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LEXICAL LOANS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN IN INFORMAL SPOKEN POLISH*

The paper focuses on the semantic analysis of lexical borrowings of English origin used in informal spoken Polish. The study is based on the corpus, collected and analyzed by the present author. First, general information is given about the corpus, followed by the description of the methodological problems associated with studying lexical loans in spoken language. The main part of the paper focuses on the description of the loans found in the corpus. Special attention is paid to the newest borrowings, not noted in the dictionaries of Polish and/or dictionaries of foreign terms.

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that nowadays English exerts a strong influence on many European languages, including Polish. As might have been expected, the changes in the Polish language are most readily visible in the area of vocabulary. A number of words of English origin have entered Polish in recent years. What is more, new meanings are frequently assigned to native Polish words or older borrowings. Furthermore, other spheres, such as syntax, morphology or even phonology are not free from the influence of English, either (for details about different types of borrowings in Polish, cf. Zabawa 2010).

In general, the lexical influence of English upon written Polish, particularly the language of the press, has been researched relatively thoroughly¹; however, the influence on spoken informal Polish has attracted much less attention of linguists, as gathering a sufficient amount of spontaneous spoken language is inherently a very difficult and time-consuming process. This tendency still continues, as much attention is devoted to new vocabulary items appearing in written Polish,

* The paper is a revised and updated version of the part of Chapter 5 of the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation (Zabawa 2006).

¹ Cf. the bibliography in Mańczak-Wohlfeld's monographs (1995, 2006).

especially the one used in the mass media; much less has been written, however, about the borrowings in spoken Polish, particularly in its informal variety. The aim of the present paper is therefore to investigate the lexical influence of English upon Polish on the basis of the corpus consisting of informal conversations, recorded, transcribed and analyzed by the present author.

The only previous work of this type known to the present author is the one written by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000). The present research, however, differs from it in many respects. Most importantly, the present study devotes much more attention to individual loans, as their meaning and use is discussed in detail. This has seemed necessary, as the meaning, pronunciation and use of many of the new loans is not yet well defined.

2. The description of the corpus

The entire corpus consists of twenty recordings (60,564 running words altogether). Altogether, 48 people (including the author of the study) participated in the conversations (31 women and 17 men), out of whom 39 (25 women and 14 men) have been taken into account in the present study². The age of most of the speakers (27 out of 39) ranges between 21 and 36. The respondents represented various occupations; all of them live in Upper Silesia³.

Most of the conversations were recorded in informal situations, during such events as birthday parties, family meetings or meetings with friends. It was decided to include conversations on various topics, including everyday activities (such as working, learning, talking about one's family and friends, leisure activities, cooking, doing shopping, keeping pets, taking care of a baby, etc.), computers, computer games and the Internet, movies, organizing a wedding, planning holidays, teaching and learning foreign languages, and many others (for details, cf. Zabawa 2009: 384-385). As might have been expected, the conversations about computers turned out to be particularly interesting, as they contain a large percentage of English lexical loans (compared to other recordings).

As was noted above, the entire corpus has been composed of spontaneous conversations, hence the language used in it can be safely described as naturally occurring Polish. The language of some of the speakers has strong features of the dialect spoken in the area around Katowice; some recordings are thus examples of naturally occurring Silesian dialect.

² The remaining 9 people recorded in the conversations were accidental speakers, who uttered only a few words altogether.

³ More information about the speakers, including their age, occupation, level of education, and their knowledge of English can be found in one of my previous articles (Zabawa 2009: 382-384).

3. Problems connected with the analysis of the loans

When a linguist decides to construct a corpus of spoken language and analyze it in terms of English lexical borrowings, some problems appear to be unavoidable. First, it is sometimes not easy to decide whether a given loanword is of English origin or not. According to Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 9), such problems may arise in the case of internationalisms (e.g. *elektryczny, globalny, kod, produkt*), as such words exist by definition in many European languages and, consequently, it is not easy to decide where the word has originated⁴. The dictionaries of Polish are sometimes of not much help either, as they not infrequently give different etymologies for the same word, e.g. the construction *LSD* is treated sometimes as a borrowing of English, and sometimes of German, origin (for details, cf. Zabawa 2010).

Second, it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the date of the first occurrence of a given English loanword in Polish. Consequently, the division of the loanwords found in the corpus into three groups that will be presented in the further part of the paper (cf. Section 4) is in many cases only presumptive and by no means definite.

It must also be stressed that the corpus contains a number of proper names, which are not, however, treated as loanwords⁵. They are either taken over directly from English (e.g. *McDonald's, X-Box*) or created in Polish, but using only English elements (e.g. *CD Action, Top Secret*). Some of them, combining both English and Polish, belong to the class of hybrid constructions (e.g. *CyberMycha*). It must also be added that it is very often the case that proper names are built up of common nouns, e.g. *CD Action* (a title of a computer magazine), consisting of two nouns: *CD* and *Action*. Such forms are not counted as borrowings, either⁶.

Additionally, it must be noted that it is sometimes very difficult, if not impossible, to make a clear-cut distinction between single-word code switching (or code mixing) and borrowing. According to Malmkrjær (1991: 61-62), code switching, which can be defined as “a change from one language to another in the same utterance or conversation”, is one of the two subtypes of language mixing (the second subtype being code mixing). Code mixing, on the other hand, is understood as “the use of elements, most typically nouns, from one language in an utterance predominantly in another language” (Hamers and Blanc 1989, cited in Malmkrjær 1991: 62). Other authors, e.g. Bussman, distinguish between situative code switching (“in which the functional distribution of varieties that are evaluated differently in society is subject to normative rules”, Bussman 1998: 79) and conversational code switching (“which is not linked to a change of external factors of the speech

⁴ Such loanwords were not counted as English lexical borrowings.

