Dominik Kudła

Anglicisms

Related to Football

in Polish and Russian

Under the Supervision of Mariusz Górnicz

Debiuty Akademickie 4

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Introduction

It is generally known that English is nowadays a language of global importance. Due to various cultural, historical and political factors it has dominated the international communication and has become a lingua franca of the modern world. As a result, numerous languages have incorporated some linguistic structures based on those present in English, called linguistic borrowings and more specifically Anglicisms.

Multifarious studies have proven that sport as an element of human culture throughout the centuries has developed its unique language not identical to the general language used in everyday communication. The same applies to individual sports disciplines including association football, which since the end of the 19th century has gained a status of one of the most popular games in the world. Due to the fact that the rules of the modern football were formed in Britain, linguistic borrowings from English are one of the most important elements within the football languages of numerous native languages.

The present study is aimed at examining Anglicisms within the language of football in two Slavic languages, Polish and Russian. The comparison of the number and character of this group of English-based borrowings in the languages was performed on the basis of two types of texts representing two varieties of the football language – football regulations and online football press articles.

The study consists of five chapters. The first four of them constitute a theoretical introduction into the subject, whereas the last one bids to make a contribution to the present state of knowledge of this field.

The first chapter describes the concept of linguistic borrowing as one of the results of the phenomenon of language contact, as well as various classifications of borrowings and the processes of adaptation of linguistic borrowings. A general overview of Polish-English and Russian-English language contacts, as well as of Anglicisms in Polish and Russian and their adaptation at the levels of orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics is presented in the second chapter. The third chapter characterises language for special purposes and juxtaposes it with the concepts of language for general purposes and jargon. The fourth chapter is concerned with the language for special purposes where the Anglicisms were analysed – the language of football, divided into sub-languages in accordance with the remarks of previous studies. Chapter 5 analyses Anglicisms in Polish and Russian translations of *Laws of the Game* and texts of online football press articles.

1. Linguistic borrowing

This chapter discusses the notion of linguistic borrowing and the phenomena related to it. Section 1.1 describes the general notion of language contact. Section 1.2. deals with various definitions of the term "linguistic borrowing" and finding its most important characteristics. Section 1.3. is concerned with divisions and classes of linguistic borrowings. Finally, section 1.4. addresses the issue of adaptation of lexical borrowings in the recipient languages.

1.1. The notion of language contact and the consequences of language contact

Language contact is generally perceived as a phenomenon that is normal and typical for the vast majority of human languages. S. G. Thomason (2001: 6) states that from the moment when humans began to speak more than one language they had to communicate with speakers of other languages, thus their languages stayed in contact.

She describes the notion of language contact as the "use of more than one language (...) at the same time" by a group or groups of people (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 1). At least some of the members of this group (or groups) have to use more than one language, but full bilingualism or multilingualism is not required (for the notion of bilingualism see p. <u>9</u>). The crux of this process is the communication between speakers of different languages.

The most typical situations in which language contact occurs are as follows (S. G. Thomason 2001: 15–21):
● when two groups move to a previously unoccupied territory, thus none of them is indigenous, e.g. the Native American tribes meeting at No Man's Land once a year for common hunting;
● when one group comes to the territory of another; this situation may take both peaceful (immigration) and hostile form (takeover of land as a result of war or conquest);
● when cultural relations between long-time neighbours exist (most often mutual trade is the propeller of this contact situation);
● some independent activities of individuals, e.g. travelling, education, profession, religion, intermarriage, etc.

Nevertheless, many linguists (e.g. S. G. Thomason, 2001: 2; L. Krysin, 2004: 32; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 11; M. Zabawa, 2012: 34) underline that the users of the contacting languages need not be in the same place. Especially nowadays language contact is also possible without direct *contact* between members of two language communities, as it is possible by means of reading texts (in both paper and electronic version), and using the modern media (radio, television, the Internet). Some researchers also point out that the geographical distance does not impact

the process of borrowing, as there are many instances of two communities distant from one another with intense language contact and neighbouring language communities with hardly any contact (L. Krysin, 2004: 34; M. Zabawa, 2012: 39).

When addressing the issue of language contact, it is important to determine what "a language" is. From the perspective of the currently popular cognitive approach (cf. section 3.1. of this study) the phrase "language contact" is a metaphor, while the locus of this process is the language processing apparatus and its use by the speaker in communication to achieve particular goals, as Y. Matras (2009: 3) states. However, even in the more traditional way of understanding language as a system, it is sometimes not easy to draw the line between two languages, as the difference between what is understandable and what is incomprehensible sometimes could be fuzzy (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 2).

S. G. Thomason (2001: 66) claims that contact-induced change depends on the intensity of language contact. She states that it is connected with cultural pressure of one language community on the other (it is more likely that a subordinate group will adopt features of the dominant one), the duration of contact (the longer the contact situation lasts, the more extensive interference is possible) and sizes of contacting groups (less numerous groups are influenced easier than larger ones).

A. Furdal (1995: 74) claims that coexistence of languages should be based on the principles of democracy, equality and mutual respect to both language and culture. However, usually in contact situations there are periods when more elements are transferred from one language to the other than the other way round. Consequently, many linguists (e.g. U. Weinreich, 1979; S. G. Thomason, 2001) state that the character of language contact depends on its stability. S. G. Thomason (2001: 21–25) claims that language contact is stable when there have been no changes in the character of this situation for 3–4 generations. It could be defined as unstable when a tendency to shift to one of the contacting languages arises. She points out that social factors, as opposed to linguistic ones, have a considerable impact on the stability of language contact. These factors are the number of speakers of each language, institutional support, language loyalty attitudes, perceiving language as ethnicity symbol, economic, political and social status of speakers of a given language.

Nonetheless, R. Hickey (2010: 8) states that not always the more prestigious language influences the less prestigious one and provides some counterexamples. In these cases the non-dominant influence is transferred gradually to the dominant language over many generations, e.g. the syntactic influence of Celtic language on English (R. Hickey 2010: 8). However, it is also important that any languages can take part in the process of language contact. As S. G. Thomason (2001: 8) points out: "extensive and intricate language contacts, with far-reaching social, political, and linguistic effects, are a constant feature of the human condition, not a phenomenon that is limited to large, recent, militarily prominent, and/or technologically advanced societies".

She points out that nowadays monolingualism is not a norm (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 31). The existence of people understanding one language in a community

using mostly another language undoubtedly facilitates the process of contact between the languages and increases the probability of their mutual interference. The majority of linguists (e.g. E. Haugen, 1950; U. Weinreich, 1979, S. G. Thomason, 2001; L. Krysin, 2004; Y. Matras, 2009; M. Zabawa, 2012) state that one of the most important factors influencing the process of language contact is the phenomenon of bilingualism (or multilingualism), i.e. when a group of people is able to communicate in all languages taking part in the contact process. However, there is no unanimity when it comes to what kind of proficiency in all known languages is required to state that a person is bilingual (multilingual). Some researchers (e.g. K. Malmkrjær, 1991, after M. Zabawa, 2012: 37) state that bilingualism entails a native-speaker-like proficiency in both languages, while others (K. C. Diller, 1972 and I. Lehiste, 1988, after M. Zabawa, 2012: 39; U. Weinreich, 1979: 1; L. Krysin, 2004) state that any kind of proficiency would suffice to call a person bilingual. There are also some who claim that bilingualism is a gradual phenomenon, thus, some speakers could be more bilingual than others (D. Crystal, 1997, J. Edwards, 1994 and J. Rusiecki, 1980, after M. Zabawa, 2012: 39).

Y. Matras (2009) offers a more functional approach to this phenomenon. He claims that linguists addressing the issue of language contact have focused insufficiently upon the bilingual individual. Seen from the perspective of such speaker language contact is an internal factor of the use of linguistic repertoire (Y. Matras, 2009: 3–5). Mental processing during communication leads to distinguishing, selecting and controlling equivalent structures from the multilingual inventory. However, the structures comprising it are not organised in the form of languages, as "language system" is an artificial label for a part of the linguistic patterns known by the speaker. Through the process of linguistic socialisation speakers associate elements of their linguistic repertoire with social activities, interlocutors, subjects, institutions, etc. The task of the multilingual speaker in communication is to choose the context-appropriate forms and structures. In some contexts, the choice does not have to correspond with the division of structures into languages and it is acceptable to mix the linguistic means normally assigned to various languages (Y. Matras, 2009: 99). This is one of the main mechanisms leading to contact-induced changes in a given language.

According to K. Witczak (1992: 83) bilingualism also plays a crucial role in situations of the encounter of two language communities unfamiliar to each other. He states that if one community conquers a territory inhabited by another language community, a considerable group of bilinguals is created. This group is the main locus of the language contact between these languages and usually during several bilingual generations one or another language prevails in it. This process is influenced by: the size and sociocultural homogeneity of the bilingual group, the prestige of contacting languages, attitudes towards bilingualism or interference and the attitude of the rest of the population. The "defeated" language always leaves some remains in the lexicon (often also in phonetics and morphology) of the "winner" language. If the indigenous language is absorbed by the foreign language this remains is called a substrate, if the indigenous language prevails, the remains of the foreign language is called a superstrate (G. Paris 1882;

after K. Witczak, 1992: 83). The situation when none of the languages prevails is called adstrate (M. Valkhoff: 1932 cited in K. Witczak, 1992: 83).

Usually when speakers of two or more languages live in one community the bilingualism is asymmetrical because the groups are rarely of equal status when it comes to prestige, power or size (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 3). A. Furdal (1995: 75) describes one of such bilingualism situations, called diglossia, where in one community two languages are used in functions for which in other language communities two dialectal or stylistic varieties of one language are used e.g. the languages of national and ethnic minorities, such as the Romany people, who use their language in contacts within their language community and another language in contacts with the authorities. This phenomenon is not a result of mistreatment of a given group, but rather of an inconsiderable number of its members.

E. Haugen (1950: 211) points out that there are no "pure" languages. Every language contains some foreign element. Even if some native speakers claim that there are no such elements in their language, they are wrong, because most often elements of foreign origin had become indistinguishable from native ones as a result of the adaptation process. Moreover, K. Witczak (1992: 79) states that usually under the influence of intense language contact even dissimilar languages may significantly converge to each other.

The consequences of language contact, according to S. G. Thomason (2001: 10) may be threefold: contact-induced change, extreme language mixture and language death. She describes contact-induced change as alterations in one of the contacting languages resulting from the contact situation. Y. Matras (2009: 5) points out that contact-induced change is a product of innovations of individual multilingual speakers. Linguists generally agree that this is the most common result of language contact (e.g. E. Haugen, 1950; U. Weinreich, 1979; S. G. Thomason, 2001; R. Hickey, 2010). This process includes direct importations from the source language, changes that arise as a result of them and degeneration of some features of the recipient language due to increasing number of its speakers shifting to the other of the contacting languages. R. Hickey (2010: 12) points out that frequently when a pattern in one language is similar to one in another language, contact induces changes in the frequency of use of this pattern. From various contact-induced changes the most common is borrowing of words. However, the number of lexical borrowings in a given language does not prove the intensity of contacts (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 60).

Extreme language mixture (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 10) occurs when languages constituting a mixture of various features from two or several languages are created, i.e. pidgins (secondary languages used for limited purposes) and creoles (when such mixed language becomes the main language of the community). Usually in such languages the vocabulary is taken from the more prominent language and the grammar is based on the features shared by all the languages or those, which are the easiest to learn. E. Haugen (1950: 210) claims that these situations are rare and in the vast majority of contact situations no new language is created.

Language death is the most drastic possible consequence of language contact, when all the speakers of a given language shift to another language or, in rare cases,

when all of them die. If one group of language speakers is dominated by another, this may lead to language shift in the dominated group (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 4). In language-shift-induced changes the tendencies are opposite to those in contact-induced changes (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 80), e.g. phonological and syntactic features are transferred first and vocabulary is borrowed rarely.

The main focus of attention of the present study, i.e. linguistic borrowing, is one of contact-induced changes. Consequently, the rest of this section will be devoted to the main factors influencing this type of language contact results.

The phenomenon of code-switching (sometimes called "speech borrowing"), which is closely related to bilingualism, is enumerated as a factor having a considerable influence on contact-induced changes. S. G. Thomason (2001: 132) describes it as use of material from two or more languages by a single speaker in the same conversation. L. Krysin (2004: 60) states that the elements introduced in such a manner lose nothing or almost nothing of their original features from the source language (sometimes except for spelling, as is the case in Russian). P. Muysken (2000) distinguishes two types of this phenomenon, i.e.: alternational (also called inter-sentential) where the language is changed between utterances or sentences and insertional (also called intra-sentential), i.e. inserting words and phrases from another language to sentences formed in one language.

Many linguists juxtapose this phenomenon with lexical borrowing. Some state that these are instances of the same process (D. Winford, 2010: 182), as the criteria of distinguishing them, such as degree of adaptation or frequency of use are "inconclusive and shaky". Others claim that they are strongly connected, but they are not identical (E. Haugen 1950: 211; E. Hatch and C. Brown 1995; after M. Zabawa, 2012: 28). They state that code-switched elements are used spontaneously by bilinguals to achieve a concrete communicative effect, while borrowing is a diachronic process of enhancing vocabulary (Y. Matras, 2009: 106). Another part of linguists claim that code-switching is a preliminary to lexical borrowing (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 133; L. Krysin, 2004: 60; Y. Matras, 2009: 111). They underline that only if the code-switched elements are also repeated by monolingual speakers of the recipient language, they may become lexical borrowings there.

S. G. Thomason (2001: 89) also presents another outcome of language contact described earlier by numerous linguists, i.e. relexification. This is the situation where so many words were borrowed from the source language that there is hardly any native vocabulary left in the recipient language lexicon. This is mainly a hypothetical concept, as no examples of such a change were found anywhere in the world.

There are also other processes facilitating contact-induced changes (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 136–149):
- code alteration – using one language in one set of environment and other in a completely different set of environment;
- passive familiarity – a situation of acquiring features of language understood by a community, but not spoken actively by them. This usually happens in local groups of speakers, but not in language as a whole;

- "negotiation" – when one language or dialect transforms to approximate itself;
- second language acquisition strategies, e.g. using native elements or structures where the second language elements are unknown; omission of marked structures, which are difficult to learn;
- bilingual first language acquisition strategies, e.g. word order and intonation patternsare transferred by children learning two languages at the same time;
- deliberate decision of the borrowing language speakers. This is not very common, but S. G. Thomason (2001: 149) claims that it happened in some languages' histories, most usually in the "standard versions" rather than in dialects.

S. G. Thomason (2001: 89) also describes another kind of contact-induced change discussed by other linguists, i.e. convergence. It occurs when both contacting languages change in order to be more similar to each other, which shows that the influence is mutual. The acquired features could be present in both languages, but also not prominent or even not present in any of them. Such a change is common when it comes to word order patterns.

Sometimes it is difficult to state if a given change is a result of language contact or it is internally motivated (e.g. occurs due to structural imbalances within the language system). This is due to the fact that a transitional period, when an innovation is perceived as both correct and incorrect or the original feature is perceived as more correct, is characteristic for both these phenomena (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 88). The possibility of foreign influence should never be excluded, because some changes could have had multiple causes. The linguists are not unanimous when it comes to the question which factors should be considered first when analysing language change. Some (e.g. R. Lass and S. Wright 1986, cited in R. Hickey, 2010: 7) claim that internal factors should be considered first. Others (e.g. T. Vennemann, 2010: 381) state that external factors are more important. Numerous linguists (N. Dorian, 1993, M. Jones and E. Esch, 2002, cited in R. Hickey, 2010: 7) are of the opinion that internal and external factors should be considered on equal terms.

A. Furdal (1995: 73) points out that when it comes to influence induced by language contact there are two attitudes opposing each other: to preserve the national character of the language and to be opened to beneficial influence of foreign elements making the language more international. R. Hickey (2010: 21) points out that the contact-induced changes may be developed further or abandoned by future generations. Quite often some changes might be dropped later by the community. M. Bugajski (1992: 89) adds that:

"The innovations which were created in this way [as a result of external interference] very often find a place in the language system and lead to further transformations, becoming one of the most important reasons of its development"[1].

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1 "Powstałe w ten sposób [w wyniku interferencji zewnętrznej] innowacje bardzo często bowiem znajdują sobie miejsce w systemie językowym i powodują dalsze

1.2. The definition of linguistic borrowing

Although the phenomenon of linguistic borrowing has been studied for many years now, there is no generally accepted definition of the process of borrowing and of a borrowing as an element of the language system, i.e. the result of this process. L. Krysin (2004: 23) points out that the differences in perception of borrowing arise from various aspects which have been the focus of studies where a definition of borrowing was suggested.

E. Haugen (1950: 212) defines the process of borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another". Usually this pattern is called a "model". The form of the model found in the recipient language as a result of the process (which is called *a borrowing*; e.g. E. Haugen, 1950, U. Weinreich, 1979, S. G. Thomason, 2001, L. Krysin, 2004) may often differ considerably from the original one. The main feature determining that a given element belongs to the class of borrowings is the fact that it was not present earlier in the recipient language. (E. Haugen, 1950: 212).

Y. Matras (2009: 146) defines borrowing as "a change in the structural inventory of at least one of the languages involved [in a contact situation], and sometimes of both", which is "often viewed as a kind of import of a structure or form from one language system into another". Accordingly, he states that this should be perceived from the perspective of communicative goals of multilingual people using more than one language and as a result of their willingness to use the whole range of expressive means available irrespective of the linguistic context.

Some linguists restrict borrowing only to elements of lexicon transferred from other languages (e.g. J. Rey-Debove 1984, cited in E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 13; S. E. Weiner, 1994, cited in M. Zabawa, 2012:26). K. Witczak (1992: 80) narrows the borrowing process to situations when there is a semantic gap in the recipient language system, i.e. when the designate was unknown for the recipient language.

Others are of the opinion that linguistic borrowing is a wider phenomenon which could include all spheres of language. R. Hickey (2010: 14) states that "there is nothing in the structure of a language which is excluded from borrowing/transfer through contact. Given sufficient intensity and duration, all linguistic subsystems can be affected". Nowadays this is the predominant view on this process (E. Haugen, 1950; U. Weinreich, 1979; S. G. Thomason, 2001: 11; Y. Matras, 2009). However, linguists most often state that some types of linguistic structures are more likely to be transferred from one language to another than others.

M. Zabawa (2012: 30–31) juxtaposes several borrowability hierarchies which have been offered by linguists. On the basis of these scales it could be stated that linguists are quite unanimous that elements of vocabulary are borrowed most frequently (cf. also L. Krysin, 2004: 24).

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przekształcenia, stając się jedną z ważniejszych przyczyn jego rozwoju". All translations are mine – D.K.

F. Van Coetsem (1988: 25, after D. Winford, 2010:171) points out that some domains of linguistic structure, such as elements of phonology, inflectional paradigm, syntax and semantics, tend to be more stable and thus are rarely borrowed, while others, e.g. the lexicon, derivational morphology and function morphemes are more susceptible to change. Some researchers (e.g. U. Weinreich, 1979: 35; S. G. Thomason, 2001: 79; Y. Matras 2009: 155, D. E. A. Moravcsik (1978) adds that a greater semantic transparency and independence of the element in the language system facilitate its borrowing. D. Winford (2010: 178) also points out that items showing a higher degree of morphological complexity tend to resist borrowing more.

When it comes to word classes numerous linguists state that nouns are borrowed most frequently. The reasons are that most usually concepts which could be new for the cultures in contact are denoted by nouns and the fact that generally this is the most numerous word class in the majority of languages (M. Zabawa, 2012: 31). Y. Matras (2009: 152) also remarks that verbs are borrowed less frequently, as in many languages they are morphologically more complex. He adds that in the language contacts worldwide adjectives and adverbs constitute an inconsiderable group among borrowings, since in numerous languages these word classes are small (Y. Matras, 2009: 189).

Numerous studies refer to the classification of borrowings suggested by S. G. Thomason (2001: 70–71)[2] based on the intensity of language contact, which is divided into four stages:

1. **Casual contact**, when the recipient language speakers need not be fluent in the source language and the group of bilinguals is not considerable. At this stage only content words (most often nouns) are borrowed. No structural elements are borrowed.
2. **Slightly more intense contact**, when there is a bilingual group fluent in the source language, but it constitutes a minority in the recipient language community. In the area of lexicon apart from content words also function words, such as conjunctions are borrowed, but no basic vocabulary is transferred. Only minor structural borrowing occurs. Thus just a few phonemes are introduced, their usage being limited to loanwords. Assigning new functions to existing structures in syntax and more frequent use of previously rare ones.
3. **More intense contact**, when there is already a considerable group of bilingualsin the recipient language community and the attitudes of the whole communityare in favour of borrowing. At this stage basic vocabulary (including pronounsand numerals) as well as derivational affixes are imported. The structural borrowing is more significant, but it does not lead to any typological changes of the recipient language system. Some native phonemes not present in the donor language may be dropped and the source language

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2   This is a modified version of an earlier typology offered in S. G. Thomason / T. Kaufman (1988:74-76).

phonemes are also used in native vocabulary. Some features, e.g. the word order, may begin to replace the native ones. Some inflectional categories may be added if they fit with the existing patterns.

4. **Intense contact**, when bilingualism is extensive in the recipient language community and there are social factors strongly favouring borrowing. Heavy lexical and structural borrowing occurs. All parts of lexicon and structural repertoire are prone to borrowing. Structural borrowings may lead to changes in the typology of the recipient language system, e.g. change from inflectional to agglutinative morphology, addition or loss of entire phonetic categories, etc.

Also, the typological distance is very often taken into account when borrowability of linguistic structures is analysed. S. G. Thomason (2001: 77) states that if the languages are closely related it can facilitate the transfer of borrowable structures. D. Winford (2010: 178) also claims that morphological structure congruence is a factor facilitating the borrowing process between the languages. However, S. G. Thomason (2001: 63) points out that the external interference does not need to fit typologically with the recipient language structure, as usually foreign interference does not lead to simplification, but to complication of the recipient language system.

Some researchers also put emphasis on the temporal aspect of borrowability, stating that some elements can be borrowed only after others have been integrated, e.g. E. D. Polivanov (1931 – after L. Krysin 2004: 24) claims that to borrow a morpheme a preceding transfer of at least two words including it is necessary. M. Haspelmath (2008) and R. Hickey (2010: 9) state that elements of phonology, morphology and syntax could be borrowed exclusively following lexical borrowings. Y. Matras (2009: 174) states that quite often some grammatical categories or distinctions may be borrowed together with loanwords. D. Winford (2010: 175) also remarks that in most cases the transfer of morphological and phonological structural features is mediated by lexical borrowing. Nevertheless, Y. Matras (2009: 210) points out that borrowing of inflectional patterns is not connected with single loanwords as some linguists state, because these items are more related with the level of syntax and they need a higher level of source language proficiency. S. G. Thomason (2001: 76) claims that universal markedness is also an important factor influencing the borrowing process, as marked features are less likely to be borrowed.

Bilingualism is also frequently pointed as a determinant of borrowability. Y. Matras (2009: 193–196) states that function words such as discourse markers, interrogatives, particles, expressions of temporal and local relations, are borrowed almost exclusively in conditions of unidirectional bilingualism and diglossia. L. Krysin (2004: 25) points out that calques and syntactic structural borrowings also need some knowledge of the source language lexico-semantic and syntactic systems (see also S. G. Thomason, 2001: 78; K. Witczak, 1992: 83). S. G. Thomason (2001: 79) points out that lexical borrowings may appear even if L. Krysin (2004: 33) states, it is impossible to borrow an item in its original meaning without any degree of bilingualism in the recipient language community.

Some linguists underline the importance of cultural factors. L. Krysin (2004: 48)

remarks that the so-called cultural borrowings (also called "exoticisms"; see p. <u>38</u>) could not be borrowed before the concept which the model word denotes is known to the language community culture. Creating loan translations in a language is most often a conscious decision resulting from high language loyalty of the recipient language community, frequently supported by institutions (Y. Matras, 2009: 245– 247). Especially idioms and collocations "attract pattern replication because they do not literally mean what the combination of words render. Instead, the combination has a metonymic and sometimes even a metaphorical function" (Y. Matras, 2009: 147). S. G. Thomason (2001: 64-69) states that if the knowledge of the source language is not good or borrowing of words is seen as inappropriate, due to purist attitudes or cultural constraints such as taboo (D. Winford, 2010: 178), lexical borrowings are few, even though some grammatical features may be transferred. This might be because structural features are often not perceived as foreign by monolingual speakers (M. Zabawa, 2012: 38).

