

THE FATE OF MID-20TH-CENTURY SPORTS LOANWORDS FROM
ENGLISH IN POLISH

RADOSŁAW DYLEWSKI¹, MAGDALENA BATOR²

ABSTRACT

In recent years, we have observed a huge influx of vocabulary borrowed from English into Polish; these are words either of English origin or borrowed through English. At the same time, the number and variety of scholarly investigations trying to illustrate the extent of anglicisms in Polish and systematise the semantic fields which draw from English the most have increased. Most of them deal with the latest borrowings, often representing professional jargon or spoken language.

In this paper we will discuss anglicisms which entered Polish over sixty years ago and remained in the sports lexicon until today. The article is a tribute to the late professor Jacek Fisiak, who offered the first in-depth analysis of sports vocabulary borrowed from English into Polish. His Ph.D. monograph (1961) and the subsequent article (1964) have shown a special place of sports terminology among anglicisms in Polish. The lexical items which Fisiak collected in the early sixties of the twentieth century have been tested not only in terms of their fate, but also the degree of grammatical and orthographic assimilation, as well as semantic changes the lexemes have undergone. The study is based on two large corpora of Polish: the *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* and *Odkrywka*, comprising texts from the 18th century until the present time.

Keywords: Loanword; English influence on Polish; sports terms; adaptation.

¹ Faculty of English at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Grunwaldzka 6, 60–780 Poznań, Poland. dradek@amu.edu.pl

² WSB University in Poznań. Powstańców Wielkopolskich 5, 61–895 Poznań. [magdalena.bator@wsb.poznan.pl](mailto:magdalenabator@wsb.poznan.pl)

1. Introduction

Jacek Fisiak, an ardent sports fan³ and a pioneering scholar in the field of lexical transfers from English to Polish, began his scholarly career with the unpublished dissertation on lexical interference. Like many of his later publications, the monograph was a pioneering piece of work which offered an orderly and in-depth investigation into various aspects of English elements found in Polish. In his research Professor Fisiak concentrated on such issues as the typology of borrowings, their grammar, semantics, phonology, and orthography. As well as linguistic issues, he discussed the beginnings and the history of the English influence on Polish. He estimated that the first borrowings were taken from English in the late 18th century, and claimed that their character testified to the three major stages in the history of the influence:⁴

- (1) between the end of the 18th and the middle of the 19th century, when ‘non-oral’⁵ loans and indirect loans borrowed mainly via French, German, and Russian were incorporated into Polish;
- (2) between the middle and the end of the 19th century, the period when indirect loans (via German), ‘non-oral’, and ‘wholly oral’ loans were transferred;
- (3) between the beginning of the 20th century and the 1960s (when Professor Fisiak’s monograph was written), the period of mostly ‘wholly oral’ loans taken directly from English.

As well as being a scholarly discussion dealing with loanwords, Professor Fisiak’s monograph is at the same time a compendium of loanwords⁶ that had found their way into the Polish of the 1960s. Here Professor Fisiak tackles 721 loanwords he managed to ferret out from various sources, representing twelve distinct semantic fields.

As has been demonstrated by Dylewski (2016), all the items listed in Fisiak’s dissertation are still used in present day Polish, albeit almost half of them (48%) are rare, among which Dylewski recognized jargon terms, specialized terminology, and proper nouns. While among the popular lexemes a number of changes

³ Reading the sports pages was an integral part of Professor Fisiak’s daily routine. Neither would he ever skip TV coverage of sports events or the Olympics. Rumor also has it that in his youth he was coach of a female volleyball team.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the historical factors that triggered English influence on Polish see, for instance, Witalisz (2018).

⁵ The terms *wholly-oral*, *pseudo-oral*, and *non-oral* are used by Fisiak (1961: 3–4) after Haugen (1950). The first type represents spoken borrowings; pseudo-oral loans are loans borrowed by speakers who are familiar with English pronunciation and spelling; and the last type represents loans borrowed by speakers familiar only with English spelling.

⁶ By loanwords we mean lexemes whose form and meaning were both borrowed.

(semantic, graphic, or phenomenon-change⁷) have affected most of the terms, only approximately 20% of the rare loans reveal any change (extension of meaning in most cases), compared to the attestations recorded by Professor Fisiak.

This paper builds upon Dylewski's (2016) attempt to trace the fate of the loans listed and discussed by Fisiak (1961) over half a century later. This article, however, pays tribute to the late Professor Fisiak's pioneering studies⁸ on borrowings from English to Polish by focusing on the fate of sports terms listed by him in his seminal 1961 Ph.D. dissertation, but mostly in a subsequent 1964 article whose focus is solely on sports terms in Polish.

The first sports terms of English origin were found in Polish as early as in the second half of the 19th century (Fisiak 1961). According to Grabowski (1971), until the outbreak of World War II sports and games terminology, along with terms related to the sea, prevailed among the lexical importations from English, and their significance in numbers persisted after WWII. This stands in agreement with other scholars' findings. For instance, Koneczna (1936–1937) distinguished sports as the category boasting most numerous borrowings from English, 23% of all anglicisms collected in the first half of the 20th century. Toward the end of the century, sport remained at the top of the semantic hierarchy of English importations (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995). In Professor Fisiak's (1961) compendium this semantic category comprises almost 25% (131 lexemes) of all the items listed, which "points to the special position of sports terms in the English vocabulary borrowed into Polish and indicates that they deserve separate treatment" (Fisiak 1964: 230).

His collection of sports terms covers twelve semantic sub-categories (Fisiak 1964) presented below: (a) general terms (*challenge, autsajder, finisz, mityng*);⁹ (b) terms common to two or more events (*gymkhana, ready, sprinter, volley*); (c) track and field (*footing, miler*); (d) swimming, rowing, and angling (*canoe, skiff, spinning, overarm*); (e) equestrian events (*bookmacher, boks, dżokej, hunter, paddock*); (f) cycling (*lider, rower, tandem*); (g) tennis (*chop, bekhend, dropszot, deuce, meczbol*); (h) boxing and wrestling (*boks, catch-as-catch-can, dżiu-dżitsu, groggy*); (i) winter sports (*bobslet, halifaksy, toboggan*); (j) team games (*aut, bek, drybling, ofsajd, forward*); (k) cards (*brydż, forcing, rober*); and

⁷ Phenomenon-change applies to terms whose original meaning has fallen into obsolescence due to external factors.

⁸ Professor Fisiak's contribution is hard to overestimate since he is the first scholar to produce a dissertation-length work on lexical transfers from English to Polish and the first to attest borrowings from English in the semantic field of sports in a systematic way.

⁹ The original spelling used by Fisiak (1964) has been retained here. Fisiak claims that orthography reflects the way a loan enters Polish, i.e., the orthography of loans adopted orally deviates from the original spelling, whilst that of non-orally borrowed loans retains the English spelling.

(1) remaining sports (*flesz, looping, drajwer*). The morphological analysis of these lexemes offered by Professor Fisiak shows that sports vocabulary has been assimilated into Polish far more deeply than terms representing any other semantic field that Professor Fisiak tackled in his 1961 dissertation.

The 131 items recorded by Professor Fisiak along with the categories he adapted to group his findings might indicate the invasive nature of the English nomenclature regarding sports and the way this field has developed intensively over the last 50 years or so.¹⁰ The 21st-century jargons of, for instance, skaters, sailors, windsurfers, or BMX riders are therefore replete with borrowings from English. The jargon of Polish skaters, for instance, takes the names of equipment and skateboarding tricks directly from English: *deck, drop in, goofy, frontside, grind, halfpipe, heelflip, manual, tail, or truck*.¹¹

The aim of the paper is twofold: in the first place it is to assess whether the loans tackled by Fisiak (1964) became orthographically and morphologically assimilated. Secondly, it is to determine whether the set of 131 borrowings has stood the test of time and what we mean here in the title by the “fate” of these lexical items. More precisely, we would like to see which borrowings have enriched the Polish lexicon in the semantic fields of sports, which have dropped out of use, and which items have been transferred into Polish again with new meanings.

2. Terminology and methodology

This section deals with (a) terminology and (b) methodological aspects that govern the data analysis in Section 3. Regarding the former, in the body of this paper we use the terms *borrowing*,¹² *lexical borrowing*, *lexical transfer*, *loan*, and *loanword* interchangeably. Here they all denote English lexemes

¹⁰ Recent studies dealing with Polish sports terminology divide the broad “sports category” into a wide range of sub-categories, such as the language of regulations, rules, and recommendations; scholarly language; the language of reports and commentaries; the language of press journalism; the language of sports TV and radio programs; the language of sportsmen and coaches; the language of spectators and sports commentators (see, for instance, Tworek (2000), Taborek (2012)). Koper (2016) adds the language of Internet blogs, books, and movies dealing with sports. Murrmann (2015) provides a synopsis of various divisions of the sports sociolect with respect to two criteria: (a) spoken vs. written language and (b) the users of the language.

¹¹ Fisiak (1961: 114) noticed that boxing terminology consists for the most part of loanwords from English. This claim may today be extended to the majority of newer disciplines that have come from English-speaking countries.

¹² We are aware of the fact that the term is rather unfortunate. The act of borrowing implies the eventual return of the item borrowed, which evidently does not take place in the case of lexical items. We follow Haspelmath (2009: 37), however, and use the term borrowing since it is “well established in linguistics, going back at least to the 18th century”, and it “does not lead to any misunderstandings”.

transferred to the Polish language in both form and meaning = *direct loans*¹³ (see the following paragraph); since in the two early publications at issue Professor Fisiak focused solely on *lexical transfers*, other loan types, for instance, *loan translations (calques)* or *loanblends (hybrids)*, are naturally beyond the scope of this study.

In the sections below focus has also been placed on *loanword adaptation* (or, as we call it, *assimilation*). What is meant here is the process by which a lexical item, having been transferred to the recipient language, but failing to fit the orthographic, grammatical or phonological patterns of the language to which it has been transferred, undergoes an assimilation process to bring it into line with the recipient language (Haspelmath 2009: 42). All the items taken from Fisiak (1964) are therefore inspected to check whether *loanword adaptation* (or *assimilation*) affected them. More specifically, we concentrate on *orthographic adaptation*¹⁴ and alignment of a given loan to the inflectional paradigms of Polish.¹⁵ Phonological integration of sports items is beyond the scope of this paper due to our exclusive reliance on written sources.¹⁶

In Section 3 we inspect 131 terms referring to sports and games garnered and discussed by Fisiak in his 1961 Ph.D. dissertation and his 1964 article, in order to ascertain whether they have been orthographically or morphologically

¹³ Borrowings may also be distinguished into *direct* and *indirect borrowings*. The former would be those absorbed by, in our case, Polish directly from English (for example, *footing*). The latter would, in turn, be those which entered indirectly via English, but are not of English provenance (see the example of *flash* below).

¹⁴ In some cases, orthographic adaptation is unnecessary (as in the case of *golf*). Cells representing such instances are crossed in the tables and the percentages and the degrees of assimilation of such borrowings are not taken into consideration.

It must be also mentioned that Fisiak (1964) paid no special heed to spelling assimilation of the material he had garnered: “it is easy to see that the list of presented words contains borrowings that preserve the original English spelling as well as borrowings the spelling of which is different to some extent from English models. There are also words which may have two spellings, such as *team/tim*, *lider/leader* or *ofsajd/off-side*. Thus from the point of view of spelling we may distinguish three types of borrowings: those with original English orthographic forms, those with new Polish forms and those having both types of spelling. This aspect of borrowing is, however, less important” (1964: 233). Fisiak (1964), but for the two examples of *team/tim* and *lider/leader*, gives no orthographic variant forms of the loans he enumerates.

¹⁵ Fisiak (1964: 234) maintains that “from the point of view of morphology English and Polish are entirely different languages. Polish is a highly inflexional language and has several categories which English as an analytic language lacks. English words entering Polish will thus take some grammatical categories which they did not originally possess or, as is sometimes the case, they will be indifferent and will remain unadapted by the morphological system of the borrowing language, as is the case with *rugby* (Engl. *rugby*) or *bandy* (Engl. *bandy*)”.