⁵ They can function, however, as a base for derivatives, e.g. *microsoftowy* from *Microsoft*. In the present study, such derivatives are treated as lexical borrowings.

⁶ The form *CD* is treated as a lexical borrowing because it was also used in the corpus as an independent word, i.e. not as a part of a proper name.

constellation, but occurs within an externally invariant speech situation, within a turn or even intrasententially”, *ibid.*). Naturally, such a problem may arise when a given form is uttered by a bilingual person⁷, as the speech of monolinguals cannot contain any instances of code switching, which by definition are characteristic for bi- or multilingual speakers (cf. also e.g. MacSwan 1997). It appears that in the present corpus, it is possible to occasionally encounter instances of the latter type of code switching (i.e. conversational) or, using the definitions provided by Malmkrjær and Hamers and Blanc, of language mixing.

The difficulty connected with differentiating between single word code switching (or code mixing) and borrowing was commented upon by numerous linguists, cf. e.g. Hill and Hill:

In practice, it is quite difficult for linguists to distinguish between cases of borrowing and cases of code-switching. Since code-switching occurs in situations where two languages are in contact, foreign material in the usage of bilinguals can be of both types. It is not possible to divine the nature of speaker self-consciousness about foreign materials, so linguists have generally tried to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching on strictly linguistic grounds (Hill and Hill 1986, cited in MacSwan 1997: 71).

Furthermore, MacSwan notes that “the judgment as to whether a particular piece of data represents borrowing or code switching will sometimes be a very complex matter, involving consideration of many different factors” (MacSwan 1997: 74-75), adding that “phonological and morphological incorporation, as well as a comparison with monolingual speech, will be some of the factors which aid in making this determination” (*ibid.*). However, it is still not easy to differentiate between single-word code switches and unassimilated borrowings, since both types show by definition no phonological or morphological adaptation.

Other linguists have tried to make a distinction between code switching and borrowing on completely different bases. Myers-Scotton, for example, suggests that the best criterion for differentiating between the two linguistic phenomena is their relative frequency (Myers-Scotton 1993, cited in Bentahila 1995: 139), adding that “any form occurring at least three times in a relatively large corpus is a borrowing” (*ibid.*). Such a criterion may be helpful but does not appear to be very precise: first, the number of occurrence (i.e. 3) seems to have been chosen arbitrarily; second, the notion of “a relatively large corpus” is a rather vague concept.

In the present study, both approaches have been combined: the difference between single-word code switches and borrowings is determined on the basis of the degree of phonological and morphological adaptation and a number of occurrences (i.e. frequency) of a given form. Still, it is necessary to note that such a division is in many cases not definite, as the aforementioned criteria seem to be in-

⁷ It should be added here that the term *bilingualism* itself can be understood in various ways, cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 15-16).

sufficiently precise. For this reason, both types (i.e. single-word code switches and borrowings) have been counted as loanwords and discussed in the present paper.

4. General description of the lexical loans found in the corpus

Altogether, 78 English lexical loans (types) were found in the corpus⁸ (225 tokens). They can be roughly divided into three main groups, the criterion being the time of their first occurrence in Polish⁹: (1) introduced before 1990, (2) introduced in the 1990s or later, noted in USJP and/or WSWO¹⁰ and (3) introduced only recently and not yet noted in the aforementioned dictionaries. All the English lexical borrowings found in the corpus are presented in Table 1 (see below). Most of the loans from the first and second groups are at least partly assimilated. The third group, by contrast, comprises mostly lexical loans which were used only occasionally and whose meaning is not yet well defined. In fact, the loans belonging to the third group may be, and often are, examples of single-word code-switches rather than unassimilated borrowings (cf. Section 3). Additionally, the corpus contains some forms which are not typical loanwords, but which seem, nevertheless, to be modelled on English (or sometimes also German). Naturally, such forms do not appear in either Polish or English dictionaries. They are not counted as lexical borrowings; they are, however, included in the table as a separate group. Moreover, the corpus contains some examples of multi-word code-switching and of the English expressions used metalinguistically. Such constructions are not counted as lexical borrowings, either, and are not included in the table.

In general, the meaning and use of most of the loanwords belonging to the first and second groups will not be discussed in detail¹¹. Most of them have already been adapted morphologically and/or phonologically and are generally understood by young educated Polish native speakers¹². Some of them do not even seem to be felt as foreign by native speakers of Polish, e.g. *komputer*, *serial*, *parking*, *test* or *trening*. As a consequence, since they are noted in the dictionaries, there

⁸ Derivatives were counted as separate types (70 types when derivatives are excluded).

⁹ However, as was mentioned before, the classification cannot be said to be definite.

¹⁰ The list of the abbreviations for the dictionaries used in the present paper is given at the end of the article.

¹¹ It is worth noting that in some cases, only the subsense of the English word was borrowed into Polish (e.g. *firewall*: the meaning borrowed into Polish: 'a part of a computer system or network which is designed to block unauthorized access while permitting outward communication', ODE; the core meaning, non-existent in Polish: 'a wall or partition designed to inhibit or prevent the spread of fire', ODE). Some other loans, by contrast, were used in Polish in the meaning absent in English dictionaries, e.g. *kompakt* (English *compact*) referring to a CD.

