCKI, 2003: 76). The third type of change, **a semantic restriction**, i.e. the restriction of the meaning of a word, probably under the influence of English, was not detected in the corpus.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> In fact, two words, namely *opcja* and *obrazek*, can be said to belong simultaneously to both groups. In general, such words are discussed within the first group, i.e. as semantic loans belonging to general Polish. A similar division of semantic loans was used by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000).

<sup>5</sup> The terms ‘semantic extension/restriction (narrowing)/shift’ were used by various linguists, cf. e.g. OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000).

It must be noted at this point that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the emergence of a given semantic neologism resulted from the internal development of the Polish language or from the influence of English (or other foreign language). As was noted earlier, however, if a semantic change (extension, narrowing/restriction or shift) in Polish is analogous to the one that happened earlier in English (or an English word was used in a given meaning from the beginning) then it is reasonable to assume that the change in Polish was triggered (or at least intensified) by English (for the summary of the criteria used to distinguish between the two phenomena in question, cf. WITALISZ, 2007: 84—89; cf. also MARKOWSKI, 2004: 39). Moreover, it is usually not easy to state when a new meaning of the word came into existence (cf. also SMÓŁKOWA, 1997: 257—258).

Most of the semantic loans, as in the case of lexical borrowings, belong to the class of nouns, as Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 show.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 6.1** The number of semantic loans belonging to different parts of speech (Group A: semantic loans belonging to no specific semantic field)

Parts of speech				
nouns	verbs	adjectives	adverbs	other
Types (15 in total)				
8	1	2	3	1
Loans				
album, dinozaur, kasa, obrazek, <sup>a</sup> opcja, <sup>b</sup> partner promocja, test	operować	cyfrowy, globalny	absolutnie, dokładnie, profesjonalnie	super <sup>c</sup>
% of the total group				
53.33	6.67	13.33	20.00	6.67

<sup>a</sup> The word *obrazek* is included in both tables (6.1 and 6.2).

<sup>b</sup> The word *opcja* is also included in both tables (6.1 and 6.2).

<sup>c</sup> *Super* can play a variety of functions; it can be used as a noun, adjective, adverb or as a bound morpheme (see section 6.4.31).

It must be noted that it is sometimes difficult to determine which form of a given semantic loan is a base form (i.e. which was borrowed first) and which is only a derivative. The answer is quite straightforward in the case of e.g. the words *konsola/konsolowy* (see section 6.4.14 for details), where *konsolowy* is clearly derived from *konsola* (used in the new meaning), but it is more difficult in the case of such words as *pirat/piractwo/piracki* (see section 6.4.23 for details). It seems that *piracki* was the first word used in the new meaning (cf. the computer magazines issued in the 1980s and 1990s), and only later did

<sup>6</sup> The tables do not include the semantic neologisms discussed briefly at the end of the present chapter (section 6.4.40).

**Table 6.2** The number of semantic loans belonging to different parts of speech (Group B: semantic loans belonging to the semantic field of computers and the Internet)

Parts of speech					
nouns	verbs	adjectives	adverbs	other	
Types (31 in total)					
20	7	4	0	0	
Loans					
adres, instalacja, konsola, opcja, poczta, transfer, wirus	adresat, <sup>a</sup> ikona, karta, klawiatura, konto, list, obrazek, pakiet, piractwo, pirat, sieć, słownik, strona, zainstalować, zawiesić	ładować, wczytać (wczytywać), wejść (wchodzić), wyjść (wychodzić), zainstalować	inteligentny, konsolowy, piracki, zainstalowany	—	—
% of the total group					
64.52	22.58	12.90	0.00	0.00	

<sup>a</sup> For the sake of clarity, derivatives (e.g. *adresat* derived from *adres*) are counted as separate words.

**Table 6.3** The number of semantic loans belonging to different parts of speech (groups A and B combined)

Parts of speech				
nouns	verbs	adjectives	adverbs	other
Types (44 in total <sup>a</sup> )				
26	8	6	3	1
% of the total group				
59.09	18.18	13.64	6.82	2.27

<sup>a</sup> Here the words *opcja* and *obrazek* are counted only once. As in the previous case, derivatives are counted as separate words.

*pirat* and *piractwo* appear in the new meaning.<sup>7</sup> Hence, for the sake of clarity, it was decided to list derivatives as separate entries. It must thus be underlined that the division of the loans into different parts of speech is in some cases not definitive.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that the percentage of nouns is much higher when compared to other parts of speech. This predominance is roughly the same as in the case of lexical loans (see section 5.3). It must also be noted that the change of meaning is much more subtle in the case of verbs and adjectives than nouns. As for most of the verbs, it is not really the meaning *sensu stricto* that is changed but rather the possible collocations of the word (i.e. the range of nouns with which the verb may be used), as in *operować* or *wyjsć/wychodzić* (for details see sections 6.4.20 and 6.4.37 respectively). As for

<sup>7</sup> This is in opposition to WITALISZ'S view; she claims that *pirate* was the first form used in the new meaning (2007: 276).

adjectives, in three cases out of four (the only exception being the form *piracki*<sup>8</sup>), the change in meaning was quite subtle. The situation is different in the case of adverbs, as in two cases out of three (*absolutnie* and *dokładnie*) it is not really the meaning that was changed, but rather the function (for details see Diagram 6.2 and sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.7).

In general, the reasons why nouns predominate among the semantic borrowings are virtually the same as in the case of lexical loans (cf. section 5.3): nouns are less integrated structurally and at the same time they ‘carry most lexical content’ (POPLACK et al., 1988: 65). They acquire new meanings easier because they are ‘semantically more independent of their syntagmatic context than are adjectives’ (HUTTAR, 2002). Moreover, they are less complex semantically and their referents are ‘more readily delineable from the environment’ (HUTTAR, 2002). All of these factors appear to contribute to the fact that the class of nouns is the most common not only within the group of lexical loans, but within the one of semantic loans as well.

### 6.3 The process of introducing semantic loans into spoken informal Polish (a hypothesis)<sup>9</sup>

It appears that most of the semantic loans (particularly those belonging to the area of computers and the Internet) are introduced first into written Polish (cf. e.g. words in the commands appearing on a computer screen or in newspapers and magazines, especially in the articles written not by Polish journalists but translated from English) or into written-to-be-spoken Polish (cf. e.g. words in television films and series, esp. American ones). It can be argued here that English words are often translated into Polish by means of **primary counterparts**.<sup>10</sup>

According to ARABSKI, who used the term in relation to interlanguage, a primary counterpart is

the equivalent which in the process of foreign language learning is acquired to render the common meaning of a given L<sub>1</sub> lexical item. (ARABSKI, 1979: 137)

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<sup>8</sup> In fact, as was stated above, it is unclear whether the semantic borrowings *pirat/piractwo/piracki* should be classified as belonging to the class of adjectives or nouns.

<sup>9</sup> A summary of the author’s hypothesis concerning English semantic loans in Polish was presented in ZABAWA (2007b).

<sup>10</sup> This is a revised version of the theory presented by the author in ZABAWA (2007c).

an item which in IL [=interlanguage] represents the whole group (list) of L<sub>2</sub> translation equivalents and thus causes underdifferentiation errors. (ARABSKI, 1979: 139)

the lexical or grammatical construction transferring L<sub>1</sub> construction into IL. (ARABSKI, 1979: 142)

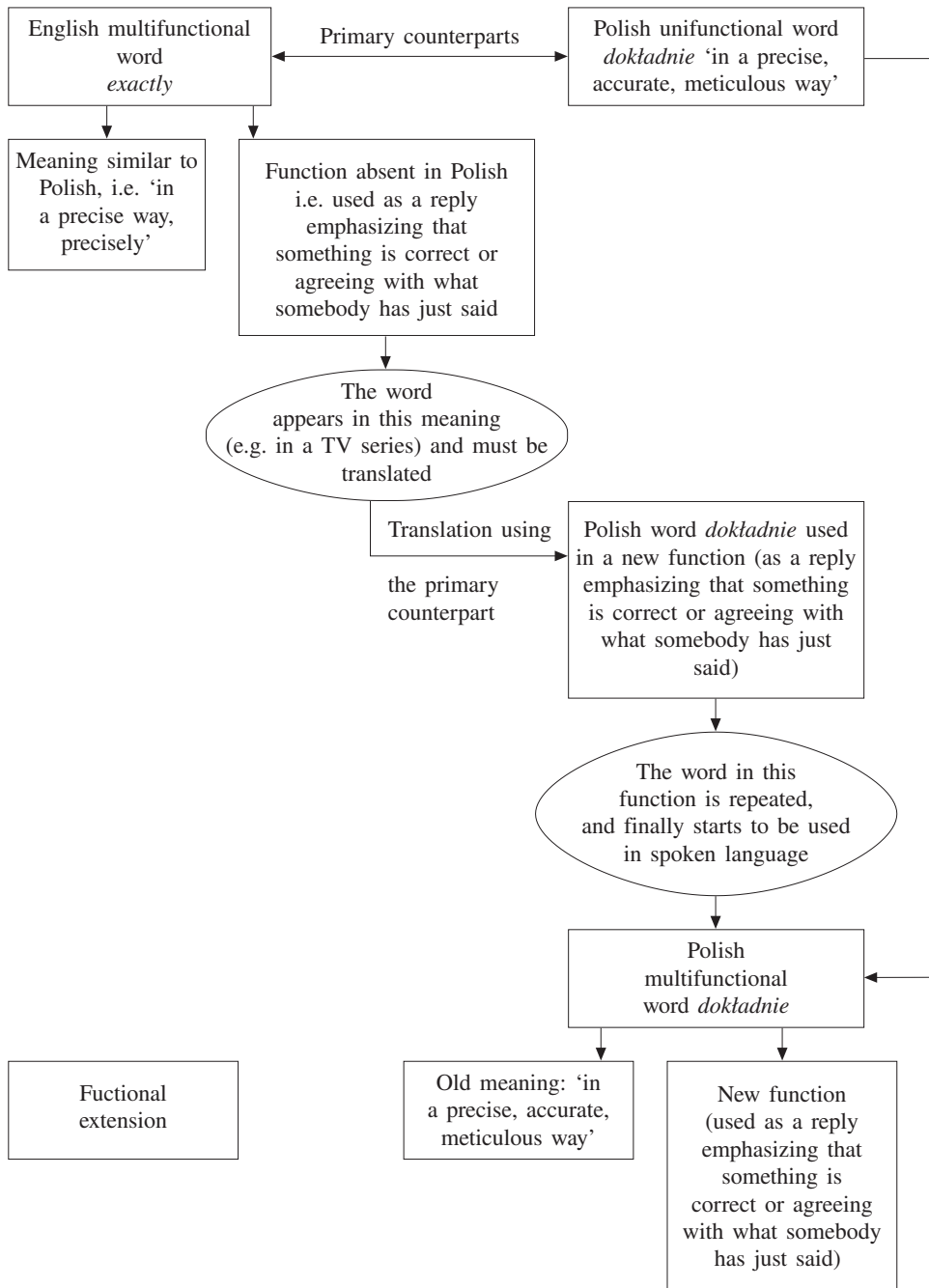
As for examples, ARABSKI states that English *in* may be acquired as a primary counterpart of Polish *w* or English *have* — as a primary counterpart of Polish *mieć*. As a result, a learner may produce erroneous sentences, such as *My husband could not help me in the housework* (instead of correct *with the housework*), *Marriage in the time of study can be a new problem* (instead of correct *marriage during one's studies*), *I have twenty years* (instead of correct *I am twenty years old*) (ARABSKI, 1997a: 46—47).

It seems that the notion of primary counterparts can be useful in accounting for the emergence of semantic loans in contemporary Polish. As was mentioned before, many English words are first carelessly translated into Polish by means of their primary counterparts (i.e. the most ‘obvious’ translation, often resembling the original English words in spelling) and only then do the Polish words start to be used in new meanings in informal everyday conversations. It is important to note, however, that the process of translation goes here in the opposite direction, i.e. not from L1 into L2 (as was in ARABSKI’S understanding of the term), but from L2 into L1.

The presumptive process is shown in Diagram 6.2. This diagram illustrates how the Polish word *dokładnie*, originally used as an adverb in the meaning of ‘in a precise and accurate way; thoroughly, carefully, accurately’, came to be used in the new meaning, functioning as a reply emphasizing that something is correct or agreeing with what somebody has just said. Such meanings are most probably introduced into informal spoken Polish due to careless translations of (1) films and series, commonly broadcast by the Polish television and (2) press articles, published in popular magazines. As for examples, the phrase ‘*So you want to go with him?*’ ‘*Exactly*’ is fairly likely to be rendered as ‘*Więc chcesz z nim iść?*’ ‘*Dokładnie*’ rather than *oczywiście, jasne, właśnie tak* (see section 6.4.7, cf. also MARKOWSKI, 1992a: 157).

As one can see, *dokładnie* has not only acquired a new meaning, but also a different function. Consequently, it seems more appropriate to use the term **functional extension**<sup>11</sup> rather than semantic one. A similar process can be noticed in the case of the word *absolutnie* (see section 6.4.2) and (partly) *super* (see section 6.4.31).

<sup>11</sup> The term ‘functional extension’ has been used here independently of other linguists. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the term was used by various authors (cf. e.g. YIN, www or HÄCKER, www), in the meaning similar (but not identical) to the one used by the present author.



**Diagram 6.2** The presumptive process of introducing the semantic loan *dokładnie*



Other words, for example belonging to the semantic field of computers and the Internet, appear to be introduced in a similar way. Diagram 6.3 shows how the Polish lexeme *ikona*, originally used only in the meaning of ‘a painting of Christ or another holy figure, used in the Byzantine and other Eastern Churches’ (cf. SJP),<sup>12</sup> came to be used in the new meaning of ‘a small symbol, representing a program or a file, visible on a computer screen’ (see section 6.4.9; cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 97). It seems that the extension is due to the translation of the original English term *icon* by means of its Polish primary counterpart *ikona* (other possible equivalents of English *icon*, i.e. *idol*, *symbol* are not used in connection with computers, but e.g. *She is a feminist icon* is translated as *Ona jest symbolem feminizmu*; WSAP, 2004: 584). The mechanism is similar to the one presented in Diagram 6.2. Here, however, the process has gone a step further: not only has the word *ikona* acquired a new meaning, but its original meaning (‘a painting of a holy person’) is beginning to be only secondary (at least for certain groups of people). As a consequence, it seems quite probable that in the future the new meaning of *ikona* will prevail and the traditional meaning may be used in very restricted contexts or even disappear altogether among certain groups of speakers.<sup>13</sup> This is also connected with the fact that the young generation is in general more likely to talk about modern technology (e.g. computers) than religion, especially the one they do not know much about. This, however, is a matter for sociology and psychology rather than linguistics.

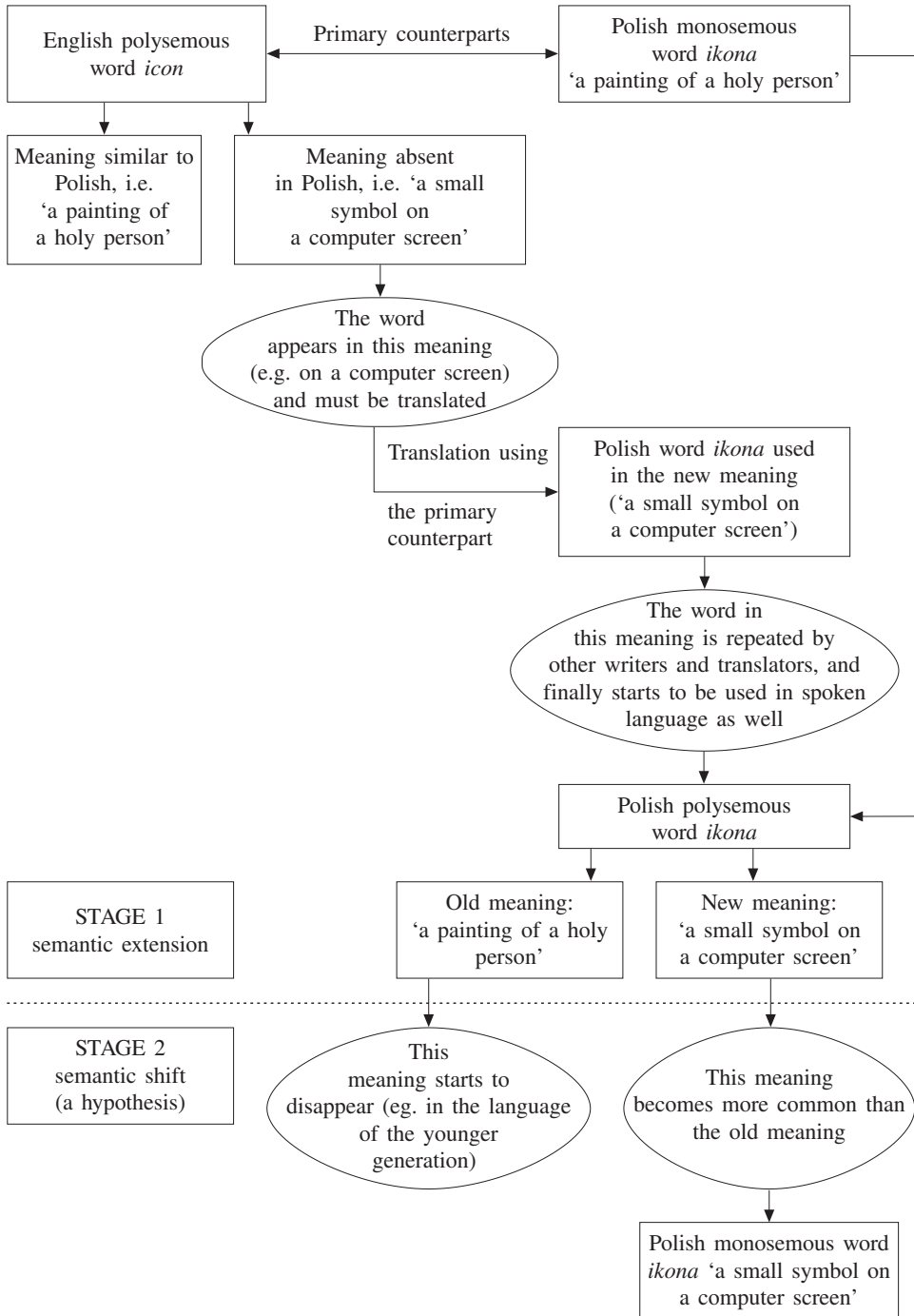
It may thus be argued that the emergence of semantic loans should not be perceived only as ‘mere additions to an inventory’ (a WEINREICH’S phrase used with respect to lexical loans) but also as certain deeper changes, such as involving the disappearance of the traditional meanings.

It must be noted that the process applies not only to words with identical or similar spelling and/or pronunciation in English and Polish. A similar process has taken place e.g. in the case of the word *sieć* (which is a primary counterpart of the English form *net*). Thus *the Net* (meaning ‘the Internet’) is often rendered in Polish as *sieć* or sometimes *Sieć* (see section 6.4.28). The process in question is illustrated in Diagram 6.4.

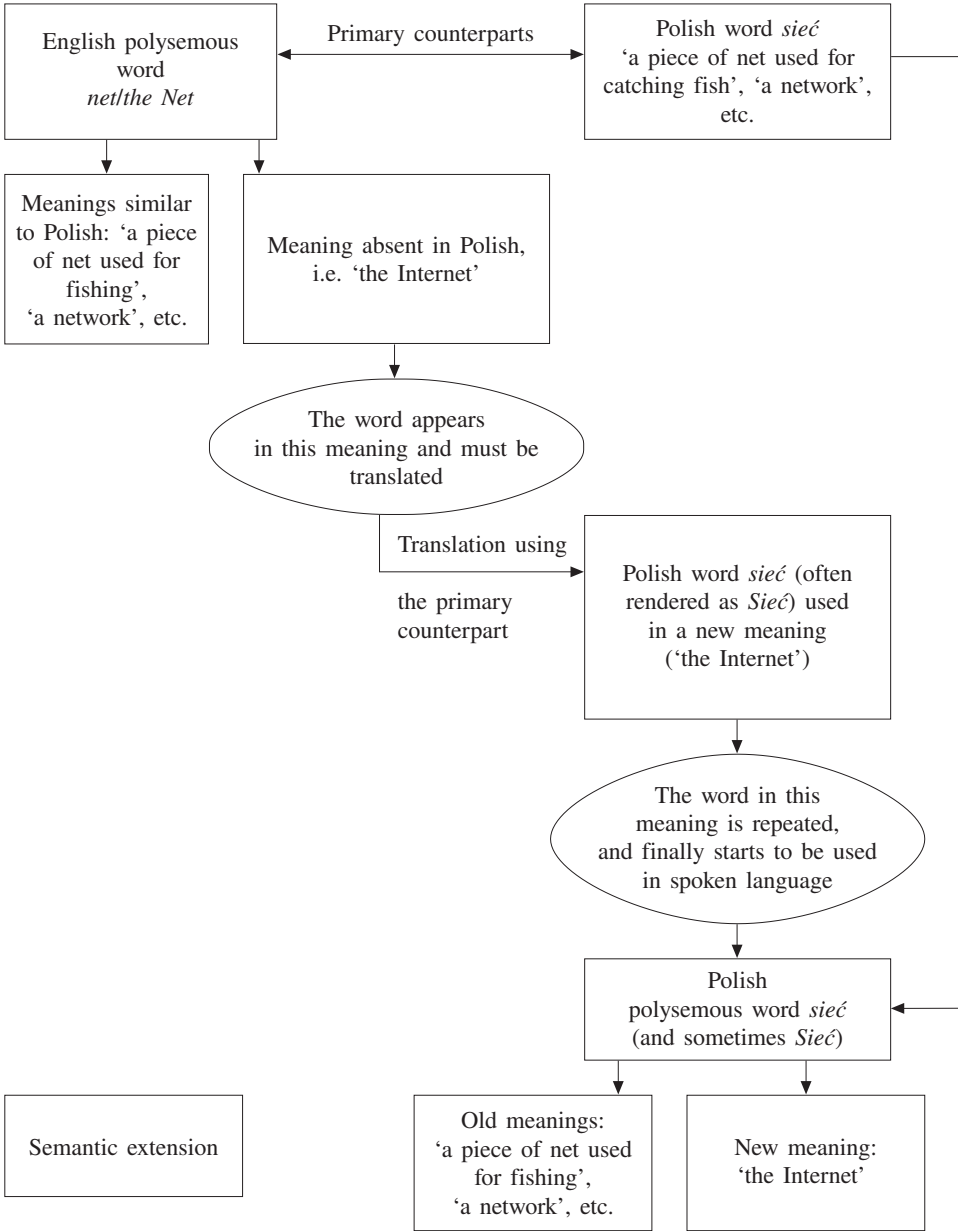
It may thus be said that the process illustrated by Diagrams 6.2—6.4 applies to all three groups: (1) words with identical spelling in English and Polish, (2) words with similar spelling (and sometimes also pronunciation) and (3) words with completely different spelling (see Table 6.4). What follows is that the extension of meaning of Polish words does not really depend on the degree of the similarity between the spelling and pronunciation of them and of their English counterparts.

<sup>12</sup> Diagram 6.3 has also been presented and briefly discussed in ZABAWA (2007b: 160).

<sup>13</sup> It must be added here that the part of Diagram 6.3 below the broken line is only a hypothesis of the development of the word in the future, not the illustration of the actual state.



**Diagram 6.3** The presumptive process of introducing the semantic loan *ikona*



**Diagram 6.4** The presumptive process of introducing the semantic loan *sieć*

**Table 6.4** The degree of similarity between Polish and English primary counterparts

English-Polish primary counterparts	Types	Loans	% of the total group
With identical spelling	5	album, partner, super, test, transfer	11.36
With similar spelling	23	absolutnie — absolutely, adres — address, adresat — addressee, dinozaur — dinosaur, globalny — global, ikona — icon, instalacja — installation, inteligentny — intelligent, karta — card, kasa — cash, konsola — console, konsolowy — console, opcja — option, operować — operate, pakiet — package/bundle, piracki — pirate(d), piractwo — piracy, pirat — pirate, profesjonalnie — professionally, promocja — promotion, wirus — virus, zainstalować — install, zainstalowany — installed	52.27
With different spelling	16	cyfrowy — digital, dokładnie — exactly, klawiatura — keyboard, konto — account, list — letter, ładować — load, obrazek — picture, poczta — mail, rozpakować — unpack, sieć — net, słownik — dictionary, strona — page, wchodzić/wejść — enter, wczytać/wczytywać — read, wyjść/wychodzić — come out, zawiesić — hang	36.36

It may generally be hypothesized that the semantic changes result probably from the influence of English when English-Polish counterparts have identical or similar spelling. In the case of the counterparts with different spelling, the changes in the meaning of Polish words may also result from the influence of the English counterpart, but the role of the internal development of Polish seems to be bigger.

It must be added at this point that there may be exceptions to the processes described above: *file*, used in the sense of ‘data stored in computer memory, or on a floppy disk, under a particular name’ (cf. ODE), was not translated into Polish as *teczka*, *skoroszyt*, *segregator* or *kartoteka*, but an existing Polish word *plik* ‘a wad’ has begun to be used in a new meaning. *Plik* has thus become a semantic neologism, but not really a semantic loan (the words of this kind found in the corpus are briefly mentioned in section 6.4.40).

## 6.4 The analysis of the semantic loans found in the corpus

### 6.4.1 Introduction

The semantic loans found in the corpus are discussed in detail in sections 6.4.2—6.4.39. Moreover, a brief overall analysis of some other semantic neologisms is given in section 6.4.40.