¹⁶ Grabowski (1971: 67, 68) posits that a great many post-war direct borrowings from English reveal “simplicity of phonological interpretation”, which quickly led to the development of “double accepted spellings” of the same loanword.

assimilated. The handsome categories Fisiak distinguished in his 1964 paper¹⁷ have been retained. For the sake of clarity, their names are kept here: (1) *general terms* (words and terms denoting various sorts of competitions, sports meetings, team members, game results, etc.), (2) *terms common to two or more events* (here one finds such borrowings as *falstart*, *track*, and *volley*), (3) *track and field*, (4) *swimming, rowing, and angling*, (5) *equestrian events*, (6) *cycling*, (7) *tennis*, (8) *boxing and wrestling*, (9) *winter sports*, (10) *team games*, (11) *cards*, and (12) *others* (the last category gathers incidental loans referring to thus far unmentioned disciplines, such as golf, fencing, or aerobatics).

All 131 items have been keyed into the *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (NKJP).¹⁸ This corpus, the joint initiative of four Polish scholarly institutions, was implemented as a research project of the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

These four institutions have jointly built a reference corpus of the Polish language comprising over one and a half billion words. Corpus search engines ... allow one to search the NKJP resources with advanced tools that take into account the declensions and conjugations of Polish words, and even to analyze the structure of Polish sentences.

The list of corpus sources contains not only the classics of Polish literature, but also daily and specialist press, conversation recordings, fleeting and online texts. The diversity in terms of theme and genre of texts, necessary care for the representation of interlocutors of both sexes, of different ages and from different regions are as important for the credibility of the corpus as its size.¹⁹

The corpus comprises texts (books and press) published mostly in the 20th century. It finds a wide application by those interested in studies of Polish lexis, semantics, and syntax. It has, however, a number of drawbacks,²⁰ one especially pertinent to this paper being that it contains passages written in the English language, so a query for words of English provenance brings numerous examples embedded in a larger, English-language context. The researcher must thus sift out invalid examples manually.

Results retrieved from the NKJP (alongside our native speakers' intuition) served as the baseline for pinpointing, for example, signally rare and obsolete loanwords or, on the other hand, those which, with the passing of time, have

¹⁷ This paper is limited in its scope to investigations of semantic and morphological natures with scant attention to "the graphemic-phonemic aspect of borrowing" (Fisiak 1964: 231).

¹⁸ <http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl>

¹⁹ This is our translation of part of the corpus description which may be found here: <http://nkjp.pl>. In the translation we have introduced minute modifications in order to preserve the coherence of these two paragraphs.

²⁰ For the discussion of benefits and limitations of the *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* in studies of anglicisms see Mańczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz (2019).

grown so assimilated and ingrained in the linguistic fabric of Polish²¹ that today they might no longer be recognized as items of English provenance.²² The threshold for (un)popularity has been subjectively set at the level of 15 hits, so, if a given borrowing from Professor Fisiak's list failed to exceed this threshold in the *NKJP*, or barely exceeded it, but was accompanied by a word of explanation or a definition, it has been classified as rare or recondite. In either case, such an item is presented in tables in a cell of shaded gray.

The second corpus which we used in the study is *Odkrywka*²³ which warrants a more elaborate explanation. This serves as a supplementary source, since it is inaccessible to the public via the World Wide Web. This corpus comprises a great deal of Polish diachronic material, beginning with publications from the end of the 18th century and taking us up until 2013 (Graliński & Wierzchoń 2018). The collected material includes nearly 4 million Polish publications and contains a total of over 15 billion words. For most publications in the corpus, the date of their creation or publication is known to within a year. The material was intentionally not balanced against the year of publication, since limiting the size of the corpus to the least represented years or periods (e.g., World War II) would lead to a significant reduction in material and the loss of attestations for rarer words. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the total number of words relative to the year of creation/publication.

²¹ There are clearly some lexemes that have been utterly assimilated for a number of decades and, more importantly, that have been intensively used and, as a consequence, are treated as inextricable elements of the Polish word stock. For instance, the Polish word *rower*, which derives from English brand-name *Rover*, yields thousands of results when checked in the *NKJP* and millions of hits, when a simple query is keyed into the Google search engine.

²² To use the typology from Platt, Weber and Lian (1984: 88–89), these are stabilized loan words, thus used and recognized by most speakers.

²³ The whole chunk describing the properties of *Odkrywka* has been taken from Zachorska, Dylewski and Wierzchoń (in prep.). The authors of the present paper would like to express their gratitude to prof. Piotr Wierzchoń for sending them *Odkrywka* attestations of the loans under analysis.

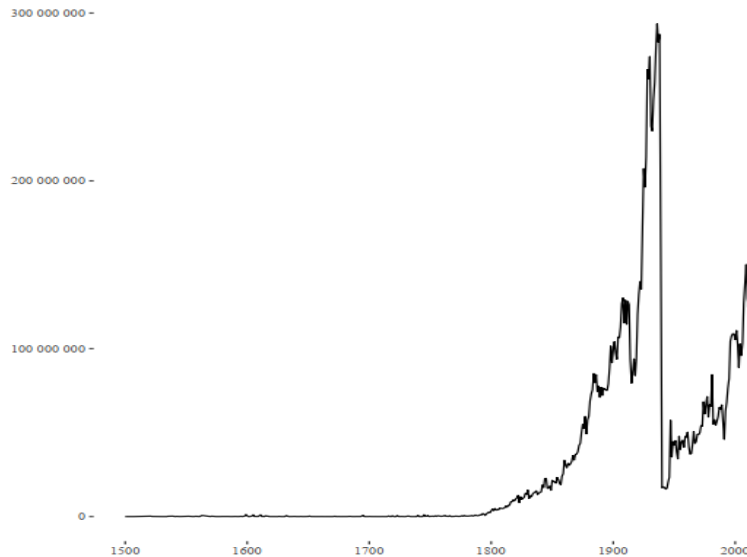


Figure 1. Diachronic distribution of words in *Odkrywka*²⁴

Due to its diachronic nature, *Odkrywka* has been used to search for the attestations of rare or obsolescent items, in order to supplement similar findings from the *NKJP*. Not only does it give us earlier attestations than the *NKJP* of the lexemes analyzed, but it also testifies to the use of terms not found in the *NKJP*, as in the case of the terms *skull* and *spurt*. The former, unattested in the *NKJP*, was according to *Odkrywka* used in a sporting context between 1925 and 1934; the latter, *spurt*, confirmed in the *NKJP* only as an English term, was attested in *Odkrywka* from 1892.

For verification of both historic and present-day meanings of loan translations we have resorted to the following dictionaries online. The major lexicographic source is *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*²⁵ supplemented by *Słownik Języka Polskiego*²⁶ and, in the case of older, more traditional meanings of loans, *Słownik Języka Polskiego* edited by W. Doroszewski.²⁷

²⁴ The vertical axis represents the number of words.

²⁵ Available at <https://sjp.pwn.pl/>.

²⁶ Available at <https://sjp.pl/>. This source, although created and developed by hobbyists, has proved to be an invaluable source of information. Not only does it contain established meanings of lexemes, but also novel lexemes, unattested in traditional dictionaries of Polish. This is an advantage that cannot be overlooked in studies of items which have undergone semantic broadening or re-borrowing.

²⁷ Accessed through *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*. Doroszewski's dictionary is an 11-volume lexicon of circa 125 000 lexemes, published between 1958 and 1969.

As indicated above, the paper looks at Professor Fisiak's loanwords and categories from the following perspectives: nativization of given lexemes in terms of grammar and spelling, plausible acquisition of new meanings and the transfer of items to Polish, but with new meanings. Let us take the term *outsider* in order to explain these phenomena. The term may be used in various contexts that require morphological adaptation and it adopts Polish inflectional endings accordingly. One may thus say *w tej klasie nie ufano outsiderom* [Engl. *they wouldn't trust the outsiders in this class*]. The word drifted orthographically due to its intensive use in Polish and its consequent alignment to the Polish sound system. Accordingly, together with the original version *outsider* one finds such spelling variants as *outsajder*, *autsajder*, and *altsajder*. This lexeme broadened its semantic scope, corresponding to the "new meaning acquired" category which will be brought into play below. It may thus still belong to Professor Fisiak's (1961, 1964) general category: "a player or team clearly weaker than the best in races, competitions, etc., with little chance of winning". At the same time, however, it may be categorized under the "equestrian category", referring specifically to a race horse that stands a slim chance of winning a race. This item has also been borrowed again into Polish in the meaning of "an outcast, somebody seeking isolation from a group or from society".

In the discussion section given items are provided with an English equivalent only in cases where orthographic assimilation of a given loan obscures recognition of the root word. *Tim* is so distant from its English original that an accompanying English equivalent (*team*) is required. We also provide definitions for certain items, if need be.

A number of items are excluded from the discussion on orthographic changes for pragmatic reasons; their spelling (and often, if not always, pronunciation) poses no challenge to the speakers of Polish and they thus warrant no changes in their orthographic structure (for example, *poker*, *ranking*, *nelson*, or *ring*).

In the body of the article a number of loans which in principle undergo no adaptation in Polish are also omitted. Let us illustrate this phenomenon with the example of *canoe*, which has not been assimilated even though it has been present in Polish for decades. This is because common nouns in Polish ending in *-u* in the nominative case, such as *guru*, *kakadu*, *seppuku*, *tofu*, and *tabu*, are borrowings which remain uninflected. In a similar vein, borrowed nouns in *-o* (*logo*, *wideo*)²⁸ and *-i* (*kiwi*) do not conform to the Polish inflectional system. The alignment of certain borrowed nouns, such as *menu* or the aforementioned *kiwi*, with Polish declension is simply impossible.

²⁸ But for *radio*, whose long presence in Polish has resulted in its following the Polish declension pattern.

3. Analysis

In the sections below we shall discuss all the categories proposed by Fisiak (1964) in order to ascertain which words in each of these have remained unchanged; which underwent grammatical or orthographic assimilation; which acquired new meanings during its use in Polish; and which were re-borrowed into the Polish language (we are aware of the fact that some of these items might be indeed semantic loans (Witalisz 2007), however, due to space limitations, we rather treat all those item as the ones appearing in Polish again, this time in new meanings). The main focus is on lexical items which enjoyed little popularity, but which were lurking somewhere in sports jargon, dictionaries of foreign words, and online compendia of sports vocabulary and among esoteric items for lovers of crossword puzzles. Those terms commonly used in Polish are not subjects of more elaborate discussion. Our judgements on whether a given term has broadened its semantic value are based on information provided by Professor Fisiak in his 1961 and 1964 publications.

3.1. General sports terms

The first category we shall look at is that of *general sports terms*; these terms “comprise words denoting kinds of competitions, meets, teams, members of teams, results, etc.” (Fisiak 1964: 232). Table 1 presents each of the items classified by Fisiak in the given category:

Table 1. Fisiak’s *general sports terms*²⁹

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>autsajder</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>challenge</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>derby</i>	v		v	v
<i>dres</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>faul</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>finisz</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>handicap</i>	v	–	v	–
<i>klub</i>	v	v	v	–

²⁹ All items given in the tables retain Fisiak’s spelling (1961, 1964).

<i>manager</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>mecz</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>mitying</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>oldboy</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>raid</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>rekord</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>sport</i>	v		–	–
<i>sportsmen</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>stand</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>team / tim</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>trener</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>trening</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>walkower</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>doping</i>	v		–	–
Total	22/22 (100%)	18/19 (95%)	9/22 (41%)	9/22 (41%)

In the category dubbed by Fisiak “general terms”, out of 22 items all (=100%) have undergone grammatical assimilation, thus acquiring Polish inflectional endings. 95% have been assimilated orthographically³⁰ and 41% have acquired a meaning unattested by Fisiak either in his Ph.D. dissertation or in his later article on sports borrowings in Polish. 41% have been re-borrowed with new denotation(s).³¹

The spelling of three items in Table 1 requires a moment’s concern:³² *outsider*, *challenge*, and *raid*. These have all changed their orthography, but have taken disparate paths of development. Thus, *outsider* and *challenge* are rather a rarity nowadays, whereas such forms as *outsajder*, *outsajder* as well as variant forms retaining their original English spelling, *outsider* and *challenge*, are the majority variants.³³ *Raid*, in turn, exists today in its polonized form only – *rajd*.