¹² In some cases, Polish equivalents have been coined, e.g. *firewall* – *zapora ogniowa*, *ściana ogniowa*.

Table 1: Lexical borrowings of English origin found in the corpus

English borrowings found in the corpus ¹³			Other forms modelled on English and/or German (not counted as loanwords) ¹⁴
English borrowings introduced before 1990	English borrowings introduced in the 1990s or later (noted in USJP and/or WSWO)	Newest English borrowings (not noted in USJP or WSWO)	
anglikański biznes/business camping ¹⁵ disc jockey/dysk dżokej dolar dubbing film gadżet grill hi-fi hipis/hippis hobby komfort komputer komputerowy komputeryzacja OK parking parkować partner przetrenować pub serial sponsorować standard standardowo startować szok test trener trening weekend wysportowany zdopingować zoo	CD CD-ROM CV DVD edytor [=word processor] e-mail firewall hip-hop HTML interaktywny Internet internetowy jacuzzi kartridz/cartridge klikać kompakt mail modem multimedialny non-stop OEM on-line PC serwer SMS ¹⁶ subwoofer top ¹⁷ van	boksowy/boxowy hand-held impossible IP mailowo microsoftowy multiplayer net pass PDF screen single strongman/strongmen wow zip file	divix empetrójka erpeg foluwa integrale menago

¹³ Derivatives (e.g. *komputerowy*, *komputeryzacja* derived from *komputer*) are listed as separate entries.

¹⁴ As the forms were only spoken, not written, their spelling is quite arbitrary.

¹⁵ See Section 5, subsection [1] for the explanation of the spelling of the word.

¹⁶ The form, although originating in English, is actually not used there. In English, by contrast, the construction *text (-message)* is used, e.g. *I'll text you*. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Rafał Molencki for drawing my attention to this fact.

¹⁷ The word was used twice in the phrase *na topie* 'most popular, fashionable'.

does not seem to be a need to discuss the meaning and use of these loans in detail. Nevertheless, a few words from these groups will be discussed (cf. Section 5), as they were used in the corpus in the meaning different than the one or ones noted in USJP and/or WSWO (e.g. *camping*, *CD*, *mail*, *van*). Naturally, all the loans belonging to the third group (i.e. newest English borrowings, not noted in WSWO or USJP) will be discussed in detail (cf. Section 6). Many of these loans have not so far been discussed in the literature on the subject. Other forms of foreign origin will be only briefly mentioned in Section 7, since they are not typical English loanwords.

5. The analysis of the selected loanwords from the first and second groups

As was mentioned before, only one word belonging to the first group will be discussed in detail, namely *camping*, as it was used in the corpus in the meaning different than the one noted in the dictionaries of Polish. As for the loans from the second group, only the ones used in a meaning different than the one noted in WSWO and/or USJP, will be discussed.

[1] *Camping*. The form *camping* was used in the corpus once. Since the beginning of the word was pronounced [kam-] rather than [kem-], it was decided not to introduce its Polish spelling *kemping*, which could have suggested the latter pronunciation. The dictionaries of Polish define the form *camping* or *kemping* as (1) 'a place with toilets, water, etc., where people on holiday can put up their tents, park their caravans, campers, etc.' and (2) 'living in a tent, caravan or camper during one's holiday'¹⁸ (cf. WSWO). The word is thus a counterpart of English *campsite* and *camping*. In the present corpus, however, the form in question was used in entirely different meaning, namely 'a small, simple, single-storey house, used to live during one's holidays'. The form, coming probably from *domek campingowy*, is thus roughly equivalent to Polish *barak*. This, however, is not a new use of the word; the form in this meaning was actually used as early as in the 1960s¹⁹; it is, therefore, surprising that this particular meaning has not so far found its way into the dictionaries of Polish, including the newest dictionary of English borrowings in Polish (SZA 2010).

[2] *CD*. The form (the abbreviation for 'compact disc') was used in the corpus five times²⁰ in three main senses: (1) 'a small disc on which music or information is stored', (2) 'a small empty disc on which music or information can be recorded'

¹⁸ The English definitions are formulated with the help of or quoted from English monolingual dictionaries (OALD and ODE).

¹⁹ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Rafał Molencki for this observation.

²⁰ Additionally, the word *CD* was used five further times as a part of a proper name (*CD Action*). Such uses, as was explained in Section 4, are not treated as borrowings.

and (3) 'a machine for playing CDs; a CD player'²¹. The first two senses are similar; in fact, they can be treated as two shades of the same meaning. Interestingly enough, the third meaning, which is distinctly different from the previous two, is noted in USJP but not WSWO.

The form has also been used in the meaning not noted in English (number 3 above; cf. ODE). *CD* can thus be said to be a rare example of the borrowed word whose meaning has been extended in the recipient language.

The word, although frequent in both speech and writing, belongs to the group of unassimilated borrowings in the sphere of morphology. The word in writing is often preceded by certain specifying words, such as *plyta*, *napęd* or *nagrywarka*; such phrases can then be inflected for case and number²².

[3] *CD-ROM*. The form (the abbreviation for 'compact disc read-only memory') was used in the corpus three times in two meanings: (1) 'a kind of CD on which information can be stored, for use on a computer' and (2) 'a machine, usually built into a computer, for reading CD-ROM discs; a CD-ROM drive'. Curiously enough, the latter meaning has been noted in WSWO, but not in USJP (contrary to *CD*, whose new meaning has been noted in USJP, but not in WSWO, cf. the previous subsection).