Sometimes semantic sub-classes are also perceived as facilitators or hindrances of borrowing. It is often claimed that the so-called core vocabulary, i.e. denoting notions which are common for all cultures, such as close kin, body parts, body related activities, pronouns, basic concepts for nature and geography (M. Swadesh, 1952), is more resistant to borrowing. However, this is not always true. Y. Matras (2009: 166) provides the example of the Domori language where approximately 45 percent of these items are borrowed from Arabic. K. Witczak (1992: 83) states that the superstrate usually borrows the local toponymy and terminology concerning nature from the indigenous language. Thus, the toponymy may be an indicator of past contact-induced changes in a given language.

S. G. Thomason (2001: 69) points out that on higher levels of intensity of language contacts, the attitudes of the recipient language community may overcome the constraints and general predictions on the borrowing process. Even if a given change is possible, it does not have to occur because social factors may counterbalance this probability. Consequently, counterexamples are most often found to any generalisations concerning probability of borrowing and "there are no discernible linguistic limits to the possibilities for transferring any linguistic feature from one language to another" (S. G. Thomason, 2001: 11). However, Y. Matras (2009) claims that this fact does not exclude the possibility of making any generalisations about this phenomenon.

Sometimes the term "borrowing" is also used for intra-linguistic phenomena, e.g. L. Krysin (2004: 23) remarks that some Soviet linguists extended the term borrowing additionally to the transfer of elements from languages for special purposes to the language for general purposes.

Numerous linguists claim that the word "borrowing" is not a perfect metaphor for this process. E. Haugen (1950: 211) points out that the source language ("the lender") is not deprived of anything. There is no need for its consent or even awareness for the process to happen. The recipient language ("the borrower") is not obliged to give anything back. Y. Matras (2009: 146) also adds that the "borrowers" may be unaware of the fact of borrowing and deny that a given element

is foreign, e.g. when it has been adapted long time ago and is perfectly integrated into the recipient language system.

D. Winford (2010: 170) remarks that the differences in understanding this term are so considerable that some linguists avoid using it. As this term emphasises the aspect of ownership untrue for this process, some linguists suggested new terms like "copying" (L. Johanson 2002: 8, cited in Y. Matras, 2009: 146) or "replication" (Y. Matras, 2009: 146). E. Haugen (1950: 211) also provides two hypothetical alternatives "diffusion" and "adoption", but claims that they are equally inept. Y. Matras claims that his term (i.e. "replication") suggests no ownership or direct imitation, but active use of any linguistic structure in a new, extended context (e.g. in a new language) to achieve a certain communicative goal. Nevertheless, the term "borrowing" is used, as it is widely recognised by linguists and not used by laymen in the linguistic context (E. Haugen, 1950: 212).

Numerous linguists also address the issue of reasons needed for the borrowing process to occur. Usually the factors that could lead to linguistic borrowing are divided into intralinguistic and extralinguistic.

When it comes to internal factors, linguists describe various reasons from the field of vocabulary, e.g. E. Richter (1919 – after L. Krysin, 2004: 18) points to the need of a variety of economic, transparent and convenient language means as the main reason for borrowing. U. U. Weinreich (1979: 57) and R. Hickey (2010: 15) point out that borrowings could also be used to resolve ambiguities existing in the recipient language system, as exemplified by the borrowing of third person plural pronoun *they* into English from Old Norse.

Many linguists (e.g. M. Bugajski, 1992: 91) point out that very often the reason for borrowing is that foreign counterparts carry additional meaning which is not expressed by native means, thus filling a "gap" existing in the recipient language system. Additionally, A. Witalisz (2007: 27) remarks that lexical borrowings perform two functions in the recipient language, either nominative (i.e. designating objects which are used in new fields) or expressive (i.e. introduced due to a need for emotional assessment of the reality). However, others (e.g. L. Krysin, 2004; Y. Matras, 2009) counter the gap hypothesis stating that if the language could manage without the "gap-fillers" before they were introduced, there was no need to incorporate such elements. Y. Matras (2009: 153) adds that usually such items are introduced to the recipient language due to bilinguals' need to use elements of their linguistic repertoire belonging to another language.

M. Bugajski (1992: 91) and L. Krysin (2004: 30) put emphasis on language economy as a reason for lexical borrowing. In the language of science and technology, single words of foreign origin frequently replace multi-word phrases describing an element of the reality. Usually the borrowed terms also have a more precise meaning.

R. Hickey (2010: 16) states that some internal changes in the language system may make a given part of the language system more susceptible to borrowing. L. Krysin (2004, 32) adds that when a group of words of similar form to the potential borrowing exists (e.g. earlier borrowings ending with the same suffix), it usually facilitates the process of borrowing.

One of the extralinguistic factors most commonly provided by linguists as a eason for borrowing is the dominance (both socio-political and demographic) of ne language community over another (e.g. D. Winford, 2010: 176). Nevertheless, Y. Matras (2009: 150) points out that the dominant community is not always the source of a borrowed word. He provides the examples of the English words *pal* and *chav,* which have been borrowed from the Romany language. The prestige of the donor language community is based on the fact that it is distancing itself from the establishment, which is a crucial part of both of the above items' meaning.

M. Bugajski (1992: 93) claims that another reason for coining new borrowings in the recipient language is that the media often use incorrect (usually word-for-word) translations and popularize foreign words and phrases, even if a native equivalent of the foreign elements exists.

Linguists also frequently enumerate language attitudes of the contacting communities and institutional support for one of the languages as other extralinguistic reasons for borrowing (Y. Matras, 2009:153; D. Winford, 2010: 176).

Y. Matras (2009: 6) states that the process of borrowing apart from social and linguistic also has a communicative dimension. He remarks that the most important factor in borrowing new lexical items is the communicative effect of the utterance on the interlocutor (Y. Matras, 2009: 151). L. Krysin (2004: 26) underlines the psychological and ethical reasons for borrowing, e.g. striving to use euphemisms in language of law and medicine where some native terms are frequently replaced with words of foreign origin, exactly for this reason.

E. Haugen (1950: 229) points out that usually the phenomenon of language borrowing is perceived as a problem and numerous linguists and language communities are discussing the possibility of curbing this process and regulating the "aliens" in the recipient language system. He suggests that borrowings should be tolerated, as in most languages in the world the innovations induced by borrowed elements are "items of limited lexical distribution" (E. Haugen 1950: 230). Moreover, L. Krysin (2004: 17) points out that apart from studying the etymology, the channel of transfer or the process of adaptation of the borrowed elements, some linguists judge their necessity in the language and try to predict how long such items will remain in the language. However, as he states quite often such judgements and predictions have been erroneous.

1.3. The classification of linguistic borrowings

The question of dividing linguistic borrowings into types and classes is equally complex to the issue of defining the term. Linguists suggest various classifications based on numerous principles. The most common criterion of division is the place of the borrowed element that it occupies in the recipient language system. The majority of linguists mention five main fields of borrowing: vocabulary and semantics, phonology, word-formation, syntax and morphology (e.g. U. Weinreich, 1979; S. G. Thomason, 2001; L. Krysin, 2004; M. Haspelmath,

2008; Y. Matras 2009; M. Zabawa, 2012).

Another factor universally used by linguists to classify borrowings is the language of origin. Thus, the borrowings in a given language are divided into Anglicisms, Germanisms, Romanisms (borrowings from French), Russicisms, Polonisms, etc.

Some linguists also discuss the number of stages of borrowing (J. Fisiak, 1962 and R. Filipović, 1986 cited in M. Zabawa, 2012: 34). They divide borrowings into ones borrowed directly from the donor into the recipient language (called *simple contact* or *direct loans*) and ones transferred from the donor into the recipient language through the intermediation of other languages (called *complex contact* or *intermediary loans*).

As has been mentioned, lexical borrowings constitute the most numerous group among linguistic borrowings. Consequently, they have been the focus of more considerable attention among linguists and the classifications created are more detailed than in the case of other borrowing types. C. Myers-Scotton (1993) distinguishes two types of loanwords according to their meaning. One of them are cultural forms, i.e. words denoting the concepts which are new to the recipient language culture and are thus more easily adopted by monolinguals. Y. Matras (2009: 150) points out that such borrowings are most often the names of institutions, food products and technological innovations. The other are core forms, i.e. words denoting the concepts and phenomena that already have equivalents in the recipient language[3]. Such elements need bilinguals or at least some knowledge of the source language in order to be incorporated into the recipient language. If they are used frequently, they may also be accepted by monolingual speakers of the recipient language. K. Witczak (1992: 80) remarks that, depending on the character of the contact process, either the native or foreign word remains in the system or one of them changes its meaning. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 19) divides borrowings on the basis of this classification into necessary (having no native equivalent) and unnecessary (used instead native equivalents and thus unnatural). However, M. Zabawa (2012, 36) and other linguists disagree with her, claiming that no loans could be described as unnecessary due to the very fact that they appeared in the recipient language. Consequently, it would be more appropriate to call them not indispensable.

W. Betz (1949) distinguishes two broad types of lexical borrowings. Loanword (German *Lehnwort*) is an element imitating the foreign phonological features and meaning, while loan coinage (German *Lehnprägung*) is a situation, when foreign word formation models are replicated or native expressions are created for foreign concepts.

E. Haugen (1950) offers an extension of this classification. He concentrates not only on the result of the process of borrowing, but also on its character.

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3 K. Witczak (1992: 80-81) using the same principle differentiates between borrowings and infiltrations (*przenikanie*).

Therefore, he underlines the importance of two notions, i.e. importation, when some features are transferred unchanged, thus the reproduction of the model in the recipient language is more or less similar to the original, and substitution, when elements of the recipient language replace the foreign ones. He draws the conclusion that every borrowing includes both importation and substitution (E. Haugen, 1950: 212). Accordingly, he divides lexical borrowings into three categories loanwords, loanblends and loanshifts (E. Haugen, 1950: 213–215).

The first of them, i.e. loanwords, involves items where the whole structure of the model (i.e. both form and meaning) is adopted, thus there is complete importation.

Loanblends (also called hybrids) are lexical borrowings in which one lexically significant part of the model is mixed with a native one; thus, there is partial importation and partial substitution. They include blended stems, derivatives of previously acquired loans and compounds based on their basis. Some linguists (e.g. H. Jadacka, 2003b: 1774) claim that this category also includes formations created from morphemes originating from several foreign languages, e.g. Polish word *autokar* (from Greek *autós* and English *car*).

Loanshifts are items where all the model morphemes have been replaced by native ones (without any importation). E. Haugen (1950: 214) subdivides them further into loan translations, semantic loans and loan creations. Loan translations (also named calques) are words or phrases where the model is translated part by part (morpheme by morpheme or word by word) and such a combination has been unknown to the language earlier. In the case of semantic loans[4] only the foreign meaning is imported, because the form is already present in the recipient language. Thus, the native word or a borrowing fully assimilated earlier is assigned a new meaning. E. Haugen (1950: 231) subdivides semantic loans into loan homonyms where the new meaning is not related to the old one and loan synonyms, when native terms are used to designate a new phenomenon which is similar to some notion already known to the recipient language culture. The last group of loanshifts enumerated by E. Haugen is loan creations, where a concept which is new to the recipient language culture is borrowed, but its newly coined equivalent in the recipient language does not reproduce the donor language model. They are most usually descriptive terms. E. Haugen gives the examples of such creations from the study of Pima Indians by George Herzog, e.g. *having downward tassels* for "oats", *wrinkled buttocks* for "elephant", *dry grapes* for "raisins", *lightning box* for "battery" (E. Haugen, 1950: 222). Such formations may also consist of both native and borrowed means, as the Yaqui term *liósnóoka* "to pray", composed of the loanword *liós* "God" (from Spanish *dios*) and the native *nóoka* "to speak" (E. Spicer 1943; cited by E. Haugen, 1950: 220).U. Weinreich (1979: 51) distinguishes a similar class of lexical borrowings, loan renditions, where "the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction"

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4   E. Haugen (1950: 214) claims that all of these types could be referred to as semantic, as all of them include the element of meaning.

in the recipient language, e.g. Polish *drapacz chmur* ("cloud scraper") ← English *sky scraper*.

Numerous linguists also divide loanwords according to the criterion of their assimilation by the recipient language (e.g. E. Haugen 1950, 229; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 16–17; H. Jadacka, 2003b: 1774):

- unassimilated loans, which are used in the recipient language with the original spelling and foreign or foreign-like pronunciation;
- partly assimilated loans, whose pronunciation and spelling are simplified or adapted (partly or completely) to the standard of the recipient language; they are uniflected or they follow an atypical inflection pattern;
- fully assimilated loans, which are adapted to the system of recipient language in the aspects of pronunciation, spelling, inflection and word-formation patterns.

The next aspect considered by linguists in their classifications is the channel through which a lexical borrowing entered the recipient language (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 19; J. Fisiak, 1962 after M. Zabawa, 2012):

- oral loans, which are transferred on the basis of their pronunciation (i.e. from the spoken variant of the donor language); sometimes their spelling may be modified;
- graphic loans, which are transferred on the basis of their original spelling; consequently, they are pronounced in accordance with the rules the recipient language.

Numerous linguists (e.g. Y. Matras, 2009: 174–175; M. Zabawa, 2012: 36-37) point out that quite often the recipient languages also create pseudo-loans, i.e. creations which are formed on the basis of the source language words, but their meaning is most often only slightly related to that of the model. Moreover, such words frequently do not even exist in the source language, e.g. German words *Handy* ("a mobile phone") and *Beamer* ("an over-head projector"), and such lexemes are based only on internal context of the "recipient language". Such items are perceived as borrowings by the native speakers, but most linguists counter such an opinion (Y. Matras, 2009: 176).

1.4. Adaptation of linguistic borrowings

The issue of linguistic borrowing adaptation into the recipient language is thoroughly addressed not only by researchers discussing the phenomena of contact linguistics, but also by those describing the internal processes of particular languages. It is generally understood as the integration of the borrowed item into the system of the recipient language.

S. G. Thomason (2001: 133) underlines that in the majority of languages foreign models have to be nativised, i.e. adapted to the norms of the recipient language system. D. Winford (2010: 173) points out that the final stage of this process is a situation when borrowings are indistinguishable from native elements, but it may also entail changes in the recipient language system.

E. Haugen (1950: 213) states that usually the decision how to reproduce a given structure in the mother tongue is instant and unconscious. Nevertheless, they might be replicated differently by individual speakers of the same language. Consequently, all the features of the incorporated model in the recipient language have to be universally established. Thus, as L. Krysin (2004: 52) remarks, the assimilation of borrowings is a gradual and long-lasting process.

When it comes to the question how the adaptation process proceeds, linguists usually divide it into sub-phenomena and stages, depending on the place of borrowed items in the recipient language system and its similarity to native elements of the language. As has been already mentioned, E. Haugen (1950: 212) divides the results of the borrowing process into importation and substitution. He claims that replacing a part of the foreign model with a native element happens as a kind of "compromise" between the source and recipient language systems. Y. Matras (2009: 148) points out that not all the elements of a borrowed item, i.e. its lexical and grammatical meaning, phonological form, status in the source language lexicon or implications for its use in a sentence, have to be transferred to the recipient language.

Using the example of Russian, L. Krysin (2004: 37–44) distinguishes five stages of loanword adaptation:
1. the word is used in the recipient language in its original graphic, phonetic and grammatical form (this phenomenon is also called code-switching or interpolation);
2. the word is adapted to the recipient language system, i.e. it is transliterated or transcribed, assigned to a word class which may also entail attributing new morphological categories, it submits to the syntactic norms of the language;
3. the native speakers fail to perceive the given element as one of foreign origin, i.e. it is used on equal terms with native elements, though it might be more frequent for some domains (stylistic, social, etc.) of the recipient language;
4. the word loses stylistic, communicative and social constraints on its use, i.e. it becomes the language for general purposes word and its meaning is decisively established;
5. including the item in a monolingual dictionary (*толковый словарь*), this is the final stage, as such dictionaries are the indicator of language norm and include only the elements which are most typical for the language.

He states that some processes are essential for a word to be incorporated into a language, i.e. it should be expressed using the graphic and phonetic means of the recipient language, assigned basic grammatical categories (indispensable for its use in a sentence), its meaning should be determined or at least differentiated with regard to elements already existing in the language and its usage should be established (L. Krysin 2004: 44–45). Consequently, most often the process of linguistic adaptation is described at four levels: orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics. The following subsections are devoted to general discussion of these aspects of the adaptation process.

1.4.1. Graphic adaptation of linguistic borrowings

Depending on the recipient language and the channel through which a given item was transferred to it (oral or written) the borrowing may retain the original spelling, it could be changed partly or adapted completely to the norms of the recipient language. The last scenario is inevitable when the contacting languages use different scripts (e.g. Latin and Cyrillic). When the item is transferred using the spoken variant of the donor language, the spelling resembles the phonological reproduction of the model (i.e. the form is transcribed). Similarly, when it is introduced using the written variant, the spelling will be the same or broadly similar to the original one (the form is transliterated).

As has been already mentioned, the form of the borrowing in the recipient language is established gradually. E. Haugen (1950: 222) discusses the phenomenon of reborrowing when the graphic and phonetic forms are under constant influence of the original forms, as the speakers of the recipient language have different levels of proficiency in the donor language. Thus, there may be several pronunciations and spellings of the borrowed item in use for some time.

1.4.2. Phonological adaptation of linguistic borrowings

Similarly to graphic adaptation, phonological adjustment of linguistics borrowings also depends upon the channel of transfer and the usual patterns of a particular language. Y. Matras (2009: 226) states that there are no hierarchies when it comes to which types of phonemes are borrowed more frequently than others.

E. Haugen (1950: 214) distinguishes three levels of phonological importation: none, when all the phonemes are substituted with native ones, partial, when some foreign phonemes are preserved, and complete, when the original pronunciation is preserved. Complete substitution of phonemes is common in second language acquisition when the learners are unaware of the differences between the phonological systems. The situations of total phonemic importation are limited exclusively to communities with numerous bilinguals.

When it comes to the substitution of phonemes in a borrowing, not only language learners, but also linguists dealing with comparative studies encounter some difficulties in deciding which phoneme would be the best equivalent in the recipient language (E. Haugen, 1950: 216).

Y. Matras (2009: 225) states that most often when the sounds in the donor and the recipient languages are similar, the native sounds substitute for the foreign ones. However, sometimes the native phonemes may be approximated to the foreign ones and finally be replaced by them.

Y. Matras (2009: 226) remarks that if a loanword would violate the syllable structure rules, it is adjusted to conform to it, e.g. addition of vowels in Turkish to achieve open syllables the word *station* becomes *istasyon* and *group* becomes *gurup*.

He points out that the adaptation of foreign elements may also entail addition of new phonemes to the phonological repertoire of the recipient language, as well as

phonemicalisation of distinctions which were present in the recipient language, but had no status of phonemes, e.g. addition of voiced phonemes /z/, /v/, and /ð/ in English under the influence of French (Y. Matras, 2009: 226). E. Haugen (1950: 226) also claims that adaptation of many borrowings with phoneme sequences which were previously not present in the recipient language may render them possible there and calls this process phonemic redistribution.

1.4.3. Morphological adaptation of linguistic borrowings

Linguists state that most usually borrowings are adapted into the grammatical system of a given language (e.g. E. Haugen, 1950: 216). Similarly, L. Krysin (2004: 25) points out that a loanword is most often borrowed not as a complete item with a full grammatical form, but only as a shapeless piece of lexical material which receives a new shape only in the borrowing language system. Nevertheless, R. Hickey (2010: 11) states that non-systemic elements (e.g. individual words and phrases, pragmatic markers, sentence adverbials) need not to be integrated into the grammatical structures of the recipient language. They might and they usually do so, but it is not obligatory, as in some languages even old borrowings remain unintegrated.

E. Haugen (1950: 215) distinguishes three types of morphemic substitution: none, which occurs in loanwords, partial, which happens in loanblends and complete, which is characteristic for loanshifts. Most often substituted parts of model nouns are suffixes (see the examples from Norwegian provided by E. Haugen, 1950: 218).

L. Krysin (2004: 46) remarks that a word could not be used in a language outside of its grammatical categories. Thus, it has to be assigned at least the most basic grammatical indicators of the recipient language. E. Haugen (1950: 217) states that only if a given part of speech category is absent from the recipient language, the borrowing is assigned to another part of speech. However, he admits that such cases are rare and in the vast majority of borrowing situations loanwords are reproduced as items belonging to the same part of speech.

Y. Matras (2009: 159) points out that words from inflectional languages are more likely to be borrowed in their infinitive (verbs) or nominative form (other content words), because they are more frequently used, simple and transparent than other word forms.

He also describes several ways of morphological integration of nouns (Y. Matras, 2009: 172). Firstly, they could be treated as native nouns and assigned a full inflectional paradigm. Secondly, they may be not integrated or integrated in a simplified form. They could also be adopted with their original inflection from the source language. Finally, the recipient language could apply a special integration pattern, marking the borrowed items as loanwords. Usually one of these strategies predominates in a given language, others being less frequent, e.g. inflectional languages most commonly apply the first strategy.

Categories of gender, noun class or definiteness are generally assigned to newcomers in systems of languages possessing such features (Y. Matras, 2009:

173). E. Haugen (1950: 217) states that "in most languages for which the phenomenon [of gender assignment] has been studied, a clear tendency is seen to assign loanwords to one particular gender unless specific analogies intervene to draw them into other classes". Nevertheless, they need not be copied from the source language, e.g. the German word for "town hall" *das Rathaus*, which is neuter, had been transferred into Polish as *ratusz* (masculine) and to Russian as *ратуша* (feminine). In numerous languages the phonological and morphological shape of the word may also be the basis of grammatical category assignment, e.g. in Swahili, the first syllable in the loanword *kitabu* 'book', from Arabic *kitāb*, is reinterpreted as a classifier *ki-*, giving rise to the inflection paradigm singular *kitabu*, plural *vitabu* (Y. Matras 2009: 174; cf. also assigning of gender category to Anglicisms in Polish and Russian in sections 2.2.2.3. and 2.3.2.3.). Sometimes the plural ending is taken for a part of the singular form. It is not a rare phenomenon in borrowings from English (e.g. E. Haugen 1950: 217; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006: 64–65).

When it comes to verbs, according to Y. Matras (2009: 177–184) the recipient language may either borrow the verb only in one form, most often infinitive, without any modifications; assign to it a native pattern (including a special loanword pattern); or import it with its original paradigm from the source language. The last scenario is rare, since it requires a high donor language proficiency. The other reason is that creating an additional inflectional paradigm would be against the language's internal economy and consistency.

Very often languages assign verbs as well as non-verbs with verbalising suffixes which enable them to use a regular native paradigm. Some languages also add lexical native verbs to borrowed verbs, e.g. Japanese adds the dummy verb *suru* "to do" to numerous verbs based on an English model (Y. Matras, 2009: 180, D. Winford, 2010: 173).

With regard to transfer of grammatical elements R. Hickey (2010: 11) points out that it is important to distinguish between a transfer of a grammatical category and a transfer of its representatives, as sometimes a language borrows a given category, but not the manner of expressing it. Y. Matras (2009: 190) provides examples of languages which together with borrowed adjectives and adverbs also replicated the categories of comparative and superlative. On the basis of his previous studies he states that the category of the superlative is borrowed more often than the comparative.

Many linguists also address the question of word formation of lexical borrowings. L. Krysin (2004: 50) points out that word-formation productivity of a given item is a good indicator of its assimilation. Y. Matras (2009: 209) states that derivational affixes (most often nominalising suffixes) are borrowed most frequently among morphological elements, due to the tendencies in some languages to also use them with native stems. Moreover, E. Haugen (1950: 218) points out that sometimes even words that were not compounds in the donor language become such in the recipient language. He also remarks that under the influence of applying some word-formation patterns in the process of loan adaptation some affixes may become more productive in the whole recipient language system (E. Haugen, 1950: 225).

1.4.4. Semantic adaptation of linguistic borrowings

As has been already stated, an established meaning is one of the best indicators of adaptation (L. Krysin, 2004: 44–45). D. Winford (2010: 175) points out that semantic adaptation of linguistic borrowings includes a variety of processes from limiting the borrowed element to only one of the foreign model's meanings to assigning the borrowed elements new meanings which are not present in the source language.

Numerous linguists discuss situations when the recipient language borrows a word which has a native equivalent. L. Krysin (2004: 49) states that differentiation in meaning between borrowed and native elements is inevitable, as items doubling a meaning are normally eradicated from the language system. K. Witczak (1992: 80–81) claims that usually the synonym from a more prestigious language is assigned a more "dignified" meaning and the word from the socially "lower" one becomes an equivalent belonging to the lower register.