### 6.4.2 *Absolutnie*

According to USJP, the word *absolutnie* is an adverb derived from the adjective *absolutny*, used in the following senses: (1) ‘completely, totally, absolutely’, e.g. *to się absolutnie niczym nie różni* ‘there is completely no difference’, (2) ‘unquestionably, absolutely’, e.g. *wygrał absolutnie* ‘he won unquestionably’, (3) (as a philosophical term) ‘not viewed in relation to other things’, e.g. *twierdzenie absolutnie prawdziwe* ‘an absolutely true statement’ and (4) (as a political term) ‘despotically, absolutely’, e.g. *rzządzić absolutnie* ‘to rule despotically/absolutely’.

The word *absolutnie* was used once in the corpus in the above-mentioned meaning (sense 1):

- (1) [Recording 8]  
 M6: znaczy / **absolutnie** początkujących z angielskiego to raczej nie ma / no  
 bo jakieś tam słowa^  
 F29: no no  
 M6: to zna dzisiaj każdy

Nowadays, however, *absolutnie* is sometimes used as a reply, agreeing, usually in an emphatic way, with what somebody has just said, or giving someone permission to do something (cf. WITALISZ, 2007: 218). The word is thus an example of a functional extension (cf. section 6.3). It is quite possible that the extension has been triggered by the English word *absolutely*, cf. one of the definitions of the word given by OALD: ‘used to emphasize that you agree with sb, or give sb permission to do sth: “They could have told us, couldn’t they?” “Absolutely!”, “Can we leave a little early?” “Absolutely!”’ (cf. also MARKOWSKI, 1992a: 156—157).

The word was used once in the corpus in the above-discussed extended sense:

- (2) [Recording 5]  
 M6: {person} ty słodzisz?  
 F24: nie nie  
 M8: nawet zdjęcie kiedyś miał jak on na tym balkonie  
 F24: po prostu jo nie słodza  
 M6: nie słodzisz?  
 M8: a jego kolega notabene^  
 F24: **absolutnie**  
 M8: ten chyba co mo tyn pub

As one can see, *absolutnie* is used as a reply, thus conforming to the pattern of its English counterpart. Interestingly enough, however, the word is used in the negative sense (*słodzisz?* — *nie słodzę* — *nie słodzisz?* — *absolutnie* > *absolutnie nie słodzę* ‘I take absolutely no sugar’), being thus roughly equivalent to English *absolutely not* (cf. the example given by OALD: ‘Was it any good?’ ‘No, *absolutely not*’). Although the exclamation was used only once in the corpus, it can be observed elsewhere that in everyday spoken Polish the word in question is increasingly often used in the negative sense.

As MARKOWSKI (1992a: 157) notes, it would be natural to expect in such situations an exclamation *absolutnie nie* ‘absolutely not’ rather than just *absolutnie*, adding that such a change is difficult to explain. It seems, however, that it may have been influenced by the English grammar; to be more specific, by the rule of single negation (as opposed to Polish, where double and multiple negatives are commonly used; cf. FISIĄK et al., 1978: 188—197 for the discussion on negation): when the phrase preceding the exclamation *absolutnie* contains an overt negative word, then *absolutnie* means usually *absolutnie nie* (as in Example 2); when the phrase contains no overt negative word, then *absolutnie* can mean both, but the negative interpretation seems to be slightly more likely nowadays, cf. the following made-up examples:

- (a)  
*Czy mogę pójść z tobą?*  
*Absolutnie* (ambiguous; it is the stress, intonation and/or gestures that will make the meaning clear in spoken language)  
 (literally: ‘Can I go with you?’ ‘Absolutely’)
- (b)  
*To nie mogę iść z tobą?*  
*Absolutnie* (negative sense, i.e. equivalent to *absolutnie nie*)  
 (literally: ‘So I can’t go with you?’ ‘Absolutely’)

The new usage of *absolutnie* has not been noted so far in USJP.

### 6.4.3 *Adres, adresat*

Traditionally, the word *adres* was used in the sense of ‘the particulars of the place where someone lives or an institution is situated’, and, figuratively, ‘the place where someone lives’<sup>14</sup> (cf. SJP). Today the word is sometimes used, under the influence of the English form *address*, in three new meanings: (1) ‘a string of characters which identifies a destination for e-mail messages’, (2) ‘a number that identifies a particular computer connected to the Internet; an IP address’, (3) ‘a string of characters which identifies a particular website’ (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 96).

Altogether, the word in question was used ten times in the corpus. Five instances of the use of the word, however, refer to the old meaning of ‘the details where someone lives’.

As for the extended meaning, the word was used four times in the first sense (‘a string of characters which identifies a destination for e-mail messages’):

(1) [Recording 4]

M6: chyba coś źle / chyba mmm może coś źle zapisałeś se ten **adres**

(2) [Recording 4]

M6: eee raczej się chyba nie zdarza że maile nie dochodzą / no jeśli dobrze wpiszesz **adres** / się tam nie pomylisz / w żadnej literze / no to raczej się chyba nie zdarza żeby nie doszły

(3) [Recording 7]

F29: wiem ale / przez komputer myślałam właśnie / a ona wiesz że prześle bo ja jej **adres** jeszcze wcześniej podałam

(4) [Recording 7]

F29: eee on przyjechał / i mmm miał te **adresy** / nie / i ja

M6: no

F29: ja mówię / to chociaż takie podziękowanie po niemiecku napiszę że

It must be noted that Example 3 is ambiguous, as the word *adres* may refer to both old and extended meaning and the context does not seem to clarify it. Nevertheless, it is more probable that the word is used in the new sense, hence it is included in the list.

<sup>14</sup> The English definitions are formulated with the help of or quoted from English monolingual dictionaries, primarily *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6th edition* (by A.S. HORNBY, ed. by WEHMEIER, 2000) and *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2nd edition* (ed. by SOANES and STEVENSON, 2003).

Despite the new meaning of the word, no completely new collocation has emerged: such constructions as *zapisać sobie adres* ‘to write down an address’ (Example 1) or *podać adres* ‘to give an address’ (Example 3) can be freely used with the word in the old sense. The only exception is Example 2, *wpisać adres* ‘to write (down) an address, to put down an address’. In the traditional sense of the word *adres*, one would perhaps use the form *napisać*, rather than *wpisać*, e.g. *napisać adres (na kopercie)* ‘to write an address (on an envelope)’.

Moreover, the word was used once in the corpus in the second new meaning (i.e. ‘a number that identifies a particular computer connected to the Internet’):

(5) [Recording 3]

M14: no oni / czepiają się w firmach / nie takich prywatnych / no to / prywatnych to się czepiają jeżeli ktoś / udostępnia na przykład jakieś filmy **adresy IP** / coś takiego

As one can see, the word was used in the collocation *adres IP*, which seems to be a direct translation of the English construction *an IP address*. The fact that the component *IP* was added shows that this use of the word *adres* is not very common in spoken Polish, even when computers and the Internet are discussed. It appears that in such a conversation the word *adres* is primarily associated with ‘a string of characters which identifies either (1) a destination for e-mail messages or (2) a particular website’.

The third extended sense, i.e. ‘a string of characters which identifies a particular website’, though quite common in computer magazines, is non-existent in the corpus. Instead, the word *strona* was used in this meaning (see section 6.4.30).

Analogically, the word *adresat* ‘an addressee; a person that a letter, parcel etc. is addressed to’ can also be used in the new sense (‘a person to whom e-mail is sent’). Such a form was used once in the corpus. It must be noted at this point that Polish dictionaries (e.g. USJP) define the word *adresat* in the traditional way (cf. USJP: ‘the person to whom a letter, or another parcel is addressed to’), whereas English dictionaries define the word *addressee* in a general way that can include e-mail as well (cf. ODE: ‘the person to whom something is addressed’).

The new meaning of the word *adres* has only partly been included in USJP, namely only the second new sense is given as one of the definitions of the word. The first and third new senses are included only in the set phrase *adres internetowy* ‘an Internet address’. The new sense of the word *adresat* has not so far been included in the dictionary in question.

The word *adres* appeared also in OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC’S corpus (2000: 96–97). It seems, however, that in her corpus the word was used



predominantly in the third new meaning (in contrast to the corpus gathered by the present author, where no such usage appeared).

#### 6.4.4 *Album*

Traditionally, the word *album* was used in two main senses: (1) ‘an album; a blank book for the insertion of photographs, stamps, pictures etc.’ and (2) ‘a coffee-table book’ (cf. SJP)<sup>15</sup>. Nowadays the word is sometimes used, most probably under the influence of English *album*, to denote ‘a collection of recordings issued on a cassette or CD’ (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007), thus being an antonym of *singiel* ‘a single’. This use is already fairly well assimilated in Polish.

Altogether, the word in question was used four times, three out of which referred to the new meaning:

(1—2) [Recording 6]

M7: jeden cały **album** muzyczny ale dwupłytowy

M6: **album** aha to cała płyta

(3) [Recording 6]

M7: no nazwa jaka cię interesuje nazwa piosenki no i do użytkowników / nowe **albumy** wszystko

Additionally, the word appeared once in the old meaning of ‘a blank book for photographs’.

As one can see, the word may also refer to a collection of songs issued on more than one CD (cf. Examples 1 and 2). Moreover, a new collocation has appeared (*album muzyczny*, literally: ‘a music album’).

The new meaning of the word has been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.5 *Cyfrowy*

According to USJP, the word *cyfrowy* is an adjective derived from *cyfra*, used in the sense of ‘relating to or connected with digits/figures/numbers’. However,

<sup>15</sup> Additionally, the word *album* can also be used in Polish in some technical contexts, to denote e.g. ‘a student register’, ‘a sketchbook’ or ‘an autograph album’ (cf. SJP).

the word was used several times in the corpus in the new meaning of ‘using a system of receiving and sending information as a series of the numbers one and zero, showing that an electronic signal is there or is not there’ (OALD). What follows, is the fact that the word is mostly used in connection with modern technical devices, such as cameras, video cameras, tuners, tuner amplifiers, etc. The lexeme in question was used six times in the corpus during two conversations (Recordings number 7 and 11), when cameras and photographs were discussed:

(1) [Recording 7]

F29: napisała że zdjęcia mi prześle / bo tam ona robiła / mmm tam właśnie / mmm też / jakimś tam chyba aparatem **cyfrowym** / też dzieciom / nie / jestem ciekawa

(2) [Recording 7]

M6: mmm znaczy ja mam tylko taki aparat tradycyjny / ale właśnie mój brat sobie niedawno sobie **cyfrowy**^

F29: mhm i

M6: właśnie też to sobie podłączył do komputera

(3) [Recording 7]

F29: wiesz co / ja na przykład moi moi znajomi / yyy byli / na na wakacjach w zeszłym roku / mieli też **cyfrowy** / to nam zgrali na płycie / nie / na CD-ROM-ie^

(4) [Recording 7]

M6: a tak no to / jak jak wywołujesz / jak mmm ma się ten aparat tradycyjny / jak ja mam / no to wiadomo jak to z reguły jest / tam się robi / no niby się wydaje że to jakieś tam inne ujęcia potem sprawdzam [laughter 1 sec.] dziesięć zdjęć to jest praktycznie to samo / tam minimalnie tu kawałek muru więcej a tam / to się niby wydaje że niby inne zdjęcia a to wszystko potem [pause 2 sec.] wygląda tak samo

F29: no i klepię tak / i mówię że że wiesz / jakby nie wyszło to przynajmniej na tej **cyfrowej** od razu sobie sprawdzę i robię następne a tu jednak / to jest yyy mmm mówię to jest fajna sprawa żeby to mieć kiedyś / no [pause 2 sec.] od razu w razie czego się jest w tym mmm miejscu / bo wiesz nie wiadomo czy się gdzieś wróci znowuż / nie / jak się kiedyś gdzieś tam wyjeżdża

(5—6) [Recording 11]

F29: to ja mówię / on mówi no jakieś duże [together 2 sec.] no / jakieś duże / że tam / dwa mega czy jakieś jedne / nie / no i te zdjęcia przesała / wiesz / i potem no ja jej napisałam

M6: te **cyfrowe**

F29: no / chociaż niektóre takie / bym powiedziała jak na **cyfrowe** to takie nie bardzo no ale

As was mentioned above, the word in the new meaning is used mainly to describe technical devices. Thus, in Example 1, *cyfrowy* is used in the collocation *aparatus cyfrowy*<sup>16</sup> ‘a digital camera’; in Examples 2 and 3 the word is used independently, but it clearly refers to a camera as well (the word *aparatus* is left out here, as the meaning is clear from the context and the general topic of the conversation). The noun in Example 4 is omitted as well; nevertheless, the topic of the conversation suggests that the word refers again to a camera (although the gender of the adjective (*na tej cyfrowej*, i.e. feminine) suggests that it may refer to a video camera, which is feminine in Polish<sup>17</sup>). Finally, in Examples 5 and 6 the form in question refers to photographs.

Interestingly enough, the last occurrence of the word (see Example 6) suggests that the word *cyfrowy* may have strong positive connotations. The speaker F29 states that some of the photographs are not of a very high quality considering the fact that they have been made with a digital camera. Consequently, *cyfrowy* suggests sophistication and high quality. This is also confirmed by the popularity of the word in e.g. store catalogues and leaflets. Moreover, technically speaking, the antonym of the word *cyfrowy* (in the new sense) is *analogowy* ‘analogue’; the speaker M6 used, however, a new collocation *aparatus tradycyjny* ‘a traditional camera’ (see Example 4). It seems here that the word *tradycyjny* ‘traditional’ may have slightly disapproving flavour, especially when compared with *cyfrowy* ‘digital’, which suggests modernity.

The extension of meaning of the word *cyfrowy* has most probably been triggered by English *digital*. It is also worth noting that all the instances of the use of *cyfrowy* in the corpus refer to the new meaning of the word. In fact, it appears that the new sense of the word is squeezing out the old one. As a consequence, this loan is not a typical semantic extension, but it displays some characteristics of a semantic shift as well (cf. sections 6.2 and 6.3).

Curiously enough, the form *cyfrówka* (which is a merged form of the two words *aparatus + cyfrowy*) also exists in the corpus. The tendency to merge two nouns into a single expression is extremely common in contemporary Polish, especially in its informal spoken variety. Some forms of this type include<sup>18</sup>: *tirówka, sezonówka, weekendówka, asfaltówka, ~czasówka, komórka, okrętówka, mineralka, bezołowiówka, budżetówka, filmówka, firmówka, oparzeniówka, porodówka, drogówka, obiegówka, lojalka, magisterka, cesarka, fałszywka, jednorazówka, zimówka, ~kablówka, ~koszykówka, ~siatkówka,*

<sup>16</sup> The phrases *aparatus cyfrowy* and *kamera cyfrowa* can be said to be quite well assimilated, as they occur frequently in store catalogues and leaflets.

<sup>17</sup> According to ROSZKO (1997: 231), the term *kamera* ‘a video camera’ can also be informally used in Polish to refer to *aparatus fotograficzny* ‘a camera’.

<sup>18</sup> The forms actually found in the corpus are preceded by the sign ~.

~przygodówka, ~platformówka, ~złotówka, ~objazdówka, ~reklamówka, ~rybackówka, ~podstawówka (cf. DUNAJ, 2001: 77; DUNAJ, PRZYBYLSKA and SIKORA, 1999: 234—235; MOSIOŁEK-KŁOSIŃSKA, 2000: 82; MYCAWKA, 2001: 18; URBAŃCZYK and KUCAŁA, 1999: 410; WASZAKOWA, 2001c: 91, 102—103).

Such a use (of the form *cyfrówka*) may indicate that the word *cyfrowy* (in the new sense) is already quite well assimilated. The form was used in the corpus twice:

(1) [Recording 11]

M6: i wysłałaś?

F29: jeszcze nie bo ja wiesz / ja nie mam **cyfrówki** / nie

(2) [Recording 11]

M6: no to możesz zwykłą przesłać

F29: no ale fajnie wiesz \*

M6: bo specjalnie **cyfrówkę** kupować no to

F29: no nie / no tam wiesz / koleżanka ma tutaj \*

It must be noted, however, that the second instance of its use (by M6) is clearly a repetition of the form heard a moment before (uttered by F29).

To the present author's knowledge, the new meaning of the word has not so far been discussed in the literature on the subject.<sup>19</sup> It was not included in USJP, either (with the exception of some set expressions, e.g. *sygnał cyfrowy* 'a digital signal', *technika cyfrowa* 'digital electronics').

#### 6.4.6 *Dinozaur*

Traditionally, the word *dinozaur* referred to 'an extinct reptile of the Mesozoic era' (cf. SJP). Nowadays, however, the meaning of the word has been extended. It is used once in the corpus, in a figurative sense of 'a person who is outdated or old-fashioned and who cannot adapt to changing circumstances' (cf. OALD):

(1) [Recording 4]

M6: no i właśnie proszę żeby mi podała maila / a ona mi mówi że nie ma maila

F29: mhm

M6: tak że no raczej / [laughter 1 sec.] dziś mówię rzadkość

M14: to może jakiś **dinozaur**

[laughter 3 sec.]

<sup>19</sup> With the exception of ZABAWA (2008: 32—34).

It seems more probable that this extension results from the internal development of the Polish language. However, it may also be due to the influence of the English language, as English *dinosaur* can also refer to ‘a person or thing that is old-fashioned and cannot change in the changing conditions of modern life’ (ODE). It must also be noted that the English word, when used in the above-mentioned figurative sense, has a strong flavour of disapproval. The use of the Polish word (see the example above), on the other hand, seems to be free from such connotations; it appears to be jocular, but not disapproving or intending to mock the person talked about.

The new meaning of the word *dinozaur* has been noted in USJP.

### 6.4.7 *Dokładnie*

According to USJP, the adverb *dokładnie* is used in the sense of ‘in a precise, accurate, meticulous way’. The word is thus used to emphasize the accuracy of a description, a figure etc. (in the meaning of ‘precisely, accurately, carefully, exactly, thoroughly’), e.g. *dokładnie coś wiedzieć/określić* ‘to know/determine something exactly/precisely’ (USJP). Here are some selected examples of the use of the word in this sense from the corpus:

(A) [Recording 2]

F3: gdzie nas wywieźli tak **dokładnie** też nie wiem

(B) [Recording 3]

M6: no ja **dokładnie** nie wiem co i jak

(C) [Recording 4]

M14: **dokładnie** tak napisałem

F29: no to wiem / albo mi się coś schrzaniło / ale ostatnio wysyłałam / tak że no

(D) [Recording 17]

F29: czy / teraz on się nawet też zzz zaczął tam interesować czy nie / to znaczy bo nie wiedział **dokładnie** ile / że do matury / bo niekiedy że sześćdziesiąt to ci zaliczą że na przykład ten certyfikat zdasz / nie

(E) [Recording 19]

M6: no a kiedy {person} przyszoł to mu {person} **dokładnie** dała te te same / w tym samym worku

Nowadays, however, *dokładnie* is increasingly often used as a reply, agreeing with what somebody has just said, or emphasizing that something is true or correct (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 84—88). The word is thus an example of a functional extension. It seems probable that the extension has been triggered by the English word *exactly* (cf. one of the definitions given by ODE: ‘used as a reply to confirm or agree with what has just been said: “You mean that you’re going to tell me truth?” “Exactly.”’). On the other hand, it must be noted that PIOTROWSKI (1998: 273) suggests that the new usage of *dokładnie* may result from the influence of the German form *genau* (or from both English *exactly* and German *genau*). This hypothesis may well be the case, especially in Upper Silesia, where German loans are used relatively frequently, e.g. the form *genau* itself was used once in the corpus. Most other authors, however, claim that the extension in question was triggered by English *exactly* (cf. e.g. GAJDA, 2001a: 55; MARKOWSKI, 1992a: 157; WASZAKOWA, 1995: 8). Whether borrowed from English or German, *dokładnie* is a relatively old semantic borrowing, noted already in the early 1990s (cf. GRYBOSIOWA, 1994: 65—69).

Altogether, there were 35 instances of the use of *dokładnie* in the corpus. Out of these, 23 occurrences referred to the old sense (see Examples A—E). In the remaining 12 instances the word was used in the new sense, that is as a reply to what has just been said. By using the word, a speaker either agrees with what somebody has just said or emphasizes that something is accurate or true:

(1) [Recording 2]

M2: żadna uroczystość się już nie odbywa bez Kościoła

F1: **dokładnie**

(2) [Recording 2]

F1: no i mówi że te osoby które się po prostu uczą to i tak napisały dobrze bez względu na to czy to by były te same pytania czy inne a te co się nie uczą

M6: no to i tak nie napisały

F1: no to i tak nie napisały

M6: no / **dokładnie** / no bo tak jest

(3) [Recording 2]

F1: a te nasze dziewczynki to są takie głupie że się wyrażę że naprawdę

F7: no / no {name} z trzeciej B / jak ja to usłyszałam

F1: **dokładnie**

(4) [Recording 2]

F1: ale bezmyślność taka że

F7: **dokładnie**

(5) [Recording 6]

M6: widać jakieś uszkodzenia oni tam wymieniają rury albo coś no to raczej tak wymieniać ten kabel

M7: **dokładnie**

(6) [Recording 9]

M6: bo on potem chce ciągnąć w stronę jeziora / on zawsze tam ciągnie potem w prawo

M8: no **dokładnie**

(7) [Recording 9]

F25: i {name} / i opowiada to {name} przecież który ma taką / bo tako jest prawda

M6: no żeby {name} powiedzieć

F25: no **dokładnie**

(8) [Recording 10]

F10: i jak on by mnie zapytał to ja bym też leżała i ja mówię ale najpierw mi zrób lekcję na ten temat^

F1: **dokładnie**

F10: a potem mnie zapytaj

(9) [Recording 10]

F1: no są lekarze

M6: i lekarze

F1: **dokładnie** / i lekarze

(10) [Recording 11]

M6: ja to chcę zrobić po swojemu ale on / mmm na okrągło poprawia że jego zdaniem / on on to układa lepiej / typu jakieś tam punkty na przykład / nie tak jak chcę / czy on

F29: mhm / **dokładnie**

(11) [Recording 17]

M6: znaczy to / mmm czy się / uczy w szkole czy tu / czy wszystko jedno gdzie po prostu jak się odpowiednio nie przyłoży

F29: no **dokładnie**

(12) [Recording 18]

M7: Wizards and Warriors / mmm czy czy to jest to^

M6: to jest to co jo żech kupić / co były takie problemy

M7: co nie działało / coś zapłacił ze sto siedemdziesiąt kilka złotych

M6: ja / **dokładnie** [pause 2 sec.] to jest Wizards and Warriors

The frequency of both uses of *dokładnie* is presented in Table 6.5.

**Table 6.5** The frequency of the use of the word *dokładnie* in the two senses

Usage of the word <i>dokładnie</i>	Number of occurrences of a given meaning	Number of speakers that used the word in a given meaning	Number of recordings in which the meaning appeared
An adverb in the traditional sense	23	8	12
A reply, modelled on English <i>exactly</i>	12	7	7

As one can see, *dokładnie* is still used more often as an adverb in the traditional sense. However, the new usage is becoming increasingly common.

Table 6.6 illustrates the relation between individual speakers and the frequency of the use of the word *dokładnie* in the two senses.

**Table 6.6** The relation between individual speakers and the frequency of the use of the word *dokładnie* in the two senses

Speaker	F1	F3	F7	F25	F29	M6	M7	M8	M14	Total
Number of uses of <i>dokładnie</i> as an adverb in the traditional sense	1	1	0	1	2	11	4	2	1	<b>23</b>
Number of uses of <i>dokładnie</i> as a reply modelled on English <i>exactly</i>	4	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	<b>12</b>

Table 6.6 shows clearly that the new usage of *dokładnie* depends to a certain extent on the idiolect of a given speaker (which corroborates OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC'S (2000: 86) findings). On the other hand, as Table 6.7 shows, this use of *dokładnie*, contrary to most other semantic loans discussed in the present book, does not seem to depend on the topic of the conversation.

**Table 6.7** The use of *dokładnie* in the new sense in particular recordings

Recording	Topic of the conversation	Number of occurrences of <i>dokładnie</i> in the new meaning
2	school, teachers, pupils	4
6	computers, computer games, computer magazines, the Internet	1
9	various (weddings, doing shopping, business matters)	2
10	school, pupils and teaching; doctors and health care	2
11	correspondence, computers, using a text processor	1
17	learning foreign languages, taking exams	1
18	birthdays, films, new technologies, computers, the Internet, software piracy	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>



It seems that the new use of *dokładnie* has emerged from careless translations of American films and series, broadcast by the Polish television (see also Diagram 6.2, section 6.3). Nowadays, judging from the corpus, one can state that the word has already penetrated into informal spoken Polish used in everyday situations. The word in the new sense was used by as many as seven speakers; what is more significant, however, is the fact that for most of the speakers who used the word *dokładnie*, it has already two meanings. Few speakers (two out of nine, viz. F3 and M14) used *dokładnie* only in the traditional way, that is according to the prescriptive norms. One speaker (F7) used the word in the new meaning only; the remaining six informants (viz. F1, F25, F29, M6, M7 and M8) used *dokładnie* in both senses. This suggests, as was noted above, that for most of the speakers the word has already two patterns of use.

The new usage of the word *dokładnie* has not so far been noted in USJP. What is more, it is explicitly marked as erroneous in NSPP. It would seem, however, that perhaps the new sense should, due to the frequency of its use, be accepted in informal Polish.

#### 6.4.8 *Globalny*

Traditionally, the word *globalny* was used in the meaning of ‘covering or affecting all parts of something; overall, general, complete, total’ (cf. SJP). Nowadays the word is also used, most probably under the influence of English *global*, in the meaning of ‘covering or affecting the whole world; worldwide’ (cf. also MARKOWSKI, 2004: 39). It must be added, however, that the new meaning is very similar to the traditional one. Consequently, the semantic change is extremely subtle here.<sup>20</sup>

The word *globalny* was used four times in the corpus; all the instances of its use refer to the extended meaning. The new meaning of the word can also be detected in certain constructions, non-existent in the corpus, but fairly common in the language of the press, e.g. *globalna wioska* ‘the global village’, *gospodarka globalna* ‘the global economy’ (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 246—247).