The great majority of lexical transfers from the donor language have become ingrained in the recipient language’s lexicon to such an extent that Poles might be unaware that these are not of native word stock, but lexical transfers from

³⁰ There can be no absolute certainty whether orthographic assimilation has taken place, since Fisiak (1961 and 1964) only sporadically mentions in passing whether a given item might have more than one spelling variant. All the elements which have not aligned with the Polish spelling system are considered here, no matter when this took place.

³¹ The boundary between the semantic broadening of an item and its being borrowed into Polish again, but in a new meaning, might sometimes be blurred. We have thus adopted the following policy: if a loan acquired/broadened into a new semantic field within the realm of sports, it was automatically classified in the fourth column of the table. Whenever it exists in coeval Polish in a semantic field unrelated to sports, it nonetheless, made its way to the fifth column.

³² As was mentioned above, all items subject to discussion were drawn from Fisiak (1961, 1964) in the spelling provided by him.

³³ There are also nativized variants, such as *czelendź*.

English. For instance, the English provenance of such items as *dres*, *rekord*, *trener* (Engl.: *trainer*), and *mecz* (Engl.: *match*) has been obscured by their intense usage in Polish and, of course, by time.

Due to the unspecialized character of this category, there are no cases of rare or obscure items, but for *stand*. It exists today in two sports-related meanings: (a) “position for competitors in shooting competitions” and (b) “a stand for spectators of horse races”. The lexeme has also been re-borrowed again in a marketing context, (c) “a stand with exhibits/with advertising leaflets”. Its use in marketing jargon, especially in conjunction with an adjective *reklamowe* (as in *standy* (or *stendy*) *reklamowe*, Engl. *advertising stands*) seems to enjoy more popularity than the original in a sports context.

3.2. Terms common to two or more events

This category includes terms common to two or more events. These are given in tabulated form below:

Table 2. Fisiak’s *terms common to two or more events*

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>falstart</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>gymkhana</i>	v	–	v	–
<i>ready</i>	/	–	–	v
<i>ranking</i>	v	/	–	–
<i>sprint</i>	v	/	v	–
<i>sprinter</i>	v	/	v	–
<i>spurt</i>	v	/	–	–
<i>start</i>	v	/	v	–
<i>starter</i>	v	/	v	v
<i>steeplechase</i>	–	–	v	–
<i>track</i>	v	–	–	v
<i>volley</i>	v	v	–	–
Total	10/11 (91%)	2/6 (33%)	7/12 (58%)	3/12 (25%)

As evident from Table 2, this category comprises elements which do not present the same degree of adaptation as the previous category. Unlike in the “general sports category”, some items have not undergone grammatical adaptation. *Steeplechase*, for example, has not aligned with the Polish inflectional system.

At first glance, even fewer items have assimilated orthographically, however, orthographic assimilation might pose a problem. This issue of orthographic nativization is based on the following: some items (such as *sprint*, *spurt*, *start*, and *starter*) are orthographically unproblematic and, having been transferred to Polish, they have not required any spelling alterations. In Table 2 (and in the body of the paper) such items are therefore consistently unmarked.³⁴

Table 2 contains three items which seem to be confined to sports jargon and which have not expanded into fields other than that at issue here: *gymkhana*,³⁵ *spurt*, and *steeplechase*. The first, *gymkhana*³⁶ appears only 9 times in the *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*; *spurt* (“a sudden and brief increase of speed in running or swimming”)³⁷ has been recorded in the *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* only in the English-language chunks of texts. Its occurrence in *Odkrywka*, however, serves as evidence not only for its presence in the Polish language, but also for its grammatical adaptation as it follows Polish inflection, see example (1).

- (1) Niestety, ten wyścig z czasem przegrałem po 50-metrowym *spurcie*. (*Odkrywka, Wiadomości*, R. 29 nr 25 (1474), 1974).
[Unfortunately, in the end I lost that race after a 50-metre *spurt*].³⁸

Steeplechase (“a race of 3,000 meters over hurdles” or “a horse race” (Fisiak 1961: 113)) achieves scant popularity in the *NKJP* (6 cases). In Fisiak’s (1961: 113) understanding, *steeplechase* was used in a rather specific context, be it a three-kilometer run in track and field or a race covering any distance in equestrian events. *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* (s.v. *steeplechase*) defines it as “a horse or foot race with obstacles”. The *OED* (s.v. *steeplechase*, n.) provides the following definitions: “1. A horse-race across country or on a made course with artificial fences, water-jumps, and other obstacles. Formerly, a race having a church steeple in view as goal, in which all intervening obstacles had to be cleared” and “2. A foot-race across country or over a course furnished with hurdles, ditches, and other obstacles”.

³⁴ Olkowska (2010) treats such items as graphic loanwords.

³⁵ The meaning given by Fisiak (1961: 112) is “an obstacle race for motorbikes and automobiles”. *Gymkhana*, however, appears in the broadened meaning in, for example, *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* (s.v. *gymkhana*) as a “hippic competition for children”. Fisiak’s (1961) definition also excluded bicycles. This lexeme has, however, also been marked as one which has acquired a more inclusive meaning than that indicated by Fisiak.

³⁶ This is a case of indirect borrowing. The word supposedly comes from Hindustani, but was borrowed into Polish via English.

³⁷ Fisiak (1961: 113) specifies that *spurt* takes place just before the finishing line of a race or competition.

³⁸ All translations in this article are ours.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary (s.v. *steeplechase*)³⁹ is more in line with Fisiak's (1961) definition and gives for this entry the following: "1a: a horse race across country b: a horse race over a closed course with obstacles (such as hedges and walls)" and "2: a footrace of usually 3000 meters over hurdles and a water jump".

3.3. Boxing and wrestling

This category reflects the popularity or otherwise of martial arts of the mid-20th century Poland, where only two disciplines are taken into consideration: boxing and wrestling (where *ju-jitsu* belongs to the latter). The loanwords representative of these two disciplines are given below:

Table 3. Fisiak's *boxing and wrestling* category

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>boks</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>bokser</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>break</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>catch-as-catch-can</i>	–	–	v	–
<i>dżiu-dżitsu</i>		v	–	–
<i>dżudo</i>		v	–	–
<i>fighter</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>groggy</i>		–	–	–
<i>klincz</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>knock-down</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>nokautować</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>nelson</i>	v		–	–
<i>nokaut</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>ring</i>	v		v	v
<i>runda</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>sparring</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>sparring partner</i>	v	v	–	–
Total	13/14 (93%)	13/15 (87%)	8/17 (47%)	4/17 (24%)

³⁹ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>; accessed 10/01/2020.

As Fisiak (1964) notes, boxing terminology consists for the most part of items of English provenance. Here, only about 13% of the loans have undergone no orthographic or morphological adaptation. About 50% of the loanwords have broadened their semantic fields and with the passing of time have also begun to be used metaphorically. *Runda* (Engl.: *round*), for example, might be used in the meaning of “the next phase of something”. *Nokaut* (Engl.: *knock out*) might bear the figurative meaning of “achieving an undisputed victory”, and *klincz* (Engl.: *clinch*) might denote “a conflict situation where conciliation movements are prevented”. 24% were transferred to Polish again with new denotations.

Two items here are of special interest due to their rarity in present day Polish. These are *catch-as-catch-can* and *groggy*. The former appears in the *NKJP* only a handful of times and the corpus records no attestations prior to 1999. As well as the sports meaning, “*wrestling*, now usually with hyphens. Used to indicate a manner of wrestling in which few holds or throws are barred” (*OED*, s.v. *catch-as-catch-can*), this word may also function in two figurative meanings: (a) “to use all available means to facilitate the achievement of the goal” and (b) “chaotic, unplanned operation” (*SJP PWN*, s.v. *catch-as-catch-can*) (for the use of the former, see example (2) below):

- (2) Proszę Pana: na posty pana Klawikowskiego nie reaguje z definicji prawie nigdy. To, że w walce z przeciwnikami stosuje on zasadę “*catch as catch can*” nie jest dla nikogo tajemnicą. Przynajmniej dwa razy zdecydował się na donosy na servery, których wymowa ideowa mu się nie spodobała⁴⁰ (*NKJP*, Usenet—pl.soc.polityka; 1999-12-24).

[Dear Sir: by definition I hardly ever respond to Mr. Klawikowski’s posts. The fact that he uses the “*catch as catch can*” principle to fight his opponents is no secret. At least twice he decided to denounce the servers whose ideological character was not to his liking].

A search for *groggy* (meaning: “dizzy or weakened in a fight, after a punch or a series of punches”) retrieved 8 cases in the *NKJP*, the earliest dating to 1991 and the latest to 2007 (see example (3) for an illustrative usage). This lexeme has a similar, but not identical counterpart in Polish, *oszolomiony* (Engl.: *dizzy*, *groggy*, *lightheaded*). Due to its broader semantic scope *oszolomiony* has enjoyed far more popularity in Polish than *groggy*.

- (3) Nie ma bokserów odpornych na ciosy, są tylko źle trafieni – mawiał Jerzy Kulej. Akurat mamy okazję przekonać się o słuszności tej maksymy, bo dnia 19 września prawica Pańska moc swoją okazała i dobrze dostaliśmy od lewej. Snujemy się więc lekko *groggy*, po nocach dociekając, co i dlaczego

⁴⁰ Original spelling and punctuation have been retained.

nam wybili (*NKJP, Gazeta Wyborcza*; „Głosy z Trybun” by Jerzy Pilch and Jarosław Krawczyk).

[There are no boxers impervious to punches; there are only those badly hit, as Jerzy Kulej would say. We have the opportunity to convince ourselves of the rightness of this maxim, because on September 19 the right hand of the Lord showed its power and we got it from the left as well. So during the nights we wander slightly *groggy* trying to figure out what and why they knocked us out].

3.4. Cards

The table below groups items used in card games which have been borrowed from English.

Table 4. Fisiak’s *cards* category

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>brydż</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>forcing</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>joker</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>poker</i>	v		–	–
<i>rober</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>szlem</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>wist</i>	v	v	–	–
Total	7/7 (100%)	6/6 (100%)	1/7 (14%)	1/7 (14%)

Both grammatical and orthographic assimilation have affected all items whose structure and orthography called for such changes.⁴¹

This category tends to be specific, since, for the most part, it contains names of card games (or phases of card games): *brydż* (Engl.: *bridge*), *poker*, *rober* (Engl.: *rubber*), *wist* (Engl.: *whist*) or cards *per se* (*joker*). *Szlem*⁴² is a problematic case, since Fisiak treats it as a borrowing from English (Engl.: *slam*), but the word-initial sequence *sz-* in tandem with the renowned dictionary of

⁴¹ The spelling of *poker*, however, posed no challenge to speakers of Polish, hence its unaltered form.

⁴² This denotes “the winning of all the tricks in one hand of a card game (such as bridge)” (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*; <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>, s.v. *slam*). It also exists in conjunction with a quantifier *wielki* in *Wielki Szlem* which denotes the *Grand Slam* tournaments in tennis.

Polish, *Słownik Języka Polskiego* edited by W. Doroszewski, suggest the German origin and most probably the term was borrowed to Polish straight from German. The latter source gives the lexeme *Schlemm* as the precursor of Polish *szlem*.