A. Witalisz (2007: 150–157) states that it is not rare for words of foreign origin to acquire new meanings under the influence of foreign language. She provides various examples of former Latin borrowings in Polish which were assigned a new meaning under the influence of English.

2. Linguistic borrowings from English into Polish and Russian

Although there are several Polish and Russian borrowings in English, e.g. *pierogi, kujawiak, babka* (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006) or *perestroika, sputnik, samovar* (S. V. Vorob'eva 2003), they illustrate the reality of Polish- and Russian-speaking areas and make an inconsiderable contribution to English vocabulary. However, as the present study focuses on Anglicisms, this chapter is mostly devoted to the borrowing of English elements into Polish and Russian. The first section describes the main reason for this directionality of both languages' contacts with English, i.e. the role of English in the contemporary world. Section 2.2. concentrates on Polish-English language contacts throughout history and the most important tendencies in the adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish. Section 2.3. is concerned with a historical overview of Russian-English language contacts and presenting the adaptation of English borrowings in Russian. The last section of this chapter analyses the purist and liberal attitudes towards Anglicisms among Polish and Russian linguists.

2.1. The importance of English in the present world

In order to facilitate the exchange of ideas between speakers of various languages, various codes have always been used for international communication. Such languages often referred to as *lingua franca,* have been used by people speaking different languages to communicate with each other in specific domains.

Nowadays this function is fulfilled by English. According to numerous estimates, the number of English native-speakers varies from 250 million (D. Crystal, 1997: 322) to 380 million (A. C. Baugh / T. Cable, 2002: 3). However, the total number of English speakers is calculated at over 1 billion. This is due to the fact that English is also used as a second language in multifarious British colonies and globally learnt as a foreign language.

The reasons for this popularity should be traced among extralinguistic factors, because, as A. C. Baugh / T. Cable (2002: 3) state, "no language acquires importance because of what are assumed to be purely internal advantages. Languages become important because of events that shape the balance of power among nations".

S. G. Thomason (2001: 21), A. C. Baugh / T. Cable (2002: 3–8) and E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 9–15) enumerate several justifications for the present importance of English.

Firstly, when Britain conquered new territories it introduced English as the official language. In the majority of the British Empire's former colonies English is used not only as the native, but also as the second language.

Secondly, the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century took place in the United Kingdom. The inventions of that time such as the steam engine,

the water frame or new iron smelting methods and the branches of economy which developed from them were all first named in English. This nomenclature was borrowed by other languages together with these technical novelties.

Thirdly, English was also the language of rapid scientific and technological progress of the twentieth century. Consequently, it fulfils today the function of the main language of science. To support this argument, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006:11) provides the example of German scientific magazines, the majority of which have changed their names from German into English.

The fourth reason, which is in close relation to the third one, is the economic and political power of the United States of America. The majority of the breakthroughs of the past century were significantly developed, if not first achieved in this country. Almost any nation in the world cultivates economic and political relations with the USA, and the English language is undoubtedly crucial for them.

Moreover, English also became the vital part of diplomacy. It is the official language of international organisations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund or the European Union. It is also universally used in international negotiations.

Finally, scientists underline the importance of cultural factors. The most popular radio and television stations broadcast in English, which is also the main language of the Internet. Furthermore, due to the phenomenon of globalisation, the American pop-culture has a significant influence on the constant spread of English. S. G. Thomason (2001: 2) points out that "millions of non-English speakers have come into contact with English through radio, television, Hollywood films, popular music (...), and writings of all kinds". Consequently, she underlines that the nature of present language contacts with English has drastically changed in comparison to that in the past, as English learners "have no opportunity (and often no desire) to practice by talking to native speakers of English" (S. G. Thomason 2001: 21).

To these extralinguistic justifications A. C. Baugh / T. Cable (2002: 9–13) also add three inner features of English that give rise to its popularity. The inflectional simplicity of English and the natural gender facilitate the process of learning English as a foreign language. Its propensity to acquire new items from outside aids its contact with new cultures and enables it to describe the reality as precisely as possible.

K. Luciński (2000: 118) states that, as a result of the internationalisation of art, technology, sport and the development of international economic and political relations, English has become the source of numerous international terms which were borrowed by the majority of languages.

2.2. Polish-English language contact

This section is concerned with language contact between Polish and English. Its first subsection (2.2.1.) discusses the development of this process through time, while subsection 2.2.2. describes the adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish.

2.2.1. History of Polish-English language contact

Throughout its history Polish has incorporated a considerable quantity of words from multifarious languages, including Czech, German, Latin, Italian, Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian, Tatar, Turkish, French and English (Z. Klemensiewicz, 1976). This results from Poland's wide political relations with its numerous neighbours and from its dynamic history.

E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995) states that the Polish-English political relations began in 15th century. K. Luciński (2000: 9) points out that both language and cultural contacts between Poland and England were limited due to the geographical distance between the countries. He remarks that winning the battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald) against the Teutonic Knights in 1410 raised the prestige of Polish Commonwealth in Europe and opened the contacts with English sailors, as Poland regained access to the Baltic sea.

He adds further that the trade contacts with Poland were developing rapidly. In 1579 English merchants established the Eastern Company to trade on the Baltic sea first based in Gdańsk and then in Elbląg. Its activity made Polish-English language contact more regular.

Also, some Polish religious activists, connected with both Reformation and Counter-Reformation, such as Jan Łaski, Paweł Działyszyński and Stanisław Hozjusz, influenced the perception of Poland among the English not only as a trade partner, but also as a land of ideas and religious tolerance. Consequently, approx. 15,000 Englishmen and Scotsmen came to Poland at the turn of 16th and 17th centuries (K. Luciński: 2000: 11-12). Moreover, Polish envoys were visiting the English court and touring around the island. The diaries of Polish as well as English travellers are a good channel for introduction of Anglicisms to Polish and Polonisms to English (K. Luciński: 2000: 13).

E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 23) states that the first traces of English language in Polish vocabulary are dated at the seventeenth century. The words such as: *lord, par* or *spiker,* were typical of the early phase of language contact, i.e. depicting the reality of an earlier unknown culture.

K. Luciński (2000: 59) indicates that up to 19th century the majority of Polish Anglicisms were transferred phonetically, as the knowledge of English was low in the society. Consequently, the borrowings were used in several forms, e.g. *bifsztyk, byfsztyk* and *befsztyk* for *beefsteak.* or *pącz, pończ, puncz* and *poncz* for *punch.*

The eighteenth century brought to Polish maritime terms, e.g. *yacht* or *cutter.*

According to E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 25) evidence exists for 54 Anglicisms in Polish by the beginning of the nineteenth century, e.g. *baronet, whig, milord*.

The growing international role of England at the turn of 19th century led to an increase in the number of English learners in the area Poland which propelled the incorporation of new Anglicisms from various fields (K. Luciński 2000: 15).

The 1807–1814 six-volume dictionary by Linde based on Polish written sources from the period of 1550–1800 included 22 Anglicisms, mainly borrowed via French and German, e.g. *bard, brytan, galon, kwakier, pak, mops, park, parlament, piknik, rum* (K. Luciński, 2000: 21). The nineteenth century witnessed a rapid growth of the English influence on all languages including Polish. The dynamism of that incline is reflected by the quantity of borrowings discovered by E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 25–32) in dictionaries from the second half of that century (approximately 100–180). They were not only words strictly bound with the British culture itself, but also ones from semantic fields of clothing: *moher, welwet*; food: *rostbef, pikle* or sport: *dżokej, finisz*.

The pace of incorporating new elements from English accelerated together with the increase of its importance through the twentieth century. K. Luciński (2000: 17) points out that after Poland regained independence in 1918 the process of borrowing Anglicisms intensified again, because the political and economic contacts with the United Kingdom and the United States were re-established. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 36–37) traced 250 Anglicisms in *Słownik warszawski* issued in 1923, e.g. *koroner, bojkot, eksport, tandem, folklor*. Polish dictionary from 1936 comprised 1300 English borrowings, e.g. *film, doping, saloon, rekord, strajk, aut*. Nevertheless, only approx. 600 of them could be found in Polish today (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 38–41). K. Luciński (2000: 5) states that numerous Anglicisms noted by linguists in Polish in 1930s have fallen into disuse.

In the first half of the 20th century, many words and especially phrases of English origin functioned in Polish as unassimilated intrusions, e.g. *attorney, barrister, cockney, King's Bench, Clearing House, good morning, excuse me*. These were mainly titles, polite expressions, names of institutions and measures which had no Polish equivalents (K. Luciński 2000: 24).

K. Luciński (2000: 109–110) points out that some words of English origin were transferred into Polish through the intermediation of Russian in the second half of 20th century when Poland was politically dependent on Russian-speaking Soviet Union, e.g. *kombajn* (*combine* through Russian *комбайн*), *snajper* (*sniper,* Russian *снайпер*), *chuligan* (*hooligan,* Russian *хулиган*). A. Ropa (1974) states that during the period from the end of the second world war to the 1970s Polish borrowed 300 new words from English.

A. Kasztalska (2014: 242) states that since it was associated with the West, English became a symbol of modernity, freedom and resistance against the Soviet administration in the communist period in Poland. Numerous linguists (e.g. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006; M. Zabawa, 2008; A. Kasztalska, 2014) underline the influence of the change in political system in Poland in 1989 on the number of Anglicisms. After the events of 1989 English has become the most commonly

taught foreign language in Poland not only due to the fact that it is perceived as undoubtedly useful in the present world, but also it has become fashionable (M. Zabawa, 2008: 155). A. Kasztalska (2014: 242) claims that nowadays as much as 89 percent of Polish young people study English at school. She adds that the growth in the number of speakers has been so dramatic due to the fact that learning of that language was no longer limited (although from 1960s on Russian language was not the only foreign language taught in Polish schools, the access to English native speakers and authentic teaching materials was limited). M. Zabawa (2008: 155) also remarks that the opening of the British labour market for Polish employees, when Poland joined the EU, had a significant influence on the development of Polish-English language contact. A. Markowski (2000) points out that in the period from 1989 to 2000 Polish borrowed approximately 300 words and 100 meanings.

Polish today includes approximately 3000 Anglicisms (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2010) from a variety of semantic fields. The most numerous of them are sport, e.g. *setbol, rajd, pressing faul;* computing and the Internet, e.g. *blog, e-book, laptop;* society and human life, e.g. *singiel, dżentelmen, kwakier;* clothing and fashion, e.g. *kardigan, welwet;* music, e.g. *beat, rap, rock* and food, e.g. *rum, chips, koktajl*.

K. Luciński (2000: 118), M. Zabawa (2008: 156) and A. Kasztalska (2014: 249) point out the areas of Polish vocabulary which are nowadays under the greatest influence of English: electronics and the Internet *tablet, gamer, fanpage, tweetować*; economy *broker, menedżer, leasing, know-how*; marketing *PR, content, handout*; cosmetics *antyperspirant, peeling, lifting* and the colloquial register *cool, sorry, sweetfocia*.

A. Witalisz (2007: 18) states that the process of semantic borrowing from English into Polish has been increasing through the last two decades. She points out that nowadays there are approx. 300 semantic Anglicisms in Polish. Numerous linguists describe examples of adding new senses and altering the old meanings of originally Polish nouns (e.g. *wyrafinowany* "refined", influenced by *sophisticated*, has been extended to denote complexity in general), as well as earlier borrowings mostly from Latin (e.g. under the influence of the English *absolutely* and *exactly*, words *absolutnie* "completely" and *dokładnie* "carefully" nowadays also function as exclamations of approval; see W. Chłopicki, 2005; E. Kołodziejczyk, 2008; M. Sztencel, 2009; M. Zabawa, 2012; A. Kasztalska, 2014). M. Zabawa (2008: 163) remarks that "the process of expanding the meaning of Polish words is not bad in itself and thus should not be blindly criticized. Nevertheless, (...) such changes are not always desirable, especially when the meaning of a given Polish word becomes vague or imprecise as the result of the process".

Nowadays apart from vocabulary and semantics, also the spheres of Polish syntax, morphology, phonology and even spelling are not free from the influence of English (M. Zabawa, 2012: 11).

In the area of syntax linguists (e.g. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 68 M. Sztencel, 2009: 11; M. Zabawa, 2012: 48) underline the increasing tendency to use adjectives

in attributive position instead of postposition, even though in certain constructions the adjective has typically followed the noun e.g. *kosmetyczny instytut* instead of *instytut kosmetyczny.* Another English influence on Polish syntax is the increasing number of noun clusters where attributive placement of nouns is used instead of adjectival phrases, e.g. *biznesplan* instead of *plan biznesowy* or *auto-naprawa* rather than *naprawa samochodowa* (A. Kasztalska (2014: 249).

Linguists (e.g. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 65–67; M. Zabawa, 2012: 48) most frequently describe the addition of new prefixes and suffixes, e.g. *-gate*, *-ing* and *e-*, as the morphological influence of English (see also the end of section 2.2.2.3.).

Numerous examples of pragmatic Anglicisms are provided by Polish linguists. M. Zabawa (2012: 48) points out the use of second person singular pronoun *ty* instead of addresative forms *pan / pani* in advertisements and television shows. M. Sztencel (2009: 9) provides an example of English-motivated change in the use of possessive pronouns *twój* instead of *swój* where the subject is not present in the sentence, e.g. *Kup twój bank*. W. Chłopicki (2005: 113) asserts that under the influence of English Poles can not only express new concepts but also "expand their expressive vocabulary", as illustrated by the borrowing of English emotive words (e.g. *wow, yeah, sorry*). M. Bugajski (1992: 93) and A. Otwinowska (1997: 51) also point out the use of English-based pragmatic phraseological calques, e.g. *Panie i Panowie* (from English *ladies and gentlemen*), *miłego dnia* (*have a nice day*), *w czym mogę pomóc*? (*can I help you?*).

M. Zabawa (2012: 48) provides two examples of Anglicisms in the area of punctuation: the use of quotation marks on the model of English, i.e. " " instead of the traditional „ " and the use of a dot in decimal fractions: *1.23* instead of a comma *1,23*. M. Zabawa (2012: 48) and E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 68) also describe cases of using English spelling patterns in Polish words in the language of the Internet, e.g. *qmpel* instead of *kumpel,* and in shop-signs *szlafrOK* or *eu4ia* (the use of good command of English among Poles to decipher it as *euforia* = "euphoria").

The majority of linguists point out that the influence of English and Polish on each other is almost exclusively unidirectional despite the 500 years of cultural and language contacts (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006; M. Podhajecka 2002; M. Zabawa 2008). Polish has borrowed a considerable amount of English elements, while the number of Polish borrowings in English is limited (M. Podhajecka 2002: 330). Some linguists claim that there are as much as 127 elements of Polish origin in English (G. Hughes, 2000: 370, after M. Podhajecka, 2002). However, M. Podhajecka (2002: 332) claims that the study also classified as Polonisms elements which were not originally Polish (e.g. *czako*, which is a Polish spelling of Hungarian *csáko*) and ones which are more likely to have been transferred from Russian rather than from Polish (e.g. the suffix *-nik*, e.g. *peacenik*). Some words of Polish origin infiltrated into English via other languages, such as French, (*polonaise)*; German (*Pole*), Russian (*starosta*) and Yiddish (*schlub*). She adds that there are 19 loanwords from Polish in English, e.g. *oberek, mazurka, hetman, gmina, kielbasa.*

The lexemes which could be undoubtedly classified as Polonisms constitute a scanty part of the English vocabulary (approx. 0.004 percent, according to M. Podhajecka, 2002:337). She underlines that the elements of Polish origin are marginal in English, because they describe phenomena that are exclusively Polish. M. Zabawa (2008: 155) also claims that "[Polish] loans [in English] are used or even known by a very limited number of people and thus they can be said to play a peripheral role in English".

2.2.2. Adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish

As has been already mentioned every language tries to integrate the loanwords, so that they are subject to its laws and rules. As this process is intensive and complex in the case of Polish Anglicisms, this section describes it at four levels: spelling (2.2.2.1.), phonology (2.2.2.2.), morphology (2.2.2.3.) and semantics (2.2.2.4.).

2.2.2.1. Graphic adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish

M. Zabawa (2012: 34) points out that nowadays the graphic channel of incorporating new Anglicisms in Polish is more frequent than the oral one. The necessity of graphic assimilation of Anglicisms in Polish stems from the fact that the alphabets and spelling patterns of these languages are not identical. Some Polish letters are absent in English and some English letters are not typical for Polish. Moreover, English orthography allows representation of one phoneme by various letters (or combination of letters) and the situation when one letter represents various phonemes, while Polish orthography is more consistent in this matter.

Nevertheless, the retention of original spelling is not uncommon in Polish. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 43) points out that approx. 32 percent of the borrowings examined by her are used in Polish with unchanged English spelling e.g. *baby sitter, rock, snooker, baseball, rugby, show*. These are usually more recent Anglicisms which have been borrowed with a foreign-like pronunciation. Their derivatives retain foreign features in spelling, e.g. *baseball → baseballista* – "a baseball player" (K. Luciński 2000: 62). However, they might also be earlier borrowings which were incorporated using the written channel, thus they are read out in accordance with the rules of Polish, e.g. *radar – /radar/ derby – /derbɨ/* (K. Luciński, 2000: 55).

Some words incorporated into Polish from English (approx. 15 percent, according to E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 43) belong to the group of allographs, i.e. they are used in several spellings e.g. *nokaut / knockout, ekspres / express.* K. Luciński (2000: 62) remarks that even if some Anglicisms are used in both nativised and original spelling, the dictionaries usually point out the nativised form. Consequently, the nativised forms are used more and more frequently.

E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 44–46) and K. Luciński (2000: 55) describe the most common changes of the original form occurring during their graphic

adaptation:

- alteration of consonants or groups of consonants, e.g. v → w: _velvet_ → _welwet_, g → dż: _gin_ → _dżin,_ sh → sz and ck → k: _shock_ → _szok_;
- reduction of double consonants, e.g. _paddock_ → _padok_, _bull-terrier_ → _bulterier_; _dollar_ → _dolar, stress_ → _stres, tennis_ → _tenis._
- alteration of vowels or groups of vowels, e.g. ai → e: _trainer_ → _trener_, ea → i: _leader_ → _lider,_ ou →au: _scout_ → _skaut._
- reduction of double vowels, e.g. _beefsteak_ → _befsztyk;_
- deletion of silent vowels, e.g. _acre_ → _akr, lobbying_ → _lobbing;_
- addition of letters, e.g. _bunker_ → _bunkier._

E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 47) states that the majority of these modifications are motivated by the nature of Polish orthography, which is mainly based on pronunciation. She adds that these alterations prove that words including them were transferred through the spoken channel. K. Luciński (2000: 55) points out that, despite the general tendency, more recent Anglicisms are often reproduced with double consonants _boss, bestseller, offset_, which shows that they were introduced into Polish using written sources.

Sometimes Polish borrows Anglicisms using the mixed adaptation method, i.e. one part of the word is transcribed while the other reflects the pronunciation, e.g. _budget_ → _budżet, banjo_ → _bandżo, Lovelace_ → _lowelas_ (K. Luciński, 2000: 58).

2.2.2.2. Phonological adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish

The phonological systems of Polish and English differ to a greater extent than their orthographies. The dissimilarities are not only quantitative, but also qualitative. The English system consists of more vowel phonemes than Polish (12 vowel phonemes and 9 diphthongs – 8 vowel phonemes), while the Polish system includes more consonant phonemes than English (34 – 24; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 48). Thus, there are also some English phonemes with no Polish equivalents (e.g the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/) and vice versa (e.g. the nasal vowels /ą/ and /ę/). Moreover, many phonemes which are present in both languages differ in terms of place and manner of articulation and their distribution.

E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 48–49) enumerates a number of features and phenomena characteristic for only one of the languages e.g. final devoicing of obstruents in Polish or the existence of diphthongs in English. As a result of these differences, English sounds are replaced by certain Polish sounds; thus, there is no phonological transfer of Anglicisms into Polish (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 48).

The majority of alterations occur in the case of vowels, because the Polish set of vowels is limited in comparison with the English one. These substitutions are generally divided by K. Luciński (2000: 41–45) into:

- simple, when one English phoneme is substituted by one Polish phoneme, e.g. /m/ → /m/: /mɑːkɪt/ → /markɛt/;

- convergent, when several English phonemes could be reproduced by one Polish, e.g. /ʌ/, /æ/, /ə/, /ɒ/ → /a/:/rʌgbi/ → /ragbɨ/, /ræglən/ → /raglan/, /frɒk/→ /frak/;
- divergent, when one English phoneme is reproduced by several Polish phonemes, e.g. /æ/ → /a/ or /ɛ/: /pæk/ → /pak/, /bɪznɪsmæn/ → /biznɛsmɛn/.

According to E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 53), the pronunciation of the majority of borrowings is fully adapted to the standard of Polish language, whereas approx. 15 percent of them are pronounced equivalently to the original (i.e. only phonemes not present in Polish are replaced) and approx. 2 per cent have several correct variants of pronunciation.

K. Luciński (2000: 49–61) points out some changes reflecting other phenomena of Polish pronunciation patterns. He underlines the tendency of depalatalisation of some clusters in Polish and the existence of two pronunciation variants of some words *biznes* – /bizenes/ and /bɨznes/, *krykiet* – /krɨkiet/ and /krikiet/ (K. Luciński, 2000: 50).

He also remarks that syllabic /l/ in combinations with /g/, /t/ and /b/ is replaced by combinations /gel/ /tel/ /bel/, e.g. /dʌbl̩/ → /de<u>bel</u>/, /ˈdʒentl̩mən/ → /dżen<u>tel</u>men/, /ˈsɪŋgl̩/ → /sin<u>giel</u>/.

2.2.2.3. Morphological adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish

As an inflectional language, Polish assigns the grammatical categories absent in English to the words incorporated from this language (K. Luciński, 2000: 65). M. Zabawa (2008: 156) underlines the fact that the oldest Anglicisms are fully assimilated into Polish morphological system and thus they are often not perceived by native speakers as foreign items, e.g. *sport* or *dżem* ("jam").

Linguists have no doubt that the majority of lexical borrowings in Polish is constituted by nouns (e.g. B. Walczak, 1987; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995; M. Zabawa 2012). This reflects the general tendency in most other languages which is explained with the fact that nouns and verbs generally constitute the majority of the vocabulary (E. Haugen, 1950: 224) and that the need of languages to designate new objects, processes and phenomena is most often fulfilled by nouns (U. Weinreich, 1979: 53–54).

Nouns borrowed into Polish are assigned the grammatical category of gender and a declension pattern. K. Luciński (2000: 65) points out that, unlike Polish, English does not possess the grammatical category of gender, which is ascribed to all nouns on the basis of their graphic and phonetic form. English has natural gender, i.e. human nouns are assigned a masculine or feminine gender, while names of other creatures and names of things are assigned a neuter gender. Names of vessels, cars, aeroplanes, states, cities are sometimes used with feminine gender; names of rivers, mountains and winds with masculine gender, and names of larger animals such as elephant or lion with either masculine or feminine gender if it is a male or a female (K. Luciński, 2000: 66), but such uses are limited to literary or colloquial style. Consequently, Anglicisms entering Polish obtain a fixed grammatical gender. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 56) and K. Luciński (2000: 66-69) describe several factors determining the assignment of gender:

- the structure of the lexical item's auslaut; consequently, words ending with a consonant phoneme are masculine, e.g. *kombajn, badminton*, words ending in /a/ are generally feminine, e.g. *kafeteria, sekwoja,* words ending in /i/, /o/ or /u/ are neuter, e.g. *bikini, disco, kanu*;
- the graphic form; if the word is pronounced in accordance with its spelling, e.g. words spelled with a consonant at the end are masculine, despite the fact that in original they are pronounced with a final /ə/ e.g. *komputer, skipper*; or /aː/, e.g. *bar, polar*.
- the form of the added Polish suffix, e.g. words with Polish suffixes – *a* (*stewardessa), -ka (trenerka), -ówka (tenisówka),* or *-cja (wirescencja)* are feminine;
- the semantics of the item and the gender of its hypernym, e.g. *collie* and *dingo* or *grizzly* are masculine due to the association with the hypernyms *pies* "dog" and *niedźwiedź* "bear", while *whisky* and *brandy* are feminine by analogy with their hypernym *wódka* "vodka", despite their endings, which would assign them to neuter;
- the gender of the represented person e.g. feminine gender of words *lady* and *miss* and masculine gender of *bobby* despite the fact that according to their ending form they would have been assigned masculine or neuter gender;
- intermediation of other languages e.g. Polish *dżungla, runda* (feminine) through German *die Dschungel, die Runde* (feminine) from English *jungle* and *round*.