The new meaning of the word has been noted in USJP.

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<sup>20</sup> The analogous extension, non-existent in the corpus, but noted in USJP, has taken place in the case of the adverb *globalnie*.

### 6.4.9 *Ikona*

The word *ikona* was traditionally used to describe ‘a painting of Christ or other holy figure, typical for Byzantine and other Eastern Churches’ (cf. SJP). Nowadays the word is often used in the semantic field of computers, to signify ‘a small symbol or picture representing a program or a file, visible on a computer screen’. Such a change can be attributed to the influence of English *icon* (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 97; WITALISZ, 2007: 248—249). The word is a relatively old semantic extension, commonly used in e.g. computer magazines, but nevertheless it was used only once in the corpus:

- (1) [Recording 3]  
 M6: ale jest dobry ten XP?  
 F29: fajny  
 [...]  
 F29: yyy ma raczej lepsze **ikony** / jakiś taki wygląd graficzny trochę inny / no nie wiem [pause 2 sec.] ja tam aż tak wiesz nie korzystam dużo to mmm dla mnie to fajny

As the word *ikona* is a relatively old semantic borrowing, its new meaning has been noted in USJP. It appeared also in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 97—98). What is more, it seems that the word is nowadays used more often in the new meaning than in the traditional one, at least in the speech of the younger generation. As a consequence, the word is not only a simple semantic extension, but it has some characteristics of a semantic shift as well (see also Diagram 6.3, section 6.3).

### 6.4.10 *Inteligentny*

Traditionally, the word *inteligentny* was used in the sense of (1) ‘having intelligence; good at learning, understanding and thinking in a logical way’, referring to people (e.g. *inteligentny rozmówca* ‘an intelligent interlocutor’) or (2) ‘showing intelligence’, referring to physical appearance and some human activities (e.g. *inteligentna twarz* ‘an intelligent face’, *inteligentna rozmowa* ‘an intelligent conversation’) (cf. USJP). It seems that nowadays the meaning of *inteligentny* has been extended and the word is used in a wider variety of contexts (cf. also MARKOWSKI and PAWELEC, 2001: XIII; WITALISZ, 2007: 248—249).

In the corpus the form in question was used only once, but in a new context, namely with respect to computer software and the Internet:

(1) [Recording 3]

M6: no / tylko że najśmieszniejsze to jest to / oni tam w Internecie teoretycznie mają jakiś taki / **inteligentny** / interaktywny system sprawdzania / czy blok jest w danym tym

M14: zasięgu

M6: no no no / i tam po prostu brat tego / akurat z ciekawości sprawdzał / wpisał naszą ulicę / dostał odpowiedź że / yyy niestety nie jesteś w naszym zasięgu [pause 2 sec.] a dzwonią do nas średnio raz na tydzień

As one can see, *inteligentny* was used in a completely new context (*inteligentny system sprawdzania*). It seems quite probable that the extension is due to the influence of the English language, as English *intelligent* has wider meaning and can be used with respect to computers and computer programs, cf. one of the definitions given in OALD: '(computing) (of a computer, program, etc.) able to store information and use it in new situations: *intelligent software/systems*'.

Interestingly enough, the word in question has already found its way into written Polish as well; for example, it was used in a press advertisement: *inteligentny system zarządzania przestrzenią bagażową* (ZABAWA, 2004b). Such a usage of *inteligentny* results probably from a literal translation of English *intelligent system*.

The new meaning of the word *inteligentny* has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.11 *Karta*

Traditionally, according to SJP, the word *karta* was used in the following main senses: (1) 'a sheet of paper', (2) 'a page, e.g. of a book', (3) 'a playing card', (4) 'a page, i.e. an important period of history', (5) 'a charter, e.g. the teacher's charter', (6) 'a menu, e.g. in a restaurant' and, archaically, (7) 'a map'.

Nowadays the word is used in two new senses, both of which seem to be triggered by the English word *card*: (1) 'a plastic card, issued usually by a bank, used for buying things' and (2) 'a small device that can be inserted in a computer to perform particular functions, e.g. a sound/graphics/network card'. The word was used once in the corpus, in the second extended sense, i.e. referring to computers:

- (1) [Recording 6]  
M7: ten firewall jest przecież no / na tym no na **karcie** nie

In the above context, *karta* refers to a network card. The new meaning of the word has been noted in USJP.

### 6.4.12 *Kasa*

Traditionally, the word *kasa* was used in the sense of (1) ‘a safe’ or (2) ‘a cashier’s office, cash desk, ticket window, ticket office or box office’ (cf. SJP).

Nowadays the meaning of the word in question has been extended, as the word can be used in two additional senses: (1) ‘a machine used in shops to keep money; a cash register; a till’ and, colloquially, (2) ‘money in the form of coins and/or notes’. It seems that the emergence of the second new meaning, which has become extremely popular in spoken Polish, could be attributed to the influence of the English word *cash* (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 88).

*Kasa* (in the meaning of ‘money’) was used eight times in the corpus by seven different speakers (M6, M7, M11, M13, F25, F28, F31):

- (1) [Recording 9]  
F25: ale to co ja ci powiedziałam {name} i chyba ja się nie mylę / to że {name} jest w ciąży to jest chyba pięć minut w ciąży / i dokładnie [together 1 sec.] no też ja się tylko się eee i pierwsza która wiedziała o tym to była {person, name} i / jeżeli {person} ło tym wy i to {name} to jest po prostu tylko powiedzenie po to / żeby {person} zaś tą **kasą**

- (2) [Recording 9]  
M6: no na pewno powiedzieli i liczyli^  
F25: no [unclear 1 sec.]  
M6: na jakąś^  
[together 1 sec.]  
M6: na jakąś **kasę**

- (3—4) [Recording 19]  
M11: z piętnastu takich bajtli / do pary młodej tam rozumiesz a łoń **kasa** chyba doł / nie / łoń chyba **kasa** dowoł

- (5) [Recording 19]  
M13: czekolady im doł / te  
M7: a fto ci **kasa** do / no

(6—7) [Recording 19]

F28: **kasy** raczej nie dająM13: kaj tam **kasa** coś ty

(8) [Recording 20]

F31: te / osiemset złotych na dwa na dziesięć dni czy na dwa tygodnie

M16: basen mają

M7: no / no to / fajnie

F31: no to wybacz te / fajna **kasa**

It must be noted, however, that the form in question was used in three recordings only, which points to the fact that some of the uses may have been mere repetitions of the word heard immediately before.

The English word *cash* has two principal meanings (according to ODE): (1) ‘money in coins or notes, as distinct from cheques, money orders, or credit’, (2) ‘money in any form’. It would seem that the new usage of *kasa* refers mainly to the former meaning, being thus synonymous, though belonging to informal register, with *gotówka*. This sense is meant in Examples 1—7. The only exception is Example 8, where *kasa* may refer to money in general, being thus synonymous, though colloquial, with *pieniądze*.

In the corpus, the most common collocation of *kasa* is *dać kasę* ‘to give cash’, which was used four times (out of eight occurrences of *kasa* in total), in Examples 3—6. There is no particular collocation in the rest of the instances of the use of the word in question: in Example 1 the sentence is clearly broken in the middle; in Example 2 *kasa* is used in the construction *liczyć na (jakaś) kasę* ‘to count on (some) cash; to hope to get (some) cash’; finally, in Examples 7 and 8 *kasa* is used with no verb.

It is important to notice that there is no single occurrence of *kasa* in any of the older senses (quoted at the beginning of the present subsection). This may indicate that a certain shift of meaning has taken place, at least in the informal register, where *kasa* is now primarily used to refer to money (especially in the form of notes and/or coins).

Interestingly enough, only two words referring to money were found in the corpus: colloquial *kasa* and neutral *pieniądze*. The frequency of the use of both forms is summarized in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.8** The frequency of use of *kasa*, *pieniądze* and other words for ‘money’

Word	Number of occurrences of the word	Number of speakers that used the word	Number of recordings in which the word appeared
<i>Kasa</i>	8	7	3
<i>Pieniądze</i>	11	6	8
Other informal words for ‘money’: <i>forsa</i> , <i>szmal</i> , <i>waluta</i>	—	—	—

As one can see, Table 6.8 indicates clearly that *kasa* has replaced other colloquial words denoting money, common in the 1980s and 1990s, for example *forsa*, *szmal* and *waluta*. The opposition formal-informal (with respect to ‘money’) is now realized by a pair of words *pieniądze-kasa*.

The relation between the frequency of use of the words in question and the speakers is presented in Table 6.9.

**Table 6.9** The relation between the frequency of the use of *kasa* and *pieniądze* and the speakers

Speakers	F4	F25	F28	F29	F31	M2	M6	M7	M8	M11	M13	M16	Total
Number of occurrences of <i>kasa</i>	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	<b>8</b>
Number of occurrences of <i>pieniądze</i>	1	0	0	3	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	1	<b>11</b>

Table 6.9 clearly illustrates a certain preference among speakers for the use of either *kasa* or *pieniądze*. Only one speaker (M6) used both words; however, his use of *kasa* (see Example 2) is obviously a repetition of this word used before by another speaker (F25; see Example 1). This indicates that the use of the word *kasa* can be said to be connected with the idiolect of a given speaker.

Finally, it must be noted that the word *kasa* is slowly penetrating into more formal variety of Polish as well; it can be found, for example, in the language of the press and commercials (emphasis mine): *Kasa utopiona w oknach* (a title of the article describing a dishonest company selling windows, *Dziennik Zachodni*, 246/2004, p. 1), *W końcu kasę na remont zaplanowano w przyszłorocznym budżecie* (*Dziennik Zachodni*, 304/2004, *Bliskie strony*, p. 3), *Wygraj wielką kasę* (an advertisement, *TeleMagazyn*, 4/2005, p. 31), *Można wygrać mnóstwo nagród i tyle kasy, że szok* (a yoghurt commercial, TVN, 25.01.2005).

### 6.4.13 *Klawiatura*

According to USJP, the word *klawiatura* is used in the sense of ‘a set of keys or buttons in/on musical instruments, computers, typewriters, etc.’ In the corpus, however, the word is used, besides its regular meaning, in the sense of ‘a driver’, i.e. ‘a computer program which controls the sending of data between a computer and an additional device, in the case here — a keyboard’.

In the corpus, the word *klawiatura* was used seven times. All of the occurrences are connected with the semantic field of computers. However,

three instances of the use of the word refer to the old sense of ‘a set of keys used for operating a computer’. The remaining four occurrences, all of which were used during the same recording (number 11), are presented below:

- (1—4) [Recording 11]  
 M14: można sobie dodać **klawiaturę** niemiecką  
 F29: aha / a to jak to się dodaje tą **klawiaturę** niemiecką  
 M14: panel sterowania / **klawiatura**  
 F29: panel sterowania / aha  
 M14: **klawiatura** / a potem tam są ustawienia regionalne / trza sobie dać niemiecką tylko trza / trza właściwą [unclear 1 sec.]  
 F29: a to przejdzie  
 M6: ale potem problem / który klawisz jest do czego / czy nie  
 M14: no na  
 F29: widzę  
 M14: na średniku jest o z kropkami [laughter 2 sec.] potem na tym apostrofie^

In Examples 3 and 4 the word *klawiatura* is used as a direct quotation of one of the options of *Windows* (*panel sterowania / klawiatura* ‘control panel / keyboard’). In the Polish version of the operating system *Windows*, the options for a keyboard were straightforwardly translated into Polish as *klawiatura*. The above-mentioned occurrences (Examples 3 and 4) cannot hence be treated as genuine examples of the use of the word in the extended meaning in spontaneous speech.

The situation is different, however, in the case of Examples 1 and 2. Here *klawiatura niemiecka* ‘literally: a German keyboard’ clearly refers not to a physical keyboard with German letters (i.e. *ä, ö, ü, ß*) visible on the keys, but rather to a special program, which enables a user to make use of the German letters (e.g. *ö* by pressing *ALT + o*). Such a use results probably from the above-mentioned straightforward translation of *keyboard* as *klawiatura*. Here, however, the word in question is not meant to be a direct quotation of the name of the option appearing on a computer screen, but is used spontaneously.

Additionally, it is worth noting that the word *klawiatura* was used in a new collocation *dodać klawiaturę* ‘literally: to add a keyboard’. This suggests that it is possible to have a few keyboards (that is, drivers for a keyboard) and choose the one needed at the moment.

It must be noted that the second instance of the use of the word in the new sense (by F29; see Example 2) is only a repetition of the phrase uttered immediately before by another speaker (M14).

The extended meaning of the word *klawiatura* has not so far been included in USJP.

#### 6.4.14 *Konsola, konsolowy*

According to USJP, the word *konsola* can be used to denote (1) ‘a console table’, (2) ‘a console; an ornamented bracket or corbel supporting something’, (3) ‘a console; a control panel’ and (4) ‘a kind of a consolidated bond’. What follows, is the fact that most of its meanings are fairly technical and are not likely to be used by laymen. One would thus not expect to come across the word in informal variety of Polish.

Nevertheless, there are two instances of the use of the word in corpus. Both of them refer to the semantic field of computers and the Internet; they were used in the same phrase *rozwój konsol zostanie zahamowany / rozwój konsol zostanie tak zahamowany [...] i gry na PC przeżyją taki jakby renesans*.

The extension of the meaning of the word is probably a result of the influence of the semantics of English, as the English word *console* can also refer to ‘a small machine for playing computerized video games’ (ODE). The meaning of the Polish word *konsola*, as represented in the corpus, is exactly the same.

What is more, an adjective derived from the word *konsola* (namely *konsolowy*) was also used in the corpus. The word itself is a neologism, and it shows that the base form (i.e. *konsola*) used in the new meaning is already well-assimilated in Polish, at least for some speakers: *jakaś gazeta wychodzi w ogóle — komputerowa, nie konsolowa*. The neologism is thus used in the collocation *gazeta konsolowa* ‘a newspaper about consoles’, as contrasted with *gazeta komputerowa* ‘a newspaper about computers’.

Interestingly enough, the word *konsola* is often used in the above-mentioned extended sense in the language of Polish magazines dealing with computers and computer games. Here are some examples: *Final Fantasy VII to nadłужej i najbardziej niecierpliwie oczekiwana gra w historii konsoli PlayStation* (*Gambler*, 3/1998, p. 47), *Jak wszyscy wiedzą, większość gier na konsole to bezpośrednie konwersje z tzw. automatów [...]* (*Gambler*, 4/1997, p. 62), *I rzeczywiście, pad jest prawie wielkości konsoli* (p. 62), *Doom ma opcję łączenia dwóch konsol, co pozwala np. rozgrywać deathmatch, czyli walkę dwóch graczy przeciwko sobie* (p. 66), *Zamiast — tradycyjnej już na konsolach — płynnej animacji, autorzy konwersji otrzymali podobny efekt, co w Doomie działającym na słabym 486* (p. 66), *Nawet przeciętny komputer PC znacznie przewyższa wszechstronnością każdą sprzedawaną obecnie konsolę* (*Enter*, 8/2004, p. 52). Moreover, the authors use derivatives as well, for example: *W normalnych konsolowych wyścigach samochód ma zwyczaj reagować na skręcanie w momencie naciśnięcia guzika [...]* (*Gambler*, 4/1997, p. 64), *Z działu konsol pozostawimy tylko NewsPad, który będzie pełnił rolę „Kuriera Konsolowego” i relacjonował, co się w świecie konsol dzieje*.



*Powstałe po likwidacji działów konsolowych miejsce przeznaczymy na rozbudowę działu recenzji oraz news (a konkretnie — dłuższe teksty o charakterze Preview) (Gambler, 4/1998, p. 7), Nie sądzę, żeby miała się zwiększyć objętość działów konsolowych — jeśli już, to może pomyślimy o specjalnym piśmie dla konsolowców (Gambler, 10/1997, p. 7).<sup>21</sup>*

As one can see, the use of the word in the above-mentioned sense is very common in computer magazines. What is more, it is used in spoken Polish as well.

Nevertheless, the new meaning of the word *konsola* has not so far been noted in USJP. As for the adjective *konsolowy*, it was not included in USJP at all.

#### 6.4.15 *Konto*

The word *konto*, traditionally used to denote ‘a bank account’ is now sometimes used in the meaning of ‘an e-mail account’ (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 94). The new sense has probably been triggered by a direct translation of English *account*, cf. such phrases as *załóż konto* ‘to set/start an account’ or *nowe konto* ‘a new account’, which can be found on Polish websites.

The word *konto* appeared four times in the corpus. All the instances of its use refer to the Internet and e-mail:

(1—3) [Recording 4]

M6: to masz coś / z Chipem wspólnego? / czy tam po prostu tylko **konto** masz?

M14: ja?

M6: no

M14: tylko **konto**

M6: a [pause 2 sec.] nie / bo czasem tak jest że na przykład musisz coś tam / yyy na niektórych serwerach musisz coś z nimi mieć wspólnego / żeby tam mieć u nich **konto** / musisz tam mieć u nich coś

(4) [Recording 6]

M7: ściąga i<sup>^</sup>

M6: aha

M7: jednocześnie różne fragmenty ale idzie to na jedno **konto** że je#

<sup>21</sup> More examples of the use of *konsola* and its derivatives can be found in ZABAWA (2008: 30—32).

In Example 4, the meaning of *konto* is ambiguous, as it may refer to a single computer (where all the data are copied from Internet websites) but it may also be used figuratively (*iść na jedno konto*).

Despite the new sense, the word was not used in any new collocation. The construction found in the corpus, i.e. *mieć (u nich) konto* ‘to have an account (at them)’ can safely be used with *konto* referring to a bank account as well.

The new meaning of *konto* has not so far been noted in USJP. However, the word appeared in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 94). In her corpus, however, the word in the new sense appeared as many as twelve times. Additionally, it was used in completely new collocations. By contrast, in the present corpus the word was used only four times. What is more, some of its uses (e.g. in Example 2, uttered by M14) seem to be only repetitions of the word heard a few seconds before. This indicates that the new sense of *konto* is far from assimilated in contemporary Polish.

#### 6.4.16 *List*

The word *list* is used in Polish in the sense of ‘a letter; a message that is written down and sent to somebody, usually by post’ (cf. USJP).

The word was used seven times in the corpus. In one instance, however, it was used in a completely new sense, referring to e-mail, that is, ‘a message received on a computer’. Such a use may result from the internal development of the Polish language, but it may also be intensified by the English form *mail* (common in the semantic field of computers) as the word can be used with reference to both (1) traditional post and letters as well as (2) electronic mail send and received on a computer.

The fragment of the corpus containing the word used in the new sense is presented below:

(1) [Recording 11]

F29: a ja dzisiaj właśnie bo wiesz mąż mi dzwoni że / że mmm jest na tym yyy mmm w Internecie i że do mnie przyszedł **list** od tej {name} / wiesz z tego / z tej Austrii / nie

M6: aha aha aha

F29: to ja mówię / on mówi no jakieś duże [together 2 sec.] no / jakieś duże / że tam / dwa mega czy jakieś jedne / nie / no i te zdjęcia przesłała / wiesz / i potem no ja jej napisałam

As one can see, no new collocation has appeared: the form *list* is used in the construction *przyszedł do mnie list od {imię}* ‘a letter has come to me from {name}’. Such a construction is typical for the word *list* used in the traditional sense. It points to certain semantic parallelism between the traditional post and electronic mail (cf. also section 6.4.40, where some other words, which were used previously in connection with post office and letters and are now also used with reference to e-mail, are discussed).

Still, the form *list* is primarily used in the traditional sense. The use of the word in the extended sense can thus be perceived as an exception. The frequency of both senses is summarized in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10** The frequency of the use of the word *list* in two senses

Word	Number of occurrences of the word	Number of speakers that used the word	Number of recordings in which the word appeared
<i>List</i> (in the traditional sense)	6	4	3
<i>List</i> (in the extended sense of ‘e-mail’)	1	1	1

### 6.4.17 Ładować

According to USJP, the word *ładować* is used in the meaning of (1) ‘to load, e.g. a lorry with coal, a car with luggage, clothes into a bag, etc.’, (2) ‘to charge, e.g. a battery’, (3) ‘to load bullets (e.g. into the muzzle)’ and, colloquially, (4) ‘to hit or punch someone’.

It would seem, however, that the meaning of the word has recently been extended and the word is now also used, probably under the influence of English *to load*, with reference to computer data. The new sense is equivalent to one of the meanings of the English lexeme *load*: ‘(computing) transfer (a program or data) into memory, or into the central processor from storage’ (ODE).

The word in question was used five times in the corpus (out of which four were used with various prefixes: *załadować*, *władować*, *naładować*, *obładować*); only one of its uses refers to computer data:

(1) [Recording 6]

M6: bo z tymi obrazkami to on by już w ogóle **ładował** chyba godzina jedna strona

The word *ładować* is used here in a new collocation, referring to an Internet website: *on [=komputer] ładuje stronę*, ‘it [=the computer] loads a website’.

The word *ładować* is sometimes used in computer magazines, but the agent of the process denoted by it is either the user (e.g. *załadowałeś program?* ‘have you loaded the program?’) or the program/game (e.g. *gra się ładuje* ‘the game is loading’). Thus in the corpus the word in question is used, as was mentioned above, in a completely new collocation: it is not a user that loads a program, or a program that is loading, but it is a computer that is loading software (or, as in the case here, an Internet website).

The extended meaning of the word *ładować* (even the one referring to the process done by a user or a computer program/game) has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.18 *Obrazek*

According to USJP, the word *obrazek* is used in three basic senses: (1) ‘a small picture, especially in a book or hanging on a wall’, (2) ‘a picture, scene, e.g. shown on TV’, (3) ‘a short story’. In the corpus, however, the lexeme in question is used several times in a wider range of contexts.

In the following example, *obrazek* is used instead of *zdjęcie* ‘a photograph’:

- (1) [Recording 2]  
 M2: Lamborgini coś tam / ale nie umiem przeczytać co tu pisze  
 [together 2 sec.]  
 M4: ładne zdjęcia są  
 M2: co  
 M4: ładne **obrazki**

The phrase *ładne obrazki* ‘nice pictures’ was used with respect to photographs published in a newspaper dealing with cars and the car industry. Thus the construction in question refers to the photographs of cars. Interestingly enough, the first phrase used by the speaker M4 was *ładne zdjęcia* ‘nice photographs’. After being asked for repetition (by M2’s *co* ‘what’), he repeated his thought with a different word. It is thus possible to assume that the speaker M4 used *obrazki* as an equivalent of *zdjęcia*.

In the following fragment, the word *obrazek* was used to denote ‘a digital image visible on a computer screen; a part of an Internet website’:

(2—3) [Recording 6]

M6: przecież my na początku wyłączyli w ogóle **obrazki**

M7: no

M6: bo z tymi **obrazkami** to on by już w ogóle ładował chyba godzina jedna strona

Finally, in the example below, the lexeme in question could refer to both ‘small pictures’ and/or ‘photographs’:

(4—5) [Recording 4]

M6: już tam dzieci miały / takie [laughter 1 sec.] nowe książki z **obrazkami** to niektórych to nie motywowało

F29: tak?

M6: nawet mimo że mieli / mimo że mieli **obrazki** / kolorowe / i tam też / teoretycznie te tematy / no to teoretycznie tam były takie dopasowane że / ich powinny zainteresować ale też byli i tacy których to / nie interesowało

The dialogue refers to textbooks used for teaching English in Polish secondary schools. The construction *książka z obrazkami* ‘a book with pictures; a picture book’ (see Example 4) is a common collocation, which functions almost like a fixed phrase. In the present context, however, it may refer to photographs as well. Such a textbook would thus be contrasted with the old generation of textbooks, containing only black-and-white pictures (not photographs). The same is true in the case of Example 5, where the phrase *mieli obrazki kolorowe* → *kolorowe obrazki* ‘colourful pictures’ seems to refer to photographs rather than pictures.

Such extensions are probably a result of the internal development of the Polish language and the figurative use of words. It may, however, be intensified (at least indirectly, for example by careless Polish translations of English texts appearing on a computer screen) by the English language, as English *picture* can be used in a much wider variety of contexts; it may, for example, be safely used with the reference to photographs (cf. e.g. one of the definitions given by ODE and OALD: ‘a photograph’).

The extended meaning of *obrazek* has not been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.19 *Opcja*

Traditionally, the word *opcja* was used only in fairly technical contexts in the sense of (1) (as a marine term) ‘option of port’, (2) (as a legal term) ‘option of nationality’, (3) (as a legal term) ‘copyright’ (cf. SJP).

Nowadays, however, the word is sometimes used in two new senses: (1) (belonging to general Polish) ‘a choice’ or ‘one of the possibilities that can be chosen’ and (2) (belonging to the semantic field of computers) ‘one of the choices that a computer user can make when using a computer program’ (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 91; WITALISZ, 2007: 272). It seems very probable that both new meanings were triggered by the English form *option* (cf. two of the definitions given by OALD: (1) ‘something that you can choose to have or do’, (2) ‘(computing) one of the choices you can make when using a computer program’).