Forcing is an intriguing loanword here due to its obscure usage. For the most part it is either (1) an item of card gamers' jargon: "(of a bid) requiring by convention a response from one's partner, no matter how weak their hand may be",⁴³ or (2) an item re-borrowed into Polish to two semantic fields (at least): one of which is the jargon of photography and cinematography, where *forcing* denotes "prolonging the development of an intentionally underexposed film", and the other is the jargon of mathematics, where the loan in question exists in the phrase *method of forcing*. *Forcing*, or its nativized variant *forsing*, in the card playing context occurred only 12 times in the *NKJP* (and 11 out of the 12 attestations appeared in entries drawn from Wikipedia, which forms part of the *NKJP*).

3.5. Cycling

This category includes fewer loanwords than the preceding categories, as is evident in Table 5 below:

Table 5. Fisiak's cycling terms

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>lider / leader</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>rower</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>stayer</i>	v	–	–	v
<i>tandem</i>	v		v	v
Total	4/4 (100%)	2/3 (67%)	1/4 (25%)	3/4 (75%)

This category contains three items that enjoy great popularity in Polish: *lider*, *rower*, and *tandem*. Few Poles recognize *tandem* or especially *rower* (Engl.: *Rover*) as borrowings rather than native Polish words. *Lider/leader* is frequently used in the corporate environment, as well as in its sports context, due to its having been transferred to the Polish word stock again in the decades following the fall of communism in Poland.

The table also exhibits one item, *stayer* "a long-distance cyclist in track racing" (Fisiak 1961: 114), which those unacquainted with cycling jargon seem

⁴³ <https://www.lexico.com/definition/forcing>; s.v. *forcing*; accessed 10/05/2020.

to be ignorant of and which has resisted orthographic adaptation, mostly due to its rarity. A search in the *NKJP* yielded only the truck brand name. A search for this item in online dictionaries of Polish also retrieved no results. Online compendia of equestrian terms, however, define a *stayer* as “a horse good at longer distances”.⁴⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *stayer*) gives the general sports context and provides the following definition: “a person or animal having great ‘staying power’”, thus the denotation provided by Fisiak (1961: 114) in the semantic field of cycling, at first glance, seems obscure. *Odkrywka*, however, records the use of the term in both cycling and equestrian contexts (see examples under (4a-b) and (5a-b)). *Stayer*, may also be found in a *stayer racing* context (or, to be exact, *motor-paced cycling*), where a *stayer* is paced by a motorbike and he or she follows it as closely as possible and benefits from the slipstream of the pacer.⁴⁵

- (4a) Zaciekawienie to zamieniło się wkrótce w obawę, gdy zauważono, że co 10 kilometrów odważny „*stayer*” zbliża się coraz bardziej do czasów rekordów. Niech łaskawi czytelnicy „*Cyklisty*” o tem sami osądzą z tablicy niniejszej (*Odkrywka, Cyklista: tygodnik ilustrowany sportowi cyklowemu poświęcony*. R.2, 1896, no 3).

[This curiosity soon turned into anxiety, when it was noticed that every 10 kilometers the brave “*stayer*” got closer and closer to record times. Let the readers of “*Cyclist*” assess it for themselves from this table].

- (4b) Gerger, znakomity *stayer* austriacki, champion Europy, porzuca tor w końcu tego sezonu. Udaje się do Budapesztu, gdzie podjął się zarządu rowerów. Odtąd zajmować się będzie handlem – jednak nie fabryki zupełnie wyrzeka się toru (*Odkrywka, Cyklista: tygodnik ilustrowany sportowi cyklowemu poświęcony*. R.3, 1897, no 43).

[Gerger, an excellent Austrian *stayer*, a European champion, leaves the track at the end of this season. He goes to Budapest, where he has taken over the management of a bicycle factory. From now on, he will be involved in trade, but he will not give up the track completely].

- (5a) Wybitny ten *stayer*, który w 1926 r. wygrał St Leger ... był drugi za Forwardem w gonitwie „im. Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej” (*Odkrywka, Przegląd Kawaleryjski*. 1928 R.5 nr 2-3).

[This outstanding *stayer* that won the St. Leger in 1926 ... in the “President of the Republic of Poland’s Derby” occupied the second position after Forward].

⁴⁴ For instance, <https://interplay.pl/sloownik-wyscigow-konnych-czyli-ktore-slowa-warto-znac/>; accessed 26/02/2020.

⁴⁵ Wikipedia (s.v. *motor-paced racing*); accessed 26/02/2020.

- (5b) *Stayer* – wierzchowiec o uzdolnieniach długodystansowych (*Odkrywka, Rzeczpospolita* 1998.03.13, *Wyścigowe abc*).
[*Stayer* – a horse with long-distance skills].

3.6. Equestrian terms

Fisiak (1961, 1964) groups equestrian terms in their own category. As in the previous grouping, this category is rather sparse in loans (see Table 6 below):

Table 6. Fisiak's equestrian terms

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>boks</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>bookmacher</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>dżokej</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>hunter</i>	v	–	–	–
<i>master</i>	v	–	–	v
<i>paddock</i>	v	v	v	–
Total	6/6 (100%)	4/5 (80%)	3/6 (50%)	3/6 (50%)

Of the above terms only *hunter* has not undergone adaptation to conform to Polish orthography (this is most probably due to its rarity in Polish). It does, however, when it comes to the Polish inflectional system, thus producing such forms as *huntera*, *hunterem*, etc.

The infrequent use of loans in shaded cells in Table 6 indicates that their one-time presence in Polish equestrian terminology was short-lived. *Hunter* is marked in a dictionary of Polish (*SJP PWN*, s.v. *hunter*) as an obsolescent term that means “a horse used in hunting”.⁴⁶ In this semantics *hunter* is recorded only 6 times in the *NKJP*, all in Wikipedia entries (see example (6) below).

- (6) Obecnie morgany są popularnymi końmi pokazowymi, użytkowane są jako wierzchowce myśliwskie (*huntery*) (*NKJP*, Wikipedia.pl, s.v. *morgan (konie)*; date of publication: 06/02/2009).
[Morgan horses are popular show horses. They are used as hunting steeds (*hunters*)].

⁴⁶ The lack of popularity of hunting on horseback in Poland is most probably a factor in the unpopularity of *hunter* in Polish.

Master, as a horse racing or hunting term designating the leading horse in a race or during a hunt, was attested 12 times in the *NKJP*. It seems to exist only in closed equestrian circles whose members are familiar with the jargon (see example (7) below):

- (7) Pierwszy sygnał trąbki. *Master* wyprowadza jeźdźców w teren, tropem „lisa”. Jest piękny, ciepły jesienny dzień. Orszak konnych wygląda imponująco. Jadąc parami kierujemy się do lasu (*NKJP*, pinezka.pl; Jolanta Ordon Ziemiński; 11.2004).
[The first trumpet signal. *Master* leads the riders into the field, following the “fox”. It’s a beautiful, warm fall day. The horsemen look impressive. Riding in pairs, we go to the forest].

Over time *master* developed an antonym, *kontrmaster*, meaning the horse bringing up the rear of the field, see example (8):

- (8) W głównej gonitwie, pogoni za lisem, najważniejsze funkcje *mastra* (prowadzącego kawalkadę jeźdźców) oraz *kontrmastra* (zamykającego) spełniali Zenon Sobiecki i Józef Wędrowski (*NKJP*, *Dziennik Bałtycki*; “Hubertus w siodle”).
[In the main chase, the pursuit of the fox, the most important functions of the *master* (leading the field) and the *countermaster* (the one bringing up the rear) were performed by Zenon Sobiecki and Józef Wędrowski].

Master has also been transferred to Polish again, in an array of meanings unrelated to horses or horse racing/hunting (see *SJP PWN*, s.v. *master* or the Appendix).

When re-borrowing is considered, *boks* and *dżokej* also re-appeared in Polish with meanings unrelated to equestrianism. Both *bookmacher* and *paddock* broadened their semantic fields. The former is not restricted to horse-racing, but may be used, for instance, in soccer betting operations. The latter is also used in Polish with a meaning attested by the *OED* (s.v. *paddock*, n. 2): “A small field or enclosure, usually adjoining a house or farm building; *esp.* a piece of pasture in which horses or other animals are turned out to grass”.

3.7. Swimming, rowing, and angling

Once again, unlike the richer “general terms category”, this category contains only 6 items and indicates the limited, historic⁴⁷ influx of loanwords in these semantic fields (see Table 7):

Table 7. Fisiak’s *swimming, rowing, and angling*

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>canoe</i>		v	v	–
<i>kraul</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>overarm</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>skiff</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>skull</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>spinning</i>	v	v	–	–
Total	5/5 (100%)	6/6 (100%)	3/6 (50%)	1/6 (16.7%)

Of the 6 lexemes in the category, 3 (=50%) have become interwoven in the lexical fabric of Polish: *canoe*, *kraul*, and *spinning*. The other half (*overarm*, *skiff*, and *skull*) comprises either elements of a more specialized jargon or those currently obsolescent.

In the latter of these sub-groups the first item, *overarm* (also *ower*),⁴⁸ a swimming style, is recorded in the *NKJP* just once (once again in a Wikipedia entry listing styles of swimming). It was also re-borrowed into Polish, but this time as a way of bowling.⁴⁹ *Skiff* (also *skif*) may at first glance be obscure, but in sports jargon it has been successfully used in a variety of forms, such as *skiffista* or

⁴⁷ The bloom of the popularity of such modern water sports as triathlon, rowing, angling, sailing, kitesurfing, and windsurfing, as well as the techniques and equipment used in these disciplines has brought about a deluge of terms of English provenance. From a 21st-century perspective Fisiak’s list thus seems poor and, as this paper indicates, it reflects the one-time situation of a rather meager popularity in mid-20th-century communist Poland of sports, which has led to the rather limited number of lexical transfers from English (or other languages) in water sports. This claim may easily be extended to disciplines other than those garnered in Section 3.7.

⁴⁸ Counterintuitive though this might appear, this example is not indifferent to Polish grammatical categories and does not remain unadapted through the morphological system of Polish since both *overarm* and *ower* may appear in the following forms: *overarmu*, *overarmie*, *overarmem*, etc.

⁴⁹ In this meaning it was found in the *NKJP* a handful of times.

skiffistka (Engl.: *male skiffer / female skiffer*).⁵⁰ The last lexeme in this sub-category that warrants discussion is *skull* (also *scull*, *skul*), unattested in the *NKJP*. In Polish it is used to denote “a one-person racing boat” (*SJP*, s.v. *scull*) (or “a race in which such boats participate”) as well as “a kind of oar” (Fisiak 1961). Fisiak’s meaning stands in line with the primary meaning given by the *OED* (s.v. *scull*, n.1): “A kind of oar: (a) an oar used to propel a boat by working it from side to side over the stern of the boat, reversing the blade at each turn; (b) an oar, shorter and lighter than a ‘rowing’ oar, so that a pair can be operated at once by one person, who sits midway between the sides of the boat”. This agrees with some of the records of *skull* found in *Odkrywka* (see example (9)). Two of these definitions correspond to the semantics in which the lexeme functions in Polish: “A boat propelled with a scull or a pair of sculls; a sculling-boat” and “a sculling race”. Both denotations are marked as *obsolete*, which may also explain the unpopularity of the lexeme in Polish in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

- (9) Wiosłowanie *skullami*, tj. wiosłami osadzonemi w łożyskach u burty łodzi miało tę niedogodność, że wiosłujący musiał siedzieć plecami w kierunku jazdy (*Odkrywka*, *Echo Kaliskie Ilustrowane*. 1933, R.I, no 216-254).
[Rowing with *skulls*, i.e. oars embedded in the bearings at the side of the boat, had the inconvenience that the rower had to sit facing against the direction of travel].

3.8. Team games

This category is by far more promising than the previous categories in terms of the number of lexical items of potential interest (see Table 8).

Table 8. *Team games*

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>aut</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>bandy</i>		–	–	–
<i>baseball</i>	v	v	v ⁵¹	–

⁵⁰ Grabowski (1971: 69) tells us that agent nouns formed with the suffixes *-ista* and *-owiec* are among the most common derivatives from foreign elements in Polish.