Polish linguists (e.g. K. Luciński, 2000; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006; M. Zabawa, 2012) generally state that the majority of nouns borrowed from English are assigned a masculine gender (approx. 76 percent, while approx. 8 percent are feminine and approx. 5 percent are neuter; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 57). They also remark that some Anglicisms have no single established gender (approx. 11 percent, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 57) e.g. *tofi* (masculine or neuter).

The majority of nouns of English origin in Polish follow the declension pattern of their assigned gender. Only some of them (approx. 16 per cent) have incomplete declension (e.g. have no plural form: *busz, catering*). This proves that Polish easily adapts borrowed words morphologically, as uninflected nouns ending with /i/, /o/, /u/ or /ɨ/, e.g. *kiwi, dingo, karibu, grizzly*, comprise approx. 9 percent of all Polish Anglicisms (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 58). K. Luciński (2000: 74) remarks that assigning a declension pattern is the most rapid of the adaptation processes, as even Anglicisms with unstable pronunciation or spelling are used in their inflected forms in oblique cases *baseball – baseballu* (genetive case), *baseballem* (instrumental case); *bazooka – bazooce* (dative case), *bazookę* (accusative case); *big-beat – big-beatu* (genitive case), *o big-beacie* (locative case).

In the case of some proper names Polish shows a tendency to create a double genitive. Despite the fact that these names express the so called "genitive with ellipsis", their genitive is formed by addition of Polish genitive ending *-a,* e.g. *Harrods – Harrodsa* (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 65).

The majority of borrowings form their plural using typical Polish suffixes. The suffix *-y* is used with feminine and masculine non-personal nouns *(piżamy, stewardessy, dolary, jardy), -e* with words whose stem ends with a soft consonant *(tunele, motele, tramwaje, sandwicze, pianole), -i* with words which stem ends with velar consonants /k/ or /g/ *(parkingi, mitingi kipseki, bazooki)* and some masculine personal nouns (*dżentelmeni*) or *-owie* with the other masculine personal nouns (*lordowie*) (K. Luciński 2000: 70–71). K. Luciński (2000: 72) points out that some Anglicisms in Polish are used only in the singular, e.g. specialised terms *kliring, folklor, offset, dumping*; some sport names and sport related terms *tenis, hokej, brydż, doping, kraul*; ordinary words *komfort, koks*. He also provides examples of nouns which are used only in plural by analogy with their hypernyms, e.g. *bryczesy, dżinsy, szorty ← spodnie* "trousers"; *gogle ← okulary* "glasses" (K. Luciński, 2000: 72).

Numerous Polish linguists (e.g. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 63; K. Luciński, 2000: 73) mention the phenomenon of depluralisation, which consists in borrowing some English nouns in their plural form, which is taken for their singular form e.g. Eng. *drop (*pl. *drops) →* Pol. *drops (*pl. *dropsy); clip (clips) → klips (klipsy), comic (comics) → komiks (komiksy), Tory (Tories) → torys (torysi), hippie (hippies) → hipis (hipisi)*. Linguists also record a reverse phenomenon, where English *-s* endings are deleted in Polish, despite the fact that they are endings of the singular form in English e.g. Polish *pikle ←* English *pickles*. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 64) ascribes these phenomena to erroneous morphological analysis of these words during the process of their borrowing.

The verbs assimilated into Polish are divided by J. Fisiak (1985) into:

- fully assimilated, which most frequently are formed by addition of suffix *-ować* and conjugate according to Polish patterns e.g. *parkować, trenować;* they also have perfective aspect e.g. *zaparkować, wytrenować;*
- partly assimilated, which differ from the first group with the lack of perfective aspect forms e.g. *jazzować, besemerować;*
- incomplete, which are used only in imperative form e.g. *play, pull, stop.*

When it comes to adjectives, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 60) states that half of them have taken the Polish declension by adding Polish suffixes *-owy, -ski, -ny*, e.g. *hokejowy popratowy bokserski kompatybilny, relewantny*, while the other half have remained uninflected (e.g. *blue, country*).

The borrowed adverbs (e.g. *non-stop, fifty fifty)* and interjections (e.g. *yeah, halo*) similarly to Polish ones are uninflected (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995:61).

Taking word-formation under consideration, English borrowings are most frequently perceived as indivisible, even if they consist of several morphemes in English (e.g. *impeachment, meczbol, bekhend*). Nevertheless, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 65) claims that more and more English affixes are used in Polish to create new words (see the examples of prefixes: *Mc, O'* and suffixes: *-er, -s, -'s, -ing, -gate* and *-burger* discussed by E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006: 65–67). English borrowings also participate actively in the processes of word-formation using Polish suffixes and prefixes (see the list of approx. 40 suffixes presented by E. Mańczak-

Wohlfeld, 1995: 63–65). Frequently these processes entail the transfer of an item between parts of speech e.g. *blef (noun) → blefować (verb).*

Some Polish Anglicisms are integrated to such an extent that they also form new compounds with native nouns most often using the interfix -o- *klubokawiarnia* and using Latin and Greek prefixes e.g. *mikrobus, autokemping*. Such formations prove that the Anglicisms in them are well adapted into Polish (K. Luciński, 2000: 92).

K. Luciński (2000: 78) shows that the degree of incorporation of the majority of Anglicisms in Polish is high, using the example of the word *film*, which has numerous derivatives in Polish: *film → filmowy, filmować, filmowanie, filmowiec, filmowo, filmowość, filmik, filmoznawstwo, filmoznawczy, filmoteka*, etc.

Interestingly, some English noun phrases borrowed into Polish were clipped to single words, e.g. *Bristol board → brystol* (K. Luciński 2000:78).

2.2.2.4. Semantic adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish

As has been already mentioned, Anglicisms have enriched various areas of Polish vocabulary. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 68–73) describes 45 semantic fields to which Anglicisms in Polish belong. The most numerous of them are sport, society and human life, clothing and fashion, music and food.

K. Luciński (2000: 99–101) divides the semantic adaptation of Anglicisms by Polish into two stages. Firstly, they are used as exoticisms, i.e. to describe the foreign reality. Then they may be still used in this role or become ordinary words of the given language. Consequently, their frequency of use in everyday language increases and they begin to build their relations with native items of lexicon. He states that the emergence of derivatives from a given borrowing indicates that its meaning is relatively established in the recipient language (K. Luciński, 2000: 113).

Linguists are generally unanimous that the majority of Anglicisms retain only one of the meanings of their models, usually the most general one in an unchanged form, e.g. *bus, dok* (e.g. K. Luciński, 2000: 93, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 73). K. Luciński (2000: 94) underlines that if an Anglicism denotes a specific fragment of reality, it could be transferred in its non-basic meaning, e.g. *diler* "illegal drugs seller", *boy* "a young male servant in hotel", *joker* "the special playing card".

Numerous Anglicisms have transferred more than one of their meanings. K. Luciński (2000: 107) remarks that the growing frequency of use of a given Anglicism leads to the broadening of its meaning. Usually it happens by means of transferring other meanings of the original which were not used previously in Polish, most often the metaphorical ones. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to state undoubtedly if this extension was externally- or internally-motivated. This may also lead to changes in the meaning.

Sometimes under the influence of Polish the meaning of the borrowing is slightly modified as in the case of *dżem* "jam" described by E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 74–75) where the Polish meaning also allows citrus fruit as ingredients. K. Luciński (2000: 114) states that narrowing a meaning of a borrowing is a rare process in Polish. Usually the main reason is disappearance of one of the word's

meanings. (e.g. names of obsolete tools, machines, clothing). However, it may also entail internal processes of Polish. M. Sztencel (2009) points out the word *drink* which in Polish denotes only an alcoholic beverage.

There are also cases when the Anglicism has more meanings in Polish than in English e.g. *barman* which in Polish could also mean "an owner of the bar" (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995: 73–77). Occasionally, the broadening of use may also lead to complete divergence from the English model. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 77) claims that approximately 13 percent of Anglicisms changed their meaning completely, e.g. *dress → dres* "tracksuit" or *bubble → bubel / buble* "goods of poor quality".

2.3. Russian-English language contact

This section presents the language contact between Russian and English. Subsection 2.3.1. gives a historical overview, while subsection 2.3.2. is concerned with the adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian.

2.3.1. History of Russian-English language contact

As a large and influential county, Russia developed political, cultural and consequently also language contacts with multifarious countries and nations. V. I. Maksimov (2010: 211–221) enumerates languages which were the main sources of borrowings in Russian. He divides them into Slavonic and non-Slavonic. The first group includes Old-Slavonic, Old-Bulgarian, Polish (which for a long time was an intermediary of Latin and German words) and Czech, while the latter include Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, the Turkish languages, ancient Greek, Latin, German, French and English.

In 16th century England began to look for new trade partners for whom it would not need to compete with the Netherlands, Spain or Portugal. Russia was such a direction (K. Luciński 2000: 9). The date that is considered to open the relations between Russian- and English-speaking areas is August 24, 1553, when the British ship *Edward Bonaventure* was anchored in the mouth of the Northern Dvina River (Z. G. Proshina / B. P. Ettkin 2005). The captain of the vessel handed czar Ivan IV "the Terrible" a letter from king Edward VI, in which the English monarch expressed his desire to commence trade exchange with Russia. K. Luciński (2000: 10) states that from that moment on the trade and political relations between Russia and England began to develop. According to him, the diaries of Russian envoys on the court of Elisabeth I (e.g. Fiodor Pisemskiy) are a good evidence of the beginnings of Russian-English language contact. All the then Anglicisms were transcribed, which shows that they were transferred from spoken English. There were several spellings in use for one word of English origin, e.g. the river Thames was spelled in one text as *Темис, Земись* and *Темзъ*.

In the seventeenth century, due to the development of trade relations and the fact that numerous Englishmen and Scotsmen served in Russian army, Russian began to

incorporate English nouns (K. Luciński, 2000: 11). First Anglicisms in Russian were forms of address, e.g. *лорд* (lord), *сэр* (sir), *мистер* (Mr), *миссис* (Mrs.), *лорд чамберлин* (lord chamberlain) and names of measures, e.g. *шиллинг* (shilling), *пенс* (pence), *фунт* (pound). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Russian incorporated approximately 50 English words (V. M. Aristova 1978: 15).

The reign of Peter the Great (1696–1725) was a period of massive influx of foreign words into Russian. As a result of reforms introduced by the first Russian emperor and active contacts with almost all European countries of that time, numerous foreign engineers, doctors and craftsmen came to work in Russia (Z. G. Proshina / B. P. Ettkin, 2005: 441). Out of approximately 3000 loanwords adopted by Russian during those 31 years 287 were of English origin (V. M. Aristova 1978: 16–17). These were mostly words connected with everyday life, e.g. *эль* (ale), *ром* (rum), *пудинг* (pudding), *фланель* (flannel). K. Luciński (2000: 14) also points out some examples of Anglicisms from the second half of 18th century belonging to naval terminology, e.g. *вельбот* (whaleboat), *док* (dock), and denoting public institutions, e.g. *вокзал* (Vauxhall), *клуб* (club), *парк* (park).

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 219) states that the process of borrowing new Anglicisms intensified considerably at the end of 18th and in the 19th century. The first dictionary providing evidence of Anglicisms in Russian is the dictionary of foreign words by Yanovskiy from the beginning of 19th century (1803–1806). It includes 120 words of English origin (K. Luciński, 2000: 19). Three further dictionaries from 1860s (by Michelson, Toll and Gavkin) mentioned from 100 to 300 Anglicisms, e.g. *матч* (match), *траппер* (traper), *фелло* (fellow).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to the growing international role of England and a gradual growth of English speakers number in the empire, Russian incorporated more than 700 Anglicisms (V. M. Aristova 1978: 19). These words belong to the semantic fields of sport, e.g. *спортсмен* (sportsman), *футбол* (football), *регби* (rugby); economics, e.g. *бойкот* (boycott), *бюджет* (budget); fashion *пиджак* ("jacket" from *pea jacket*), *плед* (plaid), *свитер* (sweater) and other fields, e.g. *троллейбус* (trolleybus), *док* (dock). At that time the earlier borrowings demonstrated a considerable level of adaptation by forming numerous derivatives, e.g. *клуб → клубист*, *клубный* (from English *club*).

L. Krysin (2004: 72) points out that the character of the lexical borrowing into Russian changed at the turn of the 20th century. Up to the second half of the 19th century Anglicisms were borrowed through the oral channel, personal correspondence and literature. From the second half of the 19th century onwards the main channels of Anglicisms transfer were other written texts, i.e. newspapers and scientific articles. In the 20th century the sources also included special terminology, trade and business language, translations of literature and non-literary texts.

Due to the rapid technological development and the process of globalisation of all spheres of life, the twentieth century witnessed a considerable growth in the number of Russian Anglicisms in various fields, such as: technology, e.g. *трамвай* (tramway), *бульдозер* (bulldozer), *танк* (tank), *акваланг* (akwalung), *крекинг* (kraking), *лазер* (laser); politics, e.g. *парламент* (parliament), *импичмент*

(impeachment), *пиар* (PR); economics, e.g. *капитал* (capital), *чек* (check), *дилер* (dealer); sport, e.g. *бадминтон* (badminton), *волейбол* (volleyball), *тренер* (trainer), *боксер* (boxer); music, e.g. *джаз* (jazz), *твист* (twist), *рок* (rock), *хеви-метал* (heavy metal), *рэп* (rap) (Z. G. Proshina / B. P. Etkin, 2005: 444). K. Luciński (2000: 19) points out that the dictionary of foreign words by Petrov from 1939 included approx. 500 Anglicisms.

L. Krysin (2004: 185) states that from the 1940s to the 1960s due to the change of the political approach towards the Western countries (foreign words were perceived as ideologically incorrect) the borrowing of new words was limited and borrowings which had been already well adapted into Russian were replaced with native words. K. Luciński (2000: 20) points out that in the 1960s approximately 220 words and 170 phrases of English origin were used in Russian with their original graphic form, e.g. *football*, *bar*. Most of them have been adapted graphically by now.

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 219) points out that as a consequence of that a massive influx of Anglicisms began in the 1970s. L. Krysin (2004: 13) underlines that the two main reasons for that were the need to name new objects and phenomena that emerged in culture, and replacing existing native names which were mostly descriptive. K. Luciński (2000: 20) presents the increase in the Russian Anglicisms number using the example of the reissues of Petrov's dictionary. The reissue from 1964 describes 747 Anglicisms and the reissue from 1980 includes 926. However, he also mentions that this last reissue does not mention some English words that were used in Russian in 1980s, e.g. from the area of sport: *фэр плей (fair play), тим (team), дриблер (dribbler)*; language of young people *парти (party), топлесс (topless), о'кей (okay), ол-райт (all right)* and ordinary words: *джинсы (jeans), хула-хоп (hula-hoop), хэппенинг (happening)*. However, monolingual dictionaries also mention some words not included in foreign word dictionaries, e.g. the dictionary by Kotelova and Sorokin includes approximately 240 Anglicisms, such as *мюзикл (musical)*, *паблисити (publicity)*, *вестерн (Western),* as well as derivatives from earlier Anglicisms: *lift → лифтёр* ("a person in charge of a lift"), *football → отфутболить* (a verb which originally meant "to kick out the ball").

L. Krysin (2004: 185–186) states that following the fall of the USSR all the obstacles for contacts with the Western world were removed and Russia became a part of this world. This led to activation of trade, scientific and cultural relations with other countries, emergence of foreign companies on the Russian market. Consequently, all this increased the frequency and intensity of communicative contacts with speakers of foreign languages, which changed the attitude of the Russian speakers towards words of foreign origin, thus facilitating the borrowing process. As a result, the scope of use of numerous previously borrowed specialised terms from the fields of culture, fashion, sport, economy, finances, trade was extended to everyday language.

L. Krysin (2004: 198–200) remarks that in the 1980s and 1990s the language of the press reflected the growth in number of Anglicisms and facilitated the broadening of their use in Russian. Numerous newspapers included Anglicisms

in column titles, e.g. *ноу-хау (know-how), брифинг (briefing), тинейджер (teenager), хит-парад (hit charts), видеодайджест (video digest)*. He underlines that former specialised Anglicisms are used in new usually metaphorical meanings most frequently in press articles, e.g. *рейтинг вранья* "the rating of lies".

S. V. Vorob'eva (2003: 117) states that in the 1990s and early 2000s Russian language borrowed 674 Anglicisms. Other linguists (e.g. A. Romanov, 2000) claim that the number of new words of English origin (also including slang words and unassimilated, i.e. not transcribed, words) amounts to as much as 1200–1500. An overall viewpoint on this phenomenon in Russian was taken by A. I. D'yakov who in 2014 published an online Dictionary of Anglicisms in the Russian Language (online resource 1) which contains over 16,700 entries. This shows the scale of this phenomenon in Russian. However, it should be added that this dictionary also includes numerous proper names which have not become common nouns in Russian. B. A. Gochiyaeva (2011: 101) underlines the growing number of English learners in Russia as the factor leading to the increase in the number of Anglicisms nowadays.

Russian linguists are unanimous that the overwhelming majority of the most recent borrowings in Russian have been transferred from English (L. Krysin, 2004: 184; V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 219; B. A. Gochiyaeva, 2011: 100).

The scope of linguistic and cultural influence of English on Russian is indicated by the variety of semantic categories to which the most recent Anglicisms belong, e.g. automotive industry *иммобилайзер*, economy *лизинг* (leasing)*, фьючерсные кредиты* (futures loans)*, ваучер* (voucher) *менеджер* (manager) *ноу-хау* (know-how)*,* art and music *андерграунд* (underground)*, римейк* (remake)*,* telecommunications *роуминг* (roaming), cosmetology *мейк-ап* (make-up)*, консилер* (concealer)*, пиллинг-крем* (peeling cream), politics *имидж* (image), *саммит* (summit), *электорат* (electorate), gadgets: *триммер* (trimmer), *термопот* (termopot)*, мемори стик* (memory stick)*, сельфи палка* (selfie stick) teenager's jargon *бой-френд* (boyfriend)*, герла* (girl), *шузы* (shoes) (K. Luciński, 2000; L. Krysin, 2004: 226; V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 220; B. A. Gochiyaeva, 2011).

L. Krysin (2004: 187) and V. I. Maksimov (2010: 219) point out that in the language of some professional groups, e.g. computer technicians, practically all the terminology is borrowed from English (as loanwords or semantic borrowings) e.g. *бит* (bit)*, компьютер* (computer)*, дисплей* (display)*, файл* (file), *интерфейс* (interface)*, принтер* (printer), etc. L. Krysin (2004: 188–189) also adds that when a given semantic field of Russian has already incorporated numerous Anglicisms it is easier to borrow new words, even if they have well established native equivalents, e.g. the Russian language of computing borrowed the word *юзер* (from English *user*) which replaced there the native word *пользователь*.

C. A. Belyaeva / T. N. Cvetkova, 2007 in their analysis of press articles from three Russian newspapers between November 2006 and January 2007 found 1268 Anglicisms belonging to various semantic classes, e.g. social life (*бойфренд*), sport (*офсайд*), social media (*смайлик*), business (*аудиторская проверка*), politics (*спичрайтер*), technology (*тест-драйв*). They point out that using one-off

borrowings from English is very popular in Russian journalistic style, e.g. in one article from *Argumenty i Fakty* weekly the phrase "*простые пиплы*" ("simple people" where the second word was simply transcribed from English and obtained a Russian plural ending) to differentiate civilians from soldiers.

Many linguists point out that nowadays there are more and more calques based on English phrases. L. Krysin (2004: 223) remarks that the calques from the turn of the 20th century were mostly built on the basis of word formation (one-word, e.g. <u>*небоскрёб*</u> ← <u>sky</u>scraper) under the influence of numerous Germanisms of that time, while the calques of the present day are more analytical based on numerous phrases from the language of diplomacy, politics, marketing and media under the influence of English, e.g. *теневой кабинет* ← *shadow cabinet*, *отмывание денег* ← *money laundering, шоковая терапия* ← *shock therapy, жёлтая пресса* ← *yellow press.*

Linguists also point out numerous phrases which have come into everyday Russian as word-for-word translations of English expressions often used in advertisements, e.g. *Без проблем*! (No problem!), *Оставайтесь с нами*! (Stay with us!), *Почувствуйте разницу*! (Feel the difference!), *критические дни* (a euphemism for menstruation from *critical days*) (L. Krysin 2004: 225).

L. Krysin (2004: 223–226) also remarks that the number of semantic borrowings is growing, especially in the language of politics, e.g. *ястреб* ← *hawk* "a supporter of tough policies", *формат* ← *format* "character" apart from original meaning "type". He remarks that it is difficult to doubtlessly state if a given word or phrase is a semantic borrowing, a calque from English or this transfer of meaning happened as an internal process of Russian, e.g. the word *крутый, круто* (meaning "hard, tough") in its informal meaning "cool / trendy" probably has been influenced by English *tough.* Most probably the phrase *зелёный свет* as "approval" came into Russian as a calque of English *green light,* but it could also have been a transfer of meaning on the ground of Russian (L. Krysin, 2004: 221).

S. V. Vorob'eva (2003: 120) states that English has borrowed some words from Russian and provides examples of loanwords: *samovar, sputnik, perestroika, glastnost, mirotvorets, nomenclatura* and calques *post-Soviet* ← *постсоветский, pro-Russian* ← *прорусский*. They contribute more to English vocabulary than elements from Polish.

On the basis of several British and American dictionaries and language corpora M. Podhajecka (2013) points out that the number of Russian borrowings in English globally may reach even 500. She found 369 Russian borrowings in Oxford English Dictionary and 295 in Webster's New International Dictionary of English (M. Podhajecka, 2013: 91). She remarks that some words are more specific for the British variant of English, e.g. *apparatchik, kulturny*, while others are found only in the American one, e.g. *baidak, totchka*. However, she also adds that these are, in vast majority, words closely related to Russian and Soviet culture and consequently limited in scope of contextual use. Nevertheless, she claims that 180 of them could be found in the British National Corpus, proving that some of them are used with a greater frequency (M. Podhajecka, 2013: 92).

2.3.2. Adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian

This subsection explores the incorporation of Anglicisms into the system of Russian from the perspective of graphic adaptation (2.3.2.1.), phonological adaptation (2.3.2.2.), morphological adaptation (2.3.2.3.) and semantic adaptation (2.3.2.4.).

2.3.2.1. Graphic adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian

K. Luciński (2000: 56) states that the crucial issue when it comes to graphic adaptation of Anglicisms is the difference in script, i.e. all of the items have to be expressed using the Cyrillic script finding the best equivalents of English letters (more often phonemes as Russian replications are more often phonetic due to script difference). Also, he underlines that, as in Polish, the Russian spelling rules correspond much more with the pronunciation than English ones. Generally, three stages of Anglicisms' graphic adaptation are distinguished (e.g. V. I. Maksimov 2010: 225). In the initial phase they are spelled exclusively in the Latin script. Then in parallel with their popularisation they are gradually spelled more and more often using the Cyrillic alphabet. Finally, only the Cyrillic version is used and adapted to the norms of Russian orthography *Internet → интернет*. He adds that the adaptation of an Anglicism to the orthographic system of Russian is an obligatory condition of their further assimilation. Consequently, in Russian the difference between loanwords and code-switched elements is more visible than in other languages, due to this difference in alphabets, thus code-switches are spelled in Latin alphabet, while loanwords in Cyrillic (L. Krysin, 2004: 60).

L. Krysin (2004:74) and V. I. Maksimov (2010: 224) point out that in modern Russian the English models are most often replicated using transcription, i.e. expressing the original pronunciation using the Cyrillic alphabet as precisely as it is possible, e.g. *underground* is spelled *андерграунд* or even *анерграунд*, *upgrade → апгрейд*, *business → бизнес*, *bike → байк*, *designer → дизайнер*, *boom → бум*, *jeep → джип*.

Nevertheless, he states that numerous borrowings are also adapted through transliteration, e.g. auditor → *аудитор*, bestseller → *бестселлер*, broker → *брокер*, gangster → *гангстер* or using the mixed adaptation which combines transcription and transliteration. The last method is usually used when the Anglicism includes a Greek or Latin morpheme, e.g. in the word *акваланг* (a replication of English word *aqualung*) the first morpheme is transliterated, while the second morpheme is transcribed (L. Krysin, 2004: 74).

However, K. Luciński (2000: 54) points out that there is no direct correlation between the channel of transfer and the way of replication, as Anglicisms incorporated by means of written sources could be both transliterated or transcribed.

K. Luciński (2000: 55) states that, in contrast to Polish, Russian reproduces double consonants in Anglicisms more often, e.g. *dollar → доллар, tennis*

→ *теннис, tunnel* → *туннель, stress* → *стресс, atoll* → *атолл.* However, in most cases they are pronounced as sigle phonemes.

