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Chapter 13

KAM, CEO, HRM: ‘Who is who’ on the job market? A contrastive analysis of foreign job titles in Italian and Polish

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Whenever browsing job advertisements in Polish and Italian, it is impossible not to notice an influx of English job titles. International companies which use English as their corporate language are also likely to choose it for the job titles and job descriptions in all the countries of their operations. Consequently, more and more often foreign job titles, like for example, *manager*, *supervisor*, *leader*, *specialist*, etc. – to name just a few, are adopted into the systems of various languages, including Polish and Italian. Sometimes names of occupations are translated into the native language word by word or native equivalents are adopted to avoid the usage of the foreign job title. It seems that the adaptation of foreign names of occupations is a vast area of research which requires further linguistics and extra-linguistic investigation.

The aim of the article is to compare foreign job names in Italian and Polish. In order to analyze the behavior of foreign job titles and to compare their usage, a corpus consisting of names of occupations was compiled. Job titles were collected from advertisements posted online by major newspapers and recruitment agencies in Italy (<http://lavoro.corriere.it/>), and Poland (<http://gazetapraca.pl/>, <http://pracuj.pl/>) from the period of one month in 2014. The gathered data was then compared quantitatively and qualitatively to draw conclusions concerning the use of foreign job titles instead of the native ones and the possible reasons for the preference of English job titles.

Key words: borrowing, Anglicism, job title, corpus

13.1 Introduction

English is the most widespread lingua franca of the present day world as “[it] is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language (...) and the chief foreign language to be encountered at schools” (Crystal 1997: 4). As Thomason (2001: 21) adds,

[a]ll over the world people must learn English if they wish to study advanced physics, understand the dialogue in ubiquitous American films, fly airplanes to international destinations (English is the international language of air-traffic controllers), and do business with the British, Americans and most other foreigners. English is also the lingua franca for international communication via the vast and ever-expanding Internet. Most of the people who use English for all these purposes have no opportunity (and often no desire) to practice by talking to native speakers of English.

Moreover, “nearly a quarter of the world’s population is already fluent or competent in English [and] no other language can match this growth” (Crystal 1997: 5). It should also be added that, nowadays, it is business power, rather than political and military power in the past, that mainly contributes to the status of English as a global language.

This linguistic omnipresence of English on a global scale as well as the ease of travel and contacts between native speaker of English and other nations has also led to an increased occurrence of English borrowings in various languages, including Italian and Polish. According to Weinreich (1963), the following three main consequences of foreign influence can be listed:

1. coexistence of the L1 form and the borrowing from L2,
2. replacement of native (L1) words by the borrowed L2 items,
3. L1 items and borrowings from L2 acquire new/different meanings.

It should be emphasized that borrowing is a dynamic process which begins with a new element entering a recipient language and lasts until the loan no longer feels as foreign to the borrowing community (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1994: 14). Thus the integration process may have various features such as (e.g., Wiśniewska-Białaś 2011; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006, 2007):

- lack of stability in grammatical gender, e.g., *cytat/cytata*, *fałd/fałda*, *pomarańcz/pomarańcza*;
- different declension paradigms *bloga/blogu*;
- different derivation forms *popartowski/popartowy*;
- different forms reflecting the degree of graphic adaptation *spray/sprej*.

The process of integration of the foreign element into the receiving language may also take different forms. When a word is borrowed in the donor-language form and maintains features foreign to the recipient language, the process is called adoption or importation. On the other hand, when the loan is nativized and fits into the patterns of the borrowing language, it is then an adaptation or substitution (McMahon 1994). After some time, loan words may become completely assimilated, and quite often the integration is so complete that it is difficult to detect the foreign origin (Haugen 1950) of a given item.

As far as pronunciation and orthography of borrowings are concerned, they have attracted the attention of linguists because they may reveal how a given loan entered the recipient language, and its degree of adaptation (e.g., Görlach 2003; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995). According to Görlach (2003), due to an increase in competence in spoken English, borrowings preserve native English pronunciation. While it seems that on the graphic level this may be the case because many loans from English preserve their original spelling, pronunciation is a different story. As McMahon argues, instead of foreign sounds the users of the recipient language use “the closest possible sound from their native language” (McMahon 1994: 206), irrespective of their proficiency in the L2.

13.2 Types of borrowings

The elements that are most often borrowed from foreign languages are nouns. Still, other parts of speech are borrowed less often, and suffixes, inflectional endings, and speech sounds quite rarely (e.g., Haugen 1950; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006). As Zabawa (2012: 31) concludes “[i]n general, 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”.