As might be expected, *opcja* is non-existent in the corpus in the ‘old’ senses (enumerated in SJP and listed above). The word was, however, used once in the first new meaning (see Example 1 below) and three times in the second new meaning (see Examples 2, 3 and 4):

(1) [Recording 2]

F2: to samo gdzieś yyy kobieta / wyczytałam o nowej specjalności rocznych studiów yyy do wychowania mmm rodzinnego

F1: rodzinnego mhm

F2: i seksu# seksualnego tak / dwie **opcje** są tych studiów znaczy dwa kierunki jeszcze takie [unclear 1 sec.] można takie no i to daje uprawnienia do \*

(2) [Recording 4]

M14: jeżeli na przykład wysyłasz Outlook Expressem / to jak ktoś ma też Outlook Expressa albo / Outlooka tego z Office’a / to ma to zaznaczone \*

F29: mhm / ja właśnie szukałam wiesz w **opcjach** / czy ja to będę mogła gdzieś potem włączyć / no i nie wiem

(3) [Recording 6]

M7: miotech kiedyś dwa numery tego no naprawdę nie o wszystkim nie takie do nauki / ale takie typowo sprzętowe testy wszystko bardzo dokładne a# ale konkretnie wiedziotech o czym no porównanie procesorów wszystko / a tu dej pokój kompakty multimedialna nauka tym podobne / multimedialna nauka pakietu tam Office XP bo jest nowy Office ik# XP no i efekt taki^

M6: mhm

M7: no że jakiś facio no nagrany i mówi jakie tam mówi jakie doszły tam nowe **opcje** yyy w porównaniu z yyy z dwutysięcznym a z tym XP

(4) [Recording 7]

M6: przede wszystkim / no [pause 3 sec.] no właśnie / mmm znaczy ja mam tylko taki aparat tradycyjny / ale właśnie mój brat sobie kupił niedawno sobie cyfrowy^

F29: mhm i

M6: właśnie też to sobie podłączył do komputera i teraz taką ma manię tam co chwilę [laughter 1 sec.] tam coś próbuje to korygować / bo tam są różne takie **opcje** / że tam coś można rozjaśniać^

As one can see, the word *opcja*, when used in connection with computers, appeared in a new collocation, unheard of before: *szukać w opcjach* ‘literally: to search in options’ (Example 2). Other collocations, such as *doszły tam nowe opcje* ‘new options were added’ (Example 3), *tam są różne takie opcje* ‘there are various such options there’ (Example 4) can be probably used not only in the area of computers, but also in general Polish, with *opcja* meaning ‘a choice’ or ‘a freedom of choice’.

Interestingly enough, the first new meaning of *opcja* is marked in NSPP as overused, although it occurred only once in the corpus. One may thus say that the word in question in the meaning of ‘a choice’ or ‘one of the possibilities that can be chosen’ is perhaps overused in the language of the press, but not in spoken everyday language.<sup>22</sup>

The new meanings of *opcja* have been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.20 *Operować*

According to USJP, the word *operować* can be used in the following senses: (1) ‘to perform a surgical operation; to operate’, (2) ‘to use, e.g. one’s voice, a metaphor, sound etc.’, (3) ‘to work, to be in effect, e.g. about the rays of the sun’, (4) ‘to manage (a business)’, (5) ‘to trade e.g. in shares; to earn money e.g. on the stock exchange’ and (5) ‘(of armed forces) to conduct military activities’.

The word was used in the corpus twice, but in the extended sense: *kto to będzie operował / nikt z nas, z tego co wiem, nie potrafi koparką operować*.

The meaning of the word *operować* is close to Sense 2 given above. According to the dictionary definition, however, *operować* in the sense of ‘to use’ is used with abstract nouns, cf. the collocations given by USJP: *operować metaforą/ciałem/dźwiękiem/głosem* ‘to use (literally: to operate) a metaphor/one’s body/sound/one’s voice’. In the corpus, by contrast, *operować* is used in the construction with the noun denoting a machine (a digger/an excavator). As a consequence, the word is used in a new collocation, unheard of before: *operować koparką* ‘to operate a digger’. Such usage hardly conforms to the traditional understanding of the term *operować*.

The extension may be attributed to the internal development of the Polish language (analogous to the word *operator*, also used in the corpus, which can

<sup>22</sup> This is generally in line with the findings of OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 91). In her corpus, the word *opcja* in the meaning of ‘choice’ was also used only once and there were probably no occurrences of *opcja* referring to options visible on a computer screen (as a part of a computer program).

be used to denote a person that operates a machine, as in *operator dźwigu* ‘a crane operator’), but it may have been reinforced by the English form *to operate*, which can safely be used in connection with machines and technical devices, cf. one of the definitions given by OALD: ‘to use or control a machine or make it work’.

The new sense of the word *operować* has not so far been noted in USJP.<sup>23</sup>

### 6.4.21 *Pakiet*

Traditionally, the word *pakiet* was used to denote ‘a collection of something’, referring exclusively to physical objects, such as books, letters etc. (e.g. *pakiet listów, banknotów, książek*; cf. SJP). The English counterparts (*package, bundle*), on the other hand, do not seem to have such a restriction, cf. the generality of one of the definitions given in OALD: *package* — ‘a set of items or ideas that must be bought or accepted together’.

It appears that nowadays the Polish word is sometimes used in a wider variety of contexts as well. There were three occurrences of the word in the corpus:

(1) [Recording 3]

M6: je# jest taka wersja wprawdzie / mmm eee tego **pakietu** Office dla studentów uczniów nauczycieli

(2) [Recording 6]

M7: miotech kiedyś dwa numery tego no naprawdę nie o wszystkim nie takie do nauki / ale takie typowo sprzętowe testy wszystko bardzo dokładne a# ale konkretnie wiedziotech o czym no porównanie procesorów wszystko / a tu dej pokój kompakty multimedialna nauka tym podobne / multimedialna nauka **pakietu** tam Office XP bo jest nowy Office ik# XP no i efekt taki^

(3) [Recording 18]

M6: i tak jak mmm mówię no w Medii już niestare gry / to takie **pakiety** są po cztery pięć i to kosztuje trzydzieści złotych / i to jest jeszcze niestare

The new meaning of the word is best illustrated by Examples 1 and 2, used by two different speakers (M6, M7) in two recordings (number 3 and 6, respectively). Here the word *pakiet* refers to a collection of computer programs issued on a single CD-ROM sold in one box (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 274). It

<sup>23</sup> A different new meaning of *operować* was mentioned by WITALISZ (2007: 272–273).



is thus no longer a collection of physical objects. The word is used in the same sense as its English counterpart *package*, cf. one of the definitions given in OALD: ‘a set of related programs for a particular type of task such as word processing, sold and used as a single unit’.

The Example 3, on the other hand, refers to a collection of computer games, sold in the form of CD-ROMs packed in cardboard boxes, which are tied together to form one package. Consequently, the word is used here in the more traditional sense referring to collection of physical objects.

The extended sense of the word has been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.22 *Partner*

According to USJP, the word *partner* is used in the following main senses: (1) ‘a person that one is dancing, playing a game, or talking with’, (2) ‘one of the people who owns a business and shares the profits’, (3) ‘a person with the same status, rights, etc. as another; an equal’, (4) ‘a country, institution etc. that another country, institution etc. is cooperating or doing business with’, and (5) ‘an actor playing with another actor’. In addition, the dictionary in question gives a set phrase *partner życiowy* ‘literally: a life partner’, defined as ‘a spouse’.

However, nowadays the word *partner/partnerka* is often used (without any specifying adjectives) in the meaning of ‘a spouse’. What is more, the context in which the lexeme is used in the corpus reveals that the meaning of the word has been extended even further: *partner/partnerka* may refer not only to a spouse, but also to a common-law husband/wife (a cohabitee).

The word was used twice in the corpus. Both occurrences refer to the new meaning:

(1) [Recording 9]

F25: {name} tam nie były ja ci mówię tam byli rodzice / rodzeństwo / czyli jego brat i {name}

M6: mhm

F25: z **partnerami** / i chrzestni / i to było wszystko / i dziadkowie / tam nie było nikogo / chrzestni byli akurat myśmy byli i te

(2) [Recording 9]

F25: ale {name} co by się nie powiedziało to wiesz / te {name-genitive} dziewczyny / są ładne zgrabne / yyy **partnerów** mają przystojnych / bo i jedna i druga starszych ma

In both examples, the word is not used in the above-mentioned sense of ‘a spouse’, but ‘a common-law husband/wife, a cohabitee’. The women referred to by the speaker F25 (see Example 2) have children and men they live with, but nevertheless they are both formally unmarried.

It appears that such an extension results from the influence of English *partner*. The first meaning of the word (ergo, the most common) given by OALD reads as follows: ‘the person that you are married to or having a sexual relationship with’.

In Polish, the word *partner* in the sense of ‘a spouse’, ‘a common-law husband’ or even ‘a lover’ appears often in popular talk shows emitted in Polish television. As one can see, the new sense of the word has already penetrated into informal spoken Polish.

It is thus possible to talk about two phases of the semantic extension of the word *partner*. First, the word began to be used in the meaning of ‘a spouse’ (without any further specifying or restricting words, such as *życiowy*). Second, the above-mentioned new meaning was extended even further, as the word may now refer not only to a husband, but also to a cohabitee or a lover (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 64; WITALISZ, 2007: 275).

The new meanings of the word *partner* have not so far been noted in USJP.

### 6.4.23 *Piractwo, piracki, pirat*

#### *Piractwo*

In the 1980s the word *piractwo* was chiefly used to refer to ‘the practice of attacking and robbing ships at sea’ and, additionally, to ‘hijacking’ (cf. SJP). Nowadays the word is frequently used in connection with music, films and computer software to indicate ‘a process of making and selling illegal copies of various products, usually music cassettes/CDs, films on DVDs/video tapes or computer programs/games on CD-ROMs/DVDs’. It seems probable that the new sense of the word was influenced by English *piracy* (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 277).

The word in question was used five times in the corpus by two speakers (M6, M7). All the instances of its use refer to computer software:

(1—3) [Recording 18]

M6: no no [pause 2 sec.] no i to potem też to całe **piractwo** akurat nie z tego ale całe **piractwo** też / dlatego się tak rozwija / jak to pisali / no bo jednak te

wszystkie / ten cały sprzęt hi-fi no to to tanieje / nagrywarki DVD do komputera taniej / taniej te jakieś różne programy do obróbki i tak dalej^

M7: no / obiektywnie^

M6: i **piractwo** się rozwija

(4) [Recording 18]

M6: że to nie jest jakaś stała cena bo ta stała cena to już jest koło osiemdziesiąt złotych

M7: więc ale o to chodzi że obniżone generalnie są [pause 3 sec.] jest to moim zdaniem / drobny krok w yyy w yyy w celu zmniejszenia yyy

**piractwa**

(5) [Recording 18]

M7: powiem że / jedyny sposób w jaki idzie mmm no nie powiem mmm zlikwidować ale bardzo / zmniejszyć **piractwo** głównie to jest / obniżka cen

As one can see, the word is used in a completely new meaning, but no new collocation has appeared: in Example 1 *piractwo* is used with no verb; in Examples 2 and 3 *piractwo* is used in the construction *piractwo się rozwija* ‘the piracy is developing / develops’, and in Examples 4 and 5 in *zmniejszanie piractwa/zmniejszyć piractwo* ‘to reduce / curb the piracy’. Both the constructions (*piractwo się rozwija/zmniejsza*) do not seem to be strictly connected with the new meaning of the word, but can also be used with *piractwo* in the traditional sense (that is, attacking a ship/plane). In other words, the semantic extension has not influenced possible collocations of the word.

The new meaning of the word in question has been noted in USJP.

## *Piracki*

The new meaning of *piracki* is interrelated with the new sense of *piractwo*, described in the previous section. The adjective *piracki* is nowadays frequently used in the meaning of ‘sold illegally’, referring chiefly to music, film and computer software (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 276). Such a usage seems to be influenced by the English form *pirate/pirated*. The word in question was used in the corpus once; it appeared in a new collocation, not attested in the 1980s: (*sprzedawać*) *pirackie gry* ‘(to sell) pirated (computer) games’. What is more, further derivatives, although non-existent in the corpus, can occasionally be heard, e.g. *spiracony*, as in *ten program miał spiracony* ‘he had this program pirated; he had a pirate program’ (heard in a conversation).

Interestingly enough, no other word describing computer software, films, etc. sold illegally (such as for example *nielegalny* ‘illegal’) was used in the corpus.

The new sense of the adjective in question has been included in USJP.

## *Pirat*

The new meaning of the lexeme *pirat* is closely related to both *piractwo* and *piracki*, discussed in the previous sections. In the past, the word referred to ‘a person attacking ships at sea or airplanes during flight’. Nowadays the word is often used, probably under the influence of English *pirate*, to denote ‘a person who makes illegal copies of video cassettes, film DVDs, music CDs and computer software and then sells them’.

What is more, there has recently appeared a new meaning of *pirat*, referring not to a person, but to products, such as computer software, sold illegally (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 276).

Altogether, the word *pirat* was used seven times in the corpus by two speakers (M6, M7):

(1—5) [Recording 18]

M6: no no [pause 2 sec.] no całkowicie się nigdy nie zlikwiduje / bo są osoby które są tak przyzwyczajone na przykład gry komputerowe tak przyzwyczajone do kupowania do **piratów** że im by wręcz / nie przyszło do głowy kupić oryginał

M7: a po drugie dużo osób \*

M6: i jest też grupa osób / które pójda do **pirata** / nawet jak będzie miał / pięć procent taniej

M7: no bo^

M6: bo taka grupa osób też jest

M7: bardzo dużo osób mo yyy \*

M6: że jak będzie oryginał trzydzieści złotych / jak będzie oryginał trzydzieści złotych / a u **pirata** dwajścia pięć / to są osoby które by i tak wtedy poszły do **pirata**

M7: aaa / kto teroz^

M6: takie osoby też są

M7: kupuje gry u **pirata**

(6) [Recording 18]

M7: mało osób no już kupuje typowo u **pirata**

(7) [Recording 18]

M6: to on i tak zawsze załatwi **pirata** choćby ten oryginał / był / nie wiadomo jak tani

In Examples 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, *pirat* refers to a person selling illegal software, whereas in Examples 1 and 7 the same word refers to computer games sold illegally.

When the word *pirat* is used with reference to a person, no new collocation has appeared: by far the most common collocations are *pójść do pirata* ‘to go to a pirate’, which was used twice (by one speaker, namely M6), and *kupić (gry) u pirata* ‘to buy (games) at the pirate’s; to buy pirate games’, which was used twice as well (also by one speaker, namely M7).

As for the lexeme *pirat* used with reference to computer software, two new constructions were found: *być przyzwyczajonym do (kupowania) piratów (=kupować piraty)* ‘to be used to (buying) pirate software; to buy pirate software’ (see Example 1) and *zatatwić pirata* ‘to get/buy a pirate computer game/program’ (see Example 7).

Only the first of the new meanings (referring to a person) has been included in USJP; the second one (referring to a product) has not so far been noted in the dictionary in question.

It must be noted that all the three forms (*piractwo*, *piracki*, *pirat*) are common in the language of computer and computer game magazines, the only exception being the word *pirat* used with reference to a product sold illegally. This sense has not (yet) penetrated into the above-mentioned variety of the Polish language. It is, however, occasionally used in general magazines, e.g. *Nie zamierzamy wzywać, by z dnia na dzień każdy komputerowiec wyrzucił wszystkie „piraty”* (*Wprost*, 1/2005, p. 12). As one can see, the word is written in quotation marks, which shows that it is still perceived as somehow inappropriate in more formal contexts.

Additionally, the meanings of two other words, namely *oryginalny* and *oryginał*, have recently been extended and the words are now antonyms of *piracki* and *pirat* (used in the new sense), respectively. Here the semantic extension is probably a result of the internal development of Polish, rather than of the direct influence of English. Nevertheless, *oryginalny* and *oryginał* will be briefly discussed in the section on other semantic extensions (see section 6.4.40).

#### 6.4.24 *Poczta*

Traditionally, the word *poczta* was used in three main senses: (1) ‘an institution which delivers letters, packages, etc.’, (2) ‘the building used by this institution’ and (3) ‘letters, packages etc. that are sent and delivered’ (cf. USJP). Nowadays, when one talks about computers and the Internet, the word is often

used in the sense of ‘electronic mail’ or ‘a web page where one can access and read one’s e-mail’, a change that can be attributed to the influence of the English word *mail*, which can also be used in the sense of ‘e-mail’ (cf. OALD and OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 97).

Altogether, the word in question was used six times in the corpus; only two instances, however, refer to the new meaning (used by one speaker only, but in two different recordings):

(1) [Recording 4]

F29: a kiedy to wysłałeś

M14: a / z tydzień temu

F29: no żartujesz / nie mam ich / no ja / ja teraz wchodzę codziennie na moją **pocztę**

(2) [Recording 7]

F29: więc jednak się udało bo ja wczoraj się bawiłam / byłam wiesz kurczę to już by tak / tak trzeba by coś wysłać / a / potem nagle mi nie wiem zawiesił / że w ogóle tak jakbym nie mogła wejść sobie yyy / u siebie na **pocztę** na wysłane

Apart from the new meaning, a new collocation has also appeared: *wejść na pocztę* ‘literally: to enter (into) a post/mail’ (in the meaning of ‘to access a website and log on in order to read one’s e-mail’), whereas it has so far been possible to say only *iść na pocztę/być na poczcie*, ‘to go to a post office/to be at the post office’.

Additionally, the word *poczta* was used three times in the ‘old’ meaning to refer to ‘traditional mail’. Interestingly enough, in two out of three cases, there was a potential ambiguity (*poczta* as traditional or electronic mail) and hence the speakers (M6, F29) felt it necessary to add a clarifying adjective (*zwykła poczta* ‘literally: an ordinary mail’) or an adverb (*wysłać pocztą... normalnie* ‘to send by post... normally’) to make the meaning clear to the interlocutor:

(3) [Recording 7]

F29: no / nie / ja sądze że ona mi jednak **pocztą** wysłała / normalnie wiesz zdjęcia

(4) [Recording 11]

M6: to w ostateczności możesz jej po prostu / yyy zwykłą tą

F29: mhm

M6: dać to zwykłą **pocztą** / nie

Consequently, the word *poczta* can be said to be, at least in certain contexts, potentially ambiguous. What is more, when the Internet and computers are discussed, *poczta* in the meaning of ‘electronic mail’ appears to

be an unmarked form (used without any specifying adjectives), whereas *poczta* in the regular meaning needs some further explanatory words, for example *zwykła*.

Furthermore, the word in question was used once more in connection with the Internet. This instance was not included above, because the word was used as a part of someone's e-mail address. Nevertheless, one can still treat it as a semantic neologism:

- (5) [Recording 4]  
 M6: yyy / {name, surname} / razem pisane  
 [pause 3 sec.]  
 F29: {name, surname}  
 M6: jednym ciągiem  
 F29: mhm  
 M6: małpa / **poczta** [pause 3 sec.] kropka

The new meaning of *poczta* has been included in USJP only in the set phrase *poczta elektroniczna*, not *poczta* in general. The word appeared also in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 97). In the present corpus, however, the word appeared in a new collocation. In general, nevertheless, it appears that the new meaning of the word is still far from assimilated, at least in informal spoken Polish, the sign of which is the fact that the word in the new sense was used by one speaker only.

#### 6.4.25 *Profesjonalnie*

Traditionally, the word *profesjonalnie* was used in the meaning of *zawodowo* 'in the way that is connected with a person's job; done as a paid job, not as a hobby'. Nowadays the word in question is also used, probably under the influence of the English form *professionally*, in the sense of *fachowo*, *kompetentnie* 'done competently, in a way that shows skill and experience' (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 281). Thus the change here is, as in the case of some other words (e.g. *globalny*), quite subtle. The word was used once in the corpus (in the extended sense), in the phrase *mógtby ktoś jakaś firma zrobić to tak profesjonalnie*.

The analogous extension, non-existent in the corpus, but nevertheless fairly common, is visible in the case of the corresponding adjective (*profesjonalny*), the new meaning of which has been noted in USJP. What is more, this extended meaning of the adjective *profesjonalny* is noted as overused in NSPP.

By contrast, the extended meaning of the word discussed in the present section (i.e. of the adverb *profesjonalnie*) has not been noted so far in USJP or NSPP.

### 6.4.26 *Promocja*

The word *promocja* is a relatively old semantic borrowing. Traditionally, the word was used in the meaning of (1) ‘the act of moving (especially a pupil) up to the next class’ and (2) ‘the graduation ceremony for the doctoral degree’ (cf. SJP). Nowadays the word is often used, probably under the influence of English *promotion*, in the meaning of ‘a set of advertisements for a particular product’ and ‘an act of selling a new product at a reduced price’ (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 91; WITALISZ, 2007: 282—283; ZABAWA, 2008: 37—38). It seems that it is the second new meaning that is particularly frequent in spoken Polish.

The word was used three times in the corpus by two speakers (M7 and M8). All the uses of the word refer to ‘the act of selling a product or service at a reduced price in order to attract potential customers’:

(1) [Recording 5]

F22: tam mo wszystko sery jajka masło

M8: no no właśnie nie no [unclear 1 sec.] jeszcze coś tam było takie nawet się zastanawiałem co to jest nie / jako **promocja** tym razem była / jo godom to była piekarnia a tu teraz takie rzeczy

(2) [Recording 18]

M7: ale bardzo często / z prawie nowych / pojawiają się takie **promocje** / choćby wtedy Matrix Reaktywacje co on kosztuje te yyy te

(3) [Recording 18]

M7: ino ino ino w to [pause 2 sec.] zech z tym synkiem godoł ostatnio [unclear 1 sec.] Chello wziął

M6: a tego Chello

M7: ja / tylko to

M6: to jest te UPC całe?

M7: tak / tylko tylko nie wiem jak to jest / czy to wziął już tak na stałe / czy na dwa miesiące / no bo **promocja** jest dwa miesiące po złotówce

Interestingly enough, NSPP states explicitly that the word *promocja*, when used in the new meaning, can only be used to describe recently launched products. Consequently, using the word in the sense of ‘any price reduction or



sale at reduced price’ is explicitly marked as incorrect. It seems, however, that this restriction is no longer in operation. For example, the word *promocja* in Example 1 refers to groceries present long at the market, whose prices are temporarily reduced. This additional extension is probably due to the enormous popularity of the word *promocja* in the contemporary Polish language of the trade. However, it may also be caused, or at least intensified, by the English *promotion*, which does not seem to have such a restriction (cf. the definition given by OALD: ‘activities done in order to increase the sales of a product or service; a set of advertisements for a particular product or service’).

The new sense has only partly been included in USJP, as the definitions and the examples suggest that the word refers only to new products. The word appeared also in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 91), but she gives no further information (apart from citations from the corpus) about the products the word referred to.

#### 6.4.27 *Rozpakować*

Traditionally, the word *rozpakować* was used in the sense of (1) ‘to unwrap (e.g. a present)’ and (2) ‘to empty a bag, suitcase, rucksack, etc. by taking the things out of it’ (cf. SJP). However, there has recently appeared a new meaning of the word. It is very probable that the extension is a result of the influence of the English lexeme *unpack*, which can also be used, according to ODE, in the area of computer science, in the meaning of ‘to convert data from a compressed form to a usable form’.

The word in question was used in the corpus once:

(1) [Recording 14]

M6: bo kiedyś yyy jak żech tam jakieś próbował właśnie na dysku to mi coś tam napisał / kiedyś jak miałem na twardym dysku / jakiś zip file / że tam coś / no nie wiem czemu nie może go właśnie yyy **rozpakować** żeby tam ściągnąć to jeszcze raz

Apart from the new meaning, the doer of the action has also changed. In the example above, the process denoted by the verb *rozpakować* is done by a computer.

The new meaning of the word has been noted in USJP.

### 6.4.28 Sieć

According to USJP, the word *sieć* has the following meanings: (1) ‘a piece of net used for catching fish, birds or other small animals’, (2) ‘a trap’, (3) ‘a spider’s web’, (4) ‘a group of people working together, esp. illegally or secretly; a ring’, (5) ‘a group of shops, stores etc. run by the same company; a chain’, (6) ‘a system of roads, tracks, lines, wires, cables; a network’.

Moreover, USJP gives a number of compounds containing the lexeme in question, including *sieć komputerowa* ‘a computer network’, defined as ‘a number of computers and other devices that are connected together so that equipment and information can be shared’ (cf. OALD). One may thus say that the Internet is a kind of a computer network, or, in other words, *Internet* is a hyponym of *sieć komputerowa*.

Nowadays, however, the word *sieć* is often used informally in the meaning of ‘the Internet’ (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 61—62; WITALISZ, 2007: 291). The extension may result from the internal development of the Polish language, but it may also be caused (or at least intensified) by English *net* (which is a primary counterpart of Polish *sieć*) and *the Net* (that is, informally, the Internet) (see also Diagram 6.4, section 6.3).

Altogether, the form *sieć* was used six times in the corpus by four speakers (M6, M7, M14 and F29):

(1) [Recording 3]

M6: ale był taki moment że / tam / w tej takiej **sieci** lokalnej / w tej takiej osiedlowej / że tam / właśnie piszą te takie różne

(2—3) [Recording 3]

M6: no no więc właśnie tam ta właścicielka / ta# tej **sieci** ostatnio coś tam pozamykała

[...]

M14: gdy i tak średnio ponad tysiąc ludzi na sieci siedzi

(4) [Recording 4]

M14: Gadu Gadu to jest podstawowy program

F29: no / ale wiesz \*

M6: a ja go w ogóle nie używam / nawet nawet nie wiem jak to działa / znaczy wiem że to jest coś takiego do rozmowy ale

F29: yyy jak mam jakiś komunikat to od kogoś / że coś / że oni to mają widzą mnie w **sieci** czy coś więc się cieszę że / że mogę sobie porozmawiać / nie

(5) [Recording 6]

M7: najpierw koło czterech użytkowników on-line

M6: a że to nie jest tylko z tej naszej **sieci** ale to jest w ogóle

- (6) [Recording 18]  
M7: coraz więcej osób ma jednak **sieć**

The word *sieć* occurred six times in four recordings; however, three instances of its use (Examples 1, 2 and 5) refer to ‘a local computer network’. The remaining three occurrences (Examples 3, 4 and 6) refer to the above-discussed sense of ‘the Internet’.