The word in the corpus has also been used in the meaning not noted in English (number 2 above; cf. ODE). One deals here with the situation analogous to the one connected with the word *CD*: *CD-ROM* is also an example of the borrowed form whose meaning has been extended in the recipient language.

The form in question, being pronounced according to the English model, is unassimilated phonologically, but, contrary to *CD*, is adapted morphologically, as the word was inflected for case (*CD-ROMie*, *CD-ROMu*). It should also be stressed that the word *CD-ROM*, in exactly the same way as *CD*, when used in Polish without any 'introductory' words, such as *nagrywarka*, *plyta*, *napęd*, etc., can be lexically ambiguous.

[4] *DVD*. The form *DVD* (the abbreviation for 'digital videodisc' or 'digital versatile disk', cf. OALD) was used in the corpus as many as eleven times; all the uses, however, occurred in the same recording. The word was used primarily in three related senses: (1) 'a small empty disc, similar to a CD, on which large amounts of information or video can be recorded', (2) 'a disc on which large amounts of information or video is stored' and (3) 'a film recorded on such a disc'²³. However, the form in question was frequently preceded by certain specifying words, e.g. *nagrywarka DVD*, *nagrywarka stacjonarna DVD*, *odtwarzacz DVD*, in which cases the phrase refers to a piece of equipment that is used for

²¹ Thus the word, when used in the third sense, is a more informal equivalent of *odtwarzacz CD* or *odtwarzacz płyt kompaktowych*.

²² This may also be due to the fact that the form *CD*, when used independently, i.e. without such 'introductory' words as given above, could be lexically ambiguous.

²³ In fact, all the three senses are very similar; hence, it would be perhaps more appropriate to describe them as three subsenses of the same meaning.

recording and playing (or only playing) films, music or TV programmes on DVD discs. Such a device, similar to video cassette recorder (but using DVDs instead of videotapes), may be either operating on its own (as aforementioned video cassette recorder) or may be controlled by a computer, in which case it is usually referred to as *DVD-ROM*.

Interestingly enough, not all the meanings of *DVD* that appeared in the corpus have been noted in the dictionaries: in USJP, for example, only the first sense (see above) is noted; in WSWO, on the other hand, the first and second senses are noted. What is more, the latter dictionary provides an additional meaning of *DVD*: 'a piece of equipment, built into a computer, used for reading such discs' [translation and emphasis mine]. As one can see, the last definition appears to be quite restricted, as it does not include DVD recorders, or DVD players not built into a computer, but operating independently.

[5] *E-mail/mail*. The word *e-mail*, coming from the English abbreviation of 'electronic mail', has already been noted in WSWO and USJP (in three main senses). The word occurred only once in the corpus, in the meaning of 'an e-mail address'. It was pronounced in accordance with the English model²⁴.

The form *mail*, according to WSWO²⁵, is an informal way of referring to a message sent via electronic mail. Thus the form is, according to WSWO, more restricted in its use than *e-mail*, which can additionally be used in the meaning of 'a system of electronic mail' and 'an e-mail address'. The form in question was used fourteen times in the corpus; it occurred six times in the old meaning, i.e. the one given by WSWO. The remaining eight occurrences of the word refer to an e-mail address, an electronic mailbox or a system of electronic mail.

The form is already partly assimilated in Polish, at least morphologically. It is worth noticing that the form in question, when used to refer to 'a message sent by e-mail' (used six times in this meaning by three speakers), is already more popular than *e-mail* (not used at all in this meaning) and than some older words or semantic loans, e.g. *poczta* (not used at all) or *wiadomość* (used twice by the same speaker)²⁶.

[6] *OEM*. The acronym *OEM*, standing for 'original equipment manufacturer' (ODE) or 'official equipment manufacturer' (WSWO), was used in the corpus in the meaning of 'a special version of a computer program, usually an operating system, sold together with a computer or a piece of hardware, such as e.g. a hard disk'. An OEM version of a program is usually much cheaper than a box version, but there are certain restrictions on its use. The acronym *OEM* is thus an antonym

²⁴ It is also possible to occasionally hear the word pronounced as [e majl]. It would seem that such a pronunciation can be heard among Polish speakers with little or no knowledge of English. The phenomenon has not, however, been recorded and does not appear in the corpus.

²⁵ The form has not been noted in USJP.

²⁶ This is generally in line with Otwinowska-Kasztelanic's findings, as she also reports that the form *mail* is used more frequently than *e-mail* (Otwinowska-Kasztelanic 2000: 158).

of the form *pudełkowy* or *boxowy*, the latter also appearing in the corpus (for details see Section 6, Subsection [8]).

The form was used twice in the corpus. It was not used in any collocation but the fact that the acronym was preceded by the demonstrative pronoun in the feminine (*żemy kupili tą OEM*) shows that what the speaker meant was most probably *ta wersja OEM* 'this OEM version'. Moreover, the form was also used in the plural (*są te jakieś OEMy*). It must be added here that, although the form *OEM* was used only twice in the corpus, it is frequently used in leaflets and price lists of companies, stores, etc., selling computers and computer software. Moreover, *OEM* appears also in the Polish press and on the Internet.

[7] *Van*. According to WSWO, USJP and SZA, the word *van* can be used in Polish in the sense of 'a kind of car used for carrying a larger number of people'. In the corpus, however, the word was used in a slightly different meaning, as it referred to *Seicento Van*, i.e. a kind of car used for carrying goods and one or two persons. In fact, *van*, as used in the corpus, seems to be on the borderline between a common noun and a proper name.