Poplack et al. (1988: 52) define lexical borrowing in the following way:

Lexical borrowing involves the incorporation of individual L2 words (or compounds functioning as single words) into discourse of L1, 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.

Consequently, it is quite easy to notice foreign lexical elements for language users.

Borrowings can be divided into a number of subclasses. To begin with, the following four types of borrowings can be distinguished (e.g., Haugen 1950; Hockett 1958) and will be used in this study:

1. loanwords, e.g., *budżet* – *budget*, *boxe* – *box*, *bistecca* – *beefsteak*, *treno* – *train* which can be defined as “a) words borrowed from one language into another language, which have become lexicalized, i.e. assimilated phonetically, graphically, and grammatically into the new language; or b) an umbrella term for a foreign word (a non-assimilated form e.g. *Sputnik*, *rumba*) and loan word (as above)” (Bussmann 1998: 287);
2. loanblends, or hybrids, which consist of one native and one foreign element, e.g., *drewland*;
3. loan translations, also called calques, when foreign elements are translated in the recipient language, e.g., *polityczna poprawność* / *correttezza politica* from English *political correctness* (Dunaj 2003, in Wiśniewska-Białaś 2011: 30);
4. loanshifts, or semantic loans, that occur when foreign elements are replaced by morphemes of the recipient language e.g., *nastolatek* modeled on *teenager* or Italian *grattacielo* modeled on *skyscraper*. As Zabawa (2012: 33) defines them, “the meaning is borrowed, but the form is either native or fully assimilated (i.e., borrowed much earlier), e.g., the word *promocja/promozione* used in the meaning of ‘advertising or some other activity intended to increase the sales of a product of service’”.

Secondly, based on the reason why they enter the recipient language, they may be classified as necessary loans (*konieczne*) and unnecessary loans (*zbyteczne*) (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995). The occurrence of the former type of borrowings is acceptable and motivated by a lack of equivalents for concepts in the recipient language. The latter type of loans may be considered as the consequence of the speaker’s snobbery and/or laziness because they usually do have either exact or near-exact equivalents in the native vocabulary.

Once a foreign element enters the recipient language, it undergoes the adaptation process to the rules of the respective language. It occurs on four levels: graphic, phonological, morphological, and semantic (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995; Zabawa 2012). Consequently, loans from English may be divided into:

- unassimilated, also known as quotes, which are used with a foreign spelling, pronunciation and are not adapted morphologically, e.g., *sorry*, *ice tea*, *gangster*;

- partly assimilated, which have a partly adapted spelling and pronunciation, e.g. *tabu*;
- (fully) assimilated, which follow inflectional patterns, have adapted spelling and pronunciation, e.g., *computer*, *dżem*.

13.3 Reasons for borrowing

It is important to consider the motivation for borrowing of foreign elements and it should be emphasized that it is not only linguistic, but also social, cultural, and psychological (e.g., Grosjean 1982; Hockett 1958; Weinreich 1963). A general explanation is proposed by Weinreich (1963), who gives the following reasons for borrowing:

1. the need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts;
2. low frequency of words (those words which have a lesser frequency are more likely to be replaced by borrowings);
3. word homonymy which may cause misunderstanding;
4. the tendency of affective words to lose their expressive force;
5. insufficient differentiation in semantic fields;
6. prestige of the donor language.

According to Zabawa (2012), the first and last motivation for borrowing from Weinreich's list, i.e.; the necessity to name new concepts and language prestige, are the reasons for adopting English elements into contemporary Polish.

In addition, as McMahon claims (1994: 201),

the gain may be social, since speakers often borrow material from a prestigious group; or it may be more centrally linguistic, in that a speaker may find a replacement for a word which has become obsolete or lost its expressive force. However, the most common and obvious motive for borrowing is sheer necessity: speakers may have to refer to some unfamiliar object or concept for which they have no word in their own language. This need may be a function of new information or technology, or contact with foreign flora, fauna and culture.

It is important to mention that, according to Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006), English borrowings are more often used due to language economy rather than snobbery, as one could suppose. Moreover, in a professional environment, haste and hurry are present every day which was also suggested by Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 48): “[I]t is easier to use

the English lexeme (...) than to look for a Polish equivalent, not to mention creation of a neologism. An additional factor which stimulated the use of English words that in time enter the Polish lexicon, is to make the information more attractive (...)”¹.

To reiterate, numerous motivating factors can explain why English elements are borrowed by speakers of the Polish language. They are linguistic as well as extralinguistic, i.e., social, cultural, and psychological. Moreover, they depend on the specific and unique situation of contact and the language users involved in the communication process.