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 225–226) describes some uncertainties regarding the rule of spelling a given lexeme as one word or using a hyphen. Usually Russian words are hyphenated when they consist of two morphemes which could exist as separate words, but sometimes this rule is not obeyed in Anglicisms the word for *body-building* is sometimes spelled *боди-билдинг* despite the fact that no word *билдинг* exists in Russian.

L. Krysin (2004: 45) underlines that introduction of numerous Anglicisms into Russian resulted in more active usage of words with non-typical spelling combinations, especially in unstressed syllables, e.g. *-дж: коттедж, имидж, Джордж, -нг: демпинг, клиринг.*

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 227–228) states that, as some words are still not fully adapted, there are several spellings in use (also as a result of unfixed pronunciation), e.g. *player* could be spelled *плейер, плеер* or *плэйер*; *off-shore* → *офшор* or *офф-шор*, *second-hand* → *сэконд-хенд* or *секонд-хенд*. He adds that this period of form variation is usual for the majority of Anglicisms in Russian.

2.3.2.2. Phonological adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian

While comparing English and Russian phonetic systems V. I. Maksimov (2010: 222) divides the sounds in these languages into having their equivalents in the other language (e.g. /b/ – /б/, /v/ – /в/, /g/ – /г/, /ɛ/ – /э/), similar sounds which differ in the matter of articulation (e.g. /t/ – /т/, /d/ – /д/, /ʃ/ – /ш/, /ʒ/ –/ж/) and sounds specific for only one of the two languages (e.g. /щ/ or /ы/ for Russian and /θ/, /ð/, /æ/ for English). The sounds belonging to the second and third groups are replaced with the most similar sounds (in cases of some phonemes depending on the context one English sound could be replaced with several Russian sounds) or pronounced in the Russian manner[5].

K. Luciński (2000: 36) points out that while adapting Anglicisms, Russian needs to simplify the vowel sounds, as English has a much greater variety of vowels (English vowel repertoire comprises of 12 monophthongs and 9 diphthongs, while Russian of 6 vowel phonemes and 4 types of their reduced allophones). For instance, long vowels are replaced with Russian neutral equivalents, if the length of the vowel is the result of the combination with the letter "r" this combination is also reproduced phonetically. The phenomenon of vowel reduction characteristic for Russian is more complex than that present in English (using the /ə/ sound), as there are three levels of reduction depending from the distance of a given vowel from the stressed syllable (/a/, /o/ and /э/; K. Luciński, 2000: 31). He remarks that the majority of 24 English consonants have Russian equivalents and only 5 of them have to be replaced using indirect counterparts or combinations

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5   K. Luciński (2000: 36-39) describes the differences in place and manner of articulation between English and Russian vowels.

of phonemes (/θ/ /ð/ /ŋ/ /h/ /w/) sounds in Russian (K. Luciński 2000: 39), e.g. /h/ → /г/ *handicap → гандикап, harpun → гарпун*, and more recently into /х/ *happening → хеппенинг, hobby → хобби*; /w/ → /в/ whisky → *виски*, twist → *твист* or /у/ weekend → *уикэнд*.

Numerous studies also emphasise the phenomenon of palatalising the consonants followed by /и/ and /е/ in Russian (e.g. K. Luciński, 2000, L. Krysin, 2004). V. I. Maksimov (2010: 223) provides an example of phonetic adaptation of combinations of coronal consonants (/т/, /д/, /н/, /р/) with /э/, some of which are not palatalized, e.g. ан<u>д</u>ерграунд, бар<u>т</u>ер, бойф<u>р</u>енд, while others are palatalized, e.g. аутсай<u>д</u>ер, дисси<u>д</u>ент. Usually a recent borrowing is pronounced "harder" or both variants of pronunciation are used. After some time, it obtains softer pronunciation, more specific for Russian. However, in some cases the nouns have retained the non-palatized pronunciation, e.g. *компью<u>т</u>ер* "computer".

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 223) remarks that Anglicisms during their adaptation process frequently change their word stress, e.g. the original stress on the initial syllable is often changed on the second syllable in Russian /ǽbstræct/ – абстр<u>а</u>ктный, /bǽləst/ – балл<u>а</u>ст, /bédləm/ – бедл<u>а</u>м. He also points out the adjective *английский* "English" which under the influence of the original used to have an initial stress and has changed it for a more characteristic for Russian (i.e. on the second syllable). Some words are used in several pronunciations, e.g. the word for *marketing* could have either initial stress м<u>а</u>ркетинг or stress on the second syllable марк<u>е</u>тинг[6].

L. Krysin (2004: 202) points out that sometimes the borrowed words formed with regard to their foreign models diverge significantly from the rules of Russian phonology. He describes the phenomenon of hiatus which is not frequent among words of Russian origin, but is common among foreign borrowings, including Anglicisms. Usually it is met at the junction of morphemes, e.g. по<u>э</u>тому (native word), ради<u>о</u>активный (borrowing). However, in borrowings it also occurs inside one morpheme[7], e.g. в<u>а</u>учер, кан<u>оэ</u>, н<u>оу</u>-х<u>ау</u>, and it can include more than two vowels, e.g. н<u>еооуэ</u>низм. There is some uncertainty among linguists as to how these words should be pronounced (L. Krysin, 2004: 202–207). V. I. Maksimov (2010: 223–224) also remarks that Anglicisms introduced to Russian some combinations which were not characteristic for Russian especially inside one morpheme, e.g. /дж/ <u>дж</u>ойстик, /ке/ <u>ке</u>йс, /хе/ <u>хе</u>т-трик, /мю/ <u>мю</u>зикл, /ню/ <u>Нью</u>-Йорк.

He underlines that the cases of using a word with an unchanged pronunciation and spelling are extremely rare in Russian and include only to the class of the so-called occasionalisms (V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 222).

2.3.2.3. Morphological adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian

As an inflectional language, Russian has to adapt the Anglicisms entering it to

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6   He claims that some dictionaries suggest that the second pronunciation is colloquial.
7   In many cases this results from the presence of diphthongs in the English model.

its morphological system. L. Krysin (2004: 52) points out the categories which are attributed to new elements transferred from English into Russian. New nouns obtain case and number forms and are classified to one gender. Verbs begin to be conjugated in accordance with the principles of Russian (usually this happens via suffixation). Adjectives also obtain case, number and gender forms by means of adding a suffix.

When it comes to morphological adaptation, L. Krysin (2004: 57–58) distinguishes three types of lexical borrowings in Russian:

- words that agree in form with their prototypes (e.g. *бокс, комбайн*),
- words where some native morphological elements (most often grammatical endings) have been added, e.g. *джинс__ы__* (jeans), *тотал__ьный__* (total);
- words with partial morphological substitution (suffix or the second half of a compound has been replaced with a native one), e.g. *шорт__ы__ ← shorts*, *теле__видение__ ← tele__vision__*.

As a language with the grammatical gender, Russian classifies the Anglicisms to one of three genders. In most cases this occurs on the basis of the item's auslaut. Nouns of English origin become masculine if their auslaut ends with a consonant, or if the spelling ends with a silent vowel letter for /ə/ or /aː/ (i.e. ending with a consonant in their graphic form): *бойкот, клиринг*, feminine if their English graphic form ends with -a or -e, e.g. *sequoia → секвойя, maltose → мальтоза*, and neuter when their auslaut ends with another vowel (they most usually become uninflected), e.g. *табу* (taboo), *бикини* (bikini) (K. Luciński, 2000: 66; V. I. Maksimov 2010: 228).

However, these principles are not always obeyed and semantic factors are taken into consideration, e.g. the names of persons acquire masculine or feminine gender depending on the context, e.g. *секьюрити* "security", *хиппи* "hippie". Names and forms of address denoting women are ascribed feminine gender, e.g. *леди* "lady", *миледи* "milady", *мисс* "miss"; denoting men – masculine, e.g. *рефери* "referee", *бобби* "bobby". K. Luciński (2000: 66) remarks that some uninflected animal names ending with -и or -о have been assigned masculine gender, but not with regard to hypernym *пони* m. "pony" (while *лошадь* f. "horse"), *колли* m. "collie" and *динго* m. "dingo" (while *собака* f. "dog").

Consequently, sometimes even native speakers may have problems with using some Anglicisms, e.g. *лобби, ноу-хау, паблисити*, as even if the items are uninflected they have to have a determined gender to successfully combine with other elements in phrases or sentences (V. I. Maksimov 2010: 228). K. Luciński (2000: 68) proves that in the case of some nouns ending with other vowels than /a/ and /e/ the principles could be unclear, e.g. *виски* (*whisky)* and *бренди* (*brandy),* could be either masculine on the basis of the word *напиток* "a drink", feminine on the basis of the word *водка* "vodka" or neuter on the basis of their graphic and phonological form.

K. Luciński (2000: 67) states that 2 nouns *фильм* and *рельс,* nowadays masculine, used to have a feminine gender by analogy with their native hypernyms *фильма ← лента* "a tape" and *рельса ← шина* "a rail". He remarks that

the intermediation of other languages also impacts the gender, e.g. *фланель* (*flannel*) is feminine by analogy with French *flanelle* (K. Luciński, 2000: 69).

When Anglicisms are transferred into Russian they obtain a declension pattern (K. Luciński 2000: 74; V. I. Maksimov 2010: 229). L. Krysin (2004: 74) points out that there would be no uninflected words in Russian if they had not been borrowed from other languages. This stems from the fact that these are frequently words non-typical for the recipient language morphological systems, e.g. ending with /и/, /э/, /о/.

K. Luciński (2000: 70–72) points out that Anglicisms in Russian create the plural form in accordance with the patterns of the recipient language, i.e. by adding the plural suffixes *-ы, -и, -а*. Nouns ending with a consonant form plural adding *-ы ярды, джентльмены, лорды, пижамы, стюардессы* or rarely *-а : буфера*; ones ending with soft consonant or *к, г, х* form plural with *-и* ending: *сандвичи, трамваи, мотели, спаниели, митинги, кипсеки, базуки*. Anglicisms ending with other vowels than *-а* and *-е* are neuter and uninflected thus they create no separate plural form, e.g. *бренди* (brandy), *дерби* (derby).

K. Luciński (2000: 72) and V. I. Maksimov (2010: 229) state that some Russian Anglicisms are used only in the plural by analogy with their hypernyms, e.g. *джинсы, шорты ← штаны* (trousers), *джунгли ← заросли* (thickets), *пикли* (pickles) *← овощи* (vegetables).

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 229) points out that most usually the borrowed word form retains the original number meaning. However, sometimes, as a result of confusing the original singular form (depluralisation), this category might be changed, e.g. the English plural forms were taken for singular forms – *rail (rails)* → *рельс, chip (chips)* → *чипс, cake (cakes)* → *кекс, coke (cokes)* → *кокс, clip (clips)* → *клипс, comic (comics)* → *комикс, beam (beams)* → *бимс* and the plural forms are created from their Russian reproductions – *рельсы, чипсы, кексы, комиксы, клипсы, бимсы*.

Some Anglicisms in Russian are used only in singular, e.g. specialised terms *клиринг, фолклор, офсет, демпинг, допинг, кроль, кокс* (K. Luciński 2000: 72).

Linguists (e.g. L. Krysin, 2004: 74; V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 229) point out the general tendency in Russian not to borrow verbs, adjectives or adverbs, but to form them from borrowed nouns. The main reason for this is that it is possible to borrow nouns with no use of suffixes and inflectional endings, while they are indispensable in the case of verbs, adjectives.

L. Krysin (2004: 52–54) and K. Luciński (2000: 81) state that numerous Russian suffixes are productive in creating derivatives from Anglicisms, e.g. nominalising, *-ист, -ник, -ер, -ёр, -щик, -ка, -ица, -ша, -есса, -ня, -ок / -ёк, -ишко, -ние, -ство, -ество, -ада, -ат*; verbal *-овать* and adjectival *-н(ый), -ов(ый), -ск(ий)*. Sometimes two adjectives are derived from one noun in Russian and there is no semantic difference between them e.g. *джазовский* or *джазовый* "jazz", *снобистский* or *снобистический* "snobbish" (K. Luciński, 2000: 90). A. I. D'yakov (2001: 60–61) points out that word formation of neuter uninflected nouns (most often ending in -о and -и) is considerably limited or none in Russian.

He adds that Russian Anglicisms also create numerous derivatives using prefixes, e.g. to modify the meaning of a verb: *to look* → *лукать* → <u>*по*</u>*лукать* ("look for some time").

He remarks that approximately 60 Russian morphemes representing both English suffixes, e.g. *-мент, -инг,* and words, e.g. *-бол -мен*, have been included and are nowadays in use in the Russian word formation (as "suffixoids"; A. I. D'yakov, 2001: 67). For instance, the English suffix "-ball" *-бол* has been incorporated from words like *баскетбол*, *волейбол*, *бейсбол* and is used with native morphemes to form new words, e.g. *велобол*, *космобол*, *сюрпризбол*, (K. Luciński 2000: 80).

Nowadays numerous neologisms are formed in colloquial style and semi-formal texts using English suffixes, e.g. *-инг мордобитинг* (*мордобитие*, "brawl"), *-гейт* ("-gate" from Watergate scandal) *кремльгейт*; *-мейкер* "maker" *слухмейкер* (somebody who spreads rumors "слухи"), as well as from Anglicisms with Russian suffixes, e.g. *-ить* + *скутер* "scooter" → *скутерить* (informal "to drive a scooter") (A. I. D'yakov 2001, L. Krysin, 2004: 56).

L. Krysin (2004: 207-208) points out that nowadays under the influence of English there are more and more words formed with "analytical adjectives" (*аналитические прилагательные*), i.e. as one word instead of an adjectival phrase, e.g. words with prefixoids *бизнес-*, such as *бизнес-класс*, *бизнес-консалтинг* and *секс-*, such as *секс-услуги, секс-бомба*. However, in Russian this phenomenon is not so divergent from the native norm as in Polish, as it has been present in Russian for several decades and originated with Latin and Greek morphemes, e.g. <u>электро</u>станция, <u>метео</u>сводка, <u>фото</u>техника. K. Luciński (2000: 91) points out that Russian adjectives could also be formed from prepositional phrases *on call* → *онкольный*, *off shore* → *офшорный*.

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 234) states that sometimes one Anglicism may lead to the creation of a group of words with the same morpheme, but not being derivatives of that word, e.g. the borrowings *армрестлер* "arm-wrestler" and *армрестлинг* "arm-wrestling" lead to the creation of Russian word *армстол* (literally "arm" + "table" – "a table for arm-wrestling") with the morpheme *арм*, the Anglicism *арт-шоу* "art show" lead to the creation of Russian word *арттусовка* (literally "art" + "party") with the morpheme *арт*.

K. Luciński (2000: 78) states that some English phrases borrowed into Russian have been clipped to single words, e.g. *Bristol board* → *бристоль*, *detective novel* → *детектив*.

As is generally the case with loanwords, Anglicisms in Russian are treated as indivisible even if their models were complex in structure. The only case when it is perceived as consisting of several morphemes occurs when numerous words having the same morpheme, e.g. the suffixes *-ор -ер* or *-мен*, are already present in the recipient language thus it is easier for native speakers to understand their structure (K. Luciński 2000: 81).

Sometimes similar Polish and Russian derivatives from borrowings based on the same English model have considerably different meanings, e.g. derivatives

adding similar suffixes *-ówka / -ка* coined from the word *football*: Polish *futbolówka* "the football ball" vs. Russian *футболка* "a sports T-shirt" (K. Luciński 2000: 113).

2.3.2.4. Semantic adaptation of Anglicisms in Russian

Even after some time from their first appearance in Russian and despite the fact that they have been already transcribed or transliterated and assigned a grammatical form, numerous Anglicisms are still used with additional comments, in italics or in quotation marks. This stems from the fact that they are already not perceived as completely alien elements, but their foreign origin is still visible and their meaning is still unstable (L. Krysin 2000: 20). V. I. Maksimov (2010: 232) points out that the semantic adaptation of an Anglicism is the most complex and difficult stage of its incorporation into Russian, as speakers commit numerous mistakes in understanding and use of a borrowing.

Most often an English item is borrowed only in one of the model's original meanings[8]. Usually it is the most general of the meanings. An Anglicism could be transferred in its non-basic meaning if it denotes a particular object of reality, e.g. *баттерфляй* ← *butterfly* – "the swimming style"*, джокер* ← *joker* "the playing card" (K. Luciński, 2000: 93; V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 231).

Also, he underlines that Anglicisms in Russian usually retain their stylistic, usage and communicative constraints, as in the majority of cases they are words with special meaning (L. Krysin, 2004: 43). However, K. Luciński (2000: 110) adds that the growth in frequency of a given terminological borrowing leads to its determinologisation, as it becomes a word of everyday language.

Linguists point out that often the meaning of an Anglicism is extended in Russian (K. Luciński, 2000: 98–100). This could result from the meaning broadening in English, e.g. the word *лайнер* "liner" originally meant "a large ship cruising on one line" and together with its English prototype has obtained a meaning "a plane of that type". Additionally, Anglicisms could be used in meanings not present in English because of the Russian speakers' lack of contextual knowledge of a given word, e.g. *бройлер* "broiler" also means "building for breeding chickens", *ковбой* "cowboy" also means "a soft hat with a thong".

Sometimes the extension of meaning may lead to complete divergence from the original sense. An example of such a change is provided by K. Luciński (2000: 99). The meaning of the word *вокзал* (from Vauxhall) transformed from "public park in London" through "a place of festivals and parties" to "railway station". Despite the fact that this word fell into disuse in English[9], it has become

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8 Luciński (2000: 95) also points out numerous examples of Anglicisms which have retained different meanings in Polish than in Russian, which is often a result of frequent homonymy in English.

9 It was also borrowed into Polish (cf. e.g. the name of one street in Warsaw *Foksal*), but fell into disuse as well.

a commonly used item in Russian with high frequency of use and numerous derivatives, e.g. *вокзальчик, привокзальный, автовокзал*.

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 235) points out that following the establishment of its meaning the word begins to create relations with other elements of Russian vocabulary (finds its synonyms, antonyms, hypernyms, hyponyms, etc.). He underlines that due to their form of reproduction, Anglicisms sometimes become homonyms of native Russian words, e.g. the word *бич* ("a tramp" on the basis of *beach-comber*) has become a homonym of the native word *бич* ("a whip"). Such situations also occur between Anglicisms even if they are not homonyms in English, e.g. as a result of the identicalness of replications of the English words *beat* ("the main rhythm distinguishing itself in music") and *bit* ("a unit of computer memory") which in both cases is *бит*.

L. Krysin (2004: 196) states that the prestige of English often leads to the change in meaning of the Anglicism for a narrower one, e.g. the Russian word *шоп* does not denote any *shop*, but one which sells more prestigious and fashionable goods.

Such a change usually stems from the differentiating of the Anglicism's meaning with other elements of the Russian lexicon. V. I. Maksimov (2010: 236) states that most often Russian Anglicisms have no complete synonyms, as they express some novelty and introduce a different hue in the semantic system of Russian, e.g. the word *киллер* ("a hired killer") does not mean exactly the same as the native word *убийца* ("a killer"). B. A. Gochiyaeva (2011: 100) remarks that sometimes the difference between the native and foreign equivalents may be slight, e.g. the Anglicism *плеер* "player" designates a more compact device than the Russian word *проигрыватель*.

Since Anglicisms often express a meaning which was not covered by the Russian semantic system earlier, such borrowings rarely have complete antonyms (V. I. Maksimov, 2010: 236). Nevertheless, it is easier to create such a relation, as also a more general word could become an antonym, e.g. *крейзи* "crazy" – *нормальный* "normal". Often Russian borrows both lexemes creating a synonym-antonym pair, e.g. *маркетинг* (*marketing*) – *демаркетинг* (*demarketing*), *фэр плей* (*fair play*) – *фол* (*foul*).

V. I. Maksimov (2010: 230–231) remarks that the fact that a given Anglicism has formed numerous collocations with various parts of speech indicates that it has been fully adapted into Russian.

2.4. Purist and liberal approach towards English influence on Polish and Russian

The influence of one language on another meets with different reactions. As has been mentioned in the final remarks of section 1.2., some people strongly oppose the process of linguistic borrowing, considering it a threat to their mother-tongue. This approach is called linguistic purism. On the other hand, others accept new elements entering the language from outside, perceiving them as an enrichment. Both these

approaches are characteristic for Polish as well as for Russian discourse. This section discusses the opinions on this subject most commonly expressed by Polish and Russian linguists.

A. Kasztalska (2014: 243) states that the period of partitions and military occupations shaped the attitudes of Poles towards their mother tongue and other languages. The need to purify the Polish language was expressed for the first time in the nineteenth century, when there was no Polish state, by Kopczyński and Śniadecki (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006: 71). However, B. Walczak (1987: 39) points out that there have been not many extreme purists in the history of Polish. There were periods when such an attitude was more popular, but they were not long and it was not widespread, e.g. during the time of the partitions of Poland some activists wanted to polonize the majority of foreign words (Trentowski, Liebelt); during the interwar period priest Bolesław Szeffs postulated the replacement of even well adapted and frequently used old borrowings from the beginning of Polish statehood. Nevertheless, B. Walczak (1987: 40) remarks that in most cases the native words suggested by them as replacements were ill-considered, because some borrowings have no one-to-one equivalents. Due to a different scope of use, Polish words might sound inadequate or simply hilarious in some contexts.

The other extreme attitude towards borrowings is mindless adoration for items of foreign origin, expressed through using them everywhere where it is possible and aversion for their native equivalents. According to B. Walczak (1987: 41–42) this approach is universal for all times and is characteristic for the so-called "men of the world". He provides an example of priest Benedykt Chmielowski from the first half of 18th century who demonstrates the superiority of speaking with numerous foreign interpolations over the use of exclusively Polish words. B. Walczak (1987: 43) points out that especially nowadays such speakers and writers do not bother to look for a native equivalent and imitate fashionable foreign patterns often due to "mental laziness".

L. Krysin (2004: 15) states that the question of borrowing in Russian has been discussed since the second half of the 19th century, especially from the 1880s, when the first explanatory dictionary was published. Specialists from various fields (including writers, literary critics, philologists, historians, social activists) begun to express their opinion about elements of foreign origin in the language.

Very soon two opposing parties were formed, i.e. purists and anti-purists (e.g. V. V. Vinogradov, 1938; V. D. Levin, 1964; Yu. S. Sorokin, 1965, mentioned in L. Krysin, 2004: 16). The matters which were most often addressed by them were the necessity of borrowings in the language, if it is possible to regulate the process of foreign elements influx, what are the possible and most effective ways to fight and eradicate them, as they were most often perceived as unnecessary items littering the language. S. V. Vorob'eva (2003: 118–119) points out that this discussion over the centuries led even to publishing a dictionary, which offered original or coined

Russian equivalents for numerous foreign borrowings[10]. However, she states that this dictionary failed to find equivalents to approx. 80 percent of Anglicisms in present Russian.

L. Krysin (2004:201) points out that nowadays the attitude towards Anglicisms in Russian depends on three factors: age (the younger a speaker is, the more tolerant for them they are), level of education (the more educated a person is, the more they are inclined to use an Anglicism in their speech) and profession (if it is related to the area of language which includes numerous Anglicisms the person is more tolerant for them).

Numerous linguists (e.g. L. Krysin, 2004: 188–189; B. A. Gochiyaeva, 2011: 100) remark that foreign, especially English, words are used more and more commonly in everyday Russian, as they stand out from native words with their graphic and phonological form, thus they are perceived as "sounding better" and sounding "more professional or prestigious".

B. Walczak (1987: 5) states that the approach to linguistic borrowings in Polish discourse is sometimes far from objective and rational, as this question is a subject of a heated debate not only among linguists, but also among all native speakers, due to the fact that it reaches far beyond the scope of linguistic studies and is related to issues of patriotism or cosmopolitanism. For instance, A. Kasztalska (2014:245) adds that in a public opinion research from 2005 respondents named foreign loans as the second of the worst trends in the contemporary Polish, following the overuse of vulgarisms.

She points out a dissonance in Poles' attitudes towards English: "Although English is almost unanimously regarded as an economic asset, it is also blamed for negatively changing Polish linguistic and social norms" (A. Kasztalska 2014: 243).

In the present discourse of both Polish and Russian there are some linguists calling to purify the language and hamper the further influx of Anglicisms. For instance, V. G. Kostomarov (1999) claims that the borrowing process seems so dangerous for the native languages due to the fact that it has intensified in the recent decades and practically all borrowings come from one language. Consequently, according to him, the set of most recent Anglicisms in Russian resembles a tumour which could not be counteracted by the organism by itself (not all the words are adapted by the language) and some artificial help is needed (it should be limited and controlled by the concerned linguists).