As was stated earlier (cf. Section 4), more attention will be devoted to the newest group of borrowings. None of them has so far been noted in Polish dictionaries (either USJP or WSWO²⁷).

6. The analysis of the loanwords from the third group²⁸

[8] *Boxowy*. The word *boxowy*, an adjective derived from English *box* (in the meaning of 'a container made of cardboard', cf. OALD), was used in the corpus twice. The word is roughly equivalent to Polish *pudełkowy*. Interestingly enough, the base word form, i.e. *box*, spelled *boks*, is a fully-assimilated English borrowing in Polish. It is not used, however, in the sense of 'a container'. Thus *boxowy*, as used in the corpus, cannot be treated as a derivative of the Polish form *boks*.

The word *boxowy*, used with reference to a computer program (e.g. an operating system *Microsoft Windows*), has the literal meaning of 'packed in a (cardboard) box; sold in a box'; in addition, however, it is used to denote a special version of the operating system which can be installed on a given computer and used without any further restrictions. The word in this use is thus a new borrowing, modelled on English *box version*. It seems that the antonym of *boxowy* / *wersja boxowa* is *wersja OEM* 'an OEM version', also used in the corpus (cf. Section 5, Subsection [6]).

[9] *Hand-held*. The word *hand-held* was used once in the corpus, in the meaning of 'a video game that is small enough to be held in the hand while being

²⁷ Most of them have not been included in SZA, either.

²⁸ The spelling of the words is in some cases arbitrary, as they were only spoken. The words from this section were enumerated (without any detailed discussion) in one of my previous articles (Zabawa 2007).

used'. Interestingly enough, the meaning of the English word *hand-held* is defined as 'a small computer that can be used in the hand' (ODE), whereas the meaning of the loanword in Polish, as used in the corpus, has slightly been modified: the word refers to a small video game (such as e.g. *GameBoy*), but not really to a computer, at least in the traditional sense of the word. However, the form can occasionally be encountered on the Internet, where it is used in exactly the same meaning as its English counterpart (cf. the aforementioned definition)²⁹. In addition, the adjective *hand-heldowy* can also be attested (albeit not in the corpus).

[10] *Impossible*. The word *impossible* would seem at first glance a typical example of single-word code-switching. The word was, however, pronounced not according to the English model, but it was read orthographically (spelling pronunciation). The word was used only once in the corpus; its use was probably meant to be humorous.

[11] *IP*. The form *adres IP* is a straightforward translation of the English form *IP address*³⁰, defined as 'a unique string of numbers separated by full stops that identifies each computer attached to the Internet' (ODE). The form in question was used once in the corpus; it appears, however, with high frequency on the Internet.

[12] *Mailowo*. The form *mailowo* is a completely new derivative in Polish (an adverb derived from the noun *mail* and the adjective *mailowy*). The word, occurring twice in the corpus, was used in the meaning of 'by e-mail'. The word appears also on the Internet, both as *mailowo* and *e-mailowo*.

[13] *Microsoftowy*. The word *microsoftowy* is an adjective derived from the proper name *Microsoft*, denoting a well-known company dealing with computer software. Such a phenomenon shows that it is possible to treat proper names of English origin used in Polish (e.g. *Microsoft*) as unassimilated borrowings³¹.

The form *microsoftowy*, whose meaning can be defined as 'manufactured by Microsoft (referring to software)', was used in the corpus once: *no bo ten Open Office właśnie teraz mam zainstalowany... zamiast tego microsoftowego*. As one can see, the adjective in question was used in the genitive, which shows that the form was morphologically adapted to the rules of the recipient language. The word is also relatively frequently used on the Internet.

[14] *Multiplayer*. The word *multiplayer*, which occurred once in the corpus, was used in the meaning of 'a computer game (or a mode of playing a computer game) designed for or involving several players, usually, but not necessarily, involving the use of the Internet'. As one can see, the word appears to function as a noun. Interestingly enough, such a use does not seem to correspond to the English model (cf. ODE); it would appear that the English adjective was borrowed

²⁹ Due to the shortage of space, it is not possible here to quote examples from the Internet.

³⁰ The abbreviation *IP* stands for *Internet Protocol* (Downing et al. 2009: 259).

³¹ In the present paper, nevertheless, proper names are not counted as borrowings because of their highly distinctive character.

(cf. such constructions as *multiplayer game*) but it came to be used in Polish as a noun. The form has also become a base for the adjective *multiplayerowy* and the adverb *multiplayerowo* (not attested in the corpus, however).

[15] *Net*. The word *net* has been borrowed from English *the Net*, with no change in meaning. The word is used, both in English and Polish, to refer informally to the Internet. The form in question was used once in the corpus.

Interestingly enough, the English word *net* is a good illustration of the two main ‘competing’ methods of introducing foreign vocabulary into Polish: lexical loans (as in this case) and translations using ‘reversed primary counterparts’³², which result in the emergence of semantic loans; thus *the Net* can be translated as *sieć* or – corresponding more closely to the English model – *Sieć*.

The word *net* can also be found very frequently on the Internet. Interestingly enough, *net* has become a base for new derivatives: the adjective *netowy* and the adverb *netowo* (not attested in the corpus).