Still, the form *Internet*, being an internationalism, is much more common than *sieć*. The frequency of the use of both words is presented in Table 6.11.

**Table 6.11** The frequency of the use of *sieć* and *Internet*

Word	Number of occurrences of the word	Number of speakers that used the word	Number of recordings in which the word appeared
<i>Sieć</i> (in the sense of ‘the Internet’)	3	3	3
<i>Internet</i>	10	5	7

The word *sieć* is nowadays very popular in written Polish, too; it was used, for example, in the title of a popular book (*Samotność w sieci* by Janusz L. Wiśniewski, published by Prószyński i S-ka). What is more, the word is sometimes capitalized (in the same way as English *the Net*), which may suggest that it begins to be used as a proper noun (similar to *Internet*), e.g. *W Sieci krążą ciekawe plotki, dotyczące kolejnej zmienionej wersji „Gwiezdných wojen”* (*Fantasy*, 2/2004, p. 6), *Tymczasem Sieć, jak prawie każde dzieło człowieka, może być również niebezpieczna. [...]. Również uzależnienie od Sieci nie jest wymysłem psychologów, lecz realnym zjawiskiem [...]* (*Gambler*, 12/1998, p. 57), *Gry na PC do pobrania z Sieci [...]. W Sieci są dostępne spore zbiory starszych gier, ustępujące nowym tytułom pod względem grafiki i dźwięku, ale nadal wywołujące dreszczyk emocji* (*Enter*, 8/2004, p. 134).

In spite of its widespread use, in both written and spoken Polish, the new meaning has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.29 *Słownik*

According to USJP, the word *słownik* may refer to (1) ‘a list of words of a language, usually arranged alphabetically, with the explanation of their meanings and examples of use’ and (2) ‘all the words known or used by an individual person’.

It seems, however, that nowadays the meaning of the word has been extended and the word can be used in a completely new sense of ‘the list of word forms (and some grammatical rules) stored in a computer memory, used in word processing programs to check the spelling of the words as well as some syntactic and stylistic points’. It appears that the new meaning of the word results from a direct translation of English *dictionary*, which, according to OALD, can be used to indicate ‘a list of words in electronic form, for example stored in a computer’s spellchecker’.

In the corpus, the word *słownik* is used five times altogether:

(1) [Recording 11]

F29: trzeba się trochę pilnować żeby właśnie / ale potem wymyśliłam że mówię jaka ja jestem bezmyślna / przecież ja sobie mogę to w ogóle sprawdzić / w tym **słowniku** / nie / przenieść do Worda / wiesz sobie skopiowałam nie wiem czy dobrze zro# czy tak mmm powiedzmy jest łatwiejsza^

(2) [Recording 11]

F29: i fajnie mi tam na przykład popodkreślał jakiś rodzajnik czyli wiesz że / że nie użyłam odpowiednio

M6: aha

F29: wiesz na przykład tam miał być biernik albo coś / nie

M6: i on to też / i on to też poprawia po niemiecku jak jest **słownik** niemiecki

(3) [Recording 11]

M6: to **słowniki** ortograficzne^

F29: mmm chciałam napisać coś że

M6: w odstawkę

(4) [Recording 11]

F29: ale generalnie u mnie z tą pisownią / to byłam zaskoczona że właśnie / idzie to mmm powiedzmy tam pisze a# angielska niemiecka i polska / nie / czyli te podstawowe / mmm mogą być sprawdzone

M6: aha aha aha / no nie to to jest fajne

[together 1 sec.]

F29: najpierw mi coś napisał że / że niby nie mam takiego **słownika** czy jest za za ubogi coś tam jakoś taki taki / yyy wiesz komunikat jakiś tam

(5) [Recording 11]

M6: a ona ta / babka jak odpisuje to raczej takie widać że raczej takie słownictwo jest stara się raczej takie proste się stara czy

F29: wiesz co / yyy dość proste chociaż teraz na przykład yyy

M6: czy musisz do **słownika** zerkać

F29: nie nie / raczej takie wiesz / że^

As one can see, the word *słownik* was used by two speakers (M6 and F29). However, some of its uses (namely in Examples 3 and 5) refer to an ‘old’ sense of *słownik*, that is, ‘a book giving a list of words in an alphabetical order’. The remaining three uses (see Examples 1, 2 and 4), on the other hand, refer to the above-discussed extended sense. All of them were used in the same recording (number 11), when the word processing program was discussed. As was mentioned before, it was used by two speakers, but it appears that one of the instances of its use (by M6; see Example 2) is probably only a mere repetition of the construction used earlier by another speaker (F29).

Despite the fact that the word *słownik* is used in a new context, no new collocation has emerged: in Example 1, *słownik* is used in the construction *sprawdzić w (tym) słowniku* ‘to check in (this) dictionary’; in Example 2 *słownik* is used in the existential construction *jest słownik niemiecki* ‘there is a German dictionary’; finally, in Example 4 it is used in the phrases *nie mam takiego słownika*, *słownik jest za ubogi* ‘I don’t have such a dictionary’, ‘the dictionary is too limited’. In other words, all the constructions with the word *słownik* in the extended meaning can also be used with the word in the traditional sense.

The new meaning of the word *słownik* has not so far been noted in USJP.

### 6.4.30 *Strona*

The word *strona* is a relatively well-known semantic borrowing. Traditionally, the word was used to refer to (1) ‘a page, e.g. of a book or a magazine’, (2) ‘a side, e.g. the north side of a building’, (3) ‘a point, side, e.g. the dark side of someone’s character’, (4) ‘a direction, way, e.g. go into the opposite direction’, (5) ‘a side, party, e.g. in a conflict’, (6) ‘parts, surroundings, a region’ and (7) ‘a voice, e.g. the passive voice’ (cf. SJP, USJP). In the semantic field of computers, the word is nowadays often used in the meaning of ‘an Internet page; a website’, possibly under the influence of English *page* (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 92).

Altogether, the word *strona* was used 60 times in the corpus, out of which 13 occurrences refer to the above-quoted new meaning. All the new uses are presented below:

(1) [Recording 3]

M14: może na **stronie** internetowej jest napisane że na tej ulicy UPC już /  
yyy te Chello zakłada

(2) [Recording 3]

M14: nie jest aktualizowana

M6: no to mmm yyy / tak trochę z przymrużeniem oka trzeba traktować / bo to często firma też zrobiła **stronę** / dwa lata temu / i od tego czasu nikt nie uzupełnia

(3) [Recording 4]

F29: no to wiem / albo mi się coś schrzaniło / ale ostatnio wysyłałam / tak że no / no chyba

M6: nie / no to raczej jakby / na **stronę** wchodzi / to raczej / yyy chyba nie ma możliwości żebyś nie odebrała jak jak jest tam / to raczej nie

(4) [Recording 4]

F29: dobra / a to teraz ty mi podaj / yyy i {name} też / to ja wam spróbuję coś / i zobaczymy czy od mojej **strony** dojdzie do was

(5) [Recording 6]

M6: bo z tymi obrazkami to on by już w ogóle ładował chyba godzina jedna **strona**

(6) [Recording 6]

M7: no po prostu nowy / nowy hip-hop bo jo tak zech miał tam je# tam je# tam jest według piosenek wchodzi na jakoś **strona** no gdzie jest opisane no jakie piosenki są

(7) [Recording 6]

M7: i zech się ściągnął [...] tam z jakiejś ich oficjalnej **strony** jakoś bajka Wormsy

(8—9) [Recording 7]

M6: też kilka miesięcy coś takiego miałem że w ogóle na **stronę** chyba przez tydzień nie dało się coś wejść [...] znaczy no nie wiem czy u nich coś ale no tak myślę no u mnie chyba nie no bo inne **strony** się bez kłopotu wczytywały

(10) [Recording 7]

F29: no ja kurczę żałuję że nie mam żadnych tych / właśnie yyy satelita ani nic / bo mówię dobrze że teraz chociaż te / można coś tam wejść na jakies **strony** / pooglądać / a

(11—12) [Recording 17]

F29: no / dla niego hobby on tam czyta wiesz / nawet się ostatnio yyy właśnie o Internet też coś tam pytał / nie / dzięki za tą **stronę** / yyy

M14: doszło?

F29: no doszło doszło / yyy ten / i jeszcze od wczoraj to z kolei jeden od / koleżanki mąż przysłał / tą **stronę** / tego TELC-a / wiesz tego właśnie

(13) [Recording 17]

M6: ale to są takie jakieś **strony** chyba w PDF-ie takie jakieś

As one can see, in Example 1 the word is accompanied by the adjacent adjective *internetowy* '(of) the Internet'. In all the remaining contexts, however, the form is used on its own, with reference to the Internet. However, there exists some variation in meaning, for instance in Examples 11 and 12 *strona* is used in the meaning of 'a website address'. Consequently, a completely new collocation has appeared: *przysłać stronę* 'literally: to send a page', meaning *przysłać adres strony internetowej* 'to send a website address'.

Moreover, the word in the extended sense appeared in some other new collocations: *zrobić stronę* 'to create a (web) page; literally: to make a page', *wchodzić na stronę* 'to access a website; literally: to enter (on) a page', *ładować stronę* 'to load a (web) page', *ściągnąć ze strony* 'to download (something); literally: to take something (down) from the page', *wczytywać stronę* 'to load a (web) page; literally: to read a page in', *oficjalna strona* 'an official (web) page'.

There is an interesting situation in Example 4: here the word *strona* (in the construction *od mojej strony*) can refer to either a website (that is *z mojej strony internetowej* 'from my website') or a side (that is *z mojej strony* 'from my side'). The use of the preposition *od* rather than *z* suggests that the word refers here to a website (the construction *z mojej strony* functions almost like a fixed phrase in Polish and is rather unlikely to be rendered as *od mojej strony*).

The word *strona* used in the sense of 'a website' is, as was mentioned at the beginning of the present subsection, a fairly well-known semantic loan. It was noted in USJP and discussed by some authors, for example by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 92—94). Moreover, it is worth noting that the possible collocations of the word are already quite firmly established, as three of the collocations presented above (out of six) have appeared in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000) as well. This is true in the following cases: *zrobić stronę* (in the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC the verb was used in the imperfective aspect, i.e. *robić stronę*), *wchodzić/wejść na stronę* and *ładować stronę/strona się ładuje*.

The new meaning of *strona* has already become quite common. The frequency of the different senses of the word is presented in Table 6.12.

**Table 6.12** The frequency of the different senses of the word *strona* found in the corpus

Meaning of the word <i>strona</i>	Number of occurrences of a given meaning	Number of speakers that used the word in a given meaning	Number of recordings in which the meaning appeared
1	2	3	4
A side (e.g. of a lake, a building, etc.), e.g. <i>po drugiej stronie jeziora</i>	25	5	4

cont. tab. 6.12

1	2	3	4
An Internet website, <i>strona internetowa</i>	13	4	5
Used in the sense of 'on one hand/on the other hand', <i>z jednej strony/z drugiej strony</i>	13	4	7
A page (e.g. of a book, a magazine, etc.), e.g. <i>na której stronie?</i>	5	3	3
A side (when talking about family connections), e.g. <i>goście ze strony panny młodej</i>	2	1	1
A side (e.g. in a conflict), e.g. <i>strona w sporze</i>	1	1	1
A section of data shown at a given time (see the discussion below)	1	1	1

In addition to the well-assimilated new sense, it appears that the meaning of the word has been extended even further. In the dictionaries of Polish (e.g. USJP), the word in the above-discussed meaning is associated with the Internet, not computers in general. It must be noted here that the English equivalent (*page*) does not have such limitations, cf. one of the definitions given by OALD: 'a section of data or information that can be shown on a computer screen at any one time'.

The word in this sense (that is, connected with computers, but not with the Internet) was used in the corpus once:

(1) [Recording 18]

M6: to tam była kwestia jakichś sterowników tak samo jak potem w tym Train Symulatorze tam Microsoft / yyy ten początkowy działał / pamiętasz ta **strona** tytułowa

The phrase *strona tytułowa* 'a title page', commonly used with reference to books, refers here to an introductory screen (presenting the name of the company) that is displayed on a computer screen while a computer game is being loaded. This sense is, therefore, a new extension and the word here no longer refers to the Internet (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 93). This sense has not so far been noted in USJP.



### 6.4.31 *Super*

The morpheme *super*, originally coming from Latin, was traditionally used in Polish in (1) technical contexts, e.g. *superarbiter*, *superheterodyna*, *superrewizja* and — to a limited extent — in (2) more general contexts in the meaning of ‘larger, better, etc. than the standard type’, usually with nouns, e.g. *superfilm*, *supermocarstwo*, *supersam* (cf. SJP). Additionally, it was sometimes used with adjectives in the meaning of ‘extremely, very’.<sup>24</sup>

Nowadays, however, the usage of *super* has been extended in contemporary Polish under the influence of English semantics, morphology and syntax. Firstly, *super* has become a fashionable word, used more often and in a wider variety of contexts (especially in the language of advertisements and commercials). Secondly, it tends to add a flavour of approval to the modified words. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly (though beyond the scope of semantics), *super* is nowadays used in Polish not only as a bound morpheme, but as a free morpheme as well (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 110—111; ZABAWA 2002).

The morpheme *super* was used eight times in the corpus:

(1) [Recording 1]

M11: ale pierwsza nagroda jest tam jakaś **super** kuźwa zajebista

(2) [Recording 2]

F6: fajna taka całodzienna wycieczka a nie taka droga bo to jest bliźutko do do {city} / **super**wycieczka ale najlepsze to było że potem w powrotnej trasie do McDonald’sa

(3) [Recording 5]

F24: bardzo fajnie wyglądacie / **super**

(4—5) [Recording 7]

F29: mój brat też właśnie ma / i kiedyś był u mnie / i też podłączył / i śmy to oglądali / tośmy mmm no **super** / nie [pause 2 sec.] no bo wiesz to jednak technika to jest / **super** / eee do przodu

(6) [Recording 8]

F29: chciałam / chciałam to powiedzieć że ja / chodziłam do liceum / z takimi dziewczynami które miały w podstawówce / yyy rosyjski / yyy / i ci powiem one miały taki poziom jak one przyszły do liceum / one były tak

<sup>24</sup> SJP gives three such compounds; only one of them, however, belongs to non-specialized language, namely *supernowoczesny*, the other two being *superfosfatowy* and *supersoniczny*.

**super** przygotowane one po prostu miały akcent / yyy mówiły / dosłownie / wiesz wszystkich zaginały

(7) [Recording 10]

F13: trzy miesiące czekałam na termin u okulisty dla moich dzieci i miałam na dziewiątą rano / pogoda **super** / nie / pozbierałam te dzieciaki jedno ubrałam^

(8) [Recording 15]

F29: Skandynawia **super** tylko mówię że trochę droga

As one can see, the form *super* was used (1) once with a noun, thus playing a similar role to an adjective, replacing such expressions as *fajny*, *przyjemny* etc. ‘nice, pleasant etc.’ (*superwycieczka* ‘literally: super excursion’, see Example 2), (2) twice with an adjective, thus playing a similar role to an adverb, replacing such expressions as *bardzo*, *ogromnie* etc. ‘extremely, very etc.’ (*super* [...] *zajebista* ‘literally: super shit-hot’, see Example 1, *super przygotowane* ‘literally: super prepared’, see Example 6) and (3) five times in the postpositive position, as a free morpheme (*bardzo fajnie wyglądacie*, *super* ‘literally: you look very good, super’, see Example 3; *i śmy to oglądali* [...] *super* ‘literally: and we were watching it [...] super’, see Example 4; *to jednak technika to jest* [...] *super* ‘literally: yet the technology is [...] super’, see Example 5; *pogoda super* ‘literally: weather super; weather was super’, see Example 7; *Skandynawia super* ‘literally: Scandinavia super; Scandinavia is super’, see Example 8).

To judge from the corpus, the use of *super* as a free morpheme has already become more common than as a bound morpheme. Such a change can possibly be attributed to the influence of English syntax.

In addition, the meaning of *super* in Polish has also changed: originally, as was mentioned before, the form was used in (1) technical contexts and in (2) general contexts to intensify a feature, usually an approving one, denoted by the adjacent word, as in *supernowoczesny* ‘literally: super modern’. Nowadays, the word itself has gained an approving flavour, as in the examples from the corpus: *Skandynawia super*, *pogoda super* (cf. also PRZYBYLSKA, 1995: 105; SZUPRYCZYŃSKA, 1995: 170). It seems that this extension can be attributed to the influence of English *super*, cf. two of the definitions given by ODE: (1) ‘very good or pleasant’, (2) ‘(of a manufactured product) very good, superfine’. What follows, is that it is possible to treat *super* as a semantic (or grammatico-semantic, to be more precise) loan of English origin.

The new meaning of *super* has been noted in USJP. Furthermore, according to NSPP, the word is overused in contemporary Polish. The present findings, however, do not support such a view, as the form was used only eight times in

the entire corpus.<sup>25</sup> What is more, most speakers used the form in question only once, as Table 6.13 shows.

**Table 6.13** The relation between individual speakers and the frequency of the use of the morpheme *super*

Speakers	F6	F13	F24	F29	M11	Total
Number of occurrences of <i>super</i> (as a bound or free morpheme)	1	1	1	4	1	<b>8</b>

Table 6.13 shows that the use of *super* depends to a certain extent on the idiolect of a given speaker. This is evident in the case of the speaker F29, who used the form four times altogether (in three recordings).

Moreover, the form was usually used only once during a given recording, which points to the fact that other speakers did not tend to echo it in their utterances, as Table 6.14 shows.

**Table 6.14** The use of *super* in individual recordings

Number of the recording	1	2	5	7	8	10	15	Total
Number of occurrences of <i>super</i> (as a bound or free morpheme)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	<b>8</b>

To sum up, one can say that the morpheme *super* is occasionally used in informal spoken Polish, but, contrary to what is claimed in NSPP, does not seem to be overused.

### 6.4.32 *Test*

According to USJP, the word *test*, which is an assimilated borrowing from English itself, can be used in the following senses: (1) ‘a procedure intended to establish the quality, reliability or performance of something, especially before it is taken into widespread use’, (2) ‘a kind of examination; a multiple-choice test’, (3) ‘an examination of a body fluid or part of the body for medical purposes’, (4) ‘a psychological examination of someone’s personality traits, intelligence, etc.’, (5) (in television) ‘a test pattern’ (cf. also ODE).

<sup>25</sup> This is generally in line with the findings of OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 110–111), who also reports the infrequency of the use of *super*; in her corpus, the morpheme was used ten times.

It must be noted that the first meaning given by USJP is a semantic extension itself (modelled on English *test*), as such meaning was not noted in SJP. The word in this meaning was used once in the corpus:

(1) [Recording 6]

M7: miolech kiedyś dwa numery tego no naprawdę nie o wszystkim nie takie do nauki / ale takie typowo sprzętowe **testy** wszystko bardzo dokładne a# ale konkretnie wiedziotech o czym no porównanie procesorów wszystko

Today the word in the above-discussed new meaning is commonly used in the language of the press, particularly the one dealing with computers, e.g. *Jak testowaliśmy? / Wyniki testów* (about notebooks, *Enter*, 8/2004, p. 50). To illustrate the frequency of the use of this word, it is enough to say that the form *test* or *testy* ‘test, tests’ was used (as headings) as many as 28 times in a single issue of *Enter*, 8/2004, e.g. *TESTY Oprogramowanie* (p. 64), *TESTY Sprzęt* (p. 52), *TESTY Tłumacze elektroniczni* (p. 46), *CYFROWY ŚWIAT Testy* (p. 91), *CYFROWY ŚWIAT Test przenośnych urządzeń z twardym dyskiem* (p. 89).

Moreover, another meaning of the word (see sense 2) has also been extended. In the school and academic contexts, the word *test* was always used to denote a special kind of examination, consisting of a set of short questions, with several possible answers to choose from or with blank spaces to provide short and precise answers. The Polish word *test* is thus roughly synonymous with English *multiple-choice test*. In other words, the meaning of Polish *test* was narrowed during the process of borrowing from English and the word became more specialized.

Nowadays, however, the meaning of Polish *test* has been extended, probably under the influence of English (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 62; WITALISZ, 2007: 295). The English *test*, as was mentioned earlier, has much wider meaning: it may refer to practically any kind of examination, including orals (cf. the definition given by ODE: ‘a short written or spoken examination of a person’s proficiency or knowledge’).

Altogether, the word in question was used eleven times in the corpus by five speakers. Eight instances of its use refer to multiple-choice tests, cloze tests, foreign language tests (consisting mainly of the translation of phrases and sentences) and to the examination taken at the end of the junior high school (*egzamin gimnazjalny*<sup>26</sup>). In general, such a use conforms to the old meaning of the word. Furthermore, one of its occurrences refers to the test of computer peripherals (see Example 1). The remaining two occurrences of *test* can be said to be the examples of the use of the word in the extended meaning:

<sup>26</sup> Such an examination resembles more a multiple-choice or cloze test, rather than, say, the old-type examination taken at the end of the secondary school (‘stara matura’).

(2) [Recording 10]

F3: trudne te **testy** masz

M2: co?

F3: trudne

M2: jakie trudne / co może być trudnego w zadaniu^

F3: no

M2: napisz list w którym będąc władcą Polski informujesz władcę Rusi o wynikach zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego / proste

(3) [Recording 4]

M6: tak że to / mmm no tam się po prostu nie da / mmm za bardzo mmm / no bo to masz po prostu ćwiczenia no i jakieś tam ćwiczenia masz na **teście** czy na egzaminie / ale to no mmm

It is Example 2 that best illustrates the extended meaning of the word: writing a letter does not conform to the traditional understanding of *test* in Polish. In Example 3, on the other hand, *test* is used instead of *kolokwium*. Generally speaking, it seems that *test* is nowadays becoming a fashionable word replacing other expressions, such as *sprawdzian*. However, contrary to its English counterpart, Polish *test* still refers only to a written examination (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 62).

The extended meaning of *test* has not so far been noted in USJP. It was, however, explicitly noted as overused in NSPP.

### 6.4.33 *Transfer*

Originally, the word *transfer* denoted ‘an act of moving something or someone to another place, organization, team, country, system, etc.’; it was used in the areas of economics, law, psychology and sport (cf. USJP, cf. also OALD). Nowadays the word is also used (in the semantic field of computers and the Internet) in the related meaning of ‘the action of copying data from one medium or device to another’. Such an extension should probably be attributed to the influence of the English form *transfer*.

The word in question was used only once in the corpus, but in the above-mentioned new meaning: *no trzeba przyznać że jak na razie ten transfer ten przepływ jest taki całkiem raczej przyzwoity*. As one can see, *transfer* used in the new meaning is synonymous with another semantic neologism, namely *przepływ* ‘flow’ (used in the same utterance). In the above example, *transfer* refers not only to the process of copying data (i.e. downloading data from the Internet), but to the speed of the process as well

(*ten transfer [...] jest [...] przyzwoity* ‘literally: the transfer is decent’, being roughly synonymous with ‘the speed of copying data is all right’).

The new meaning of *transfer* has not been noted so far in USJP.

#### 6.4.34 *Wczytać, wczytywać*

According to USJP, the word *wczytać/wczytywać* is used in the sense of ‘to enter data onto a computer (from memory or input devices)’. In the corpus, however, the word is used in the extended sense, referring not to data from memory or input devices (such as e.g. floppy disks), but to Internet sites. Thus, a computer can read data or a file not only from memory or from input devices (as in e.g. *wczytać plik z dyskietki*), but it can also read (in) a web page (*wczytać stronę internetową*).

The form was used four times in the corpus (in the new sense). Besides its new shade of meaning, the word was also used in a new collocation (derived directly from the new sense of the word): *wczytać stronę* ‘literally: to read (in) a (web) page’. Moreover, it is also a website that can be read in (*strona się wczytuje* ‘literally: a page is reading (in) itself’). Nevertheless, the core meaning of the word has remained the same (‘to enter data onto a computer; to read data into a computer’) and the change can be said to be extremely subtle here.

The construction *wczytać stronę* is used probably on the model on such well-assimilated phrases as *wczytać dane (z dyskietki)*, ‘to read (in) data (from a floppy disk)’. It is worth noting, however, that English may have intensified the process of extending the meaning of the Polish word, as English *read* can be used in a wider variety of contexts, cf. the generality of the definition provided by ODE: ‘(of a computer) copy or transfer (data)’. The meaning of the Polish form has become even broader: it is not only a computer that reads (or transfers) data, but also data (e.g. in the form of an Internet page) that can ‘load itself’.

The new shade of meaning of the word *wczytać* has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.35 *Wejść, wchodzić*

Traditionally, the word *wchodzić* was used in the meaning of ‘to enter’, both literally, e.g. *wejść do pokoju* ‘to enter the room’ and figuratively, e.g. *wejść na*

*rynek* ‘to enter the market’ (cf. SJP). Nowadays the word is also used in connection with the Internet in the meaning of ‘to access a website’ (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 95).