13.4 Aim and description of the study

The aim of this study is to compare job titles in Italian and Polish that contain English elements or are entirely borrowed from English. In order to analyze the behavior of foreign job titles and to compare their usage, a corpus consisting of names of occupations was gathered. Job titles were collected from advertisements posted online by major newspapers and recruitment agencies in Italy (<http://lavoro.corriere.it>), and Poland (<http://gazetapraca.pl/>, <http://pracuj.pl/>) in 2014. In effect, the corpus comprises 2,000 job titles, 1,000 collected from Polish job sites and 1,000 collected from Italian job offers in June and August 2014.

As far as the frequency of English elements in the job titles or entirely foreign names of professions, 216 English loans were found in the part of the corpus which consists of the Polish job offers, and 555 in the Italian part of the corpus. The gathered data was thoroughly compared quantitatively and qualitatively to draw conclusions concerning the use of foreign job titles instead of the native ones and the possible reasons for the preference of English job titles.

13.5 Results and discussion

As far as the frequency of the English borrowings is concerned, the number of English loans found in the corpus of 1,000 job advertise-

¹ Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 48), original citation in Polish: “prościej użyć leksemu angielskiego, (...) aniżeli szukać polskiego odpowiednika, nie wspominając już o tworzeniu neologizmu. Dodatkowym motywem stymulującym użycie słów angielskich, które z czasem wchodzi w skład polskiego leksykonu, jest uatrakcyjnienie informacji, (...)”.

ments in the Polish language constitutes 21.6% of their total number. In Italian, the number of English borrowings was 55.5%. In order to provide a clear comparison of English loans in both languages and corpora, the findings will be discussed separately, beginning with the Polish corpus followed by the results from Italian.

13.5.1 English loans in the Polish corpus

Whenever browsing job advertisements on the Polish websites, it is impossible not to notice the presence of the English names of professions. According to Kopczyńska (2007), their occurrence is most likely to be explained by the difficulty to include foreign job titles, such as the popular *manager*, to the Polish lexical system. The reason may be the discrepancy between the organizational structure of domestic companies and the foreign, often global corporations which operate on the Polish market. What is more, it is worth mentioning that in the Anglo-Saxon organizational structure the rank of the job position is not signified by separate nouns as in Polish (e.g., *referent – specjalista, kierownik, naczelnik – dyrektor*) but rather by adding a respective adjective before the noun (e.g., marketing manager, brand manager, senior accounts manager). Thus in the corporate documents and administration the foreign job titles remain in their original form or are translated as e.g., *kierownik/specjalista ds. czegoś*. It seems that the findings from the corpus confirm those observations.

13.5.1.1 Job titles borrowed from English entirely. The majority of English job titles were entirely borrowed from English and possessed no Polish equivalents, e.g., *Account Executive, Junior Project Manager, PL SQL Developer, IT Manager, Supplier Quality Coordinator EU Biscuits, Recruitment Coordinator, Regional Recruitment Consultant, Integration Specialist, Junior System/Application Administrator, Parts Analyst and Catalogue Compiler, Planning Specialist, Order to Cash Specialist with English and Latvian, Tooling Engineering Manager, Sales Development Representative, Front-End Developer, Senior Software Engineer, Web Analyst, Visual Merchandiser, Key Account Manager Product Manager – IT Security, New Product Introduction Engineer.*

Their forms remained unchanged in the adapting language (Polish) and no inflectional endings were added in order to adjust the lexemes to the grammatical system of Polish.

13.5.1.2 Job titles with English and Polish form (both occurred in the corpus).

In addition to the job titles borrowed entirely from English, it should be mentioned that in 4 cases the English name of profession was followed immediately by its Polish counterpart:

Key Account Manager (10) – *Kierownik ds. kluczowych klientów* (2);

Accountant (22) – *Księgowy/Księgowa* (27);

IT Developer (27) – *Programista* (31);

Project Manager (13) – *Kierownik Projektu* (3).

The numbers in brackets indicate the frequency of a given lexeme. It occurs that in some case one form is preferred, e.g., the Key Account Manager or Project Manager. However, the other two examples found in the corpus seem to be used interchangeably.

13.5.1.3 Polish job titles with English elements.

It is also interesting to add that some job titles contained both Polish and English lexical elements. This was the case with those names of professions which consisted of the job title followed by the name of the respective department in which the prospective employee was about to begin work. Five occurrences of this kind were found in the Polish part of the corpus, namely: *Pracownik w dziale Hotline*, *Praktykant w dziale Management Consulting – HR Advisory*, *Asystent w dziale R&D*, *Przedstawiciel medyczny w dziale Healthcare*, *Kierownik Działu Leasingu*, *Inżynier Jakości Customer Service*, *Specjalista ds. visual merchandisingu*, *Specjalista ds. outsourcingu*, *Asystent/ka Zespołu Underwriterów*, *Specjalista Lean*, *Team Leader Dyspozycji*, *Lider Lean Manufacturing*.