[16] *Pass*. The word *pass* was used only once in the corpus, in the meaning of ‘a successful result in a test, an exam, etc.’ (cf. OALD). It seems that the word is not really a borrowing, but rather an instance of single-word code-switching (cf. Section 3), as it was completely not integrated into the flow of speech.

[17] *PDF*. The acronym *PDF*, standing for ‘Portable Document Format’ (ODE), appeared once in the corpus. Its meaning can be defined as ‘a file format for capturing and sending electronic documents in exactly the intended format’ (ODE). The form can also be used in English as a modifier (e.g. *PDF files*, cf. ODE).

The form in the corpus appears to have been used as a noun. It belongs to the group of assimilated loans, both in the sphere of phonology and morphology; the form was used in the corpus in the locative: *ale to są takie jakieś strony chyba w PDF-ie takie jakieś*.

[18] *Screen*. The word *screen* was used once in the corpus, in the meaning of ‘a photograph (shown e.g. on an Internet site or published in a computer magazine) of an image displayed by a computer game or a program’. The borrowing was pronounced according to the English model. It should not be classified, however, as single-word code switching, as it appears to be morphologically assimilated: the word was used in the genitive plural (*tam te kilka screenów dali*). The form is also not infrequently used on the Internet, together with its variant form *screen-shot*, used in the same meaning. Interestingly enough, the Polish equivalent of the form in question exists as well, namely *zrzut ekranowy*³³.

[19] *Single*. The word *single* was used in the corpus once: *mnie takie single też znudziły*. It is unclear whether *single* functions as an adjective or a noun. Most probably, the form in question functions as a noun, used to denote ‘a computer game (or a mode of playing a computer game) designed for one player’. The word is thus an antonym of *multiplayer*, also used in the corpus (cf. Subsection [14]).

³² The term ‘primary counterpart’ was used by Arabski (1979).

³³ The form also appeared on the Internet as a diminutive (*zrzutki ekranowe*).

Interestingly enough, the English word *single* has a wide range of meanings; none of its senses, however, refers directly to a computer game (cf. e.g. OALD, ODE)³⁴. Nevertheless, the English word can be found on the Internet in a similar meaning to the one in which its Polish counterpart was used in the corpus, e.g. “Official Single / Multiplayer Demo for Delta Force” (http://pc.gamezone.com/news/02_04_03_02_46PM.htm)³⁵. As one can see, the form seems to function as an adjective (an antonym of *multiplayer*). The word *single*, referring to a computer game, can also be found on the Polish websites, where it also seems to function as an adjective, e.g. “Możliwość gry w trybie single i multiplayer” (http://www.superseller.gry-online.pl/cenega_superseller.asp?ID=5196).

A similar form (with three variant forms of spelling: *singel*, *singiel* and *syngiel*), functioning as a noun, has been noted in USJP, WSWO and SZA. Its meanings are not, however, connected with the semantic area of computers or computer games.

[20] *Strongman, strongmen*. The construction was probably first used in Polish in a programme emitted by the Polish television TVN (together with its Polish counterpart – *siłacze*, i.e. ‘men of great physical strength’). The form occurred four times in the corpus. In one of the examples (*co było co było w tych w tych tych strongmenach*), the word is used as a way of referring to a weightlifting contest organized by a sponsor in a popular holiday resort. It is unclear if *strongman/strongmen* was the official name of the contest (it was not, however, organized or sponsored by TVN) and, consequently, it is difficult to decide whether the speaker used it as a proper noun or as a common noun, referring generally to this type of competition (i.e. modelled on the one emitted by TVN). In the remaining occurrences, the word is undoubtedly used as a common noun, synonymous with Polish *siłacze*.

Interestingly enough, the forms are already inflected, which shows that they are at least partly assimilated in Polish. What is more, they might have undergone the process of depluralization³⁶, which is not, however, as obvious as in the case of the nouns with the regular plural in English (e.g. English *commando* – singular, *commandos* – plural → Polish *komandos* – singular, *komandosi* – plural; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 59)³⁷. It seems that the English plural form *strongmen* is sometimes treated in Polish as the singular one. The plural form is then created by means of adding the suffix *-i* or *-y*: *strongmeni* or *strongmeny*. Such a word can then be inflected for case³⁸.

³⁴ It must be added at this point that some of the definitions given in ODE are so general that they can be connected with a computer game, among other things, e.g. ‘designed or suitable for one person’.

³⁵ All Internet websites quoted in the article were accessed on September 2010.

³⁶ This is only a hypothesis, as the form was only spoken, not written.

³⁷ It must be added at this point that the process of depluralization is characteristic of the loanwords in many European languages (including Polish), as Danchev has stated: ‘[depluralization] can obviously be regarded as a universal feature of language contacts due to loss of structural transparency’ (Danchev 1986: 17).

³⁸ However, another explanation is also possible and seems even more plausible: the English vowel in *strongman* may have been heard by Polish speakers as [e]. As a consequence, the English singular

Both forms (*strongman* and *strongmen*) can also be encountered on the Internet. Curiously enough, there seems to be considerable uncertainty about the spelling of the word in the plural, since four variants can be found (*strongmani*, *strongmany*, *strongmeni*, *strongmeny*).

[21] *Wow*. The form *wow* is the only example of an interjection³⁹ found in the corpus. Admittedly, the form *OK* also appeared in the corpus, but it was not really used as an interjection, but rather as a description of the option appearing on a computer screen. The exclamation *wow* was used twice in the corpus. In one of the examples, the exclamation is used to express the feeling of astonishment mixed with admiration (*a jak wyście w ogóle wypadli // pierwsze miejsce // wow*); in the other one, it is admiration that is mainly expressed. The pronunciation of the word is modelled on English.