⁵¹ *Baseball* (also *bejzbol*, *bejsbol*) is used in spoken, colloquial Polish as a synonym for a *baseball bat*.

<i>bek</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>corner</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>drybling</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>dryblować</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>forward</i>	v ⁵²	–	–	v
<i>futbol</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>gol</i>	v	v	v	v ⁵³
<i>hokej</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>krokiet</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>krykiet</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>ofsajd</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>polo</i>			–	v
<i>push-ball</i>	v	–	v	–
<i>rugby</i>		–	–	–
<i>stoper</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>stopping</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>stopować</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>water-polo</i>	v	–	–	–
Total	18/18 (100%)	15/20 (75%)	5/21 (24%)	7/21 (33%)

Similarly to categories with more numerous loans, this one also contains items which, in the majority of cases, yield to Polish orthography and morphological paradigms. 5 items (=25%) have undergone no spelling adaptation and all items have been morphologically assimilated.

Among the lexemes in Fisiak's *team games* are four items that may today be classified as either rare or obsolescent, or both: *bek* (Engl.: *back*), *krokiet* (Engl.: *croquet*), *push-ball*, and *stopping*. These lexemes found popularity in Polish neither in the second half of the 20th nor the first two decades of the 21st century. The first element here, unrecorded in the *NKJP*, appears in *Słownik Języka Polskiego* (s.v. *bek*) as “formerly: the defender on a sports team, in hockey, for instance”.⁵⁴

⁵² The inflected forms are more viable in colloquial Polish than in its official counterpart. Inflectional endings on *forward* appear rather on the re-borrowed item with a meaning of *to forward (an email)*.

⁵³ *Gol* or *strzelić gola* (Engl. *to score a goal*) is also used figuratively, especially in reflexive forms.

⁵⁴ Jabłoński (2020) (<https://sport.tvp.pl/47708558/slownik-sportowej-polszczyzny-sportowe-zwroty-ktore-odeszly-do-lamusa-jakimi-zwrotami-poslugiwali-sie-komentatorzy-wideo>) mentions *bek* among obsolete football jargon terms.

Push-ball and *stopping* are equally rare. The game push-ball was devised at the end of the 19th century in the US, but never attained real popularity and, as Wikipedia (s.v. *pushball*) claims, in the mid-20th century the game was retired due to its increasingly rough nature, even though its variations became popular in Europe and resurfaced in the US. It has never been popular in Poland, which explains the term's lack of popularity.⁵⁵ *Pushball* appears in the corpus just twice, and is illustrated below:

- (10) Wielokrotnie wyznawcy podobnej religii, a różniące się tylko „kolorem farby na sztandarach”, prowadzą swoistą grę, przypominającą *pushball*, gdzie przedmiot gry jest zbyt duży aby grać nim samodzielnie. Skoro jest gra, to pojawiają się intencje – a to już jest logiczne, bo trzeba wygrać (NKJP; Usenet – pl.soc.religia; 02.02.2009).
[Many a time, followers of a similar religion, and differing only in “the color of the paints on their banners”, lead the kind of game reminiscent of *pushball*, where the point of the game is that it is too big to play individually. If there is a game, then there are intentions and this is logical, because you have to win].

Stopping is an uncommon item amongst sports terms, which found its way back into Polish, this time in a boxing context, denoting the act of stopping an opponent's attack by means of a hefty punch or jab, but it is not limited to boxing.⁵⁶ Even though, as mentioned above, the term itself enjoys little popularity, its variant forms (for instance, *zastopować* (Engl.: *to stop somebody/something*)) gained ground in Polish, especially in its informal, spoken variety, see example (11). Such forms appear, however, in contexts not necessarily confined to physical activity, which indicates the item's verbal variant has broadened its semantics:

- (11) Centała próbował *zastopować* decyzję zarządu. Spotykał się z działaczami PiS-u i sugerował, by zmienić zarząd (NKJP, *Nakielski Czas*; 30.11.2005).
[Centała tried to *stop* the board's decision. He met with PiS activists and suggested changing the board].

In this group of lexemes one finds *bandy*, the number of attestations of which in the NKJP fell short of the set limit.⁵⁷ It is a name of a team game similar in

⁵⁵ The term has been found in the NKJP with an extended meaning in the context of snooker. Bear in mind that the original spelling and punctuation are retained in all examples drawn from the NKJP.

⁵⁶ It was found in the NKJP in this meaning only (more precisely, as a defensive technique in boxing).

⁵⁷ All cases found were either accompanied by explanations of the term or were instanced, again,

appearance to ice hockey and field hockey, the main difference being the size of the rink or pitch, the way of playing *per se*, the set of rules, and the fact that the players use a ball. This item's lack of popularity in the *NKJP* may be explained on the following grounds: (a) in the first place *bandy* in Poland, according to a Wikipedia entry (s.v. *bandy*), existed under the name of *ice hockey* or *Russian hockey* and (b) the game has never been popular in Poland.⁵⁸

Here we also find *forward* with the meaning of “an attack line in numerous games”. This was attested once in the *NKJP*, in the phrase *forward pass* accompanied by an explanation of this maneuver.⁵⁹ Outside sports jargon it was transferred into Polish again, this time in the parlance of trade and economics, especially as a customized contract between two parties: *a forward contract* (Pol.: *transakcja forward*). In colloquial Polish or *netspeak* the term also resurfaced, this time mainly in a verbal function (*to forward sth*, especially an e-mail) which may be prefixed and which generally conforms to the Polish inflectional system, unlike the previous denotations or functions of *forward*.

3.9. Tennis

The popularity of this racket sport and the Anglo-Saxon provenance of modern lawn tennis have given rise to an abundance of tennis-specific terminology borrowed into Polish. Table 9 presents items listed by Fisiak (1961 and 1964):

Table 9. Fisiak's *tennis* terms

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>bekhend</i>	v	v	v	–
<i>chop</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>cross</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>debel</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>deuce</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>drajw</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>dropszot</i>	v	v	–	v

in the Wikipedia entry *bandy*.

⁵⁸ Bandy appeared in Poland in the 1920s, before ice hockey, and bandy teams preceded hockey teams in Galicia and Łódź.

⁵⁹ Again, this usage was found in a Wikipedia (s.v. *American Pie (utwór)*) entry being a part of the *NKJP*.

<i>forhend</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>gem</i>	v		–	–
<i>kort</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>lob</i>	v		v	v
<i>meczbol</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>net</i>	v		v	v
<i>ping-pong</i>	v		–	–
<i>play</i> ⁶⁰		v	–	–
<i>return</i>	v		–	–
<i>skrecz</i> ⁶¹	v	v	v	v
<i>serwis</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>serwować</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>set</i>	v		–	v
<i>single</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>slice</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>smecz</i>	v	v	v ⁶²	–
<i>tenis</i>	v	v	–	–
Total	22/23 (96%)	17/18 (95%)	6/24 (25%)	11/24 (46%)

This category tends to group items designating tennis and table tennis terms and rules. Of these, only one, *deuce*, has been neither morphologically nor orthographically assimilated, most plausibly due to its rarity and has been confined to specific tennis jargon. Of Fisiak's 24 lexical transfers, 19 (=79%) have been successfully used primarily by enthusiasts of tennis and table tennis, and their usage is frequently recorded in the *NKJP*. 5 items (=21%), *chop*, *deuce*, *drajw*, *dropszot*, and *slice* warrant a more elaborate discussion due to their rarity in or absence from the *NKJP*.

⁶⁰ In Fisiak's publications *play* exists in the meaning of a command given by a tennis umpire. It is therefore not counted in the column for morphological assimilation.

⁶¹ The case of *skrecz* ("giving up a match / withdrawing from a match or a competition"), a wrongly rendered version of *krecz*, has been tackled by Dylewski (2016: 74–75), hence it is not elaborated on here. Its verbal form (*skreczować*; Engl.: *to scratch*) is widely used in Polish in a tennis-related context to describe the procedure of withdrawing from a game mainly due to an injury. The term has been re-transferred to Polish, this time denoting the playing of music by a DJ using the scratching technique, a denotation that enjoys some popularity in Polish today.

⁶² One cannot be absolutely certain whether the word has been re-borrowed or has undergone semantic broadening. The extension of the type of shot to another sports discipline, i.e., basketball, however, allows us to presume that the second scenario is more plausible.

The first, *chop*, appears neither in the corpus nor in the dictionaries consulted. It is to be found, nevertheless, in online compendia of tennis vocabulary. In the *Little Dictionary of Tennis Terms* (s.v. *chop*)⁶³, the following definition may be found:

- (12) *Chop (czop)* – uderzenie piłki z nadaniem jej mocnej rotacji zwrotnej, dobrze wykonany *czop* powinien wylądować zaraz za siatką i odbić się od nawierzchni po bardzo małym koźle (*italics ours*).
[*Chop* (also *czop*) – hitting the ball with a strong reverse spin, a well-executed *chop* should land right behind the net and bounce off the surface after a short dribble].

The same online dictionary of tennis terms and expressions offers an explanation of *deuce*, unattested in the two dictionaries of Polish consulted, but found in the *NKJP* (3 cases, always in the company of Polish equivalent *równowaga*, see example (13)).

- (13) Widzom zrobiło się gorąco, gdy tenisistki rozgrywały gema przy stanie 5:5. Ciągnął się on przez 20 minut. Sędzia 13 razy powtarzał „*deuce*” – *równowaga*. Wreszcie Steffi robi breaka. W następnym gemie wygrywa z rzędu cztery piłki i tym samym mecz (*NKJP, Gazeta Wyborcza, „Tenis. Wimbledon”; 10.07.1995*).
[The viewers grew hot when the players played the 5:5 game. It lasted 20 minutes. The judge called “*deuce*” 13 times. Finally, Steffi broke serve. The next game she held her opponent to love and thus won the match].

The usage above corresponds to “a tie in tennis after each side has scored 40 requiring two consecutive points by one side to win”.⁶⁴ Due to the popularity of the native Polish term *równowaga*, the English borrowing lost its currency in Polish, but is clearly used for more specific tennis jargon.

Drajw (also *drive*), according to Fisiak (1961 and 1964), is “a forcible blow or a strike” and *dropshot* (also *drop shot*) is “in (table)tennis a stroke where the ball drops sharply onto the opponent’s field having crossed the net”; these are low-frequency terms in Polish, both appearing once in the *NKJP*. The latter appeared as a term requiring explanation due to its obscure meaning and was thus given in Polish. The former was used, as is indicated above, once, only in the context of table tennis.

⁶³ <https://www.tennis.net.pl/slowniczek-tenisowy/#C>, accessed 12/02/2020.

⁶⁴ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/deuce>, accessed 12/02/2020.

3.10. Track and field

This discipline was under-represented in terms of borrowings when Professor Fisiak was collating his data (see Table 10). Only two items are included here. Both may be unknown to the modern layman today due to their infrequency in Polish, as well as their obscurity and obsolescence. This may be the reason for neither of these items undergoing spelling adaptation.

Table 10. Fisiak's *track and field* lexemes

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>footing</i>	v	–	–	–
<i>miler</i>	v	–	–	–
Total	2/2 (100%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)	0/2 (0%)

Footing is extremely rare in the *NKJP*, only two cases being recorded. Both are accompanied by a note of explanation (see example (14)):

- (14) Rano tuż po pobudce mieliśmy tzw. *footing* – lekki trucht. Nie byłem przygotowany do biegania bez śniadania. Po pierwszym posiłku mieliśmy normalny trening, czasami bieganie po górach (*NKJP*; *Gazeta Wyborcza*, „Piłka Nożna. Jacek Bąk zadebiutuje dziś w lidze francuskiej”; 19.07.1995).

[In the morning, just after getting up, we had so-called *footing*, light jogging. I was not prepared to run without breakfast. After breakfast we had normal training, sometimes running in the mountains].