It should also be considered that foreign abbreviations are also popular in Polish job titles, for example: *Przedstawiciel Handlowy B2B*, *Asystent ds. doradztwa HR*, *Inżynier R&D*, *Księgowy GL ze znajomością języków obcych*.

It can be observed that the foreign element occurs in the name of the department by which the professional is employed. In addition, English abbreviations are also used in Polish such as HR for Human Resources (*Kadry*), R&D Research and Development (*Badania i Rozwój*), B2B for Business to Business (no Polish equivalent), GL for General Ledger or AR for Accounts Receivable. Most of these abbreviations have Polish counterparts and as such are not necessary additions to the Polish lexicon. What is more, it can also be observed that some borrowings follow Polish declension patterns. For instance, in *Specjalista ds. visual merchandisingu*, *Specjalista ds. outsourcingu*, or *Asystent/ka Zespołu Underwriterów*, the Polish endings *-u* (singular, Genitive) and *-ów* (plural, Genitive) are added to the English noun.

13.5.1.4 *Polish job title followed by English equivalent.* In a few cases, it was also observed that the Polish name was followed by an English translation, as in the case of:

Kierownik Projektu / Project Manager, Ekspert ds. Grup Danych – Data Steward, Praktykant – Asystent w dziale Audytu Ogólnego – General Audit.

It may be concluded from those examples that double forms are provided in order to make sure that the job title is clear and understandable for the prospective applicant. Still, only three occurrences of the double forms were found in the Polish corpus which may suggest that such practice remains marginal.

13.5.1.5 *Instability of borrowings.* What is more, examples of job titles borrowed from English which demonstrate the instability of their form in Polish were also found in the corpus. For instance, the word manager occurred in three spelling variations, namely as (1) *menedżer* (11 instances), (2) *menadżer* (4 instances), and (3) *manager* (6 instances), which is presented in the examples below.

- (1) a. *Menedżer zespołu*
 b. *Menedżer – Koordynator Ochrony Fizycznej*
 c. *Menedżer projektów*
 d. *Menedżer ds. Zintegrowanych Systemów Zarządzania Jakością*
 e. *Menedżer Zespołu Sprzedaży*
 f. *Menedżer Galerii Handlowych*
 g. *Menedżer Działu Utrzymania Ruchu*
 h. *Menedżer zespołu*
 i. *Główny Specjalista – Menedżer Konfiguracji – Projektant – Programista*
 j. *Menedżer Rynku Budowlanego*
 k. *Menedżer ds. Rozwoju Eksportu na rynek niemiecki*
- (2) a. *Menadżer w Dziale Kontroli i Zarządzania Rynkiem*
 b. *Menadżer Wydziału*
 c. *Regionalny Menadżer Sprzedaży*
 d. *Starszy Specjalista – Problem Menadżer-Tester*
- (3) a. *Manager ds. Logistyki Wewnętrznej*
 b. *Manager ds. Akwizycji Klientów i Relacji z Klientem Młodym*
 c. *Manager ds. koordynacji szkoleń*
 d. *Manager ds. handlowych*
 e. *Manager Produkcji*
 f. *Manager zespołu*

As indicated earlier, the occurrence of foreign lexemes is often justified by the lack of appropriate equivalents in the given language. In the case of the presented corpus, it can be observed that the majority of foreign job titles did not possess a native Polish equivalent. Thus this

may be the main reason for their use in Polish. However, for a number of other professional names, Polish job titles could be easily found and they even occurred in the same corpus. This suggests that other reasons for borrowing from English are also to be considered.

13.5.2 *English loans in the Italian corpus*

According to Bianchini (1998), the penetration of English words into Italian language dates back to the 17th century. Italian linguists have generally viewed the presence of Anglicisms in Italian as considerable but harmless (Berruto 1987; Dardano 2005). As regards job titles, the presence of English loanwords in Italian names of occupations constitutes more than a half of the gathered corpus. This research shows that even though Italian equivalents exist for the majority of foreign job names, there is a tendency for the use of foreign lexemes. English words can be easily borrowed, because, as such, they can be found in the names of companies or products. As Varga et al. (2011: 75) conclude, “the heightened importation of English language elements over the last decades may be indicative of the tendency to re-shape and adapt Italian national identity to the standardizing elements of globalization”. It seems that the findings from the corpus confirm this statement.