Altogether, the word in question was used 41 times in the corpus, out of which 15 occurrences refer to the above-mentioned new sense:

(1) [Recording 4]

F29: no żartujesz / nie mam ich / no ja / ja teraz **wchodzę** codziennie na moja pocztę

(2) [Recording 4]

M6: no to raczej jakby / na stronę **wchodzi** / to raczej / yyy chyba nie ma możliwości żebyś nie odebrała jak jak jest tam

(3) [Recording 4]

F29: yyy jak mam jakiś komunikat to od kogoś / że coś / że oni to mają widzą mnie w sieci czy coś więc się cieszę że / że mogę sobie porozmawiać / nie / ale tak to też nie za bardzo / nie włączam żeby wiesz^

M6: aha

F29: przyjść do domu i od razu **wejść** na to / nie

(4—7) [Recording 6]

M6: ło na początku to przecież na to stacja gower pl to on **wchodził** / **wchodził** / **wchodził** i nie umiał **wejść**

(8) [Recording 6]

M7: tam jest według piosenek **wchodzę** na jakoś strona no gdzie jest opisane no jakie piosenki są

(9) [Recording 6]

M7: to na ta Kazaa **wchodzisz** że^

(10) [Recording 7]

F29: bo ja myślałam najpierw że ten / i ja mówię / to kurczę gdzie te zdjęcia / **wchodzę** nie ma żadnych załączników / nie

(11) [Recording 7]

F29: więc jednak się udało bo ja wczoraj się bawiłam / byłam wiesz kurczę to już by tak / tak trzeba by coś wysłać / a / potem nagle mi nie wiem zawiesił / że w ogóle tak jakbym nie mogła **wejść** sobie yyy / u siebie na pocztę na wysłane

(12) [Recording 7]

M6: też kilka miesięcy coś takiego miałem że w ogóle na stronę chyba przez tydzień nie dało się coś **wejść** / jakoś awaria była

(13) [Recording 7]

F29: no ja kurczę żałuję że nie mam żadnych tych / właśnie yyy satelita ani nic / bo mówię dobrze że teraz chociaż te / można coś tam **wejść** na jakies strony / pooglądać / a

(14) [Recording 17]

F29: no doszło doszło / yyy ten / i jeszcze od wczoraj to z kolei jeden od / koleżanki mąż przysłał / tą stronę / tego TELC-a / wiesz tego właśnie co jest^  
M14: no

F29: ten certy# certyfikat że mówi / chcesz se poćwicz yyy bo tam są^

M6: tak / tam są testy

F29: różne testy i tak dalej^

M6: mhm

F29: nie / ja mówię że / jeszcze tam mmm tylko tak **weszłam**

(15) [Recording 18]

M7: yyy on to on to on mmm codziennie gra / w tego Counter Strike'a / no to **wchodzisz** sobie / [unclear 1 sec.] i wybierasz sobie in# informacje o osobie / on ci wypisuje ile użytkowników gra / i kto dokładnie gra po / po / yyy danej stronie

As one can see, several new collocations have emerged: *wchodzić na pocztę* ‘literally: to enter (on) mail; to access e-mail’ (Examples 1 and 11), *wchodzić na stronę* ‘literally: to enter (on) a page’ (Examples 2, 8, 12 and 13), *wejść na to* ‘literally: to enter (on) it’ (Example 3), *wchodzić na Kazaa*<sup>27</sup> ‘literally: to enter (on) Kazaa’ (Example 9), *wchodzić na to stacja gower pl* [=a website address] ‘literally: to enter (on) stacja gower pl [=a website address]’ (Example 4 and possibly 5, 6 and 7). Some of the collocations seem to be highly idiolect-dependent, e.g. *wchodzić na pocztę*, which was used in two recordings (number 4 and 7), but by one speaker only (F29); others are, on the other hand, quite common, e.g. *wchodzić na stronę*, used in three recordings (number 4, 6 and 7) by three different speakers, namely M6, M7 and F29. It is interesting to note that such constructions, whether accidental or not, are always used with the preposition *na*.

In other cases, the word *wchodzić* was used on its own, that is without adjacent nouns (Examples 10, 15 and possibly 5, 6 and 7). This may indicate that the new meaning of the word in question is already well assimilated, at least in computer jargon.

What is more, *wchodzić* is now not only used in a new meaning, but there is a greater range of possible agents as well, for example it is not only a person that ‘enters a mail/webpage’ (*wchodzę na pocztę/stronę*, cf. Examples 1 and 8), but also a computer that ‘enters a website’ (*wchodzi na stronę*, cf. Example 2;

<sup>27</sup> *Kazaa* is a name of the program used for exchanging files in the Internet.



on [=komputer] *wchodził, wchodził, wchodził i nie umiał wejść*, cf. Examples 4, 5, 6 and 7). It must be added, however, that the latter constructions were used by one speaker only (M6) and hence they should be classified as typical for the idiolect of a given speaker.

The frequency of the different senses of the word in question is summarized in Table 6.15. As the table shows, the new meaning has already become quite common in spoken Polish.

**Table 6.15** The frequency of the different senses of the word *wejść* found in the corpus

Meaning of the word <i>wchodzić/wejść</i>	Number of occurrences of a given meaning	Number of speakers that used the word in a given meaning	Number of recordings in which the meaning appeared
Literal meaning, e.g. <i>wejść do pokoju, na działkę</i>	16	6	6
Figurative meaning, e.g. <i>wejść do Unii, na egzamin, na rynek, do głowy, w umowę</i>	10	3	5
New meaning, e.g. <i>wejść na stronę</i>	15	3	5

The new meaning of the word was noted in the literature (cf. OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000: 95—97). What is more, in her corpus the word in the new sense also appeared with high frequency (24 times) but it was used by only three speakers. Both corpora (gathered (1) by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC and (2) by the present author) confirm thus the hypothesis that the use of the word *wchodzić* in the new sense depends to a great extent on the topic of the conversation and possibly on the idiolect of a given speaker.

The new sense of the word *wchodzić* has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.36 *Wirus*

Traditionally, the word *wirus* was used in the field of biology and medicine in the meaning of ‘an infective agent, typically consisting of a nucleic acid molecule in a protein coat, able to multiply within the living cells of a host’ (cf. SJP, cf. also ODE). Nowadays the word *wirus* is a well-known semantic loan (from English *virus*), used to denote, besides its regular meaning, ‘a piece of computer code able to copy itself, typically having a harmful effect, such as destroying data’.

The word in question was non-existent in the corpus in the traditional sense, but it was used once in the extended sense:

- (1) [Recording 7]  
F29: i ona wiesz bo / coś mi tam z tymi **wirusami** ja nie wiem

As one can see, despite the new meaning, no new collocation has emerged.

The extended meaning of the word was noted in USJP under the heading *wirus komputerowy* ‘a computer virus’, not *wirus* in general. This phrase is probably a direct translation of English *computer virus*. In English, however, the word *virus* (with no classifying noun or adjective, such as e.g. *computer*) belongs to the semantic fields of both medicine and computing, as the word is also defined as ‘a piece of computer code’ (cf. e.g. OALD, ODE).

#### 6.4.37 *Wyjść, wychodzić*

The word *wyjść*, besides its numerous other meanings, can be used with reference to newspapers, magazines and books in the sense of ‘to be published’ (cf. the examples of the use of the word provided by USJP: *Książka wyszła w małym nakładzie* ‘The book came out in a limited edition’, *Zbiór szkiców wyszedł nakładem małego prywatnego wydawnictwa* ‘The collection of sketches was published by a small private publisher’, *Pismo wychodzi co miesiąc* ‘The magazine is published monthly’).

It seems, however, that nowadays the word in question can be used in a wider variety of contexts. Such an extension can be noticed in the corpus (the word was used six times in the above-mentioned meaning):

- (1) [Recording 18]  
M7: będzie tak / ale jeżeli **wyjdzie** procesor tańszy / to one nie że stopniowo to one mogą zaraz# zaraz spaść o / o / do tysiąc czterysta

- (2—3) [Recording 3]  
M6: chociaż to też są podobno różne wersje / że jest podobno już taka wersja obrazkowa / tak? / taka jak w Windowsie podobno jest coś takiego  
M14: no tak / **wyszła** teraz taka wersja która wygląda identycznie jak w Windowsie  
M6: i to jest całkowicie darmowe?  
M14: całkowicie / na razie tak  
M6: no / **wychodzi** powiedzmy / znaczy wygląda jak Windows ale pytanie / z jakimiś programami / już nie mówię tam gry bo już nie gram / ale

(4—6) [Recording 6]

M6: no czy jeszcze jakaś gazeta **wychodzi** w ogóle komputerowa nie nie konsolowa / no tam te CyberMychy tam to to jest takie bardziej dla dzieci / CyberMycha / Play

M7: no i tym podobne no to

M6: znaczy no już chyba więcej nie **wychodzi**

[together 1 sec.]

M7: kilku redaktorów / dwóch redaktorów [unclear 2 sec.] to to yyy dwie osoby prowadzą

M6: mhm i to jeszcze **wychodzi**

As one can see, in Examples 4, 5 and 6 the word is used in the traditional sense, namely referring to magazines, in the case here — to computer ones; in the remaining examples (number 1, 2 and 3), by contrast, the word is used in the extended sense, referring either to a central processing unit of a computer (Example 1) or an operating system (Examples 2 and 3). Such usage hardly conforms to the traditional understanding of the word *wyjść*.

The extended meaning results probably from the internal development of Polish, but the English language may intensify the process, as the English equivalent of *wyjść* in this context (i.e. *come out*) can be used in a wider variety of contexts, c.f. the generality of one of the definitions given by OALD: ‘to be produced or published’.

The extended meaning of *wyjść* has not been included in USJP so far.

#### 6.4.38 *Zainstalować, zainstalowany, instalacja*

##### *Zainstalować, zainstalowany*

According to SJP, the word *zainstalować* is used in two main senses: (1) ‘to install’, referring to concrete objects, usually some technical devices, e.g. *zainstalować czujniki dymu* ‘to install smoke detectors’ and, figuratively, (2) ‘to house somebody, especially temporarily’, e.g. *zainstalować pogorzalców w koszarach* ‘to house fire victims in barracks’ (cf. also USJP).

It seems, however, that nowadays the word is chiefly used with reference to computer programs in the sense of ‘to install new software’. The new meaning appears to be influenced by the English word *to install*, commonly used in computer software, for example in windows appearing on a computer screen.

The words in question were used eight times in the corpus by four speakers (M6, M7, M14 and F29). All the instances of their use refer to computer programs:

(1) [Recording 3]

M14: trzeba sobie Linuksa **zainstalować**

(2) [Recording 3]

M6: no bo ten Open Office właśnie teraz mam **zainstalowany**

(3) [Recording 3]

F29: ja mam ten / Windows ik# XP właśnie / to znaczy^

M6: tak?

F29: był problem / że jak myśmy go **zainstalowali** na początku / jakoś to tak / mało co chodziło

(4) [Recording 4]

F29: a ja ostatnio właśnie też / yyy Gadu Gadu sobie **zainstalowałam**

(5) [Recording 4]

M6: a ja / ja nie używam w ogóle / tego Gadu Gadu

F29: ja też w sumie / yyy miałam kiedyś jak nie miałam / miałam tylko modem / no to wtedy też miałam **zainstalowane** ale to wtedy w ogóle tego nie używałam

M14: nic dziwnego

(6) [Recording 11]

F29: najpierw mi coś napisał że / że niby nie mam takiego słownika czy jest za za ubogi coś tam jakoś taki taki / yyy wiesz komunikat jakiś tam [...]

M14: to ja kiedyś **zainstalowałam** sobie słowiański

(7) [Recording 14]

M6: no / także to jak mi to **zainstalujesz** jak potem mi po prostu pokażesz

(8) [Recording 18]

M7: potem potem się to nie wiem / yyy przy nowej instalacji systemu / **zainstalowane** \*

Two points seem to be worth mentioning here: firstly, it appears that only *zainstalować*, and not *instalować*, is commonly used in the above-mentioned new context. The prefix *za-* has numerous meanings in Polish; with verbs of foreign origin (such as e.g. *atakować* ‘attack’, *deklarować* ‘declare’, and *instalować* ‘install’ in the old sense) it adds a flavour of perfective aspect (→ *zaatakować*, *zadeklarować*, *zainstalować*) (USJP). In the new context,

however, it seems that the verb sounds unnatural when used in imperfective aspect (*instalować*). This view is corroborated by two sources: (1) the corpus (when the informants were talking about computers, always *zainstalować*, and not *instalować*, was used) and (2) USJP, where the new sense is included in the definition of the word *zainstalować*, but is left out in the case of the word *instalować*. One can of course imagine a form *instalować* used with reference to computer software (e.g. *Wczoraj instalowałem Linuksa* ‘I was installing Linux yesterday’), but it seems rather uncommon in comparison with the form *zainstalować*. Moreover, using the form in imperfective aspect suggests failure on the part of the computer user.

Secondly, it appears that the word *zainstalować* is nowadays more frequently used, at least in the speech of the younger generation of Poles, with respect to software, than in the older senses quoted at the beginning of the present subsection. This conjecture is again corroborated by the corpus: as was mentioned before, all the instances of the use of the form in question refer to computer programs. As a consequence, the process observed here is not a clear case of an extension of meaning, but it has certain characteristics of a semantic shift as well.

### *Instalacja*

The new meaning of the word *instalacja* is closely related to *zainstalować*, discussed in the previous section. *Instalacja* was used in the corpus once, in the meaning of ‘the process of installing new software on a computer’:

- (1) [Recording 18]  
 M7: potem potem się to nie wiem / yyy przy nowej **instalacji** systemu /  
 zainstalowane \*

The new meaning of the word *instalacja* has not so far been noted in USJP.

#### 6.4.39 *Zawiesić*

Traditionally, the word *zawiesić* was used in two main senses: (1) ‘to hang (e.g. a picture on a hook)’ and (2) ‘to suspend (e.g. a court sentence or a student from school)’ (cf. SJP).

Nowadays the word belongs also to the semantic field of computers and computer software, as it can be used in the sense of ‘to crash; to stop working suddenly’. It is very probable that the extension is another example of the influence of English in the sphere of semantics, as one of the meanings of the English word *hang*, according to ODE, reads as follows: ‘(*computing*) come or cause to come unexpectedly to a state in which no further operations can be carried out’.

The word in question was used in the corpus twice (by two speakers, namely F4 and F29). However, only one instance of its use refers to computers:

(1) [Recording 7]

F29: więc jednak się udało bo ja wczoraj się bawiłam / byłam wiesz kurczę to już by tak / tak trzeba by coś wysłać / a / potem nagle mi się nie wiem **zawiesił** / że w ogóle tak jakbym nie mogła wejść sobie yyy / u siebie na pocztę na wysłane

As one can see, the word is used in the reflexive construction (*zawiesić się*). The new sense of the word has been included in USJP.

#### 6.4.40 Other semantic neologisms

Apart from the semantic loans discussed in the previous sections, the corpus contains some other semantic extensions. Most of them do not seem to result from the influence of English, but rather from the internal development of Polish.<sup>28</sup> The English language may, however, intensify the process.

The words in question are briefly presented below in order to give a complete picture of semantic extensions found in the corpus.

First, there are four well-assimilated semantic borrowings connected with the sphere of computers:

- *program*, used ten times in the sense of ‘a computer program’ (cf. also WITALISZ, 2007: 281); moreover, certain derivatives were used, such as *programik* (used once), *programowy* (used once), *programowanie* (used twice), *programować* (used nine times) and *oprogramowanie* (used five times), e.g. *zależy od programu jaki masz / gry [...] programy [...] filmy też generalnie tanieją / ale to jest sprzętowe czy programowe? / Gadu-Gadu to jest podstawowy program*. What is more, the word *program* is used only three times in the meaning different from the one relating to computers.

<sup>28</sup> This is the reason why they are not discussed separately (as semantic loans), but only mentioned together in the present section.

- *dysk*, used twice in the sense of ‘a hard disk’, twice in the sense of ‘a CD-ROM’ and seven times in the expression *dysk twardy / twardy dysk* ‘a hard disk’, e.g. *i to bych też tam wszystko chciał dać na dysk / założmy że kupisz to z twardym dyskiem*.
- *grać*, used 15 times in either traditional literal meaning (‘to play a particular sport or a musical instrument’) or figurative one (used to say that something is all right or wrong, e.g. *wszystko gra, coś nie gra*) and as many as 31 times in the meaning relating to computer games (similar to English *play*), e.g. *już nie mówię tam gry bo już nie gram to jo bych musioł no na bardzo słabej rozdzielczości grać [...] może kiedyś sobie pogrom / to on gra też w Counter Strike’a*.
- *gra*, used three times as a part of proper names (viz. the titles of computer game magazines) and as many as 29 times in two relatively new senses: (1) ‘a game played on a computer screen’ and (2) ‘a computer program that enables such a game’, e.g. *ale generalnie gra w bardzo dużo gier / gry na PC taki przeżyją jakby renesans / a pracy to by było nieporównanie mniej niż zrobienie jakiegokolwiek gry*. The change itself is most probably a result of the internal development of the Polish language, but it could have been reinforced by English (*computer*) *game*.

Second, the corpus contains a group of words, previously related to the post office and letters, that are now also used with reference to electronic communication:

- *dojść/dochodzić/doszło*, used 14 times with reference to e-mail, e.g. *zobaczmy czy od mojej strony dojdzie do was / no to się raczej chyba nie zdarza żeby nie doszły*.
- *wystać/wysłać/wysłane/wysylacz*, used eight times in the traditional meaning and 12 times with reference to e-mail and SMS, e.g. *a kiedy to wysłałeś / wysłać chciałeś maila nie pamiętom po co / to jest mania każdego początkującego wysylacza maili*.
- *przysłać/przysyłać/przestać/przesyłać*, used eight times in the traditional meaning and eight times with reference to e-mail, e.g. *przestać mailem*.

Third, the corpus contains some other semantic extensions:

- *kawiarenka*, used in the phrase *kawiarenka internetowa*, to denote ‘a room with computers on which customers can use the Internet, play computer games, etc.’, used on the model of English *cybercafe* and *Internet café* (cf. OALD). Interestingly enough, most Polish cybercafes have nothing in common with cafes (i.e. no drinks or meals are served in them). The form was used once in the corpus.
- *oryginalny/oryginał*, used in the meaning of ‘sold legally; not pirated’ and ‘a product sold legally’, respectively. The words in this meaning refer chiefly to software, films and music recorded on CD-ROMs, DVDs, CDs or cassettes (cf. also ZABAWA, 2004c: 59—60). The word *oryginalny* was used

three times in the traditional meaning ('new, interesting or strange') and once in the new meaning; *oryginał* was used six times, only in the new meaning, e.g. *oryginalny* Windows / *jednak oryginalny poszły bardzo w dół / choćby ten oryginalny był nie wiadomo jak tani [...] / że jak będzie oryginalny trzydzieści złotych [...] / kupić oryginalny*.

- *system*, used three times in the traditional meaning and seven times in the new meaning of 'an operating system of a computer', e.g. *że można kupić ten [...] ten system / to musisz kupić nowy system / przy nowej instalacji systemu [...] / co ten Microsoft wymyśla [...] co on wymyśla z tymi systemami*.
- *ściągać/ściąganie*, used nine times in the traditional meaning of 'to cheat during an exam' and as many as 33 times in the new meaning of 'to download something (from the Internet)', e.g. *no ja akurat nic nie ściągałem / pięć mega ściągnął w dwie minuty / dwa przecinek dziewięć miliona ściągnąć tego programu w ciągu ostatniego roku*.
- *stacjonarny*, used previously mainly in connection with abstract nouns, e.g. *niż stacjonarny* 'a stationary low', *studia stacjonarne* 'full-time studies', nowadays also used to describe technical devices and appliances, e.g. a CD/DVD recorder (i.e. not connected to a computer, but operating on its own), e.g. *stacjonarne nagrywarki DVD*. The word was used four times in the corpus, only in the new meaning.
- *gazeta*, used ten times in the traditional meaning, i.e. 'a (daily) newspaper', five times as a part of a proper name, e.g. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, and six times in the extended meaning, referring to monthlies or even a quarterly.
- *mega*, used five times in the meaning of 'a megabyte' (functioning as a noun), i.e. 1,048,576 ( $=2^{20}$ ) bytes, e.g. *pięć mega ściągnął w dwie minuty*.
- *kilo*, used twice in the meaning of 'a kilobyte' (thus functioning as a noun), i.e. 1,024 ( $=2^{10}$ ) bytes, e.g. *to od ciebie ściąga dwajścia cztery kilo*. Additionally, the word was used informally ten times in the traditional meaning of 'a kilogram'.
- *chodzić*, used seven times in relation to computer programs and games in the meaning of 'to function properly under a given operating system or hardware configuration', e.g. *teraz jakaś firma wypuściła Open Office'a [...] i to chodzi [pod kontrolą systemu Linux] / był problem [...] że jak myśmy go zainstalowali na początku [...] jakoś to tak [...] mało co chodziło / ale u mnie w każdym razie nieptynnie chodzi*.
- *komórka*, a merged form of the two words *telefon* + *komórkowy*, modelled on English *cellular phone* and *cellphone*, used once in the corpus: *przedwczoraj mam telefon na komórke*.
- *plik*, used 11 times in the corpus in the new meaning of 'a piece or collection of information stored in computer memory, or on a floppy disk, under a particular name; a file', e.g. *ile użytkowników ma dany plik / jo już generalnie wiem jak pliki łączyć*. What is more, the word did not appear at



all in the traditional meaning of ‘a collection of something, especially pieces of paper or paper money; a wad’ (cf. SJP). The word was used in some new collocations, unheard of before, for example *ściągać plik* ‘to download a file’ (used twice) or *łączyć pliki* ‘to merge files’ (used twice). What is more, the word in the new sense is ‘semantically independent’, i.e. the meaning is conveyed solely by the word, whereas *plik* in the traditional sense usually requires a further noun in the genitive, e.g. *plik zeszytów, gazet, listów, pieniędzy*.

- *załącznik*, used once in the new meaning of ‘a computer file appended to an e-mail; an attachment’: *to kurczę gdzie te zdjęcia [...] wchodzę nie ma żadnych załączników*. The word was not used at all in the traditional meaning of ‘a document added to a letter or a report; an annex; an enclosure’.

## 6.5 Statistical analysis

The aim of the current section is to present some concluding figures concerning the semantic influence of English on contemporary spoken Polish.<sup>29</sup>

The frequency of the occurrence of the semantic loans discussed in the present chapter is summarized in Table 6.16.

**Table 6.16** The use of semantic borrowings in the corpus

Semantic loan <sup>a</sup>	Number of occurrences of the word in the <u>new</u> meaning	Number of speakers that used the word in the <u>new</u> meaning	Number of recordings in which the word in the <u>new</u> meaning appeared
1	2	3	4
absolutnie	1	1	1
adres	5	3	3
adresat	1	1	1
album	3	2	1
cyfrowy	6	2	2
dinozaur	1	1	1
dokładnie	12	7	7
globalny	4	2	1
ikona	1	1	1
instalacja	1	1	1

<sup>29</sup> The semantic neologisms discussed briefly in section 6.4.40 are not taken into account in any of the tables in this section. For the sake of clarity, derivatives are listed as separate entries.

cont. tab. 6.16

1	2	3	4
inteligentny	1	1	1
karta	1	1	1
kasa	8	7	3
klawiatura	4	2	1
konsola	2	1	1
konsolowy	1	1	1
konto	4	3	2
list	1	1	1
ładować	1	1	1
obrazek	5	2	3
opcja	4	4	4
operować	2	1	1
pakiet	2	2	2
partner	2	1	1
piracki	1	1	1
piractwo	5	2	1
pirat	7	2	1
poczta	3	2	2
profesjonalnie	1	1	1
promocja	3	2	2
rozpakować	1	1	1
sieć	3	3	3
słownik	3	2	1
strona	14	4	6
super	8	5	7
test	3	3	3
transfer	1	1	1
wczytać/wczytywać	4	1	1
wejść/wchodzić	15	3	5
wirus	1	1	1
wyjść/wychodzić	3	3	2
zainstalować	5	3	4
zainstalowany	3	3	3
zawiesić	1	1	1

<sup>a</sup> Cf. also the analogous table compiled by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000).

As one can see, some of the loans were used either only once in the corpus or by one speaker, but many others appear to be quite common. It seems thus surprising that some of the commoner new meanings, such as of the word *sieć* (used three times in the corpus and commonly appearing in the language of the press, cf. section 6.4.28) or *konsola* (not frequent in the corpus, but commonly used in computer magazines, cf. section 6.4.14), have not been included in USJP, which is one of the biggest and newest dictionaries of contemporary Polish (published in 2003).

When one compares the data in Table 6.16 with the analogous table based on the corpus gathered by OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000: 99), it is apparent that the number of semantic loans (types) has rapidly grown in recent years. A considerable number of new loans (belonging both to general Polish and to the semantic field of computers and the Internet), not described before, were used in the present corpus. It may suggest that there is a certain preference among some of the speakers for the use of Polish words in the new meaning over the use of unassimilated or partly-assimilated loans of English origin. This, in turn, seems to be a result of the translation (usually done by somebody else and published) using the primary counterpart, i.e. the most ‘obvious’ counterpart, often resembling the original word in spelling. The Polish translation of various documents, instruction manuals, etc., is nowadays required by the law concerning the use of the Polish language (*Ustawa o języku polskim*, cf. Chapter 3, footnote 4). It must be added that such translations (e.g. of instruction manuals) are sometimes hasty and, as a result, not very careful. Furthermore, many people criticize the use, let alone overuse, of words of foreign origin (cf. Chapter 3). As a result, translators (especially the ones dealing with technical texts, such as manuals) and journalists often make conscious attempts to polonize a given word. Usually only then does such a word begin to be used by ordinary speakers (cf. also Diagrams 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 in section 6.3).