Similarly, *miler* is also low-frequency. It is recorded in the *NKJP* only once:

- (15) Przed 32 laty najwięcej do powiedzenia miał w biegu na 1,5 km znakomity *miler* z Krakowa, Henryk Szordykowski (*NKJP*; *Gazeta Krakowska*, „Marcin, chłopak ze złota”; 03.03.2002).

[32 years ago, Henryk Szordykowski, an excellent *miler* from Kraków dominated in the 1.5-kilometer race].

Miler denotes “an athlete or a racehorse specializing or competing in mile races” (*OED*, s.v. *miler*, n.2). Due to its obscure nature the word has found its way to online compendia of Polish running vocabulary in a similar vein to some of the tennis items, see Section 3.9.

3.11. Winter sports

As the name indicates, this category comprises elements connected with sports played during winter largely on snow and ice. Table 11 below shows the items gathered by Fisiak (1964):

Table 11. Fisiak’s *winter sports* terms

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>bobslet</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>bobslej</i>	v	v	–	–
<i>halifaksy</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>skating</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>toboggan</i>	v	v	v ⁶⁵	–
<i>skeleton</i>	v		–	v
Total	6/6 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	1/6 (17%)	3/6 (50%)

All of the 6 items in the table have undergone both grammatical and orthographic assimilation. Only 3, *bobslej* (Engl.: *bobsleigh*), *skating*, and, to lesser extent, *skeleton*,⁶⁶ enjoy popularity in contemporaneous Polish. *Skating* is, however, predominantly used today in contexts unrelated to winter activities, but rather to skateboarding and roller-skating. Although *skeleton* (Engl.: *skeleton*)⁶⁷ as such –

⁶⁵ *Toboggan* (and *tobogan*) is an example of an item which has undergone a meaning shift – currently in Polish it does not appear in the designation mentioned by Fisiak, so not in the sports-related environs, but in the semantics of flat bottomed sleighs used by mountain rescue teams.

⁶⁶ According to a Wikipedia entry, *skeleton* was practiced in Poland in the 1950s and 1960s, but was eventually abandoned. Due to the lack of properly prepared tracks, and, above all, the equipment ensuring driving safety, the competitions ceased to take place (Wikipedia, s.v. *skeleton*; accessed 03/03/2020).

⁶⁷ “Skeleton is a winter sliding sport in which a person rides a small sled, known as a skeleton bobsled (or -sleigh), down a frozen track while lying face down and head-first. The sport and the sled may have been named from the bony appearance of the sled” (Wikipedia, s.v. *skeleton* (sport); accessed 03/03/2020). Note that it was re-borrowed with the meaning of a watch (*skeleton watch*) whose interior workings are visible through a transparent case.

illustrated by example (16) – seems to be a low-frequency word in Polish, a search in the *NKJP* for its derivatives, e.g. *skeletonista*, *skeletonistka*, *skeletonowy*, yielded numerous examples.

- (16) Były tu podawane za przykład sporty może niszowe, nie za bardzo popularne, jak chociażby skiboby czy *skeleton*, dyscyplina igrzysk zimowych od bodajże sześciu lat (*Odkrywka*, Sejm: 6 kadencja, 53 posiedzenie, 1 dzień (04-11-2009) – Piotr Polak).

[We have quoted examples of sports, perhaps niche and rather unpopular, such as skibobs or skeleton, a discipline in the winter Olympics for some six years now].

The other items in this category are derived from names of equipment used in winter disciplines. The first, *bobslet* (Engl.: *bobsled*), is unattested in this orthographic form in the two dictionaries consulted and in the seminal dictionary of Polish (*Słownik Języka Polskiego*) by W. Doroszewski, where historic variants of words are given. Its variant form *boblet*, however, is described as a “two-person bobsleigh”. Neither of these variants, however, was found in the *NKJP*.

The second term, *halifaksy* which denotes types of ice skating equipment, taken from the capital of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia,⁶⁸ is an outdated and recondite lexical item in Polish. The *NKJP* yielded just 2 cases in historic contexts (see example (17)):

- (17) Współczesne łyżwiarstwo zaczyna się jednak dopiero w połowie XIX w.; prekursorem jest baletmistrz Jackson Haines ze Stanów Zjednoczonych. W Europie powstają pierwsze publiczne lodowiska. Ślizgają się wyższe sfery. Panowie we frakach, melonikach, na łyżwach *halifaksach*, całych ze stali lub żelaza ... (*NKJP*; *Polityka*, „Bo życie kręci się wokół tafli”; 31.01.2004).

[Modern ice skating, however, did not begin until the mid-19th century. The ballet master Jackson Haines from the United States was a pioneer. The first public ice rinks are built in Europe. The upper stations of the society are skating. Gentlemen gliding in tailcoats, bowlers, on *halifaxes*, all made of steel or iron...].

3.12. Other items

This last category comprises items unclassified elsewhere (see Table 12 below) in the two works by Professor Fisiak at issue.

⁶⁸ This item was transferred into Polish again as a derivative of the name for a plane.

Table 12. Fisiak's *other* items

term	assimilated grammatically	assimilated orthographically	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowed
<i>flesz</i>	v	v	–	v
<i>looping</i>	v	–	–	v
<i>golf</i>	v		–	v
<i>drajwer</i>	v	v	–	v
Total	4/4 (100%)	2/3 (66.7%)	0/4 (0%)	4/4 (100%)

This table comprises four items, of which one, *golf*, is the name of a club-and-ball sport. The remaining three are interesting from the point of view of their fate in Polish. All these words have been assimilated grammatically and all have been transferred into Polish again with new denotations. These new meanings enjoy far greater popularity than their sports designations. For instance, *flesz* (Engl.: *flash*)⁶⁹ was described by Fisiak as “an instant attack in fencing”. This was attested once in the *NKJP*:

- (18) Kevey postawił na młodzieńców, którzy szybko opanowali technikę ataku *fleszem*, czyli rzutem ciała. I już w latach 50. studenci szabli, z Wojciechem Zabłockim oraz Jerzym Pawłowskim na czele, zaczęli odbierać srebrne i złote medale mistrzostw świata oraz igrzysk seniorom tej broni (*NKJP*; *Polityka*, „Patent na talent” by Tadeusz Olszański; 22.12.2007).

[Kevey concentrated on young men who quickly mastered the technique of *flash attack*, i.e. body thrust. And even in the 1950s, saber students, headed by Wojciech Zabłocki and Jerzy Pawłowski, began to win silver and gold medals at the World Championships and Olympics from seniors in this discipline].

It has been transferred to Polish again as (a) a device used in photography to produce a flash of artificial light, (b) in psychology, and (c) computing as *flash memory* (Pol.: *pamięć fleszowa*). *Looping*, meaning either an acrobatic figure in air acrobatics or a bike, car, or motorcycle acrobatic stunt on a loop, remains unassimilated orthographically due to its rare usage. It has been ousted by the

⁶⁹ This is another example of an indirect borrowing, this time from a Romance language. The term derives from French *flèche*, which in fencing means a running attack (*OED*, s.v. *flèche*, n.) with foil or épée; its transmission route to Polish seems to have been via English.

native nominal counterpart *pętla* or the verbal phrase *zrobić pętlę*, but is recorded in the *NKJP* 6 times. In a vein similar to that of *flesh*, *looping* re-appeared in Polish with a new meaning (of a continuously repeated segment of music, for instance, in hip-hop or DJ'ing) and has enjoyed popularity for the past decades. *Drajwer* (Engl.: *driver*) means “a special kind of golf club” and is known in golfing contexts only. It was recorded in the *NKJP* 5 times in this meaning. The advent of personal computers meant that the term was borrowed again, this time to denote a piece of software responsible for controlling input/output operations.⁷⁰

4. Discussion and conclusions

Sport has been a semantic field more influenced than most by English since the beginning of the 20th century. The term *sport* is among the thirty most frequent anglicisms in Polish and sports terminology among the five semantic fields with the most rapidly increasing number of anglicisms (Kłaczyńska 2010).

The present study shows that the great majority of borrowings in the field of sport current in Polish in the mid-20th century have stood the test of time. Of 131 loans collated by Professor Fisiak (1961 and 1964) only 29 (=22.1%) items have become rare or obsolescent and the rest are still used to a greater or lesser extent in Polish today. The majority of loans have been grammatically (97.5%) and orthographically (83.5%) adapted (see Table 13 and Figure 2).

Table 13. Pooled data

process	grammatical assimilation	orthographic assimilation	new meaning acquired /broadened semantically	re-borrowing
yes:	119/122 (97.5%)	91/109 (83.5%)	44/131 (33.6%)	49/131 (37.4%)
no:	3/122 (2.5%)	18/109 (16.5%)	87/131 (66.4%)	82/131 (62.6%)

⁷⁰ Dictionary by Merriam-Webster. <https://www.merriam-webster.com> (s.v. *driver*); accessed 05/03/2020.

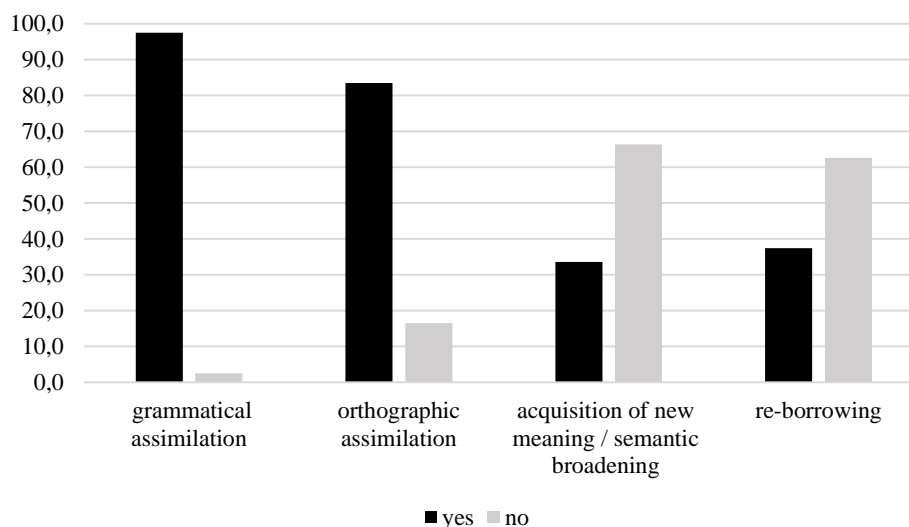


Figure 2. Fisiak's sports borrowings – pooled results

This shows that the assimilation process, a process believed to be gradual (see, for instance, Kudła 2018), has advanced since Professor Fisiak's studies, in which he indicated that approximately 48% of the loans analyzed underwent orthographic adaptation:

out of 131 analyzed loans, 34 preserve the original English spelling, 60 have new Polish orthographic forms, 3 have both forms and 34 words preserve the original English orthography but their pronunciation in Polish is the spelling-pronunciation, the graphemic-phonemic relations being the same as in the case of the sixty previously mentioned loans. In other words, out of 131 loans only in 34 words are the spelling-pronunciation relations strange to the Polish language, a number unique among the other semantic groups of English loans in Polish.

(Fisiak 1964: 234)

On a broader scale, Olkowska (2010) in her analysis of English borrowings in a variety of semantic categories shows that only 39% of loans undergo graphic assimilation and 17% partial assimilation. This may suggest a greater tendency of sports terminology to adapt to the recipient language than vocabulary from other semantic areas. Such a conclusion ought to be treated with caution, since time and usage may play the major role in the case of Fisiak's loans. Over half a century was ample time for more common loans to adapt both orthographically and grammatically to the Polish language.

Almost 90% of the borrowings analyzed were adapted to Polish grammatical paradigms. These results closely match Fisiak's (1964) findings, which is unsurprising as the process of grammatical adaptation is relatively easy (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008), very fast (Sztencel 2009), and rapid (Luciński 2000). Similar conclusions are reached in more general discussions on English loans in Polish. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995), for instance, found that only 9% of loans were morphologically non-assimilated.