The use of such interjections has a great deal of common features with single-word code-switches (such as unassimilated pronunciation and no morphological and/or syntactic adaptation), but nevertheless it seems reasonable to treat *wow* in the above contexts as an unassimilated borrowing since (1) the speaker who used the form in question possessed only a basic knowledge of English and (2) the form was clearly understood by other interlocutors.

[22] *Zip file*. The phrase *zip file* was used once in the corpus, to denote ‘a compressed computer file’. The phrase was imported straightforwardly from English, where *zip*, when referring to computers, was first used as a verb (cf. one of the definitions of the word given in ODE: ‘compress (a file) so that it takes less space in storage’). The phrase in the corpus is surrounded by the utterances in Polish (*kiedyś jak miałem na twardym dysku jakiś zip file... że tam coś*). It seems reasonable to treat it as a single-phrase code-switch, rather than an unassimilated borrowing, as it was used according to the English model with no morphological or phonological adaptation. Besides, it is unclear whether the phrase was understood by other informants, since it was preceded and followed by long utterances made by the same speaker. Accordingly, the other participants in the conversation did not really have a chance to react to the phrase and e.g. ask for clarification.

The phrase can be found on the Internet, but it also seems to function there as an instance of single-phrase code-switch, rather than a borrowing.

form *strongman* might have been heard by the speakers of Polish as [-men]. Thus Polish *strongmen* has become a base singular form.

³⁹ According to Crystal (1997: 200), the term ‘interjection’ usually refers to the class of words whose function is purely emotive (e.g. *Blast!*, *Strewth!*). As he himself admits, however, there is an unclear boundary between such ‘typical interjections’ as quoted above and other exclamations which may carry some referential meaning (e.g. *Cheers!* *Well Well!*).

7. Other forms of English origin

In addition to regular English borrowings, the corpus contains some other forms of foreign origin. They are either similar to pseudo-anglicisms (i.e. expressions which do not actually exist in English but which are composed of English elements; cf. e.g. Filipović 1972: 157) or of unclear origin (either English or German, or both). The two groups comprise the following words found in the corpus: *integrale*, *menago*, *erpeg*, *divix*, *empetrójka* and *foluwa*⁴⁰. As one can see, they are not a part of standard Polish lexis (cf. USJP). Interestingly enough, some of them were used by the people with little or no knowledge of English.

The first form of unclear origin is *foluwa*, which means ‘a lot of people, a crowd’. The form, which could be modelled on either German *voll* or English *full* (or both), appeared once in the corpus: *to była taka foluwa że ja... ja ino słyszałem że ryczą.*

As regards *erpeg*, the form is sometimes used in Polish as an informal version of the English acronym *RPG* (now also functioning in Polish, cf. WSWO, SZA), standing for *Role Playing Game*, defined as ‘a game in which players take on the roles of imaginary characters who engage in adventures, typically in a particular fantasy setting overseen by a referee’ (ODE). Additionally, the term may also refer to a similar game played by a single person, using a computer. Although infrequent in the corpus, the word is not infrequently used in Polish computer magazines. Interestingly enough, the word in question is used interchangeably with other forms, all of which are modelled on the English acronym *RPG*, namely *RPG* (a borrowing), *cRPG* (standing for *computer Role Playing Game*), *erpeg*, *role-play* or *rolplej*.

The next expression in the present group is *divix*. The form comes from *DivX*, a brand name of video compression technology. According to the official website (<http://www.divx.com>), it is ‘a piece of software that compresses video from virtually any source down to a size that is transportable over the Internet without reducing the original video’s visual quality’⁴¹.

In the corpus, the form *divix* is no longer used as a brand name, but as a common noun referring to films recorded in *DivX* format. What is more, the form was used in the plural, which shows that it becomes morphologically assimilated in Polish (*a co to było te divixy czy co to było*).

The next form to be discussed is *empetrójka* (based on *MP3*). The form *MP3*, standing for ‘MPEG Layer-3’ (Downing et al. 2009: 318), is the name of a popular

⁴⁰ The spelling of the forms is quite arbitrary, as they were only uttered, not written.

⁴¹ It must be added that the form in question, when spelled *Divx* (as opposed to *DivX*), has a different meaning. It is then an abbreviation for ‘Digital Video Express’ used to denote “a DVD-ROM format promoted by several Hollywood companies” (http://www.whatis.techtarget.com/definition/00,,sid9_gci213_637,00.html). A movie (or other data), recorded in this format, is “playable only during a specific time frame, most typically two days” (ibid.).

compressed audio file format. An MP3 file (usually a song) is sometimes informally referred to, especially by the younger generation of Poles, as *empetrójka*. The form *empetrójka*, functioning as a noun (occurring also in the plural), appeared six times in the corpus.

Additionally, the corpus contains some further words, which are a part of neither English nor Polish lexis, but which nevertheless appear to be modelled on English forms; hence, they can be described as a kind of pseudo-anglicisms. They are *integrale* and *menago*, both of which appeared once in the corpus.

As for *integrale*, the word seems to be connected with the English forms *integral* and Polish *integralny*, *integralnie*. The meaning of the form in question seems to be related to one of the meanings of the English adjective *integral*: 'having all the parts that are necessary to be complete; included as part of a whole rather than supplied separately' (ODE). As for the part of speech of *integrale*, its status appears to be unclear. Most probably, the form functions as a noun denoting some type of selling. The word refers to computers (together with appropriate software) sold to companies.