13.5.2.1 Job titles borrowed from English entirely. The impact of English on both Polish and Italian is evident. However, the Italian job titles reveal a manifest presence of English loanwords.

The biggest group of the job titles were entirely borrowed from English without any Italian additions or alterations, e.g., *Logistic Manager, Finance Manager, Business Unit Controller, Key Account Manager, Food Export Manager, Senior Sales Representative, Customer Service Specialist, Regional Senior Brand Manager, HR Manager, IT Project Manager, Team Leader, Tax Consultant, Sales&Product Specialist, HR Business Partner, Payroll Specialist.*

It can be hypothesized that Italian users assume certain traits of the foreign identity. The borrowed lexemes are perceived as prestigious and more attractive in the given sphere of human activity.

13.5.2.2 English and Italian job titles (both occurred in the corpus). It should be mentioned that there are examples that signify the same job title, however, their form is either English or Italian, even in the same corpus. Nevertheless, it seems that they are less frequent than in the case of Polish job titles, for example:

Addetto Assistenza Clienti (1) – *Customer Service* (12), *Agenti di commercio* (4) – *Sales Account* (6), *Hostess, Promoter* (1) – *Personale per stand* (1), *Impiegato Call center* (1) – *Consulente telefonico* (1).

Still, in the two latter cases the Italian name followed immediately the English name. According to Gardani (2013: 286), these are luxury loans (*prestiti di moda*), i.e., words which already have their equivalents in the recipient language. In this case, the use of English loans “may have a different connotation, they are used for stylistic purposes and aim at social endorsement, so as to evoke a culture and a way of life which are considered more prestigious”.

13.5.2.3 Italian job titles with English elements. When examining job titles, it is apparent that the major part of them consisted of both Italian and English lexical elements. Three types of this kind of connection were found in the corpus, namely:

- (4) the name of the profession in English
 - a. *Supply chain manager con conoscenza della lingua tedesca*
 - b. *Senior controller delle filiali estere*
 - c. *Senior Accountant Ottimo Francese/Inglese*
 - d. *Service Manager Settore Macchine Movimento Terra*
 - e. *Export Manager – Settore Arredamento*
- (5) English name of department
 - a. *Addetto Amministrazione area Finance & Controlling*
 - b. *Key Account Manager Italia per clienti settore Hospitality and Healthcare*
 - c. *Licensing manager – Settore media entertainment*
- (6) English abbreviations
 - a. *PM – Esperto in Logistica e trasporti*
 - b. *Collaboratore JR studio professionale*
 - c. *Junior Business Developer Lombardia B2B*
 - d. *Area Manager Export – Settore HVAC²/ IT Cooling*

The question to ask is whether ordinary Italians (unless they are specialists) could understand all these abbreviations.

13.5.2.4 Instability of borrowings. It should be added that a considerable instability of the borrowed forms is visible in the corpus. First of all, it can be observed that in the Italian job titles there are English inserts regarding the time of employment, for instance: *Contabile part-time tempo determinato*, *Telefonista part-time / Operatore telefonico*, *Impiegato Operativo part time*, *Addetta Cassa Abbigliamento Lux part time*.

² HVAC: Heating, Ventilation, Air Conditioning.

It is important to mention that “part time” is written sometimes with a hyphen and sometimes without it, so there is no consistency in the use of the borrowing. Additionally, there is also no consistency in the word order patterns, i.e., that in some cases the order seems to be typical for English and in other it is typical for Italian, for instance: *Junior controller*, *Controller junior*.

Considering the word *manager*, with only English pronunciation and writing variations in Italian, it should be mentioned that the derived adjective *manageriale* is frequently used in job advertisements. This is the example of the integration into the recipient language.

13.6 Conclusion

The occurrence of foreign lexemes is often justified by the lack of appropriate equivalents in the given language. The majority of foreign job titles in the Polish and Italian corpus did not have a native Polish or Italian equivalent. However, for a number of other professional names, native job titles could be easily found and they even occurred in the same corpus. This suggests that the borrowed forms are not necessary additions to the Polish and Italian lexicons.

Additionally, according to Kopczyńska (2007), the occurrence of foreign job titles can be explained by the difficulty to include foreign job titles, such as the popular *manager*, to the native lexical system. The reason may be the discrepancy between the organizational structure of domestic companies and the foreign, often global corporations which operate on the Polish and Italian markets. So in the corporate documents and administration the foreign job titles remain in their original form or are translated as e.g., *kierownik/specjalista ds. czegoś*. It seems that the findings from the corpora confirm those observations.

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