Semantically, most of the items analyzed retained their original denotation, and over 30% of the loans expanded the original or acquired a new meaning. Similar conclusions were drawn by Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995), whose investigation into the terminology of 'clothing', 'food', and 'trade' demonstrates that the majority of loanwords are used in Polish in their original senses. Mańczak-Wohlfeld explains that the extension of meaning affects "previously borrowed lexical items" (1995: 76). More recent studies indicate that it is the frequency of use that leads to semantic broadening (Luciński 2000).

Finally, the re-borrowing process receives scant mention in literature dealing with English lexical transfers to Polish, if any mention at all: over 37% of Professor Fisiak's items were transferred to Polish again, this time with new meanings (see Appendix 1, where Professor Fisiak's 1961 and 1964 sports lexemes are collated with their new meanings being a result of the re-borrowing process). This relatively high percentage of re-borrowed items within such a limited collection of 131 items might indirectly point to the high intensity of the phenomenon of borrowing from English to Polish, which may affect lexical item more than once.

APPENDIX 1

borrowing:	English original:	Fisiak's 1964 meaning (supplemented with (1961) denotations):	Fisiak's 1964 category:	broadened/acquired meaning:	re-borrowed:
<i>aut</i>	<i>out</i>	a situation when the ball falls beyond the line of the field/court	team games	–	absent, not involved
<i>autsajder</i>	<i>outsider</i>	the last competitor	general terms	a racing horse with little chance of winning	a person who does not belong to any community because they are not accepted or they isolate themselves
<i>bandy</i>	<i>bandy</i>	Russian hockey	team games	–	–
<i>baseball</i>	<i>base-ball</i>	a national game played in the US	team games	the bat used for the game	–
<i>bek</i>	<i>back</i>	the defender on a sports team	team games	–	–
<i>bekhend</i>	<i>backhand</i>	hitting the ball from the left side with the racket held in the right hand or from the right side with the left hand	tennis	also used in ice-hockey	–
<i>bobslej</i>	<i>bob-sleigh</i>	a kind of sports sleigh	winter sports	–	–
<i>bobslet</i>	<i>bob-sled</i>	two-person bobsleigh	winter sports	–	–
<i>boks</i>	<i>box</i>	fighting with one's fists	boxing and wrestling	–	a compartment or place partitioned off a larger space

<i>boks</i>	<i>box</i>	a horse-box	equestrian terms	a compartment or place partitioned off a larger space	used in a compound: <i>lunchbox</i>
<i>bokser</i>	<i>boxer</i>	one who boxes	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>bookmacher</i>	<i>bookmaker</i>	a person who accepts bets on the results of horse races	equestrian terms	a person (or a place) whose job is to take bets, calculate odds, and pay out winnings	–
<i>break</i>	<i>break</i>	command to stop the fight	boxing and wrestling	tennis: scoring a point on the opponent's service	a percussion instrument with two horizontally arranged plates
<i>brydź</i>	<i>bridge</i>	a card game	cards	–	–
<i>canoe</i>	<i>canoe</i>	a sports boat	swimming, rowing and angling	– an Eskimo boat with whalebone skeleton – an Indian boat with a fir wood skeleton covered with birch bark	–
<i>catch-as-catch-can</i>	<i>catch-as-catch-can</i>	a manner of wrestling	boxing and wrestling	– to use all available means to facilitate the achievement of the goal – chaotic, unplanned operation	–
<i>challenge</i>	<i>challenge</i>	a sports competition	general terms	– a competition between top and non-top players – a kind of	– a request for electronic validation of the play (e.g. in tennis, volleyball)

				sports classification made by a sports organisation or newspaper	– a difficult or demanding task, especially one that tests one's skills or abilities
<i>chop</i>	<i>chop</i>	hitting the ball with a strong reverse spin	tennis	–	–
<i>corner</i>	<i>corner</i>	a free kick from the corner of the field	team games	–	the purchase of stocks or commodities by stock exchange speculators in order to dictate the price
<i>cross</i>	<i>cross</i>	a transfer of the ball from one corner of the tennis court to the other	tennis	–	an off-road race
<i>debel</i>	<i>double</i>	a game of two players of one sex against two opponents of the same sex	tennis	a team of two players in tennis	a two-person boat with four oars
<i>derby</i>	<i>derby</i>	the strongest local team	general terms	sports competition between teams from the same town	a horse race which takes place once a year at the distance of 2,400 metres
<i>deuce</i>	<i>deuce</i>	a tie in tennis	tennis	–	–
<i>doping</i>	<i>doping</i>	encouraging someone to fight by cheering, etc.	general terms	–	increasing one's physical abilities by the use of illegal substances

<i>drajw</i>	<i>drive</i>	a forcible blow or a strike	tennis	–	a computer device for reading and writing data
<i>drajwer</i>	<i>driver</i>	a special kind of golf club	other terms	–	(computing): a piece of software responsible for controlling input/output operations
<i>dres</i>	<i>dress</i>	a blazer and long trousers made of wool or flannel	general terms	–	–
<i>dropszot</i>	<i>drop-shot</i>	in (table)tennis a stroke where the ball drops sharply onto the opponent's field having crossed the net	tennis	–	a fishing/angling technique
<i>drybling</i>	<i>dribbling</i>	the act of dribbling	team games	–	–
<i>dryblować</i>	<i>dribble</i>	to keep the ball moving along the ground in front of and close to one by a rapid succession of short pushes	team games	–	–
<i>dżiu-dżitsu</i>	<i>jiu-jitsu</i>	a Japanese system of wrestling	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>dżokej</i>	<i>jockey</i>	a professional horse rider	equestrian terms	–	(in: disc jockey) = a person who chooses and plays live music during discos, concerts or radio/TV broadcasts

<i>dżudo</i>	<i>judo</i>	a Japanese martial art	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>falstart</i>	<i>false start</i>	a run started in a way which contradicts the rules	terms common to two events	a premature start of something, usually resulting in a failure	–
<i>faul</i>	<i>foul</i>	an unfair action on the opponent	general terms	–	–
<i>fighter</i>	<i>fighter</i>	the attacker	boxing and wrestling	–	a person devoted entirely to winning
<i>finisz</i>	<i>finish</i>	the final stage of a race	general terms	the final stage of something	–
<i>flesz</i>	<i>flash</i>	an instant attack in fencing	other terms	–	– a device used in photography to produce a flash of artificial light – (computing): flash memory
<i>footing</i>	<i>footing</i>	a light training run	track and field	–	–
<i>forcing</i>	<i>forcing</i>	starting a bridge bidding with a high card	cards	–	– prolonging the development of an intentionally underexposed film – (maths): proving the consistency and independence of set theory
<i>forhend</i>	<i>forhand</i>	hitting the ball from the left side with the racket held in the left	tennis	–	–

		hand or from the right side with the right hand			
<i>forward</i>	<i>forward</i>	an attack line in numerous games	team games	–	– (trade/economics): a customized contract between two parties – as a verb: to forward (an e-mail)
<i>futbol</i>	<i>football</i>	a kind of team game	team games	–	–
<i>gem</i>	<i>game</i>	a stage of a game	tennis	–	–
<i>gol</i>	<i>goal</i>	scoring a point by placing the ball in the goal	team games	[informal] the lowest grade at school	something that you do that gives you a disadvantage and helps some one else, even if this is the opposite of what you intended ⁷¹
<i>golf</i>	<i>golf</i>	a sports game	other terms	–	– a car brand – a turtle neck sweater – a high collar
<i>groggy</i>	<i>groggy</i>	dizzy or weakened in a fight, after a punch or a series of punches	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>gymkhana</i>	<i>gymkhana</i>	a motorbike or car race with obstacles	terms common to two events	a horse race	–
<i>halifaksy</i>	from Canadian placename: <i>Halifax</i>	a kind of ice skating gear	winter sports	–	a kind of a plane

⁷¹ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>, s.v. *own goal*.

<i>handicap</i>	<i>handicap</i>	an advantage given to a weaker competitor	general terms	a favourable situation	–
<i>hokej</i>	<i>hockey</i>	a kind of game	team games	–	–
<i>hunter</i>	<i>hunter</i>	a horse used in hunting	equestrian terms	–	–
<i>joker</i>	<i>joker</i>	a card in a pack	cards	–	–
<i>klinicz</i>	<i>clinch</i>	holding an opponent while fighting	boxing and wrestling	a conflict situation where conciliation movements are prevented	–
<i>klub</i>	<i>club</i>	a place where a particular sport is played	general terms	– an organisation bringing together people of a specific profession, etc. – a venue where people gather for entertainment	–
<i>knock-down</i>	<i>knock-down</i>	a knock-out punch	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>kort</i>	<i>court</i>	an enclosed area for playing tennis	tennis	–	heavy wool fabric
<i>kraul</i>	<i>crawl</i>	a swimming style	swimming, rowing and angling	–	–
<i>krokiet</i>	<i>croquet</i>	a kind of game	team games	–	–
<i>krykiet</i>	<i>cricket</i>	a kind of game	team games	–	–
<i>lider / leader</i>	<i>leader</i>	the top competitor	cycling	–	a person/ company, etc. leading others
<i>lob</i>	<i>lob</i>	a high ball	tennis	to flip the ball or darts over the opponent	a part of the ice sheet, glacial tongue

<i>looping</i>	<i>looping</i>	a loop in aviation	other terms	–	a continuously repeated segment of music
<i>manager</i>	<i>manager</i>	a person who organizes the activities of a sportsman or a sports team	general terms	a person who organises sports events, performances, etc.	a person who is in charge of a (part of a) company
<i>master</i>	<i>master</i>	a leader of a hunting race	equestrian terms	–	– a recording used to create copies – a broadcast version of a TV program on a magnetic tape – the main shot in a wide plan, continuously showing a given scene, into which other shots are then embedded
<i>mecz</i>	<i>match</i>	a sports game	general terms	–	–
<i>meczbol</i>	<i>match-ball</i>	a shot which may end the game	tennis	–	–
<i>miler</i>	<i>miler</i>	an athlete specializing or competing in mile races	track and field	–	–
<i>mityng</i>	<i>meeting</i>	sports competition	general terms	–	a public meeting
<i>nelson</i>	<i>nelson</i>	a wrestling grip	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>net</i>	<i>net</i>	a service ball rubbing against the net	tennis	(volleyball): rubbing the ball against	the Internet

				the net after service	
<i>nokaut</i>	<i>knock-out</i>	a punch which eliminates the opponent from further fight	boxing and wrestling	achieving an undisputed victory	–
<i>nokautować</i>	<i>knock-out</i>	to give the opponent a punch which excludes them from further fight	boxing and wrestling	to achieve an unquestioned victory	–
<i>ofsajd</i>	<i>off-side</i>	the fact of being off-side	team games	–	–
<i>oldboy</i>	<i>old boy</i>	an old player who has withdrawn from professional sports career	general terms	–	–
<i>overarm</i>	<i>overarm stroke</i>	a swimming style (on the side)	swimming, rowing and angling	–	in bowling: a way of throwing a bowl
<i>paddock</i>	<i>paddock</i>	an enclosed area at the race track where the horses are shown before a race	equestrian terms	a small field or enclosure, usually adjoining a house or farm building; esp. a piece of pasture in which horses or other animals are turned out to grass	–
<i>ping-pong</i>	<i>ping-pong</i>	the game of table tennis	tennis	–	–
<i>play</i>	<i>play</i>	command to serve the ball	tennis	–	–
<i>poker</i>	<i>poker</i>	a card game	cards	–	–
<i>polo</i>	<i>polo</i>	a team game	team games	–	– a sports T-shirt – a car brand