Nevertheless, at present the majority of both Polish and Russian linguists suggest a sensible liberalism towards Anglicisms (e.g. K. Luciński, 2000; H. Jadacka, 2003a; S. V. Vorob'eva, 2003; L. Krysin, 2004; W. Chłopicki, 2005; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006; E. Kołodziejczyk, 2008; V. I. Maksimov, 2010; B. A. Gochiyaeva, 2011; M. Zabawa, 2012). E. Kołodziejczyk (2008: 34) points out that the opinion about the overwhelming influx of Anglicisms is based on the fact

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10 The dictionary was written by Sergey Mahov in 1998 (*Словарь заменителей иностранных слов на русские*).

that the most recent Anglicisms are popularised by the media, especially in advertisements, i.e. in utterances which, like it or not, we are exposed to most frequently in our everyday life. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 74) underlines that the frequency of foreign borrowings in Polish varies by text type, e.g. they may comprise even 50 percent of lexical items in journalistic texts, but in other contexts the ratio of borrowings to native Polish lexical items is usually one to three.

The situation is similar in Russian. L. Krysin (1995: 117) points out that even if it seems that Russian is overfilled with Anglicisms, they are characteristic mostly for a journalistic style and are numerous in articles devoted to economy, politics, sport, art and fashion. However, they are not numerous in articles devoted to other subjects. He adds that English borrowings are present in various areas of Russian, but are not abundant in everyday language, as numerous borrowings are specialised terms characteristic for specialised texts.

B. A. Gochiyaeva (2011: 100) claims that nowadays new notions and phenomena created on the Russian ground are not numerous, so the process of borrowing is the easiest and most effective method of enriching Russian vocabulary when it comes to new phenomena (which are thus of predominantly foreign origin).

Another argument discussed by linguists is the fact that Anglicisms are well integrated in the semantic systems of Polish and Russian. E. Kołodziejczyk (2008: 34) states that Polish substitutes, especially neologisms, suggested for some widely used Anglicisms seem hilarious, e.g. *truchtajka* instead of *jogging*, *pitraszer* instead of *grill*, *rozmowisko* instead of *talk show*. S. V. Vorob'eva (2003: 119) points out that not only is it difficult to find synonymous native equivalents for some Russian Anglicisms, but also the neologisms offered by some linguists to replace them are unnatural. In other cases, the most suitable equivalents are words with multiple meanings in various areas, so it would be unreasonable to extend them with one more additional meaning.

On the basis of a comparison of a part of entries from *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms. A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages* edited by Manfred Görlach and issued in 2001, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 71–79) points out that the influence of English on Polish is not as worryingly significant as some people claim, due to the fact that that Polish has incorporated fewer English words than other European languages. Moreover, B. Walczak (1987: 37) underlines that "there is no direct relation between the number of borrowings in a language and its communicative or stylistic efficiency and its cultural prestige"[11]. Consequently, foreign words as such do not spoil the language or decrease its value in any respect. Using the examples of English and Russian, which have achieved international status "despite" borrowing items from numerous languages, he shows that the tendency here might be exactly reverse.

Consequently, linguists (e.g. K. Witczak, 1987; L. Krysin, 2004;

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11 „Nie istnieje żadna prosta zależność między liczbą zapożyczeń w języku a jego sprawnością komunikacyjną i stylistyczną oraz jego rangą kulturalną".

E. Kołodziejczyk, 2008) agree that Anglicisms pose no serious danger for the existence of Polish or Russian, as S. V. Vorob'eva (2003: 121) points out "it is known that the adaptation of the borrowed vocabulary is a long-lasting process and the time will show which words are really necessary for the language".

However, numerous studies also underline some worrying phenomena. B. Walczak (1987: 54), S. V. Vorob'eva (2003:118) V. I. Maksimov (2010: 238) point out that nowadays some popular Polish and Russian people, such as politicians, artists or athletes, use Anglicisms in their utterances, because they put insufficient emphasis on the purity of their language and do not try to find a native equivalent of the given concept. A. Romanov (2000: 121) states that borrowings used in such a way hamper the understanding of the text and make it "informationless". Consequently, numerous linguists oppose this tendency and appeal not to use Anglicisms where it is not inevitable.

Many linguists (B. Walczak, 1987; V. G. Kostomarov 1999; S. V. Vorob'eva 2003; Е. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2006; A. Markowski, 2009; V. I. Maksimov, 2010) remark that it is unjustified to use a borrowing if it already has a Polish or Russian equivalent, e.g. *shop, consulting* instead of *sklep, poradnictwo* in Polish and replacing Russian *единица* "a unit" with *юнит*, *грузовик* "a truck" with *трак*. They point out a ubiquitous tendency to increase the attractiveness of a job post by using an English name, e.g. *field test engineer, customer service professional, fresh food manager* (Е. Kołodziejczyk 2008: 35; A. Kasztalska, 2014: 252) This kind of attitude stems from the adoration of foreignness, which is often called "language snobbery" (B. Walczak, 1987). Therefore, Anglicisms should be always used consciously and in moderation.

3. Language for special purposes and jargon

This chapter is concerned with the notion of language for special purposes (further referred to as LSP) and its relations with the notions of language for general purposes (further referred to as LGP) and jargon. The first section (3.1.) discusses the concept of LGP and its main features. Section 3.2. characterises the concept of LSP and all its features, while section 3.3. juxtaposes the notions of LSP and LGP,

3.1. Language for general purposes

In order to be able to define and distinguish between language for general purposes and language for special purposes, we need to state what "language" is. This discussion will present the anthropocentric approach in linguistics, and is based on the works of Franciszek Grucza (F. Grucza, 1993, 2002).

F. Grucza (1993) underlines that it is difficult to define language, because it is a subject of not only professional and scientific discussions, but also semi-formal and colloquial ones. Consequently, there are numerous associations with this notion and many theories have been offered as to its nature. Moreover, it is such a broad and multidimensional subject that it is extremely difficult (or practically impossible) to find one conceptual framework which would be able to describe the whole complex nature of language. F. Grucza (1993: 151) also remarks that language for a long time had been associated with something material or physical, while language is rather "a pure structure of some functions of the human brain[12]". Language as a system could be said to be "a pure form", having an utterly non-material nature, but it has its material representation in the human brain. It sits so deeply in the human being that to describe it satisfactorily, a linguist has to use "reconstructional abstraction", i.e. explicate some rules on the basis of separate utterances by various speakers using the same communication code.

In order to participate in communicative acts, people have to possess some abilities to form and shape their utterances (texts), as well as skills enabling the reception and understanding the meaning of these utterances. F. Grucza (1993: 158) remarks that these very skills and abilities do not form language, even if they are closely related to it. Language are the principles on the basis of which the utterances and texts are formed and received in a systematic and regular way that is considerably convergent for both the author and the recipient. In other words, language is the set of these principles, called linguistic rules, possessed by one person (idiolect) or shared by a group of people (polylect). Consequently, a national or ethnic language is the polylect which could be understood as the common set of rules shared by all members of a given nation or group or as the logical sum consisting of all these sets of rules. S. Grucza (2007: 40) states that this common

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12   „Język ludzki (...) jest (...) czystą strukturą pewnych funkcji mózgu ludzkiego".

part is formed by the phonetic and grammatical structures, while the vocabulary constitutes a logical sum of all idiolects.

F. Grucza (1993: 174) states that on one hand, language is something deeply rooted in the human nature, but on the other hand language is also an object of human creation and culture. The first aspect of language is constituted by all its spheres universal for all human languages, while the second is formed by the aspects distinctive for every language.

J. Lukszyn (2002: 47) defines language for general purposes (LGP, aka literary language) as "a form of language which was created as a result of historical and cultural development of a given nation (ethnos)". It is an element crucial for the nation's development, as well as a result of this process and a factor uniting the nation. He enumerates its three most important characteristics:

- stylistic diversity (it forms both spoken and written versions and numerous functional variants, e.g. colloquial, scientific, literary, etc. – cf. also L. Krysin, 2004: 325);
- normativeness (it is standardised by dictionaries and sometimes also state bodies, e.g. *Rada Języka Polskiego* in Poland, deciding which forms are correct and which not); L. Krysin (2004) adds that the LGP norm, apart from purposeful codification, also stems from the tradition of use;
- official status (it is taught in schools, it is the language of state administration and binding acts of law in a country where it is the official language).

L. Krysin (2004: 340) underlines that the LGP norm might seem conservative to changes ongoing in this language subsystem (as in any natural language), but it safeguards the purposefulness, appropriateness and usefulness of the language.

V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 265) points out that the national vocabulary comprises the lexical items used by all native speakers of a given language. He adds that without these elements no language would be able to survive. These items are not only the most commonly used, but also the most often used, as they are applied in all functional styles, have multifarious stylistic and emotional hue, but most of them are neutrally tinged. He remarks that dialects and jargons are based on the national language (and include its elements), but they have a much narrower scope of use, the former are territorially limited and the latter are socially limited.

Furthermore, L. Krysin (2004: 325–327) states that from the linguistic point of view LGP is the subsystem of the national language (in the collective sense) which is used by its native speakers. It should also be associated with urban areas rather than rural ones (where it is "contaminated" with local dialects) and is specific for people with secondary or higher education, who had a chance to sufficiently internalise its norm during the years of contact with LGP via education.

J. Lukszyn (2002: 110) points out that the LGP vocabulary is systematised, i.e. the set of lexical units comprising it is divided into categories and classes (specific for every language). It is also characterised by a certain degree of standardisation, which is not as high as in the case of special vocabulary and other standards are used in the spoken and written variety, as well as in the functional styles.

L. Krysin (2004: 329) remarks that LGP is heterogeneous, i.e. to express one piece of information we can use several various expressions, all belonging to one system. He adds that this process of paraphrasing is characteristic for all natural languages. This is possible due to stylistic variations of units belonging to that system. This variety of LGP forms stems from the dynamic character of the norms governing that language (and the evolutionary character of language changes; L. Krysin 2004: 330).

The most distinctive feature of general vocabulary according to J. Lukszyn (2002: 110) is that it is open and is easily enriched with new items (almost no limitations exist when it comes to new elements). He underlines that general vocabulary is the basis for the development of specialised vocabulary.

3.2. Language for special purposes

This section is devoted to the notion and the features of language for special purposes (LSP). Subsection 3.2.1. constitutes a general description of LSP. The distinctive and most important part of LSP, terminology, is the subject of subsection 3.2.2., while subsection 3.2.3. concentrates on non-terminological elements of LSP. Finally, subsection 3.2.4. juxtaposes the language for special purposes with professional jargons.

3.2.1. Features of Language for special purposes

Numerous linguists (e.g. F. Grucza, 1991; M. T. Cabré 1999) point out that language can be divided into subcodes, used by the speakers depending on the communicative goal and context. From the 1970s on, when a great deal of research, initialised by the works of Eugen Wüster and the establishment of Infoterm, has been devoted to terms and terminology, linguists have distinguished a communicative system used by specialists for professional, technical and scientific purposes and have juxtaposed it with the language used for everyday communication.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 228) points out that various similar terms have been used to designate the concept of language used for specialized communication: *special language*, *specialized language*, *language for special purposes*. Some linguists (e.g. R. Kocourek, 1982; G. Rondeau, 1983) claim that the three phrases are synonymous. Others (e.g. J. C. Sager / D. Dungworth / P. F. McDonald, 1980) state that *language for special purposes* is a term limited to the field of language teaching and fails to cover other contexts. For these contexts they suggest the term *special subject language* or *special language*. In Polish studies on this subject several further names for this concept have been offered: e.g. *technolect* or *professional language* (F. Grucza, 2002; J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006; S. Grucza, 2007). However, in the present study the term *language for special purposes* will be used to denote this concept (in the broader meaning), as this

is the recognised English translation for the most frequent Polish term *język specjalistyczny*.

J. Lukszyn (2002: 48) defines language for special purposes as "a conventionalised semiotic system based on natural language, being a source of specialised knowledge". This language is used in communication for professional purposes, but exclusively when it comes to strictly defined subjects. He states that LSP is an indicator of civilisation level of the given society.

Numerous authors do not speak of one LSP, but of LSPs in plural, e.g. S. Grucza (2007: 38): "languages for special purposes are specific human languages created by specialists for the need of professional communication within specific communities of specialists".

M. T. Cabré (1999: 59) also focuses on the heterogeneous character of LSP: "[it is] a set of subcodes (that partially overlap with the subcodes of the general language), each of which can be 'specifically' characterized by certain particulars, such as subject field, type of interlocutors, situation, speakers' intentions, the context in which a communicative exchange occurs, the type of exchange".

R. Kocourek (1982) remarks that, while defining LSP, the specialised purpose of communication is more important than other, complementary functions, which may differ depending on the subject field. Consequently, "the special nature [of LSP] consists of differences in subject field, user knowledge, area of usage".

J. Lukszyn (2002: 48) describes it as "a tool of professional work" – it is used to describe objects specific for a given speciality and the communication on their topic and "an instrument of professional education", used to make specialised research in a given field, as well as to train professionals and translators.

S. Grucza (2007: 42) remarks that language for special purposes is an ambiguous expression, as it may refer to "specialised idiolect", as well as "specialised polylect", which could be either a natural polylect or a conventionalised polylect. According to him (S. Grucza, 2007: 40–41) a specialised polylect is a logical sum of idiolects of several specialists from one field and the common part shared by these idiolects. He adds that the more precise and mathematical a given science is, the larger is the specialised polylect shared by all researchers from a given subject field. Summed together, the idiolects and polylects of the researchers in one field form an LSP of that subject field, which is considerably conventionalised, but is also governed by some rules of a natural language.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 46) points out several restrictions that exist in a specialised communication (i.e. one using LSP). Firstly, both encoder and decoder have to possess a certain degree of knowledge of the subject field and presuppose that the other side has at least a similar amount of information about the field. Secondly, the reference of their communication is limited to that of the special field they are focused on. The aim of this communication, and texts created in it, are assumed to be exclusively descriptive and informative (no other language functions are used).

She also remarks that it is impossible to determine specialisation of language or a text only by using its subject field (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 63). This stems from

the fact that our life is nowadays full of contexts which are specialised to some degree or another and often specialised topics are also mentioned in general texts and utterances. This phenomenon is called "banalization" by some linguists (e.g. R. Galisson, 1978). Consequently, the specialisation of a given utterance should be also determined on the basis of pragmatic factors, such as the communicative context and the type of users.

J. C. Sager / D. Dungworth / P. F. McDonald (1980) remark that taking into consideration the vocabulary, which might be unknown to other users of a given language, any sphere of life could be referred to as specialised. Consequently, they limit special languages to utterances and texts by "highly qualified subject specialists like engineers, physicians, lawyers, etc.". However, H. Picht / J. Draskau (1985) point out that the specialisation of LSP texts is a gradual feature and "communication between experts is (...) only one of the higher levels at which LSP may be used", because "LSP is also used for the purposes of initiation and instruction, training and development at a lower level of abstraction and specialization". Consequently, also some utterances about a given field by laymen could be perceived as specialized.

Moreover, J. Taborek (2012: 239)[13] remarks using the example of sports language that the communication using LSPs could be divided into three categories according to the degree of the specialised knowledge of interlocutors:

● internal communication, which occurs between experts in a given field;
● external communication, occurring between experts and non-experts;
● communication between non-experts.

The proportions of each of the subtypes vary across multifarious LSPs, e.g. the non-expert communication is frequent in the language of sport, while it is scarce in the languages of disciplines like theoretical physics or molecular biology.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 65) claims that subjects of LSP are fields that do not belong to an average speaker's general knowledge, i.e. ones which are fathomed by means of "specific learning process". Authors (or originators) of LSP texts have to be trained in a given field, while recipients may have even a considerably limited level of knowledge of the subject matter. However, most usually the communication using LSP is formal and restricted to scientific and professional contexts. It has its own rules, units and is expressed using specific types of texts.

As has been already remarked, some linguists point out the plurality of LSP. M. T. Cabré (1999: 65) states that LSP utterances (texts) vary in terms of the degree of abstraction. R. Kocourek (1982) distinguishes five types of special subject fields according to their degree of abstraction: pure sciences, experimental sciences, applied sciences and engineering, subjects viewed from the production standpoint, subjects viewed from the consumer standpoint. M. T. Cabré (1999: 65) remarks that the level of abstraction also depends on the recipients of the information, and the sender's communicative purpose, which might determine the text type. She adds that personal style of the author as well as geographic, historic, and social

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13   Using the theory provided by T. Roelke (2005).

dialects could also have an influence on the shape of an LSP text. However, other linguists point out that these factors are marginal, as LSP texts have an almost exclusively formal character (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer 2006).

Nevertheless, M. T. Cabré (1999: 80) also underlines that the boundaries between terminologies of different specialised fields are fuzzy and there is a constant transfer of items between them. This stems from the fact that the division into subject fields is artificial, because the reality forms "a continuum of overlapping fields".

It is also emphasised that although there are numerous languages for special purposes, they share some common features and could be described as one set of linguistic structures. The majority of linguists (e.g. M. T. Cabré, 1999, J. Lukszyn, 2002) agree that irrespective of the subject field, languages for special purposes share various common denominators and could be referred to as a language for special purposes.

H. Picht / J. Draskau (1985), M. T. Cabré (1999) and J. Lukszyn (2002) enumerate the most distinctive features of LSP:
● it is used in a specific social and communication setting (formal situations of a professional nature);
● it has a limited scope of specific users;
● it is acquired voluntarily;
● it primarily fulfils an informative function.

However, M. T. Cabré (1999: 69) underlines that not all of them share these features with an equal intensity. Thus, these characteristics should be perceived as gradual.

F. Grucza (1993: 154) points out that it is difficult to state if languages for special purposes could be classified as natural or artificial, as they are formed as a result of purposeful human activity. Consequently, he points out that the characteristic of naturalness should be treated as gradual. However, M. T. Cabré (1999: 60), on the basis of a detailed analysis of characteristics of artificial language, states that all special languages belong to the class of natural languages, as they share almost none of these features and the ones shared by them are insignificant.

She points out that another feature common for various LSPs is international intelligibility regardless of the native language which is used to convey information about a given subject (M. T. Cabré 1999: 70). This stems from the fact that "special languages have relatively controlled units and rules that are international and voluntarily set by users themselves", which combined with a restricted subject facilitates comprehension. Thus, they might be perceived as international or even universal in a sense (R. de Beaugrande, 1987).

R. Kocourek (1982, after M. T. Cabré 1999: 59) states that an important characteristic of LSP is that it is used to transmit and exchange information not only by means of human language, but also of two- and three-dimensional, iconic and symbolic measures (e.g. maps, models, diagrams, numbers).

M. T. Cabré (1999: 70–71) states that LSP texts are characterized by three particular features. Firstly, they are concise, precise and neutral (they tend to avoid

ambiguities, redundancies and emotive expressions). Secondly, their vocabulary is dominated by nouns and nominal groups over verbs or adjectives, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Finally, their discourse prefers written language over oral language, and also uses symbols from other semiotic systems.

She distinguishes two main types of specialised texts, i.e. specialised texts ("any communication occurring in special language") and specialised documents ("specialized texts requiring a very elaborated formal codification from the standpoints of design and linguistic expression"). The rules governing the latter type of texts are not learned spontaneously as is the case with general language and are subject to strict prescription (M. T. Cabré 1999: 78–80). J. Lukszyn (2002: 40) points out that the main functions of LSP texts is to collect specialised knowledge, transfer this knowledge and improve it. By means of specialised texts specialists are up to date with the latest research done in their field and can offer ideas that may improve the binding theories. He adds that when it comes to purpose of an LSP text, theoretical texts could be juxtaposed with applicative texts as well as with didactic texts and those addressed to the general public. Moreover, he points out that LSP texts are characterised by "formal signs of the beginning and the end of the message" (J. Lukszyn, 2002: 158).

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 13) underline that each LSP consists of its own vocabulary, the core of which is the terminological system of a given subject field, and a cognitive syntax, i.e. the rules governing the use of terms (terminological units) in texts.

According to them the active vocabulary of an LSP of one subject field consists of several dozen thousand items (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 11). They point out that the lexicon of an LSP consists of specialised vocabulary (*słownictwo specjalistyczne*) and professional vocabulary (*słownictwo fachowe*).

J. Lukszyn (2002: 111) enumerates five features of specialised vocabulary. Firstly, it is systematised, i.e. terms belonging to that vocabulary are strictly limited when it comes to the scope of use. Secondly, it is divided into subjects that reflect various aspects of professional activity. Thirdly, it is conceptually coherent, i.e. all its units are based on one cognitive algorithm. Moreover, all its elements are semantically unique, i.e. each unit is assigned only one meaning within a given subject field. Finally, elements of specialised vocabulary are heterogeneous, as specialised vocabulary consists of elements from various semiotic codes. He adds that specialised vocabulary is based on the general language; however, its considerable part does not belong to LGP. J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 20) also remark that specialised vocabulary should not be perceived as an extension of the general vocabulary, but rather as a separate lexical category (the majority of which does not belong to the general vocabulary).

They distinguish two main classes of items belonging to specialised vocabulary depending on their denotate (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 14). On the one hand, there are elements of the real world, which are defined by means of an image of an ideal representative of the class to which a particular real object belongs. On the other hand, there are objects created as a result of theoretical reasoning,

where the definition is based on a concept of the given object. The former LSP vocabulary items are nomens (aka empirical terms), while the latter are theoretical terms.

In contrast to these two classes of specialised vocabulary, professional vocabulary is not conventionalised and is formed using the same rules as the general vocabulary (thus it belongs to natural vocabulary). It is formed by way of adapting the general vocabulary for the needs of a social group of professionals (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 19). They point out that professional vocabulary is a link between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary. This stems from the fact that it is formed in the same way as general vocabulary and it is the basis to create items from other classes of specialised vocabulary, which are conventionalised.

They remark that another link between conventionalised and natural vocabulary is the fact that as a consequence of constant technological development more and more words infiltrate from terminology into the general vocabulary.

The terms used in the LGP are subject to different factors and are applied in different way than in LSP. This is perceived by some linguists as determinologisation of some terms, while others claim that this tendency should be rather described as terminologisation of the general vocabulary. Such a phenomenon is characteristic for "terminologically secured languages" (*języki terminologicznie zabezpieczone*), i.e. ones capable of transferring the modern scientific and technological knowledge (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 19– 20).

3.2.2. Terminology

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 10) remark that all LSPs possess a terminological set, i.e. "a set of conventionalised verbal signs, which are materially different when it comes to semantics from the words of a natural language". This concept is frequently referred to as "a terminology" of a given field. For instance, V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 276) defines terminology as "all the terms present in a given language's lexicon" and a system which "comprises numerous sub-systems for multifarious fields of science and technology, such as economics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, history, politology, linguistics, etc.". F. Grucza (1991: 14) points out that the word *terminology* is used in the general language most frequently to denote a set of terms used within the scope of one field of human practical or cognitive activity. This is the meaning in which this word will be used in the practical chapter. In science this word is also used in other meanings.

Numerous linguists (e.g. F. Grucza, 1991: 4; M. T. Cabré, 1999: 1; J. Lukszyn 2002: 142) state that terminology is a scientific discipline which focuses on terms belonging to various fields of knowledge. As a result, it is formally connected with all areas of knowledge and technology. Moreover, it is an auxiliary field of other scientific disciplines (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 5; M. T. Cabré, 1999: 9). They point out that terminology is probably the most international of all subject fields, due to the fact that it is almost devoid of national specificity.

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 15) claim that the question of the object of terminological studies is not generally determined. As some researchers state, terminology may focus only on terms or only on nomenclature (empirical terms), but it may also study exclusively the conventional vocabulary or the whole of specialised vocabulary. Depending on the approach the aims and methodology of terminology are different.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 12–14) divides the schools of terminology into three approaches:

● terminology adapted to the linguistic system (the Vienna, Czech and Russian schools);
● translation-oriented terminology (the Quebec school, the Belgian school);
● terminology oriented towards language planning.

She states that the first approach limits terminological activity to the fields of science and technology, while the other two focus on all spheres of human activity and knowledge. The second and third approaches also take into account the various communicative contexts in which the results of their work could be applied (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 17).

J. Lukszyn (2002: 142) divides this discipline of science into linguistic terminology (which examines words and phrases as carriers of specialised knowledge), cognitive terminology (which studies the conceptual structure of a term and its semantic relations with other parts of the vocabulary of a given field) and applied terminology (which focuses on systematic relations between terms and creating optimal terminological dictionaries).