The last word in the present group is *menago*. The form seems to be a variant of the English loan *menedżer/menadżer/manager*. The form *menago*, which appeared in the corpus once, was used to denote 'a person who is in charge of a school; a headmaster'. The word can also be encountered on the Internet.

In addition, the corpus contains two examples of multi-word code-switching (*żeś nawet pedzioł tam / where are you from / i on ci odpisoł I am from France*) as well as two English expressions used metalinguistically, *red / red hair* and *sales engineer*.

8. Conclusions

Altogether, as was mentioned before, 78 types (including derivatives) of English lexical loans have been found in the corpus (225 tokens). The number of English loanwords (225 tokens) may seem relatively large at first glance, but when this number is contrasted with the number of running words of the entire corpus, it becomes evident that English loanwords constitute a very small percentage of the corpus, namely 0.3715%⁴².

Thus, the study has revealed that, contrary to popular belief, Polish speakers do not seem to overuse the borrowings from English. While it may be the case that the borrowings of English origin are used excessively in the language of the mass media, particularly in commercials and press advertisements, they are not overused in spontaneous everyday conversations. This corroborates Otwinowska-

⁴² A similar result was obtained by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000). Her study focuses on semantic and syntactic influence of English upon Polish, but she has counted the frequency of English lexical borrowings as well. In her corpus, they constitute 0.410% of the running words.

Kasztelanic's finding (2000) that the speech of Poles is in fact quite conservative in terms of the use of English words.

On the other hand, a number of the loanwords that appeared in the present corpus have not so far been discussed in detail in the literature on the subject or noted in the dictionaries of foreign terms, cf. e.g. *boxowy*, *hand-held*, *IP*, *microsoftowy*, *multiplayer*, *screen*, *strongman (strongmen)*⁴³. Most of them, however, were used only once or twice in the corpus and, consequently, can be classified as idiosyncratic borrowings, as they seem to depend on the idiolect of a given speaker, at least to a certain extent. This indicates that new vocabulary items are entering Polish all the time but many of such loans, although they may gain some temporary appeal, will probably never become assimilated and will not become a part of the Polish lexis.

Furthermore, the corpus contains a number of loanwords noted in WSWO and/or USJP, but used in the corpus in a slightly or completely different meaning from the one or ones noted in the dictionaries. A phenomenon of this type can be noticed in the case of such words as *camping*, *CD*, *CD-ROM* or *van*. Besides, many of the borrowings noted in the aforementioned dictionaries are still not widely known and can therefore be regarded as novelties in contemporary Polish. The group in question includes such words as *kartridż* or *subwoofer*. Other borrowings, on the other hand, while introduced into Polish a relatively long time ago, are still far from fully assimilated, e.g. *dubbing* or *weekend*.

The majority of the newer loanwords (i.e. from the second or third group) belong to the semantic field of computers, the Internet or modern technology. They denote new concepts, objects, devices or features (e.g. *hand-held*, *subwoofer*, *OEM*). Admittedly, they sometimes have Polish counterparts but it seems that English borrowings are often preferred because of their brevity, e.g. *subwoofer* – *głośnik niskotonowy*⁴⁴, *screen* – *zrzut ekranowy*, *single* – *gra komputerowa* (or *wersja gry komputerowej*) *przeznaczona dla jednej osoby*; *gra jednoosobowa*⁴⁵.

It appears that most of the English loans used in the corpus either belong to the group of old and relatively well-assimilated borrowings (e.g. *film*, *biznes*, *standard*, *komputer*) or can be classified as necessary borrowings (e.g. *hand-held*, *subwoofer*, *interaktywny*, *on-line*, *OEM*). Consequently, most of the loans in the corpus were used not because of linguistic snobbery, but because of either linguistic necessity or linguistic economy. Naturally, a few forms can perhaps be classified as unnecessary borrowings, e.g. *boksowy* (*boxowy*), *impossible*, *net*, *non-stop*, *pass*, *pub* and *zip file*. On the whole, however, such loans were relati-

⁴³ One could extend the list by adding the words which have been modelled on English or German but which are not typical loanwords, namely *divix*, *empetrójka*, *erpeg*, *foluwa*, *integrale* and *menago*.

⁴⁴ Some of the possible Polish counterparts are quoted from or formulated on the basis of WSWO.

⁴⁵ Naturally, in some cases Polish constructions are as brief as their English counterparts, e.g. *download a file from the Internet* – *ściągać* (or *pobrać*) *plik z Internetu*. On the whole, however, it seems that the majority of the English constructions used in the corpus are shorter than their possible Polish counterparts.

vely infrequent in the corpus, as the majority of them appeared only once or were used by one speaker. Moreover, some of them, such as *pass* or *zip file*, should be classified as single-word code switches rather than borrowings.

In conclusion, it can be stated that lexical borrowings do not seem to pose a serious danger to contemporary Polish (cf. also Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 81), who expressed a very similar view). The Polish language keeps developing and the emergence of new lexical items is one of the signs of such development. The study has revealed that users of Polish do not seem to overuse the words of English origin. What is more, most of the new loans found in the corpus appeared in the semantic field of computers and modern technology, which suggests indirectly that the majority of them can be classified as necessary. Furthermore, the vast proportion of the loanwords in question will either be assimilated, as happened before to such loans as *komputer*, *film* and *sport*, or will disappear.

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