As one can see (cf. Table 6.16), some of the semantic loans detected in the corpus belong to the group of **momentary** or **nonce borrowings** (a term used by POPLACK et al., 1988: 52 with respect to lexical loans), i.e. they were used only once, probably to ‘satisfy a momentary linguistic need’ (cf. Chapter 2). Others, by contrast, were repeated relatively frequently and thus belong to the group of **recurrent borrowings** (POPLACK et al., 1988: 57). Following these criteria, it is possible to divide the semantic loans found in the corpus into five groups<sup>30</sup> (as in the case of lexical loans, cf. section 5.3): **nonce borrowings** (that occurred once in the corpus), **idiosyncratic borrowings** (used by one

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<sup>30</sup> Some loans belong simultaneously to more than one group, e.g. *wczytać/wczytywać* belongs to the group of both idiosyncratic and recurrent borrowings (the word was used four times by one speaker).

speaker), **recurrent borrowings** (that occurred at least four times in the corpus), **widespread borrowings** (used by at least four speakers<sup>31</sup>) and **mid-frequent borrowings** (the author's own term), i.e. the ones which do not belong to any of the previous four groups. The results of the classification are presented in Table 6.17.<sup>32</sup>

As in the case of lexical borrowings (cf. section 5.3), the group of widespread loans is the smallest in terms of the number of loan types (5). However, as all of the loans from this group were used by at least four speakers, it constitutes a large group in terms of loan tokens (46).

The group of nonce borrowings comprises 16 loan types, whereas the group of widespread borrowings (used by no fewer than four speakers) consists of 5 types. The former group is thus more than three times as big in terms of loan types as the group of widespread borrowings. However, the picture looks completely different when the groups are compared with respect to the number of loan tokens. The former comprises 16 loan tokens whereas the latter as many as 46 ones. In other words, the types belonging to nonce group constitute 36.36% of the loan types from the entire corpus,<sup>33</sup> whereas the types belonging to widespread group constitute only 11.36%. However, when it comes to loan tokens, the situation looks different: the nonce group forms only 10.13% of the tokens from the entire corpus while the widespread group constitutes as many as 29.11% of the tokens found in the corpus. What follows is the fact that, statistically, an average speaker (particularly the one that has not taken part in the conversations about computers) uses more widespread than nonce types (the group of mid-frequent borrowings being somehow in between). Consequently, the nonce and idiosyncratic groups, although large in terms of loan types, are in fact not very significant when it comes to loan tokens.

As for individual loans, the words *wejść/wchodzić*, *strona* and *dokładnie* were used most frequently in the corpus (15, 14 and 12 tokens respectively);<sup>34</sup> furthermore, they were used by a relatively large number of speakers (3, 4 and 7 respectively). When the number of informants is taken into consideration, then *dokładnie* and *kasa* are among the most widespread, as both of them were used by seven speakers.

It may be therefore generally stated that the new meanings of words belonging to the group of widespread borrowings are known to a relatively

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<sup>31</sup> The number of speakers (four) is roughly 10% of the informants taking part in the conversations that constitute the present corpus.

<sup>32</sup> This is an extended and revised version of the classification used by POPLACK et al. (1988: 57) with respect to lexical loans. As they note, nonce borrowings are by definition idiosyncratic and widespread loans are by definition recurrent.

<sup>33</sup> The entire corpus includes 44 loan types and 158 loan tokens (including derivatives).

<sup>34</sup> When one is to include derivatives, then *piracki/pirat/piractwo* would also be included here, as they were used 13 times altogether.

**Table 6.17.** The classification of the semantic loans found in the corpus according to their frequency

Nonce borrowings	Idiosyncratic borrowings	Recurrent borrowings	Widespread borrowings	Mid-frequent borrowings
Loans				
absolutnie, adresat, dinozaur, ikona, instalacja, inteligentny, karta, konsola, konsolowy, list, łądować, operować, partner, piracki, profesjonalnie, rozpakować, transfer, wczytać (wczytywać), wirus, zawiesić	absolutnie, adresat, dinozaur, ikona, instalacja, inteligentny, karta, konsola, konsolowy, list, łądować, operować, partner, piracki, profesjonalnie, rozpakować, transfer, wczytać (wczytywać), wirus, zawiesić	adres, cyfrowy, dokładnie, globalny, kasa, klawiatura, konto, obrazek, opcja, pirat, piractwo, strona, super, wczytać (wczytywać), wejść (wchodzić), zainstalować	dokładnie, kasa, opcja, strona, super	album, pakiet, poczta, promocja, sieć, słownik, test, wyjść (wychodzić), zainstalowany
Types (N)				
16	20	16	5	9
Tokens (N)				
16	26	110	46	26
Tokens:types ratio				
1.00	1.30	6.88	9.20	2.89

large percentage of speakers and are hence quite well assimilated. It is thus slightly surprising that some of the extensions, for example the new function of *dokładnie* (see section 6.4.7 for details), have not yet been officially accepted, at least in spoken language, by the dictionaries of contemporary Polish, such as NSPP or USJP.

Table 6.18 illustrates the relation between the number of semantic loans found in the corpus (types and tokens) and the topic of a given conversation.

**Table 6.18** The use of semantic loans in particular recordings

Recording <sup>a</sup>	Topic of the conversation	List of loans (number of occurrences of a given loan in the <u>new</u> meaning) <sup>b</sup>
1	2	3
1	dogs, holidays, sport contests, fishing	super (1)
2	school, teachers, pupils	dokładnie (4), obrazek (1), opcja (1), super (1)
3***	computers, the Internet, computer programs	*adres (1), *ikona (1), *inteligentny (1), *pakiet (1), *piracki (1), *sieć (1), *strona (2), *wyjść/wychodzić (2), *zainstalować (2), *zainstalowany (1)
4**	student exchange, computers and e-mail, exams and cheating	*adres (2), *adresat (1), dinozaur (1), *konto (3), obrazki (2), *opcja (1), *poczta (2), *sieć (1), *strona (2), test (1), *wejść/wchodzić (3), *zainstalować (1), *zainstalowany (1)
5	acquaintances, family matters, working, excursions, holidays	absolutnie (1), promocja (1), super (1)
6***	computers, computer games, computer magazines, the Internet	album (3), dokładnie (1), globalny (4), *karta (1), *konsola (2), *konsolowy (1), *konto (1), *ładować (1), *obrazek (2), *opcja (1), *pakiet (1), profesjonalnie (1), *strona (3), test (1), *transfer (1), *wejść/wchodzić (6)
7**	computers and e-mail, student exchange, learning German	*adres (2), cyfrowy (4), *opcja (1), *poczta (1), *strona (3), super (2), *wczytać/wczytywać (4), *wejść/wchodzić (4), *wirus (1), *zawiesić (1)
8	teaching and learning foreign languages	super (1)
9	a wedding, doing shopping, business matters	dokładnie (2), kasa (2), partner (2)
10	school, pupils and teaching, doctors and health-care	dokładnie (2), super (1), test (1)
11**	correspondence, computers (esp. using a text processor)	cyfrowy (2), dokładnie (1), *klawiatura (4), *list (1), *słownik (3), *zainstalować (1)

1	2	3
12	family matters, acquaintances, keeping dogs at home	—
13	films, teaching and giving grades, marriages	—
14*	looking for work, doing business, computers and the Internet	operować (2), *rozpakować (1), *zainstalować (1)
15	weather, holidays	super (1)
16	looking for work, learning abroad, moving to another country	—
17*	learning foreign languages, taking exams	dokładnie (1), *strona (3), *wejść/wchodzić (1)
18**	birthdays, films, new technologies, software piracy	dokładnie (1), *instalacja (1), *piractwo (5), *pirat (7), promocja (2), *sieć (1), *strona (1), *wejść/wchodzić (1), *wyjść/wychodzić (1), *zainstalowany (1)
19	grilling and smoking food, working in the garden, ticks and other insects	kasa (5)
20	everyday life, cooking and eating, family, taking care of a baby	kasa (1)

<sup>a</sup> An asterisk (\*) after the number of the recording indicates that the Internet and/or computers were very briefly mentioned during a given conversation. However, such a recording cannot really be said to deal with the topic of computers. Two asterisks (\*\*) indicate that the Internet and/or computers (among other topics) were discussed during the conversation in question; three asterisks (\*\*\*) indicate that the entire conversation was about computers and/or the Internet.

<sup>b</sup> The loans preceded by an asterisk belong to the semantic field of computers and the Internet.

As Table 6.18 shows, most semantic loans, as in the case of lexical ones (cf. section 5.3), seem to depend on the topic of the conversation. This is particularly evident in the case of the loans belonging to the semantic field of computers and the Internet; many other loans are, however, also topic-dependent (although to a much lesser extent), e.g. *partner* is likely to appear when marriages are discussed (cf. Recording 9), *album* — when music is talked about (cf. Recording 6), *cyfrowy* — when technical devices are discussed (cf. Recordings 7 and 11). Other loans are connected with a given profession, e.g. *test* appears mainly, albeit not exclusively, in the conversations between teachers in a school (cf. Recording 10).

Some loans, by contrast, do not appear to depend on the topic of the conversation. This is true in the case of (1) the loans appearing in various

recordings, e.g. *dokładnie, kasa, promocja, super* and (2) the loans which were used accidentally in a given conversation and could have possibly been used in any other recording, e.g. *absolutnie, dinozaur, opcja*. However, these loans are clearly in the minority when compared with the ones depending on the topic of the conversation.

The next table (6.19) summarizes the number of types and tokens of semantic loans found in particular recordings. The loans are divided into two groups: Group A, which is comprised of the loans belonging to no specific semantic field (or to various semantic fields, with the exception of computers) and Group B, which consists of the loans belonging to the area of computers and the Internet.

**Table 6.19** The number of types and tokens of semantic loans in particular recordings

Number of the recording <sup>a</sup>	Group A		Group B		Both groups combined	
	types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens
1	1	1	0	0	1	1
2	4	7	0	0	4	7
3***	0	0	10	13	10	13
4**	3	4	10	17	13	21
5	3	3	0	0	3	3
6***	5	10	11	20	16	30
7**	2	6	8	17	10	23
8	1	1	0	0	1	1
9	3	6	0	0	3	6
10	3	4	0	0	3	4
11**	2	3	4	9	6	12
12	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0
14*	1	2	2	2	3	4
15	1	1	0	0	1	1
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
17*	1	1	2	4	3	5
18**	2	3	8	18	10	21
19	1	5	0	0	1	5
20	1	1	0	0	1	1

<sup>a</sup> See footnote a in Table 6.18 for the explanation of the system of asterisks.



In general, as Table 6.19 shows, the number of the semantic loans (in terms of both types and tokens) is much larger in the recordings where the Internet and/or computers were discussed. However, the difference is visible only in Group B (and thus in A+B). As for the loans belonging to general Polish (Group A), there does not seem to exist any connection between the topic of a conversation and the number of such loans. The situation is thus very similar to the one referring to lexical loans (cf. section 5.3).

Table 6.20 shows the number of semantic loans (tokens) as the percentage of the total number of words. The percentage is counted separately for each recording.

**Table 6.20** The number of semantic loans (tokens) shown as the percentage of the total number of words

Number of the recording <sup>a</sup>	Total number of words (tokens)	Number of semantic loans (tokens)	Semantic loans as % of the total number of words
1	3,966	1	0.03
2	2,868	7	0.24
3***	1,620	13	0.80
4**	2,027	21	1.04
5	3,290	3	0.09
6***	3,654	30	0.82
7**	2,348	23	0.98
8	3,144	1	0.03
9	3,327	6	0.18
10	2,178	4	0.18
11**	2,393	12	0.50
12	3,848	0	0.00
13	1,535	0	0.00
14*	4,060	4	0.10
15	2,229	1	0.04
16	3,895	0	0.00
17*	2,329	5	0.21
18**	3,807	21	0.55
19	3,162	5	0.16
20	4,884	1	0.02
Total	60,564	158	0.26

<sup>a</sup> See footnote a in Table 6.18 for the explanation of the system of asterisks.

The next table (6.21) shows the same data as Table 6.20, but is arranged according to the percentage of semantic loans in particular recordings. Consequently, Table 6.21 better illustrates the relation between the percentage of semantic loans and the individual recordings.

**Table 6.21** The percentage of semantic loans in particular recordings

% of the semantic loans	Number of the recording
0.00	12
0.00	13
0.00	16
0.02	20
0.03	8
0.03	1
0.04	15
0.09	5
0.10	14*
0.16	19
0.18	9
0.18	10
0.21	17*
0.24	2
0.26	average
0.50	11**
0.55	18**
0.80	3***
0.82	6***
0.98	7**
1.04	4**

As in the case of lexical loans (cf. section 5.3), it is apparent that there is a close correspondence between the topic of the conversation (in particular when the Internet and/or computers were discussed) and the number of semantic loans (tokens), expressed as the percentage of the total number of words of a given recording (cf. also Tables 6.18 and 6.19). As for such percentage, almost all conversations during which the Internet and/or computers were discussed are above the average. The only exceptions are Recordings 14 and 17, but during these conversations the Internet and computers were only very briefly mentioned. As a consequence, Recordings 14 and 17 cannot really be said to deal with the topic of computers or the Internet.

By contrast, all the conversations during which the Internet or computers were not mentioned are below the average. However, it must be underlined once again that the topic of the conversation does not seem to have a great influence on the number of semantic loans belonging to general Polish or to other semantic fields (i.e. not connected with computers and the Internet) (cf. Table 6.19).

To sum up, the number of semantic loans (types) has considerably grown in recent years (which can be proved by the comparison of the present findings with those of OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000 and WITALISZ, 2007). The increase can be noticed in both groups of semantic loans: (1) belonging to general Polish (or to some semantic fields different from the one connected with computers) and (2) belonging to the semantic area of computers and the Internet. It must be added that the growth is particularly visible in the latter.

## Chapter 7

# CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

The aim of the book was to discuss lexical and semantic borrowings, particularly the newest ones, taken from English. As the influence of English upon the written variety of Polish, particularly the one of the press, has been researched relatively thoroughly, it was decided to concentrate on the spoken variety. With this end in view, a corpus of informal spontaneous conversations, consisting of over 60,000 words in total, was gathered, transcribed and carefully analysed. The aim of this chapter is to present the conclusions of the study.

### 7.2 Lexical loans found in the corpus

Altogether, 78 types (including derivatives) of English lexical loans have been found in the corpus (225 tokens). They have been divided into four groups. The first one comprises the loans introduced before 1990, most of which are well assimilated on some or all the levels (pronunciation, morphology, semantics and spelling). The second group consists of the loanwords introduced in the 1990s or later, noted in USJP and/or WSWO. The third one comprises the new borrowings, introduced only recently and not yet noted in the aforementioned dictionaries, but noted in the newest dictionary of English lexical loans in Polish, i.e. SZA. The fourth one consists of the newest loans, not noted in SZA. Additionally, the corpus contains some forms which are not typical loanwords, but which seem, nevertheless, to have been modelled on English (or sometimes also German). Moreover, some English constructions

used metalinguistically or quoted verbatim as well as a relatively large group of proper names modelled on or taken from English were also found in the corpus.

The number of English loanwords (225 tokens) may seem relatively large at first glance, but when this number is contrasted with the number of running words of the entire corpus, it becomes evident that English loanwords constitute a very small percentage of the corpus, namely 0.3715%.

Thus, the study has revealed that, contrary to popular belief, Polish speakers do not seem to overuse the borrowings from English. While it may be the case that the borrowings of English origin are used excessively in the language of the mass media, particularly in commercials and press advertisements, they are not overused in spontaneous everyday conversations. This corroborates OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC'S finding that the speech of Poles is in fact quite conservative in terms of the use of English words.

On the other hand, a number of the loanwords that appeared in the present corpus have not so far been discussed in the literature on the subject or noted in the dictionaries of foreign terms. Most of them, however, were used only once or twice in the corpus and, consequently, can be classified as momentary or idiosyncratic borrowings (cf. Chapter 5). They seem to depend on the idiolect of a given speaker, at least to a certain extent. This indicates that new vocabulary items are entering Polish all the time but many of such loans, although they may gain some temporary appeal, will probably never become assimilated and will not become a part of the Polish lexis. What is more, it appears that most of the newest loans have not been borrowed by the speakers directly from English, but rather they were first used in the Polish of the mass media, as most of the loans from this group can also be found on the Internet or in the magazines, particularly the ones dealing with computers, the Internet and modern technology.

Furthermore, the corpus contains a few loanwords noted in WSWO and/or USJP, but used in the corpus in a slightly or completely different meaning from the one or ones noted in the dictionaries. A phenomenon of this type can be noticed in the case of such words as *camping*, *DVD* (in one of its uses) or *van*. Some other loans appeared in the corpus in the same meaning as the one noted in USJP or WSWO. Many of them are, nevertheless, still not widely known and can therefore be regarded as novelties in contemporary Polish. The group in question includes such words as *interaktywny*, *kartridż*, *on-line* or *subwoofer*. Other borrowings, on the other hand, while having been introduced into Polish a relatively long time ago, are still far from fully assimilated, e.g. *dubbing* or *weekend*.

Interestingly but perhaps not surprisingly, nouns predominate in the group of loanwords (57.89% in terms of types, 68.61% in terms of tokens). This predominance becomes even more striking when one is to take account of

the fact that the nouns in general (i.e. all nouns, not only borrowed ones) do not predominate in the corpus, as was shown on the basis of 2,000-word corpus sample. What seems to be more interesting, however, is (1) a high percentage of abbreviations/acronyms in the group of lexical loans (13.16% in terms of types, 13.45% in terms of tokens) and (2) a very rare use of English exclamations or interjections.

The number of lexical loans, in terms of both types and tokens, seem to depend on the topic of a conversation. To be more precise, the number of lexical loans is larger in the conversations in which the Internet and computers were discussed. It must be highlighted, however, that the difference is visible only among the loans belonging to the semantic field of computers and the Internet. In other words, the number of the loans belonging to general Polish does not seem to depend on the topic of the conversation.

To sum up, Poles do not appear to overuse English loanwords. What is more, the majority of the newer loanwords belong to the semantic field of computers, the Internet or modern technology. They denote new concepts, objects, devices or features (e.g. *hand-held*, *subwoofer*, *OEM*, *interaktywny*, *on-line*). Admittedly, they sometimes have Polish counterparts, but it seems that English borrowings are often preferred because of their brevity. Some examples are presented in Table 7.1.

**Table 7.1** English borrowings and their possible Polish counterparts

English borrowing or word modelled on English (found in the corpus)	Possible Polish counterpart <sup>a</sup>
1	2
subwoofer	głośnik niskotonowy
(użytkownicy) on-line	(użytkownicy) korzystający z Internetu <i>or</i> podłączeni do Internetu
(wersja) OEM	wersja dla konkretnego komputera
interaktywny	odbierający informacje od użytkownika i reagujący na nie
multiplayer	gra komputerowa ( <i>or</i> wersja gry komputerowej) przeznaczona dla jednoczesnej gry kilku osób; gra wieloosobowa
e-mail, mail	poczta elektroniczna <i>or</i> wiadomość przesłana pocztą elektroniczną <i>or</i> adres internetowy użytkownika poczty elektronicznej
screen	zrzut ekranowy
single, singleplayer	gra komputerowa ( <i>or</i> wersja gry komputerowej) przeznaczona dla jednej osoby; gra jednoosobowa
hand-held	(mały) komputer ( <i>or</i> konsola do gier) mieszczący się w dłoni

1	2
serwer	komputer (or program komputerowy) udostępniający użytkownikom swoje zasoby (or wykonujący otrzymane polecenia)
PC, pecet	komputer osobisty
hi-fi	(sprzęt audio) wysokiej jakości
weekend	sobota i niedziela; koniec tygodnia; okres od piątkowego popołudnia do niedzieli włącznie

<sup>a</sup> Some of the possible Polish counterparts are quoted from or formulated on the basis of WSWO.

Naturally, in some cases Polish constructions are as brief as their English counterparts, e.g. *download a file from the Internet* — *ściągać (or pobrać) plik z Internetu*. On the whole, however, it seems that the majority of the English constructions, at least belonging to the semantic field of computers, are shorter than their possible Polish counterparts.

It appears that most of the English loans used in the corpus either belong to the group of old and relatively well-assimilated borrowings (e.g. *film*, *biznes*, *standard*, *komputer*) or can be classified as necessary borrowings (cf. the aforementioned examples: *hand-held*, *subwoofer*, *interaktywny*, *on-line*, *OEM*).

Consequently, most of the loans in the corpus were used not because of linguistic snobbery but because of either linguistic necessity or linguistic economy. Naturally, a few forms can perhaps be classified as unnecessary borrowings, e.g. *bokswowy* (*boxowy*), *impossible*, *net*, *non-stop*, *pass*, *pub* and *zip file*. On the whole, however, such loans were relatively infrequent in the corpus, as the majority of them appeared only once or were used by one speaker. Moreover, some of them, such as *pass* or *zip file*, should be classified as single-word code switches rather than borrowings.

### 7.3 Semantic loans found in the corpus

Altogether, 44 types of English semantic loans (including derivatives) were found in the corpus (158 tokens). The vast majority of the semantic loans found in the corpus belong to the group of semantic extensions, i.e. their meaning has been extended, probably under the influence of English. Some words, however, have also certain features of a semantic shift understood in the present study as an extension of meaning followed by a gradual disappearance of the traditional sense (cf. Chapter 6). Such a process can clearly be seen in

the case of some semantic loans connected with the area of computers, e.g. *konsola* or *piracki*.

As might have been expected, the group of English semantic loans (158 tokens) constitutes a small percentage of the entire corpus, smaller than in the case of lexical loans, namely 0.26088%.

However, a considerable number of new semantic loans (not noted in dictionaries), have appeared in the corpus, cf. e.g. *adresat, cyfrowy, instalacja, klawiatura, konsola, konsolowy, list, ładować, obrazek, rozpakować, słownik, super* (discussed as a semantic loan, not a lexical, morphological or syntactic one), *transfer, wczytać/wczytywać, wyjść/wychodzić, zainstalować* and *zainstalowany*. What is more, the book aimed at not only describing the individual semantic loans, but at forming some hypotheses about the possible ways of introducing semantic borrowings into spoken informal Polish as well. Furthermore, some general rules governing the process in question were inferred.

As in the case of lexical loans, the number of semantic borrowings seems to depend on the topic of the conversation. In general, the number of semantic loans was much larger in the conversations in which the Internet, modern technology or computers were discussed. Again, however, the number of the loans belonging to general Polish does not appear to be topic-dependent.

## 7.4 Final comments

There seems to be a certain tendency among the speakers of Polish to use not only new vocabulary items borrowed from English (lexical borrowings), but to assign new meanings to already existing native Polish words or older borrowings as well (semantic borrowings, which usually seem to result from the translation using the primary counterpart). As a consequence, there have appeared pairs of synonyms, where the first word is a lexical borrowing from English, whereas the second — a semantic one. Some examples are presented in Table 7.2.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 7.2** Pairs of lexical and semantic loans in Polish

English lexical borrowing	English semantic borrowing
~Internet, ~net	~Sieć (sieć)
~e-mail, ~mail	~list, ~poczta
digitalny (dygitalny)	~cyfrowy
engine [of a computer game]	silnik

<sup>1</sup> The forms actually found in the corpus are preceded by the sign ~.



As one can see, such pairs of loans (lexical and semantic) are particularly often encountered in the semantic area of computers, the Internet and modern technology. This is fairly predictable, as there is a constant need to invent new names for various devices, objects and concepts in the semantic field in question. In such a situation, users of Polish have two options: either borrowing the word directly from a foreign language, mostly English (e.g. *Internet*, *engine*) or assigning a new meaning to an already existing Polish native word or older borrowing (e.g. *Sieć*, *silnik*). The present study has revealed that both methods are used, the former one being more common.

Curiously enough, some words are simultaneously lexical and semantic borrowings from English. Most probably, such words were first borrowed from English, but their meaning was somehow restricted in Polish. In other words, a given loan in Polish had a narrower range of meanings than its English counterpart. Next, a new meaning, existing in English, was assigned to the borrowing already used in Polish. This is the case of such words as *test* or *partner*, both of which appeared in the corpus.

In conclusion, it can be stated that lexical borrowings do not seem to pose a serious danger to contemporary Polish. On the contrary, the Polish language keeps developing and the emergence of new lexical items is one of the signs of such development. The study has revealed that users of Polish do not seem to overuse the words of English origin. What is more, most of the new loans found in the corpus appeared in the semantic field of computers and modern technology, which suggests indirectly that the majority of them can be classified as necessary. Furthermore, the vast proportion of the loanwords in question will either be assimilated, as happened before to such loans as *komputer*, *film* and *sport* or will disappear.

A more serious problem, however, is posed by the emergence of semantic borrowings. They can be labelled as insidious, since most of them, in contrast to lexical ones, are noticed only by the people trained in linguistics (cf. also OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC, 2000). What is more, their number (in terms of types) seems to be constantly rising. Naturally, the phenomenon is not detrimental in itself and thus cannot be blindly criticized. Nevertheless, such changes are not always desirable, especially when the meaning of a given word becomes vague or imprecise as the result of the process. As was argued in the book, it is highly probable that the emergence of most of the semantic loans is a result of hasty and careless translations of English texts, mostly articles published in popular magazines, scripts used in American films and series commonly broadcast by the Polish television and, perhaps most importantly, texts appearing in commercials and advertisements. Consequently, it would seem apt to appeal to translators, particularly the ones dealing with (1) commercials, films and series broadcast by the television and (2) advertisements and articles published in popular magazines, to pay more

attention to the language they use in their work. The semantic loans they use (often unwittingly) in their translations are highly likely to be repeated by other translators and writers and finally such loans start to appear in spontaneous spoken language as well. The situation is not likely to be changed by prescriptive rules. Rather, as OTWINOWSKA-KASZTELANIC (2000) has rightly noted in connection with grammatical borrowings, it can be improved by raising the language awareness among the speakers of Polish, particularly the ones belonging to the younger generation. This, in turn, can be achieved with the help of people working in the mass media, translators, teachers (mainly of Polish and English), and public figures, who are often heard on the television or radio. In other words, the people from the aforementioned groups should pay attention not only to the content of their articles, speeches, etc., but to the language they use as well.