Moreover, M. T. Cabré (1999: 11) remarks that terminology should be perceived in two dimensions – as a tool of communication (for users, i.e. specialists, translators and interpreters) and as a goal of work (for terminologists). She remarks that the word terminology could also mean "the guidelines used in terminographic work" (M. T. Cabré 1999: 32).

Finally, the word terminology is also used colloquially to denote a concept which in linguistics is referred to as a jargon (F. Grucza 1991: 13–15).

When it comes to the notion of term[14] J. Lukszyn (2002: 137) defines it as "a language sign (a word or a compound) being an element of specialised vocabulary and juxtaposed with words and compounds belonging to LGP". He points out that terms are used for cognitive and practical work. He enumerates five characteristics which distinguish terms from other vocabulary items:

● specialisation – the use of a term by specific users in specific contexts and to denote specific objects or phenomena;
● conventionality – it is not created naturally, but is a result of a purposeful activity of a group of specialists;
● systemic nature – it is always a part of a particular terminological system;

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14 J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 21-22) provide an exhaustive listing of the most popular definitions of the word term.

- accuracy and explicitness – within the scope of one subject field a term has only one precisely specified meaning and occupies a specific place within a particular terminological system (has specified relations with other terms);
- neutral emotional and stylistic marking.

He also points out that the word "term" is often used to denote the concept expressed by the definition of a term.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 34) offers a concise definition of a term: "a unit described by a set of systematic linguistic characteristics and having the property of referring to an element in reality, (…) which is used in a special domain of knowledge".

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 23) point out that a term represents a concept, i.e. a set of distinctive features obtained as a result of an analysis of a given object. Thanks to this meaning a term occupies a determined place in the semantic network of a given field, i.e. established relations with other terms from a particular field.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 42) underlines that "what they [concepts] express, however, is not the real world as it is, but rather how the individual and the community have internalized it.". J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 29) point out that the definition of a term is a verbal representation of a concept, while a term is a means to refer to that concept.

V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 273) remarks that, as opposed to other words, a term has a strictly determined meaning, which is expressed by its definition included in specialised texts and dictionaries. The strict meaning of each term is vital for efficient scientific communication to occur. Consequently, there are numerous international, as well as national bodies controlling the meanings of terms used in particular fields and the relations between them in the terminological system. Scientific terms are often included in national and international standards, while legal terms are expressed in acts of law. M. T. Cabré (1999: 34) points out that terminological definitions have to be extensive in their description – to be sure that a given concept is the specific one and not a similar one.

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 8–9) distinguish four types of terminological systems depending on the variety of relations which occur between the terms belonging to them. The greater variety of these relations the more complex a system is.

They also state that, when it comes to word formation, terms form fewer derivatives than general words (e.g. they create no diminutives; J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 23–24). However, M. T. Cabré (1999: 36) points out that some patterns of word-formation could be more productive in terminology than in LGP, e.g. terms are more frequently formed as word compounds, which in numerous languages is not an extremely productive model. LSP apart from native morphemes uses the so-called prefixoids and suffixoids of Greek and Latin origin and in cases of computer and economic sciences also of English origin (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 23). Consequently, as B. Walczak (1987: 53) states, borrowed terminology has an advantage over the native equivalents as it facilitates worldwide communication between specialists. J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 24) underline that purist attitude towards this tendency is pointless, as it would counter the international character of terminology. They also remark that, when it comes

to word categories, terminology consists almost exclusively of nouns or noun phrases and is practically devoid of verbs (see also M. T. Cabré 1999: 36).

V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 279) states that terms are always unambiguous in a given terminological sub-system and they are characterised by adjunction to one stylistic variety (there are no colloquial and no artistically solemn ones in LSP).

He also distinguishes unofficial terms, which are not determined by any acts of law or decisions of terminological bodies but are used by a group of scientist to denote a given notion (V. I. Maksimov, 2010b: 274). The scope of their use depends on the authority and influentiality of the researcher propagating a given meaning. He points out numerous examples of such terms in the field of linguistics, such as *phoneme* or *morpheme*.

According to M. T. Cabré (1999: 46), terminology enables LSP texts to retain their succinctness, coherence and precision. This stems from the fact that terms are more concise than paraphrases and they enable better comprehension, as they are standardised and in most cases international. Also, she points out that, unlike natural language, terminology allows intervention into its structure by evaluating one elements as correct, while rejecting others (M. T. Cabré 1999: 33). This results from the fact that terminology generally forbids synonymy and rejects redundancy. The terminologies created for specialists have to comply with the norms and standards (e.g. ISO) and usually are compiled in several language versions (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 19).

She also underlines that terms differ from ordinary words in terms of pragmatics. A use of particular words may distinguish one speaker from another, while in terminology specialists are required to use particular set of determined terms. Terms are more limited as regards their contextual use (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 36).

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 10–11) underline that when it comes to the status of a terminological system in the vocabulary systems of various national languages, not all of the world's languages are "terminologically secured" (see – the final remarks of the previous section). They claim that out of approx. 6000 languages in the world, only 50–60 are fully "terminologically secured". Within the scope of each of those languages approx. 250–300 LSPs exist. They add that each year "terminologically secured" languages create approx. 200,000 new terminological units (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 12).

As has been already stated, J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006) divide terms into theoretical and empirical ones. A theoretical term usually expresses a concept the membership in which may be gradual, while in case of a nomen the denotation has a more binary character (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 31).

In contrast to empirical terms (nomens), theoretical terms can be used to evaluate the state and level of professional knowledge, to explain the meanings of other elements of a given terminological system, to create and improve existing cognitive models, to indicate the ideological attitude towards a given statement, to assess the set of concepts from the viewpoint of methodology, as well as the needs and goals of the subject field, and finally, to create sub-systems in a given terminological system (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 27–29). When juxtaposed

with theoretical terms, nomens can be used to identify a particular good among other goods of the same type (thus a nomen functions as a kind of a trademark) and to stimulate the positive attitude of a consumer towards a given good. Accordingly, the main goal of creating nomenclatures is to standardise the vocabulary used in order to refer to particular objects or products, while the main goal of creating a system of theoretical terms is to establish and determine the set of relations between them (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer 2006: 35).

They also underline that another difference between a terminological system and a nomenclature is that it is not possible to create new nomens only by way of intellectual processing of the existing elements, as is the case with terms (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 30–31). In the case of nomens it is not possible for several parallel systems covering one particular subject to exist, while the existence of individual terminologies in one field and improvement of existing sets are two of the main propellers of scientific development. Consequently, a nomen, to be officially used, has to be approved by a decision-making body, while the use of a theoretical term has to be accepted by the scientific society (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 32).

When it comes to subject fields, J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 36) divide terminology into scientific and technical terminology. Both these classes could be subdivided into three levels: terminology common to all scientific or technological fields, terminology which is shared by several of the fields and terminology characteristic for only one of the fields. Similarly, V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 276) enumerates the types of relations which exist between terms from various specialised fields. Firstly, some terms are common to the majority of sciences and it is difficult to classify them to one discipline, e.g. *axiom*, *amplitude*, *value*. Secondly, terms from one science could be used in other disciplines with the same meaning (e.g. numerous mathematical terms in economics or physics). Finally, one word could be used as a term by various disciplines in different meanings, e.g. *morphology* in medicine, linguistics or soil science. He points out that a user of special vocabulary normally applies terms from only one or at the most from several disciplines and not the whole of terminology present in a given language (V. I. Maksimov, 2010b: 277).

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 20) point out that a lexical item becomes a term when it is transferred beyond the scope of the common vocabulary. This moment is commonly referred to as a terminologisation threshold. J. Lukszyn (2002: 146) remarks that as a result of such a transfer the lexical unit is assigned one strictly determined meaning. This might happen by way of narrowing, specification or metaphorisation. He also describes transterminologisation, i.e. a transfer of a term from one science into another by way of metaphorical modification of its meaning, thus the meaning might be similar to that of the original, but it also may differ considerably from it. He underlines that this is a different process than a transfer of a term with the same meaning.

He states that there are two criteria of determining this moment (J. Lukszyn, 2002: 100). Using the statistical criterion, terminologisation occurs when a given

unit has exceeded a number of uses by a sufficient number of specialists. The systematic criterion suggests that a given unit becomes a term when it occupies an empty place in the terminological system, i.e. has formed constant relations with other terms belonging to that system. He underlines that in both cases the terminologisation threshold is different for oral and written texts.

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 76) point out that every terminological system expands by way of coining new terms from native and international morphemes, assigning new meaning to already existing words (by means of terminologisation or transterminologisation), as well as by borrowing terms from other languages. For each terminological system it is important to adapt the borrowed terms to conform to the norms of the natural language, on which it is based. This is a very important process for the communicative function of a terminological system. However, they remark that in many cases the terms borrowed from other languages retain their original form in the recipient language terminology due to the fact that they have been standardised by international bodies (organisations) and their use in an unchanged form is obligatory in professional communication (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 83).

M. T. Cabré (1999: 4) points out that as a result of popularisation of numerous technical innovations many words which used to be only technical terms are transferred to LGP. Numerous linguists name this process determinologisation (e.g. F. Grucza, 1991; J. Lukszyn, 2002: 34). This process usually leads to loss of the strict meaning of the term, which is the most important feature of a terminological unit, as well as to degeneration of systematic relations within a given terminological system. The meaning might be slightly modified, metaphorically modified or changed completely. It occurs rarely with items which were transferred into LSP from LGP (terminologisation). J. Lukszyn (2002: 34) distinguishes two types of determinologisation: full, when a unit loses every relation with its LSP equivalent and partial, when the meaning (or definition) is simplified, what often happens in press articles and didactic texts.

3.2.3. Non-terminological elements of the language for special purposes

As has been already stated terminology is not the only part of specialised vocabulary. Moreover, S. Gajda (1990: 65) remarks that terminology comprises on average only of 20 to 25 per cent of a specialised text. The vocabulary of LSP consists of several other groups of lexical items, which to a greater or lesser extent constitute an intermediary sphere between LSP and LGP.

The greatest group of non-terminological vocabulary items is formed by professional vocabulary. J. Lukszyn (2002: 108) points out that professional vocabulary is formed as a result of adaptation of general vocabulary to the needs of a particular professional group. He underlines that multi-word items constitute a considerable part of this lexical set. Another feature of professional vocabulary is that it has underdeveloped synonymy in comparison to general vocabulary. It is also characterised by a relatively transparent and hierarchically ordered network

of semantic relations. Moreover, professional vocabulary is devoid of stylistically and emotionally marked items, such as archaisms, dialectal and jargonal vocabulary. Even if items treated as such in the LGP occur in professional vocabulary, they lose their markedness and they are never created spontaneously, but join this vocabulary set as a result of "conscious nominative acts[15]". Similarly to terminology, professional vocabulary shows a more considerable tolerance to foreign borrowings than general vocabulary. He also states that cases of changing names of a denotate from one to another are more frequent in this class of LSP vocabulary and have a different course than in LGP.

Two other not fully terminological groups of LSP vocabulary, quasi-terms and hypo-terms, are the evidence for the ongoing processes of terminologisation and determinologisation (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 24).

J. Lukszyn (2002: 102) defines a quasi-term as an LGP word which aspires to become a term. This is reflected by the constant endeavours to optimise the definition of such item. Consequently, there are numerous definitions of that word which are derived from its lexical meaning. J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 25) point out that, paradoxically, the multitude of definitions may in fact stem from the fact that the concept of a given word has been already determined and the way of expressing this concept is free (these definitions might be in fact semantic variants of the same concept).

J. Lukszyn (2002: 102) also underlines that each LGP word which has become a term must have had passed through this stage. In some cases this stage is not long-lasting, as the meaning is clarified and determined rapidly. The boundaries of its meaning are fuzzy, thus its relations with other terms (its systemic meaning) is not rigid. He remarks that the existence of quasi-terms proves that a given science is developing and looks for the most optimal ways of expressing knowledge. During the process of conceptualisation, an LGP word becomes a quasi-term and, in order to become a term, it has to specify its meaning and become unambiguous.

A hypo-term is defined by J. Lukszyn (2002: 43) as "an LGP word used in terminological lexicon". Its inflectional and word-formation paradigms are limited and it is no longer used in synonymous relations nor with stylistic interpretations. These are, e.g. verbs expressing existence and processes, such as *to develop, to transform, to cause*; personal nouns, such as *author, researcher*; adjectives, such as *old*, *new*, *large*, *simple*, etc.

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 25) remark that, when it comes to verbs belonging to hypo-terms, they may be not used in the imperative, in the first person singular or may sometimes collocate with different prepositions than in LGP. It is also not necessary to use feminine or diminutive forms of hypo-term nouns. Adjectives belonging to hypo-terms always create semantic oppositions with other items, even if they are not antonyms in LGP.

The main role of hypo-terms is to preserve the stylistic norm of the LSP text. They are used to create set phrases typical for such texts (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer,

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15 „świadome akty nominacyjne" – J. Lukszyn, 2002: 108.

2006: 26).

Some linguists also underline the unique place of linkers and discourse markers in the specialist vocabulary (e.g. S. Gajda 1990; J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006). S. Gajda (1990: 66) points out lexical items such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns and particles. He remarks that the characteristic which distinguishes these lexical items among other hypo-terms is the fact that they are used in LSPs virtually with the same function as in LGP. J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 49–50) refer to these elements of LSP as connectors. They briefly characterise connectors as "formal indicators of the coherence of the text" and divide them into two classes, i.e. anaphora and cataphora. Anaphora (also referred to as left-sided link indicator) is a word or phrase showing the logical relation of a particular fragment of a text with preceding fragment (or fragments) of the same text, e.g. *due to this*, *by reason of this*, *on the basis of this*, whereas cataphora (also referred to as right-sided link indicator) is a linguistic sign pointing out the logical relation of a specific fragment of a text with fragment (or fragments) of the same text following it, e.g. *firstly* which is used to begin a series of statements. J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 50) add that connectors used in a given text determine its line of reasoning. It could either entail a strictly determined order of described ideas (in the case of anaphora) or a freer one (using cataphora, where the subsequent concepts do not have to be strictly related to one another).

Finally, pseudo-terms should also be placed at the boundary between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary. These are items resembling terms, whose meaning is, however, not derived from a terminological system, due to the fact that they are created on the basis of unproven and subjective theories. As these theories have been rejected by the majority of specialists, pseudo-terms do not belong to any terminological system (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 30).

3.2.4. Language for special purposes versus jargon

As considerably similar concepts present both in the general language and in the conceptual system of linguistics, language for special purposes and jargon are frequently confused with one another, especially by non-specialists. In fact, F. Grucza (1991) points out that these two lexical items are perceived as synonyms by laymen. This opinion is confirmed by the definition in the online version of the Oxford English Dictionary, where jargon is referred to as a contemptuous name for "any mode of speech abounding in unfamiliar terms, or peculiar to a particular set of persons, as the language of scholars or philosophers, the terminology of a science or art, or the cant of a class, sect, trade, or profession" (online resource 2).

However, in linguistics a jargon is a much narrower concept, which covers only the last part of the OED definition. Polish linguists describe a jargon as a variation of the national language created and used by a social or professional group, usually a closed one; the most characteristic feature of that variant is the peculiar vocabulary, which does not conform with the norms of the general language

(W. Doroszewski, 1969; E. Sobol, 2000: 1184; A. Markowski, 2006: 334). V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 284) points out that words belonging to these sets of vocabulary are often referred to as jargonisms. A. Markowski (2006: 334) points out that this class of linguistic means could be divided into professional jargons and secret jargons, i.e. ones used by hermetically closed groups, such as criminals, in order to encode the message conveyed by an utterance.

A. Markowski (2006: 84) and V. I. Maksimov (2010b: 285) underline that jargons are limited almost exclusively to the spoken variant of language and, stylistically, to colloquial utterances. L. Krysin (2004: 362) remarks that the speakers of the professional jargons also use at least two other language subsystems: one LSP, for official communication, and the LGP, in situations not related to their subject field. He adds that professionals using them are in a sense bilingual (or even poly-lingual)[16]. Accordingly, they use professional jargons in informal and spontaneous communication for professional purposes, while LSP is used by professionals in official, especially written specialised communication. For communication on topics non-related to their subject field they use LGP.

He also remarks (L. Krysin, 2004: 363) that in functional aspect professional jargons, compared with LSP, are similar to stylistic variations of LGP, because their use depends on the conditions of communication (the context, purpose, subject, recipient). However, unlike styles, each jargon has a strictly determined and limited group of users, outside which a given jargon in incomprehensible. Thus, it is often used to identify if a newly met person belongs to a given group or is a layman.

According to him, this circle of users includes not only the people working in a given profession for a relatively considerable period of time and possessing some knowledge of its subject, but also those who cooperate with professionals from that field. In other words, the knowledge of a given professional jargon is one of the indications of working in a given profession (L. Krysin, 2004: 363).

When it comes to linguistic features, professional jargons are heterogeneous. They consist of two types of linguistic means: means shared with the general language which form the basis of the lexical and grammatical structure of a jargon and means specific only for a particular jargon (L. Krysin 2004: 364). The vocabulary items belonging exclusively to jargons are very emotionally expressive and appraising, and thus it is more prone to coming out of use than terms (V. I. Maksimov, 2010b: 285). L. Krysin (2004:364) adds that these items, in most cases, are full synonyms of the respective official terms, but they also may refer to designates that are not assigned any official term. The ratio of the former to the latter units differs in various professional jargons.

L. Krysin (2004: 365–366) states that professional jargons are unique among other subsystems of language, as they assign new metaphorical and most often expressive meaning to ordinary as well as colloquial words and expressions. The lexical units of a professional jargon are often formed using word play as well as loose, imaginative and frequently hilarious associations with objects not related

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16 cf. also further the remarks of S. Grucza (2007) discussed on page 73.

to the given profession. He underlines that in some cases the association may be so loose that the information expressed by a given unit may be similar to encryption, specific for secret jargons.

Moreover, he states (L. Krysin, 2004: 367) that professional jargons are also characterised by the use of word-formation models which are not common in general language. Also, their use of gender, case and number forms, collocations or valency patterns differs from one determined by the norm of the LGP. He underlines that such deviations from the standard of LGP are not a result of individuals' errors, but are observed in the utterances of all professionals in a given field.

L. Krysin (2004: 368) remarks that sometimes the elements of metaphorical nature make their way into a professional jargon from the language of non-professionals having contact with the activity of given professionals. For instance, he enumerates several examples of words and expressions which were transferred from the language of patients to the jargon of doctors. However, even if units from a professional jargon are used in LGP, they usually occur in journalistic texts, usually with a commentary (L. Krysin, 2004: 396). Sometimes they may enter the vocabulary of the colloquial register. This concerns especially vocabulary units which are formed using unique word-formation patterns (which may introduce novelty to the expressive means of the general language). Consequently, professional jargons play a supplementary and auxiliary role for LGP and LSP.

Finally, L. Krysin (2004: 368) states that professional jargons are actively used in their user groups and are a subject of constant development and supplementation. He adds that the constant specialisation of science and professional activity, as well as the development of new branches and sub-fields is the factor which ensures the independence of professional jargons from the LGP (L. Krysin 2004: 398).

3.3. Language for special purposes vs. language for general purposes

K. Varantola (1986, after M. T. Cabré, 1999: 71) remarks that it is difficult to create generally accepted definitions of LGP and LSP, as they are "two intuitively correct assumptions that are good as working concepts, but which resist clear-cut definition and delimitation". Generally, there are three approaches towards the notion of LSP with regard to LGP (R. de Beaugrande 1987 after M. T. Cabré, 1999: 61). Firstly, some linguists (e.g. G. Rondeau, 1983; A. Rey, 1976; B. Quemada, 1978 cited in M. T. Cabré, 1999: 62) point out that LSP is a subset of the general language and we can speak of vocabulary or syntactic patterns characteristic for communication about a given field. Secondly, it is perceived as a complete code which is independent of general language (e.g. L. Hoffmann, 1979). Finally, it is defined as a pragmatic subset (or subsets) of language based on general language (e.g. J.C. Sager / D. Dungworth / P.F. McDonald, 1980; H. Picht / J. Draskau, 1985).

S. Grucza (2007: 30) remarks that both perceiving LSPs as subsystems of the LGP and treating LGP and LSP as variants are erroneous, because LGP

is not able to describe the same aspects of reality with the same precision as LSPs. He adds that more appropriate is the approach represented by F. Grucza (2002), who states that "the general language and the languages for special purposes are not functionally compatible, but functionally complementary, thus we need to treat them as separate languages, especially when it comes to the functional aspect" [17]. Consequently, S. Grucza (2007: 31) claims (similarly to L. Krysin, 2004; cf. the remarks at p. 71) that a person using, e.g. the Polish LGP, as well as a Polish LSP should be treated as a bilingual person. He develops this idea remarking that nowadays, especially in the developed countries, there are completely no monolingual persons (S. Grucza, 2007: 38). This stems from the fact that every adult person has a command of several lects: one standard general language and at least one sociolect (limited to a specific social group, e.g. family) or dialect (limited to a particular geographic area). Moreover, he points out that no specialist is monolingual, as apart from the standard language, this kind of person also uses at least one language for special purposes.

H. Picht and J. Darskau (1985) point out that LSPs "are autonomous with respect to the general language, in the sense that variation among special languages does not bring about variation in the general language". However, F. Grucza (2002: 15) remarks that "languages for special purposes are not full [or complete] 'languages' in the linguistic sense of the word" and that every LSP "is closely connected with a 'general' or 'basic' language".

M. T. Cabré (1999: 74) remarks that there are differences in distinguishing between general and special (or specialised) topics, because some linguists count as LSP only the fields and sub-fields of science and technology, while others also rate professional subjects, including art or sport (cf. the claims of J. C. Sager / D. Dungworth / P. F. McDonald, 1980 and H. Picht / J. Draskau, 1985, compared on p. 60). Depending on the approach some subjects might be included or excluded from the category of LSP.

J. C. Sager / D. Dungworth / P. F. McDonald (1980) also underline that "the difference between general and special languages is a difference of degree rather than kind: the degree to which the fundamental characteristics of language are maximized or minimized in special languages. Special languages are used more self-consciously than general language and the situations in which they are used intensify the user's concern with the language". Accordingly, S. Gajda (1990: 77–81) points out that some grammar structures are more common in LSP texts than in LGP ones, e.g. the use of passive voice, inclination to impersonal constructions (e.g. the use third-person verb forms rather than the first-person ones), use of complex and extended sentences (consisting on average of 20–30 words) and use of participial gerund clauses. He claims that the disproportion in frequency of some of these features, as well as the fact that some grammatical and syntactic tendencies

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17 „Język ogólny i języki specjalistyczne nie są językami funkcjonalnie kompatybilnymi, lecz komplementarnymi, i dlatego trzeba traktować jako języki w dużej mierze, zwłaszcza funkcjonalnie, odrębne." – F. Grucza (2002) quoted by S. Grucza (2007: 30).

are observed almost exclusively in LSP (and could sometimes be transferred to LGP) may even render it possible to distinguish a separate grammar of LSPs (S. Gajda 1990: 77)[18].

S. Grucza (2007: 37) adds that the phonetic and grammatical systems of both LSP and LGP coincide with one another, whereas their vocabularies and textual patterns coincide only partly. The vocabulary of the general language which is not shared with the LSP is called colloquial vocabulary, while the vocabulary which is used only by LSP is called special vocabulary.

M. T. Cabré (1999: 73) discusses lexical features which unify and differentiate LGP and LSP texts. They share the graphic and phonological systems of expression (alphabet, set of sounds). She underlines that the greatest differences are traced in the use and choice of vocabulary. According to J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 23), a term, which is the distinctive lexical item of LSP, differs from a general word in that general words usually have more than one meaning and even if they are mono-semantic, their meaning is not as specifically determined, as in the case of terms. Furthermore, LSP vocabulary is governed by rules different from the ones characteristic for LGP vocabulary, e.g. it is acceptable to use a term borrowed from another language parallel with a native word, i.e. as its synonym, while it is prohibited in the general language. Moreover, such terminological doubles are normative and are in accordance with the recommendations of international organisations (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 13–14). When it comes to the sphere of lexis, the difference lies not only in the use of terms, but also in the manner of using of the non-terminological words in specialised texts (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 21).

M. T. Cabré (1999: 74) remarks that some morphological and syntactic structures are more common in LSP texts, i.e. morphological structures based on Greek or Latin morphemes, abbreviations and symbols, nominalization based on verbs and straightforward sentence structures with little complex subordination. She adds that some features of general language, i.e. the forms and structures which seem colloquial or familiarising, e.g. lexemes and affxes from a lower register, second person pronouns and verb forms, imperatives, exclamations and interjections, are absent in LSP.