<i>push-ball</i>	<i>push-ball</i>	a team game	team games	a hit in snooker	–
<i>raid</i>	<i>raid</i>	a race	general terms	–	– a tourist trip – troops foray into the enemy's territory
<i>ranking</i>	<i>ranking</i>	rating of the best players in individual sports	terms common to two events	–	–
<i>ready</i>	<i>ready</i>	command "ready" given before starting a run in athletics, skating or swimming	terms common to two events	–	in compound: <i>ready made</i>
<i>rekord</i>	<i>record</i>	the best result	general terms	a list of all the results of a given competitor	a single entry in the database
<i>return</i>	<i>return</i>	a situation when the ball bounces on the tennis court	tennis	–	–
<i>ring</i>	<i>ring</i>	a boxing area, usually enclosed with ropes	boxing and wrestling	an enclosed area where animals are presented during exhibitions	– an agreement between entrepreneurs, usually on the price of a product – a kind of a hook fixed in a rock and used during climbing
<i>rober</i>	<i>rubber</i>	a part of a card game which finishes with the calculation of points scored or lost by individual players	cards	–	–

<i>rower</i>	<i>rover</i>	bicycle	cycling	–	–
<i>rugby</i>	<i>rugby</i>	a team game	team games	–	–
<i>runda</i>	<i>round</i>	one of the parts of a boxing fight, lasting a strictly defined period of time	boxing and wrestling	– a series of (sports) competitions which are part of a larger competition – one of a series of meetings	–
<i>serwis</i>	<i>service</i>	the act of serving the ball or starting it in play	tennis	–	– a set of tableware – the repair or maintenance of something
<i>serwować</i>	<i>serve</i>	to serve a ball	tennis	–	–
<i>set</i>	<i>set</i>	part of a tennis match	tennis	–	– in computer gaming: a number of things of the same kind that belong or are used together – in compound: <i>jet set</i> – a set of songs
<i>single</i>	<i>singles</i>	a game of individual players	tennis	–	– a vinyl record/CD/etc. with only one track – a person who lives alone
<i>skating</i>	<i>skating</i>	skating	winter sports	–	various types of skating (street, ramp, pump track skating)

<i>skeleton</i>	<i>skeleton</i>	low single sledge	winter sports	–	a kind of watch with visible mechanism
<i>skiff</i>	<i>skiff</i>	a sports boat for one person	swimming, rowing and angling	a race of skiff boats	–
<i>skrecz</i>	<i>scratch</i>	the act of withdrawing from a tennis competition	tennis	the act of withdrawing from a track cycling competition	the sound of scratching a vinyl record
<i>skull</i>	<i>scull</i>	a light short oar	swimming, rowing and angling	– a one-person racing boat – a race in which sculls participate	–
<i>slice</i>	<i>slice</i>	a slicing stroke	tennis	–	–
<i>smecz</i>	<i>smash</i>	a hard and fast overhand volley	tennis	in basketball: inserting the ball firmly into the basket	–
<i>sparring</i>	<i>sparring</i>	a fight in order to practise	boxing and wrestling	a match or a game played in order to practise, not to compete	–
<i>sparring partner</i>	<i>sparring partner</i>	a boxer employed to practise with someone	boxing and wrestling	–	–
<i>spinning</i>	<i>spinning</i>	a method of fishing with the use of a fishing rod	swimming, rowing and angling	–	–
<i>sport</i>	<i>sport</i>	a physical activity	general terms	–	–
<i>sportsmen</i>	<i>sportsman</i>	a person who participates in some sport	general terms	–	–
<i>sprint</i>	<i>sprint</i>	a short run	terms common to two events	a race over a short distance	–
<i>sprinter</i>	<i>sprinter</i>	a runner on a short distance	terms common to	a person who runs fast but	–

			two events	on short distances	
<i>spurt</i>	<i>spurt</i>	a sudden increase of speed in running or swimming just before the finishing line	terms common to two events	–	–
<i>stand</i>	<i>stand</i>	a stand in sport events	general terms	– position for competitors in shooting competitions – a tribune for spectators of horse races	a stand with exhibits/with advertising leaflets
<i>start</i>	<i>start</i>	beginning of a run	terms common to two events	– the place where a race starts – participation in a competition	–
<i>starter</i>	<i>starter</i>	a referee who gives the signal to start a race or competition	terms common to two events	a pistol used to start a race of a sports competition	– a set for new customers – a meal eaten before the main course
<i>stayer</i>	<i>stayer</i>	a long-distance cyclist in track racing	cycling	–	(motor-paced cycling): someone who is paced by a motorbike and s/he follows it as close as possible and benefits from the slipstream of the pacer
<i>steeplechase</i>	<i>steeplechase</i>	– a race of 3000 meters over hurdles in track and field – a horse race	terms common to two events	a horse or foot race with obstacles	–

<i>stoper</i>	<i>stopper</i>	a player whose job is to block attacks from the middle of the field	team games	–	a device for measuring time (in small units)
<i>stopping</i>	<i>stopping</i>	the act of stopping the opponent's attack by means of a hefty punch, jab, etc.	team games	a defensive technique in boxing	–
<i>stopować</i>	<i>stop</i>	to stop an opponent's attack	team games	to stop someone or something	to interrupt something that is happening
<i>szlem</i>	<i>slam</i>	the fact of winning or losing all the tricks in a game of cards	cards	a set of major championships in some sports, such as tennis, golf, rugby	–
<i>tandem</i>	<i>tandem</i>	a bicycle for two people	cycling	– a pair of players – a harness of horses or dogs	a system of a few cooperating elements
<i>team / tim</i>	<i>team</i>	a group of players/competitors who participate together in a competition	general terms	–	a group of people who cooperate together to achieve a goal
<i>tenis</i>	<i>tennis</i>	a game	tennis	–	–
<i>toboggan</i>	<i>toboggan</i>	a kind of sledge	winter sports	sledge used in mountain rescue to transport a wounded person	–
<i>track</i>	<i>track</i>	a track used for running	terms common to two events	–	individual soundtrack
<i>trener</i>	<i>trainer</i>	a person responsible for a sportsman's training	general terms	–	–

<i>trening</i>	<i>training</i>	sports training	general terms	–	–
<i>volley</i>	<i>volley</i>	hitting the ball before it touches the ground	terms common to two events	–	–
<i>walkower</i>	<i>walk-over</i>	winning a competition due to the opponent's absence	general terms	–	–
<i>water-polo</i>	<i>waterpolo</i>	a team game played in water	team games	–	–
<i>wist</i>	<i>whist</i>	a card game	cards	–	–

REFERENCES

DICTIONARIES AND CORPORA

- Dictionary by Merriam-Webster*. 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>
- Doroszewski, Witold. 1958–1969. *Słownik języka polskiego pod red. W. Doroszewskiego*. Wydawnictwo PWN. <http://doroszewski.pwn.pl/>
- NKJP = Przepiórkowski, Adam, Mirosław Bańko, Rafał L. Górski & Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (eds). 2012. *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*. Wydawnictwo PWN. <http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/>
- Odkrywka* = data obtained from prof. Piotr Wierzchoń (private communication)
- Oxford English Dictionary Online*. <https://www.oed.com/>
- Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*. Online. <https://sjp.pwn.pl/>
- Słownik SJP.PL*. Online. <http://sjp.pl/>

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Dylewski, Radosław. 2016. *Buszel, kombajner, and rels*: Fisiak's 1961 corpus of English borrowings in Polish fifty five years later. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 51(3). 63–94. DOI: [10.1515/stap-2016-0015](https://doi.org/10.1515/stap-2016-0015)
- Fisiak, Jacek. 1961. *Zapożyczenia angielskie w języku polskim: Analiza interferencji leksykalnej*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Uniwersytet Łódzki.
- Fisiak, Jacek. 1964. English sports terms in Modern Polish. *English Studies* 45(3). 230–236. DOI: [10.1080/0013838X.1964.9709570](https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838X.1964.9709570)
- Grabowski, Yvonne. 1971. Recent English loanwords in the Polish language. *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 13(1). 65–71. DOI: [10.1080/00085006.1971.11091225](https://doi.org/10.1080/00085006.1971.11091225)
- Graliński, Filip & Piotr Wierzchoń. 2018. *Odkrywka, czyli leksykografia diachroniczna live*. In Mirosław Bańko & Halina Karaś (eds.), *Między teorią a praktyką. Metody współczesnej leksykografii*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. 59–69.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2009. Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues. In Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds.), *Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook*, De Gruyter Mouton. 35–54. DOI: [10.1515/9783110218442.35](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110218442.35)
- Haugen, Einar. 1950. The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language* 26. 210–231.
- Jabłoński, Maciej. 2020. *Słownik sportowej polszczyzny*. <https://sport.tvp.pl/47708558/sownik-sportowej-polszczyzny-sportowe-zwroty-ktore-odeszly-do-lamusa-jakimi-zwrotami-poslugiwali-sie-komentatorzy-wideo> (accessed 08/2020).
- Kłaczyńska, Anna. 2010. Anglicyzmy we współczesnej polszczyźnie na przykładzie czasopism kobiecych oraz na tle świadomości językowej bydgoskich studentów. *Linguistica Bidgostiana* 7. 85–101.
- Koneczna, Halina. 1936–1937. Wyrazy angielskie w języku polskim, *Poradnik Językowy* 9. 161–170.
- Koper, Mariusz. 2016. Język sportu - problematyka badawcza. In Anna Czapla & Mariusz Koper (eds.), *Język i sport*, Fotopia. 13–40.
- Kudła, Dominik. 2018. *Anglicisms related to football in Polish and Russian*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Komunikacji Specjalistycznej i Interkulturowej UW.

- Luciński, Kazimierz. 2000. *Anglicyzmy w języku polskim i rosyjskim*. Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej im. Jana Kochanowskiego.
- Mańczak-Wohlfeld, Elżbieta. 1995. *Tendencje rozwojowe współczesnych zapożyczeń angielskich w języku polskim*. Universitas.
- Mańczak-Wohlfeld, Elżbieta. 2008. Morfologia zapożyczeń angielskich w językach europejskich. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis* 125. 113–120.
- Mańczak-Wohlfeld, Elżbieta & Alicja Witalisz. 2019. Anglicisms in the National Corpus of Polish: Assets and limitations of corpus tools, *Studies in Polish Linguistics* 14(4). 171–190. DOI: [10.4467/23005920SPL.19.019.11337](https://doi.org/10.4467/23005920SPL.19.019.11337)
- Murrmann, Julia. 2015. Język sportu w ujęciu leksykografów. Analiza terminograficzna wybranych słowników z terminologią sportową. *Socjolingwistyka* 29. 245–267. DOI: [10.17651/SOCJOLING.29.15](https://doi.org/10.17651/SOCJOLING.29.15)
- Olkowska, Ksenia Małgorzata. 2010. Angielskie zapożyczenia fonetyczne i graficzne w polszczyźnie ogólnej przełomu XX i XXI wieku. *Studia Językoznawcze* 9. 161–207.
- Platt, John Talbot, Heidi Weber & Ho Mian Lian. 1984. *The new Englishes*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Sztencel, Magdalena. 2009. Boundaries crossed: The influence of English on modern Polish. *E-pisteme* 2(1). 3–17.
- Taborek, Janusz. 2012. The language of sport: Some remarks on the language of football. In Harian Lankiewicz & Emilia Wąsikiewicz-Firlej (eds.), *Informed teaching - premises of modern foreign language pedagogy*, Wydawnictwo PWSZ. 237–253.
- Tworek, Artur. 2000. Język sportu - próba definicji (analiza języka polskiego i niemieckiego). In Grzegorz Szpila (ed.), *Język a komunikacja I: Język trzeciego tysiąclecia*, Tertium. 331–340.
- Witalisz, Alicja. 2007. *Anglosemantyzmy w języku polskim - ze słownikiem*. Tertium.
- Witalisz, Alicja. 2018. Polish anglicisms in the fields of leisure, fashion and entertainment against historical background. *Revista de Lenguas para Fines Especificos* 24(1). 142–165. DOI: [10.20420/rife.2018.357](https://doi.org/10.20420/rife.2018.357)
- Zachorska Martyna, Radosław Dylewski & Piotr Wierchoń. In preparation. Female forms of occupational names (feminativa) in Polish, with forms of prestigious occupations in focus.