To sum up, it appears that we need not be worried about the lexical borrowings taken from English and used in spoken language, but rather about 'linguistic carelessness' of Polish speakers, particularly public figures and celebrities, heard frequently on the television or radio. Furthermore, we should be concerned about more and more frequent use of swear words, obscenities and vulgarities in everyday language as well as about hasty and careless translations of English texts appearing frequently in low quality newspapers and magazines or on the television, particularly in serials and commercials.



## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### The knowledge of foreign languages among Poles

Source: Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (CBOS), available online at: [http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2009/K\\_111\\_09.PDF](http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2009/K_111_09.PDF) (data edited by B. WCIÓRKA, 2009). The poll was conducted between 2nd and 8th July 2009. A random representative sample of 1,125 adult Poles was interviewed.

The declared knowledge of foreign languages in 1997, 2001, 2004, 2006 and 2009 is shown in the Table 1. The percentages do not add up to 100% as some of the respondents declared the knowledge of more than one foreign language.

**Table 1** The declared knowledge of foreign languages among Poles (%)

Language	November 1997	June 2001	May 2004	November 2006	July 2009
English	9	16	17	20	24
Russian	24	23	23	22	20
German	9	14	14	14	12
French	2	2	2	2	2
Other	2	1	4	4	4
None	63	58	56	55	54

## List of proper names of English origin found in the corpus

The list comprises names of companies, products, titles of newspapers and magazines, etc., modelled on or taken from English. Some of the names (e.g. *CyberMycha*) are examples of loan blends, i.e. words composed of both foreign and native elements. The number of occurrences of a particular form is given in brackets:

Adidas Team (1)	Off (1)
Battle.net (2)	Office/Office XP (4)
CD Action (5)	Open Office (3)
Chello (4)	Outlook/Outlook Express (3)
Chip (12)	PC Format (1)
Click (2)	PC World Komputer (1)
Counter Strike (7)	Play (1)
CyberMycha (2)	Play Station (7)
EuroSport (1)	Snickers (4)
Flash (1)	Splinter's Cell (1)
Game Boy (1)	TELC (1)
Game Cube (2)	Top Secret (2)
IMDB (1)	Train Simulator (2)
Johnny English (2)	Virtual Cop (1)
Komputerland (1)	Warcraft (4)
Linux (1)	Windows (7)
Matrix (4)	Wizards and Warriors (3)
McDonald's (1)	Word (5)
Microsoft (2)	Wormsy (4)
National Geographic (1)	X-Box (4)

## Appendix 3

## Lexical loans in the dictionaries of foreign words

Table 2 indicates the existence or non-existence of the lexical loans (found in the corpus) in the following Polish dictionaries of foreign words: *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (2003, ed. by M. BAŃKO, abbreviated to WSWO), *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych i trudnych* (2001, ed. by A. MARKOWSKI and R. PAWELEC, abbreviated to WSWOIT) and *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych z almanachem* (2000, by W. KOPALIŃSKI, abbreviated to SWOIZO).

As for the signs used in the table, ‘+’ indicates the existence of a given loan in a given dictionary, whereas ‘-’ indicates the non-existence; the third symbol, i.e. ‘±’, indicates the intermediate situation, in the case of which an additional explanation is normally given. When a given word has been noted in a dictionary, but in the meaning different from the one in which the word was used in the corpus, a ‘-’ sign was used. Additional comments and explanations are given in square brackets.

It must be noted that certain older and fully assimilated borrowings (e.g. *film*) may not be noted in some dictionaries of foreign terms, as the aim of most of the dictionaries of this type is to present the newest layer of vocabulary; hence, *film* may no longer be treated as a typical borrowing.

**Table 2** Occurrence of the lexical loans found in the corpus in the Polish dictionaries of foreign words

Word	WSWO	WSWOIT	SWOIZO
1	2	3	4
anglikański	+	+	- [only <i>anglikanin</i> and <i>anglikanizm</i> ]
biznes (business)	+	+	+
boksowy (boxowy) [=a version of a computer program]	-	-	-
camping [=a small, single-storey house]	-	-	-
CD	+	+	+
CD-ROM	+	+	-
CV	+	+	- [only as <i>curriculum vitae</i> ]
disc jockey (dyskdżokej)	+	+	+

1	2	3	4
dolar	+	–	+
dubbing	+	+	+
DVD	+	+	–
edytor [= a word processor]	+	+	± [only as <i>edytor tekstu</i> ]
e-mail	+	+	–
film	–	+	–
firewall	+	–	–
gadżet	+	+	+
			[only as <i>gadget</i> ]
grill	+	+	+
hand-held	–	–	–
hi-fi	+	+	+
hip hop	+	–	–
hipis (hippis)	+	+	+
hobby	+	–	+
HTML	+	–	–
impossible	–	–	–
interaktywny	+	–	–
Internet	+	+	+
internetowy	+	–	–
IP	–	–	–
jacuzzi	+	–	–
kartridż (cartridge)	+	+	–
	[only as <i>cartridge</i> ]	[only as <i>cartridge</i> ]	
klikać	+	+	–
komfort	+	+	+
kompakt	+	+	–
komputer	+	+	+
komputerowy	+	+	± [not as a separate entry, only in the phrase <i>wirus komputerowy</i> ]
komputeryzacja	+	+	–
mail	+	–	–
mailowo	–	–	–
microsoftowy	–	–	–
modem	+	+	+
multimedialny	+	+	± [only as an example in the entry <i>multimedia</i> ]
multiplayer	–	–	–
net [=the Internet]	–	–	–

cont. tab. 2

1	2	3	4
non stop	+	+	+
OEM	+	–	–
OK	+	± [not as a separate entry, only in the entry <i>Okay</i> ]	+
on-line	+	–	–
parking	+	–	+
parkować	+	–	–
partner	+	+	+
pass	–	–	–
PC	+	+	–
PDF	–	–	–
przetrenować	± [only as <i>trenować</i> ]	–	–
pub	+	+	+
screen	–	–	–
serial	+	–	+
serwer	+	+	+
single [=a computer game for one player]	–	–	–
SMS	+	+	–
sponsorować	+	+	– [only <i>sponsor</i> ]
standard	+	+	+
standardowo	–	–	–
startować	–	+	–
strongman (strongmen)	–	–	–
subwoofer	+	–	–
szok	+	–	+
test	+	+	+
top ['na topie']	+	+	–
trener	+	–	–
trening	+	–	+
van [=a car used for carrying goods, e.g. <i>Seicento Van</i> ]	–	–	–
weekend	+	+	+
wow	–	–	–
wysportowany	–	–	–
zdopingować	+	+	– [only <i>doping</i> ]
zip file	–	–	–
zoo	+	–	+



## Lexical loans in the dictionaries of Polish

Table 3 indicates the existence or non-existence of the lexical loans (found in the corpus) in the following dictionaries of Polish: *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* (2003, ed. by S. DUBISZ, abbreviated to USJP), *Inny słownik języka polskiego* (2000, ed. by M. BAŃKO, abbreviated to ISJP) and *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* (1999, ed. by B. DUNAJ, abbreviated to SWJP).

The signs used in the table are the same as in Appendix 3: ‘+’ indicates the existence of a given loan in a given dictionary, whereas ‘-’ indicates the non-existence; the third symbol, i.e. ‘±’, indicates the intermediate situation, in the case of which an additional explanation is normally given. When a given word has been noted in a dictionary, but in the meaning different from the one in which the word was used in the corpus, a ‘-’ sign was used. Additional comments and explanations are given in square brackets.

**Table 3** Occurrence of the lexical loans found in the corpus in the dictionaries of Polish

Word	USJP	ISJP	SWJP
1	2	3	4
anglikański	+	+	+
biznes (business)	+	+	+
boksowy (boxowy) [=a version of a computer program]	-	-	-
camping [=a small, single-storey house]	-	-	-
CD	+	+	-
CD-ROM	+	+	-
CV	± [not as a separate entry]	+	-
disc jockey (dyskdżokej)	+	+	+
dolar	+	+	+
dubbing	+	+	+
DVD	+	+	-
edytor [= a word processor]	+	+	+
e-mail	+	+	-
film	+	+	+
firewall	-	-	-
gadżet	+	+	+

cont. tab. 3

1	2	3	4
grill	+	+	+
hand-held	-	-	-
hi-fi	+	+	+
hip hop	+	-	-
hipis (hippis)	+	+	+
hobby	+	+	+
HTML	-	-	-
impossible	-	-	-
interaktywny	+	-	-
Internet	+	+	-
internetowy	+	+	-
IP	-	-	-
jacuzzi	+	+	-
kartridż (cartridge)	-	-	-
klikać	+	+	+
komfort	+	+	+
kompakt	+	+	+
komputer	+	+	+
komputerowy	+	+	+
komputeryzacja	+	+	+
mail	+	-	-
mailowo	-	-	-
microsoftowy	-	-	-
modem	+	+	+
multimedialny	+	+	+
multiplayer	-	-	-
net [=the Internet]	-	-	-
non stop	+	+	+
OEM	-	-	-
OK	+	+	-
on-line	+	-	-
parking	+	+	+
parkować	+	+	+
partner	+	+	+
pass	-	-	-
PC	-	+	-
PDF	-	-	-

1	2	3	4
przetrenować	+	± [only as <i>trenować</i> ]	+
pub	+	+	+
screen	–	–	–
serial	+	+	+
serwer	+	–	+
single [=a computer game for one player]	–	–	–
SMS	+	–	–
sponsorować	+	+	+
standard	+	+	+
standardowo	+	+	–
startować	+	+	+
strongman (strongmen)	–	–	–
subwoofer	–	–	–
szok	+	+	+
test	+	+	+
top ['na topie']	+	+	+
trener	+	+	+
trening	+	+	+
van [=a car used for carrying goods, e.g. <i>Seicento Van</i> ]	–	–	–
weekend	+	+	+
wow	–	–	–
wysportowany	+	+	+
zdopingować	+	+	+
zip file	–	–	–
zoo	+	+	+

## Appendix 5

## Lexical loans in context

This appendix gives the examples of the use of some of the loans (in alphabetical order) from the corpus. The forms modelled on English (but not loanwords proper) are given in square brackets.

## 1. Camping

- (1) [Recording 19]  
M11: pęseta momy / w **kamingu**

## 2. CD

- (1—3) [Recording 1]  
M7: no może być radio za pięćdziesiąt złotych  
M11: z **CD** mówili  
M7: jakie?  
M11: że jest z **CD**  
M7: aaa to to już cztery bańki  
M6: no to z **CD** już jest no to lepiej

- (4) [Recording 6]  
M6: no **CD** Action się chyba trzyma najlepiej / Click się też trzyma w miarę dobrze no te Gry Komputerowe to to już są tam są głównie takie **CD** i taki dodatek

- (5) [Recording 18]  
M7: stacjonarne nagrywarki DVD / dyski twarde / yyy **CD** płyty najtańsze po ile są / yyy filmy na DVD obejrzeć co

## 3. CD-ROM

- (1—2) [Recording 7]  
F29: wiesz co / ja na przykład moi moi znajomi / yyy byli / na na wakacjach w zeszłym roku / mieli też cyfrowy / to nam zgrali na płycie / nie / na **CD-ROM-ie**<sup>^</sup>  
M6: też można / no  
F29: i mamy to wiesz / zamiast / wiadomo tak do oglądania to mamy / na **CD-ROM-ie** tak że / mówię zawsze jakaś pamiątka jest / nie

- (3) [Recording 18]  
M7: jeżeli nagrywarka yyy jest od **CD-ROM-u** zwykłego / droższa o jakieś pięć# czy czterdzieści złotych / no to ila tego jest \*

#### 4. CV

(1) [Recording 20]

F31: obudzę cię o dziewiątej [pause 2 sec.] bo muszę przygotować

M7: obudziłabyś go

F31: po angielsku **CV** i list motywacyjny

(2) [Recording 20]

F31: no muszę napisać yyy

M6: po angielsku?

F31: ale wymyślić / mmm fikcyjny / fikcyjny mój yyy **CV** i mój mmm list motywacyjny

#### 5. DVD

(1—3) [Recording 18]

M6: a jedziesz do tej Medii / ja?

M7: no ja / jada / obo# obowiązkowo obejrzę / jakie są te nagrywarki **DVD**

M6: takie / stacjonarne

M7: stacjonarne nagrywarki **DVD** / dyski twarde / yyy CD płyty najtańsze po ile są / yyy filmy na **DVD** obejrzyć co

(4—5) [Recording 18]

M6: te subwoofery nie / to po co jedziesz głównie obejrzyć / te kina nie nie kina domowe [pause 2 sec.] odtwarzacze **DVD**

M7: nagrywarki

M6: aha nagrywarki

M7: nagrywarki stacjonarne **DVD** po ile są

(6) [Recording 18]

M6: to dla nich / generalnie nawet te nowości **DVD** / czy na Zachodzie czy w Stanach / to będą tak jak dla nas te po dziewiętnaście złotych

(7—8) [Recording 18]

M7: jeżeli tam to ma kosztować około dwieście dolarów czyli osiemset złotych / to na polskie realia taka stacjonarna nagry# nagrywarka **DVD** to już by była tania / o# osiemset złotych

[...]

M6: nagrywarki **DVD** do komputera taniej

(9) [Recording 18]

M6: no to filmy **DVD** nowości / to ciągle / rzadko kiedy są / poniżej / osiemdziesiąt dziewięć

(10) [Recording 18]

M6: chociaż biorąc pod uwagę nasze zarobki / to nowości na **DVD**<sup>^</sup>

M7: tak

M6: powinny kosztować góra trzydzieści złotych

(11) [Recording 18]  
M7: ponagrywom na **DVD**

## 6. [Foluwa]

(1) [Recording 1]  
M11: zanim się zaczęła^  
M6: tych widzów  
M11: ta konkurencja^  
M7: no  
M11: to była taka **foluwa** że ja^  
M6: dużo  
M11: ja ino słyszałem że ryczą ale co oni robią / ale nie wolno nogami wiesz jak / kuźwa a ja przy tym moim wroście tak

## 7. HTML

(1) [Recording 10]  
F10: ale ja też się nie orientuję w językach  
M2: następnym razem  
F10: jakimś się **HTML** programuje^  
M6: aha  
F10: i jak on by mnie zapytał to ja bym też leżała i ja mówię ale najpierw mi zrób lekcję na ten temat^

## 8. [Integrale]

(1) [Recording 15]  
M14: jak to było w umowie to się nazywa / **integrale**  
F29: mhm  
M14: czyli sprzedaje się sprzęt  
F29: no  
M14: komputerowy  
F29: mhm  
M14: a do tego / mmm oprogramowanie

## 9. IP

(1) [Recording 3]  
M14: no oni / czepiają się w firmach / nie takich prywatnych / no to / prywatnych to się czepiają jeżeli ktoś / udostępnia na przykład jakieś filmy adresy **IP** / coś takiego

## 10. Jacuzzi

(1) [Recording 20]  
M16: nie / coś ty te / łoni mają chopie / te / sauna mają do dyspozycji kurde / mają te / jak to się teraz nazywa / wanny takie / jak to się nazywało / te  
M17: **jacuzzi**  
M16: o / **jacuzzi** mają

## 11. Kartridż

(1) [Recording 6]

M6: zupełnie nie wiem jak wygląda programowanie na te hand-heldy typu Game Boy bo tam chyba to

M7: wiem że

M6: znaczy te / te programy są na tych jakiś **kartridżach**

## 12. Kompakt

(1) [Recording 6]

M7: miotech kiedyś dwa numery tego no naprawdę nie o wszystkim nie takie do nauki / ale takie typowo sprzętowe testy wszystko bardzo dokładne a# ale konkretnie wiedziotech o czym no porównanie procesorów wszystko / a tu dej pokój **kompakty** multimedialna nauka tym podobne / multimedialna nauka pakietu tam Office XP bo jest nowy Office ik# XP no i efekt taki^

(2) [Recording 6]

M6: to już tako typowo gazeta jak te Gry Komputerowe czyli dużo **kompaktów** a samej gazety to nie wiem czy krótko opis tych pełnych wersji i to wszystko

## 13. [Menago]

(1) [Recording 16]

M6: no ale wydaje mi się / że chyba no mmm no w sensie że jest dobrym dyrektorem / chodzi mi o to że że

M8: jest **menago**

M6: potrafi tak trochę tam zadbać o tą szkołę

## 14. Multimedialny

(1—2) [Recording 6]

M7: miotech kiedyś dwa numery tego no naprawdę nie o wszystkim nie takie do nauki / ale takie typowo sprzętowe testy wszystko bardzo dokładne a# ale konkretnie wiedziotech o czym no porównanie procesorów wszystko / a tu dej pokój kompakty **multimedialna** nauka tym podobne / **multimedialna** nauka pakietu tam Office XP bo jest nowy Office ik# XP no i efekt taki^

## 15. Multiplayer

(1) [Recording 18]

M7: nieporównywalne jest wręcz / wyobraź się że mosz no na przykład / yyy ten ten symulator gra tak czasem więcej użytkowników że no jakies takie / ściganie się że musisz przewieźć tym podobne / taki à la **multiplayer**

## 16. Non stop

(1) [Recording 9]

F25: no / ale sama widziałam kiedyś jak ten nasz stary ksiądz podlewa sobie pelargonie [unclear 1 sec.] a ten to kuchnia **non stop** jeździ

(2) [Recording 12]  
F22: łon lubi chodzić / tak chodzi **non stop** wiesz

(3) [Recording 18]  
M7: no i **non stop** tym się wymieniali

### 17. On-line

(1) [Recording 6]  
M7: pisze średnio koło czterech milionów użytkowników **on-line**

(2) [Recording 6]  
M7: najpierw koło czterech użytkowników **on-line**

(3) [Recording 6]  
M7: no i to jest globalne że że na przykład średnio jest koło czterech milionów użytkowników **on-line**<sup>^</sup>

### 18. Pub

(1—2) [Recording 5]  
M8: na przykład {surname} co mo ten **pub** na dole / nie  
F24: szybko to leci  
M8: ten no wiesz który / nie [together 1 sec.] co mo ten **pub** tu  
M9: no no no  
M8: łon teraz taki ogródek piwny się zrobił nie wiem czy żeś widział

(3) [Recording 6]  
M7: ja ja ja tam cały cały ten {company} / **pub**

### 19. Single

(1) [Recording 18]  
M7: to to jest / jest chyba Virtual Cop 2 czy coś takiego i tym podobne  
[pause 4 sec.] co tam jest jeszcze  
M6: mnie już gry / znudziły kompletnie  
M7: mmm mnie takie **single** też / znudziły

### 20. Strongman, strongmen

(1) [Recording 1]  
M7: co było co było w tych w tych tych **strongmenach**  
M11: to nie ma szans  
M7: poczekaj / dźwignąłeś pięćdziesiąt razy i co  
M11: ale [together 6 sec.] mistrz uniwersum wyszedł taki kuźwa jak jak {name} / jeszcze szczuplej# mniejszy



(2) [Recording 1]

M11: nasi Polacy / jeszcze trzy lata temu nikt nie słyszał kuźwa o polskich **strongmenach** no może trzy lata nie^

(3—4) [Recording 12]

M7: a tutaj ci przyjechali / **strongmeni**

M8: a jo dzwonił \*

M6: **strongmeny** / ja?

## 21. Van

(1) [Recording 20]

M7: no ale ja mało jeżdżę / no ja / ja [together 2 sec.] no ja / ja mam tego **vana** kilka lat

## 22. Wow

(1) [Recording 2]

M2: a jak wyście w ogóle wypadli

M4: pierwsze miejsce

M2: **wow**

(2) [Recording 10]

F1: że ktoś ma dziecko no jest słabszy i musi poświęcić mnóstwo energii na to żeby tam miało lepsze oceny a i tak ma je nie wiem na poziomie właśnie czwórki i trójki no i przychodzi potem matka i płacze no bo co ona więcej ma zrobić i nie pomagają tłumaczenia że już nie da no nie da się nic więcej zrobić / ona nie będzie miała piątki bo jej możliwości na to nie pozwalają / a trzeba ją chwalić i zachęcać za to co robi żeby ona / nie / po prostu nie rezygnowała z tego / żeby się nie okazało że więcej nic nie będzie robiła bo i tak się nie uda

M2: **wow**

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Marcin Zabawa

## Anglicyzmy leksykalne i semantyczne we współczesnej potocznej polszczyźnie mówionej

### Streszczenie

Celem niniejszej monografii jest opisanie najnowszych anglicyzmów leksykalnych i semantycznych występujących we współczesnej potocznej polszczyźnie mówionej. Podstawą badań jest korpus złożony z 20 rozmów codziennych, nagranych, przetranskrybowanych i przeanalizowanych przez autora pracy. Korpus składa się z ponad 60 000 słów. Autor zdecydował się na badanie zapożyczeń w języku mówionym, jako że wyrazy obce w języku pisanim (zwłaszcza prasowym) zostały dość dobrze opisane, niewiele jest natomiast prac poświęconym zapożyczeniom — zwłaszcza semantycznym — w języku mówionym. Opisano zarówno poszczególne zapożyczenia (ich znaczenie, wymowę, kolokacje oraz kontekst, w jakim pojawiły się w korpusie), jak i scharakteryzowano je jako zjawisko globalne, czyli dokonano podziału zapożyczeń według rozmaitych kryteriów, na przykład według części mowy, częstotliwości ich występowania w korpusie czy też okresu, w którym trafiły do polszczyzny. Autor podjął również próbę ustalenia, w jakim stopniu pojawianie się zapożyczeń w języku mówionym jest zależne od tematu rozmowy i idiolektu rozmówców. Badania zilustrowano licznymi tabelami statystycznymi obrazującymi różne aspekty ilościowe i jakościowe znalezionych w korpusie zapożyczeń leksykalnych i semantycznych.

W monografii opisano również różnorakie problemy metodologiczne, jakie stwarzało badanie zapożyczeń w języku mówionym. Autor zaproponował ponadto własną hipotezę na temat sposobów wprowadzania i rozprzestrzeniania się zapożyczeń semantycznych w polszczyźnie. Hipoteza ta związana jest z koncepcją „odpowiedników prymarnych”, stosowaną dotychczas w badaniach nad przyswajaniem i uczeniem się języków obcych.

Wiele z opisanych w niniejszej pracy zapożyczeń leksykalnych i semantycznych nie zostało dotychczas opisanych w literaturze przedmiotu ani zarejestrowanych w słownikach języka polskiego czy wyrazów obcych. Takim zapożyczeniom poświęcono szczególną uwagę. Jednym z wniosków zawartych w pracy jest stwierdzenie, że o ile liczba zapożyczeń leksykalnych w języku mówionym w ostatnich latach nie wzrasta (co przeczy odczuciu większości Polaków), o tyle znacząco wzrosła liczba typów zapożyczeń semantycznych.

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## Lexikalische und semantische Anglizismen im heutigen gesprochenen umgangssprachlichen Polnischen

### Zusammenfassung

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Monografie ist, die neuesten lexikalischen und semantischen Anglizismen, die heutzutage im umgangssprachlichen gesprochenen Polnischen auftreten, zu beschreiben. Die Forschungsgrundlage ist ein Korpus von 20 täglichen Gesprächen, die von dem Verfasser aufgenommen, transkribiert und analysiert wurden. Der Korpus besteht aus über 60 000 Wörtern. Der Verfasser hat sich entschieden, die in gesprochener Sprache vorkommenden Lehnwörter zu untersuchen, denn die in geschriebener Sprache (besonders Zeitungssprache) auftretenden Fremdwörter sind schon ganz gut beschrieben worden; den gesprochenen Lehnwörtern dagegen wurden bisher nur wenige Abhandlungen gewidmet. Die einzelnen Entlehnungen (deren Bedeutung, Aussprache, Kollokationen und Kontext in dem Korpus) wurden hier untersucht und als ein allgemeines Phänomen beschrieben: der Verfasser teilte die Lehnwörter zwar nach verschiedenen Kriterien ein, z.B.: nach deren Häufigkeit im Korpus oder nach dem Zeitraum, in dem sie im Polnischen auftraten. Er bemühte sich auch festzustellen, inwieweit die in gesprochener Sprache erschienenen Entlehnungen vom Gesprächsthema und vom Idiolekt der Gesprächspartner abhängig sind. Die Untersuchungen wurden mit zahlreichen statistischen Tabellen bebildert, die verschiedene quantitative und qualitative Aspekte von den im Korpus entdeckten lexikalischen und semantischen Lehnwörtern veranschaulichen sollten.

In vorliegender Monografie wurden auch verschiedenerlei methodologische Probleme mit Erforschung der Lehnwörter in gesprochener Sprache geschildert. Der Verfasser stellte darüber hinaus eigene Hypothese auf, auf welche Art und Weise semantische Entlehnungen in der polnischen Sprache eingeführt und verbreitet werden. Diese Hypothese ist mit dem Konzept von „primären Äquivalenten“ verbunden, das bis jetzt in den Forschungen über Erwerb und Erlernung von Fremdsprachen angewandt war.

Viele von den in vorliegender Monografie untersuchten lexikalischen und semantischen Lehnwörtern sind bisher weder in der Fachliteratur beschrieben, noch in den Wörterbüchern der Polnischen Sprache und Fremdwörterbüchern registriert worden. Den Lehnwörtern wurde hier besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Der Verfasser ist u.a. zum folgenden Schluss gekommen: obwohl die Anzahl der lexikalischen Entlehnungen in der gesprochenen Sprache in der letzten Zeit nicht steigt (was im Gegensatz zum Gefühl der meisten Polen steht), ist die Artenzahl von semantischen Entlehnungen bedeutsam gewachsen.



# EX COOL OR