Moreover, the functions of LSP are limited when compared with those of LGP. The primary function of LSP is the cognitive function. It also performs communicative and instrumental functions. However, it is never used in expressive, appellative or poetic functions (J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer, 2006: 23). M. T. Cabré (1999: 63) states that general texts are usually oral, spontaneous and semi-formal. They cover subjects for which all the speakers of the language are able to provide and exchange information. In contrast, specialised texts stand out from other texts with specific lexical and pragmatic characteristics, such as the level of terminologisation or the type of interlocutors. They are processed using

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18 He writes mainly about the language of science and refers to "the grammar of scientific language" (*gramatyka języka naukowego*).

a different set of criteria. She adds that using an LSP excludes dialectal features, as it is meant for formal communication and the norms of LSPs are considerably internationalised (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 77–78).

M. T. Cabré (1999: 75) also enumerates several features specific for LSP discourse. The texts are usually created in a form of implicit dialogue between the author and the recipient. Personal opinions are expressed implicitly, while LSP texts try to be as objective as possible. This is achieved by means of: first person plural as a means of expressing modesty; the present tense; absence of exclamations; short sentences; avoidance of unnecessary redundancy; frequent use of impersonal formulas; noun phrases; other systems of representation, e.g. drawings, tables, in the body of the text.

According to her, the only way of persuading the recipient in an LSP text is by means of explanation, providing examples, data, etc. (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 75). Depending on the level of knowledge of the recipient, the text may contain metalinguistic and redundant elements, such as definitions or synonyms (which are unnecessary for experts, but are vital, e.g. for students). She underlines that LSP texts also perform the referential function.

She remarks that there is undoubtedly an overlap between LGP and LSP (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 71). Consequently, it is impossible to draw a clear boundary between them. Moreover, she points out that all the boundaries between LSPs a well as between LSP and LGP should be perceived as fuzzy, especially due to the popularisation of science and development of interdisciplinary fields (M. T. Cabré, 1999: 69). Such a division is clearly depicted by Figure 1. taken from G. Rondeau (1983).

(L) Overall lexicon of a language
(G) General language
(SL) Set of SL areas
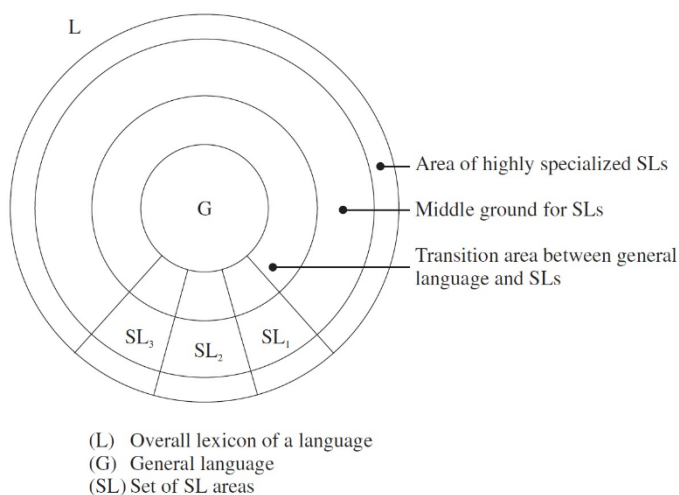
Figure 1. Position of special languages, according to G. Rondeau (1983).

J. Lukszyn / W. Zmarzer (2006: 20) underline that the influence of general vocabulary, professional vocabulary and conventionalised vocabulary on one

another is multifaceted and depends on several factors, such as interdisciplinary relations between terminological fields, creation and development of scientific fields, new technological, economic and political models, etc.

Languages for special purposes not only share some features of language for general purposes, but also maintain "constant exchange of units and conventions" with it (M. T. Cabré 1999: 65–66).

4. Language of Football

This chapter is devoted to the language of football. Subchapter 4.1. describes the characteristics of the language of sport. The second subchapter (4.2.) presents a brief history of association football, while the third one (4.3.) is concerned with the language of that sport and its subdivision into four sub-languages.

4.1. Characteristics of the language of sport

Sport was developed in ancient times in order to satisfy psychological (self-development, relieving stress) and social (desire for rivalry, recognition, integration or cooperation within a group) needs of an individual (J. Kowalikowa, 2009: 63). J. Kowalikowa (2009: 64) underlines that sport was invented as a substitute of combat which is deprived of bloodshed. It also plays an important role in the process of education and socialisation of young individuals. Thirdly, it is used in treatment and preventing injuries as well as many civilisation diseases. Finally, it fulfils the human natural need of entertainment.

Nowadays sport has become an important element of culture (especially popular culture; cf. W. Lipoński, 2009: 21). This is indicated i.a. by high audience ratings of sport coverages on television or constantly increasing number of people doing sports for pleasure, e.g. participating in numerous running events. Moreover, sport has become an important branch of worldwide economy. The budgets of the wealthiest football clubs amount to several hundred million euros, while transmitting a 30-second advertisement during the interval in the Super Bowl coverage cost 5 million dollars in February 2016 (online resource 3). Due to such a status of sport in the contemporary world, more and more emphasis is put upon the linguistic analysis of the sports language (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 38).

Numerous linguists underline the specificity of communication concentrated on sport. J. Kowalikowa (2009: 64) remarks that as a result of the development of sport-specific social contexts, where the participants perform specific roles, individuals involved professionally with sport have developed specific speech patterns. According to W. Lipoński (2009: 19), "sport generates numerous professional and trade jargons, e.g. coaching jargon, terminologies of training methodology, the language of sport sciences, sport medicine and, finally, athletes' and sport fans' slang". He adds that sport is "a rich area of specialist linguistic communication" (W. Lipoński, 2009: 25). J. Taborek (2012: 238) remarks that there are several text types which are typical exclusively for the language of sport, e.g. live TV, radio or Internet commentaries, supporters' chants. Moreover, he states that sports language is also "a medium for knowledge transfer".

Moreover, he remarks that the statements of some linguists (e.g. K. Polok: 2002) that we can speak exclusively about "a sports vocabulary" are erroneous, as utterances concerning sport have distinctive features not only at the level of lexis or syntax, but also at the levels of text linguistics, pragmatics and discourse communication. M. Lewandowski (2013: 41) points out that the earlier suggestions

to classify the language of sport as a variety of youth language (e.g. J. Ożdżyński, 1970) were incorrect, as sports language is used by people from various social, professional and age groups.

A. Tworek (2002: 251–252) defines the language of sport as "one of the most open and absorptive modern systems of communication which includes not only sports terminology (perceived as a set of technical terms), but also all the expressions, the topic of which is sport (from vulgarisms to scientific style or even expressions characteristic for artistic style)". W. Lipoński (2009: 19) points out that this language is one of the crucial distinctive features of sport as a cultural phenomenon.

A. Tworek (2000: 332) points out that in German linguistics the language of sport is generally classified as an LSP. He remarks that language of sport is language used by people who are either involved in sport activities or discuss on sporting subjects. D. Rosenbaum (1978; after A. Tworek, 2000, 333) underlines that the vocabulary of sports language is based on the LGP, thus it is understandable for all social groups. However, due to some semantic shifts in lexicon and syntactic phenomena occurring in its utterances, it should be distinguished as a phenomenon separate from general language.

As has been stated, J. Taborek (2012: 239) remarks that sports language includes three contextual varieties of LSP communication (cf. p. 60). The expert communication includes sub-languages of regulations, sports science, athletes, coaches and referees, the internal communication is the sub-language of sports media, while the non-expert communication occurs between supporters.

W. Lipoński (2009: 20) states that there is no doubt that the language of sport is not homogeneous, not only due to existence of various sports disciplines, but also because various participants of sporting events, as well as individuals describing them, perform different roles. M. Lewandowski (2013: 39) emphasises that sports language is "a conglomerate of varieties". These varieties share a common lexical basis, but differ from one another as a result of different social and professional background of people speaking about sport.

A. Tworek (2000: 334–336) distinguishes several "fields of communicative activity" when it comes to language of sport:
● language of regulations and rules;
● language of scientists dealing with sport;
● language of press publications concerning sport;
● language of TV sports programmes;
● language of radio sports programmes;
● language of athletes and coaches;
● language of fans;
● language of stadium announcers;
● language of media interviews (communication between reporters and athletes).
  M. Lewandowski (2013: 41) adds two more varieties:
● language of online sports publications;
● language of referees and judges.

J. Taborek (2012: 239) groups these sub-languages into four broader fields: formal communication of regulations and science; language of the media; language of athletes, coaches and referees and language of sports supporters.

J. Kowalikowa (2009: 64–65) divides sports communication into four types of situations: with individual sender and receiver (e.g. individual training session with a coach); individual sender and collective receiver (e.g. team training); collective sender and individual receiver (e.g. fans cheering one athlete) and finally collective sender and receiver (e.g. fans supporting their favourite team).

J. Taborek (2012: 240) underlines that despite the differences between the sub-languages, lexical items are frequently transferred between them, as former athletes and coaches become media commentators and use items from the language of sportsmen, which are then introduced to the language of supporters watching the coverages.

J. Kowalikowa (2009: 65) remarks that short exclamatory utterances, e.g. single verbs used in imperative, prevail over more elaborate clauses in the language of sports performance. They reflect the character of sports performance, which is usually very dynamic. J. Ożdżyński (2009) states that language of sport is characterised by emotional and assessment markedness. However, M. Lewandowski (2013: 40) argues that such a claim is only partially true, as the languages of sports rules and regulations are completely devoid of any emotional or valuing expressions.

Linguists generally divide the vocabulary of the language of sport into that common to all sports or groups of sports, e.g. *start, finish, referee, stadium, grandstand*, and that specific for particular disciplines, e.g. *telemark, toeloop, right hook, parcours, drop-shot* (e.g. J. Ożdżyński 1970; A. Tworek, 2000; J. Taborek 2012; M. Lewandowski, 2013).

J. Ożdżyński (1970) identifies ten semantic categories of sports vocabulary items:
- venues of sports competition;
- participants of sports events;
- equipment, clothing of the competitors and sports facilities;
- competitions, disciplines, sports events;
- sports clubs, associations and organisations;
- categories of competitors and features of activities and objects associated with the sports community;
- terms connected with organisation of competitions and sports regulations;
- postures, movements, training activities;
- psychical and physical states of the competitors;
- terms describing the life of the sports society.

From the linguistic viewpoint vocabulary of sports language is divided into (W. Lipoński, 2009; J. Kowalikowa, 2009; M. Lewandowski, 2013):
- borrowings from foreign languages;
- neologisms, formed in accordance with the productive word-formation patterns
- neosemanticisms, i.e. words which are assigned a new meaning.

J. Kowalikowa (2009: 65) states that the core of the worldwide sports vocabulary is formed by borrowings, an overwhelming majority of which have an English origin (*fair play, start, finish*, etc.). W. Lipoński (2009: 28) explains this trend. He points out that before the 19th century, when the expansion of British sports began, sports terminologies of various languages were in linguistic contact and sometimes a sport was "borrowed" by a nation from its neighbours. However, there were no tendencies which could be referred to as an international character of a sport. In the second half of the 19th century so many sports of British origin gained huge popularity within and outside Europe that sports terminology started to become more and more international, as a result of borrowing numerous English terms. First was a pan-European fascination with horse racing, followed by rowing, tennis, football and boxing.

J. Kowalikowa (2009: 65) states that apart from Anglicisms international sports terminology also includes words from other languages where particular sports have been developed, e.g. Japanese words in judo or French words in fencing. W. Lipoński (2009: 20) enumerates other languages playing the most important role in the terminologies of some sports, e.g. British English in football, curling, rugby, polo; American English in baseball, basketball and ice hockey; German in handball. He underlines that despite the current dominance of English in sports language, numerous sports terms have a Classical Greek origin, e.g. *stadium ← stadion*, *discus ← discos*, *athletics ← athletikos*, *gymnastics ← gymnastike*, etc. (W. Lipoński 2009: 25–26). Z. Kubiak (2007) remarks that borrowings are most common in the sub-language of media commentators, where they help to avoid repetitions, whereas players and supporters tend to use more native expressions.

W. Lipoński (2009: 29) points out numerous native equivalents which were supposed to replace English terms entering Polish. Some have been rejected, e.g. *zaprawa* instead of *trening* (training), while others have occupied their place in terminology, e.g. *sportowiec* instead of *sportsmen*. However, a derivative denoting a woman, *sportsmenka*, is quite common.

J. Kowalikowa (2009: 65) states that in sports vocabulary numerous words of the general language have been assigned new meanings (i.e. neosemanticisms have been created), e.g. *(street) corner* vs. football *corner (kick), pitching (a tent)* vs. baseball *pitching, snatching (a wallet)* vs. weightlifting *snatching*. She underlines that a huge number of sports vocabulary items is closely related to the semantic category of warfare. This stems from the analogy between sports competition and combat. Military vocabulary is often used to add colour to descriptions of sports events. She claims that the highly frequent use of war-related vocabulary may lead to the change of attitude of athletes and supporters to their opponents, and finally "re-militarisation" of sport. This is not impossible as very often in the sports venues "emphatic expressions become swearwords, and humorous epithets become abuses" (J. Kowalikowa, 2009: 66).

W. Lipoński (2009: 32) underlines that media commentators frequently use heavy modifiers, which are not so frequent in common speech, e.g. *25-million-dolar man*. Usually they are used in order to shorten the utterance.

Linguists also point out that the language of sports coverages is characterised by a considerable number of periphrases, i.e. omitting to name an object directly (M. Bańko, 2002: 5). They are used in order to embellish the clichés of the commentaries and are frequently derived on the spot. If such a creation gains popularity it may also become overused and lose it originality. They describe athletes, e.g. *Orzeł z Wisły* (the Eagle of Wisła) for Adam Małysz; national teams, e.g. *Kangaroos* for the national team of Australia and sports venues *The Theatre of Dreams* for The Old Trafford (stadium of Manchester United FC).

As a result of the worldwide status of sport, sports language has an impact on the general language and expressions connected with the semantic field of sport are transferred into the common vocabulary and other sub-fields of language. W. Lipoński (2009: 30) points out the high frequency of sport metaphors in the general language, e.g. *below the belt*, *neck to neck* competition, *hit the spot*. He states that in Polish sports vocabulary items enter general vocabulary more frequently than the latter enter sports terminology (W. Lipoński, 2009: 21). L. A. Komleva (2008: 37) points out that metaphor is a mechanism which binds together the discourses concerning different sports. According to L. Zieliński (2002), numerous sports expressions are also used in the language of politics, e.g. *steeplechase, to hand over a baton, a dark horse*, etc. L. Jurek-Kwiatkowska (2005) enumerates 265 phrases originating in football, baseball, boxing and other sports in business language. W. Lipoński (2009: 30) remarks that such metaphors are used due to their expressiveness and clarity by journalists describing various aspects of life, which can be unrelated to sport.

4.2. Short history of football

Numerous sports metaphorical expressions in general domains of human life have their origins in the language of football, e.g. *show someone a yellow card* in English or *krótka piłka* (short ball) in Polish. These phrases show that this sport plays an important role in the modern culture. This subchapter describes briefly how a game initially intended to develop the fitness of pupils during PE lessons at schools eventually became a sport enjoying worldwide popularity.

K. Radnege (2004: 11–12) remarks that games which resembled football (i.e. consisted in kicking a ball) were popular in various civilisations. There are written sources proving that such a game was played in the Ancient China in the first century AD. A similar sport in the Ancient Japan was called *kenatt,* while inhabitants of the Roman Empire played a game called *harpastum.* It was played by two teams who were supposed to place a ball behind the line drawn on the ground behind their opponents. In such a form the sport was brought to Britain, where it soon gained a huge popularity.

As the game played in the English and Scottish cities in the Middle Ages was excessively brutal and lacked any rules, it caused disorder and was banned by numerous monarchs from Edward II to the times of the Restoration. Nevertheless, the game was ubiquitous and gradually evolved towards a more

organised and less dangerous sport.

D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999: 368) point out that the interest in football in the middle of the 19th century was a social result of the growth of the commercial, manufacturing and professional middle class in Britain for which the idea of group cooperation was of considerable importance. They remark that football became an important part of private secondary school education in the second half of the 19th century. However, K. Radnege (2004: 13) underlines that at that time the rules were still chaotic, as nearly every school introduced its own regulations. The first general set of ten rules was agreed on in 1848 in Cambridge by representatives of the most important schools. This is the moment when the paths of two games, one known nowadays as football and other as rugby, diverged.

Football became gradually more and more popular. The first club of the developing sport, Sheffield FC, was established in 1855, while the first national association, the English Football Associations (FA), was created in 1863. In the 1890s football players became paid professionals (K. Radnege, 2004: 14).

D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999: 369) point out that throughout the last decades of the 19th century the sport was spread abroad both by young Britons working and studying in other countries and European businessmen and students visiting Britain and coming back to their homelands. Consequently, more and more clubs were established across Europe. Originally the main attention in the strategy was focused on attack. Until the 1950s, the 2-2-6 and 2-3-5 systems dominated (D. Levinson / K. Christensen, 1999).

K. Radnege (2004: 15) states that at the turn of the 20th century European engineers and merchants brought the game to South America. The first football clubs were created there in the 1910s.

In 1904 FIFA, the international football association (*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*), was established by representatives of seven countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland (K. Radnege, 2004: 16). Gradually more and more countries, also from other continents, joined FIFA which thanks to that became a truly worldwide association (K. Radnege 2004: 20–21). In 1908 football became an Olympic sport. The first World Cup was organised in 1930 in Uruguay. The South American association had been already established. This happened soon after the sport was brought into that continent, i.e. in 1916. However, other continental organisations were established much later, in the 1950s and the 1960s.

D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999: 370) state that following World War Two this sport became popular in the Soviet bloc, as it became a good form of recreation for urban workers.

K. Radnege (2004: 25) points out that in the middle of the 20th century international club competitions started to develop rapidly. In the 1950s the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, Cup of Europe and the UEFA Cup were introduced. They were joined by the Cup Winners' Cup and the Intercontinental Cup in the 1960s. This resulted in the growth of importance of club competitions leaving less time for national team friendly matches.

After the second world war more and more emphasis was put on defence which resulted in the widespread use of the 4-2-4 formation. In order to unburden the two midfielders, English coaches started applying a 4-3-3 set in the 1960s (D. Levinson / K. Christensen 1999: 369).

D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999: 370) point out that following the achievement of independence by numerous African states more and more football associations have been created there. This stems from the fact that the sport, which had been introduced by the British and French colony rulers, had already become popular in Africa by then.

Football gained a worldwide status in the 1970s, when national teams from other continents than Europe and South America began to take part in the World Cup. As a result of sponsoring campaigns of such companies as Adidas or Coca-Cola, international football has become more and more commercialized (K. Radnege 2004: 28). According to D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999: 371), this also brought the sport to numerous countries of the Far East and to the Gulf States.

They also remark that since the 1970s the most common line-ups have been defensive 5-4-1 (or 4-5-1) and balanced 4-4-2 (D. Levinson / K. Christensen 1999: 369). However, despite the main tendencies, football remains a flexible game where individual talented players are able to have a decisive impact on the final result.

K. Radnege (2004: 29–31) points out that the turn of the 21st century witnessed an exponential growth in popularity of football. The TV broadcasts from the World Cup or the Champions League finals gather millions of fans all around the world. Consequently, as M. Lewandowski (2013: 9) remarks, "not only has soccer become the world's most popular sport, but it has evolved into a socio-economic phenomenon".

G. Bergh / S. Ohlander (2012: 11) illustrate the present worldwide status of the game by quoting several results from the so-called Big Count carried out by FIFA in 2006. There were 239 million men and 26 million women registered as professional players, 5 million referees and officials, 1.7 million teams and 0.3 million clubs then. Taking into consideration the fact that these are data gathered 10 years ago and that they omit the numbers of stadium and media spectators, one can easily imagine the scope of world's population actively and passively occupied with the game.

W. Lipoński (2009: 25) underlines that in order not to be confused with other sports which also include the word *football* in their names (American football, Australian football, etc.), the sport in which the ball is almost exclusively kicked is generally called *association football* or shortly *soccer*.

Football is played between two teams of 11 players a side on a rectangular field not longer than 120 meters and not wider than 90 meters. The object of the game is to score a goal by kicking or heading the ball over the opponent's goal line into a goal. Only one player in each team, the goalkeeper, is allowed to use hands, but exclusively in his teams' penalty box. The duration of the game is two equal halves, 45 minutes each. Numerous manners of attacking the opponents, as well as

some other actions, specified by the Laws of the Game approved by FIFA each year, are not allowed (D. Levinson / K. Christensen, 1999: 369).

4.3. Characteristics of football language

M. Kashin (2009: 46) remarks that as the most popular sport in Europe for over a century, football has created a separate language strictly related to numerous subcultures and professional groups which have developed around it. The football language has become a subject of numerous linguistic studies all around the world. Also, various dictionaries and lexicons have been devoted to this topic (see M. Lewandowski, 2013: 10, for examples of these works).

Football language is generally regarded as an LSP (e.g. J. Taborek, 2012; G. Bergh / S. Ohlander, 2012; M. Lewandowski, 2013: 42). P. Evangelisti Allori (2005; after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 43) states that language of football "despite being a highly 'specialised' language, unlike any other specialised language it is not meant to be understood by adepts only, rather it is directed to the widest possible audience. It therefore operates across social divides". M. Lewandowski (2013: 43) describes such a characteristic, stating that football language is "a special language with strong public appeal".

He remarks that as a result of exposure of great number of non-fans to football broadcasts, the football terminology is understandable for them. Consequently, the status of football language as an LSP is debatable (M. Lewandowski 2013: 43). The answer to this question depends on how broadly an LSP is understood (he supports the broadest of senses offered by H. Picht / J. Draskau, 1985; such an approach will be applied in the practical part).

M. Lewandowski (2013: 43) provides several arguments that football language is an LSP. Firstly, studies devoted to this subject are not limited to the vocabulary, but also cover questions of syntax, grammar, text, cognitive and pragmatic levels. Secondly, it is used in all four types of specialist communication pointed out by H. Fluck (1991), i.e. for professional activity (e.g. between players and coaches during matches and training for scientific activity (e.g. in scientific and popular scientific publications concerning various aspects of this sport), in communication for public purposes (in the media) and for the purpose of education (he mentions examples of several language schools and publishers in Germany and Poland which offer courses in football English and German). Thirdly, M. Lewandowski (2013: 43–44) underlines that language of football may be used in various contextual settings including various oral and written settings, as well as a wide range of stylistic registers. These contexts also involve all three main types of communication of LSP provided by T. Roelcke (2005; after J. Taborek, 2012: 241), i.e. including exclusively individuals professionally related to football (players, coaches, referees, officials), including only laymen and occurring between professionals and laymen. Accordingly, M. Lewandowski (2013:10) points out that the utterances and texts devoted to football are so multifarious that the language of football is heterogeneous and one should speak of numerous varieties of football language.

J. Taborek (2012) distinguishes four general fields of football communication: language of regulations and science, language of the media, language of supporters and language of players, coaches and referees. M. Lewandowski (2013: 45) subdivides these categories, distinguishing narrower classes which seem sufficiently homogeneous within themselves to serve as the categories of division of football related utterances and texts. This division resembles the classification for sports language combining the ideas of A. Tworek (2000) and M. Lewandowski (2013) presented in subsection 4.1. (cf. p. <u>78</u>), the only difference being the lack of a separate category for stadium announcers.

Moreover, M. Lewandowski (2013: 63) points out that other sub-genres which often constitute a mix of other varieties, e.g. memoirs written by coaches and players, biographies, books related to the history of football; language of football associations and club officials.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 64) remarks that the group-specific vocabulary spreads between these groups. The official terminology is invented by scientists. Then it is simplified for the needs of colloquial communication by coaches. At the next stage the vocabulary of coaches is adapted by the athletes who very often replace some terms with informal and emotionally-marked (very often metaphorical) lexical items. These vocabulary items infiltrate (e.g. during interviews) to the sub-language of journalists who then pass them to supporters in their utterances. Z. Kubiak (2007) points out that the spread of terms and lexemes from one domain to another is nowadays facilitated by the development of the electronic media.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 44) states that the varieties of football language differ in terms of specific vocabulary and grammar features, but share a common terminological core established by regulations, as well as the items shared with other sports.

G. Bergh / S. Ohlander (2012: 14) and M. Lewandowski (2013: 41–42) remark that the lexis of the language of football could be divided into four classes:
- items specific for football vocabulary, i.e. which are not used outside the association with football domain and even if they were, they would be treated as marked, e.g. *offside trap, six-yard box*;
- items specific for sports vocabulary, i.e. also used with regard to other sports, e.g. *extra time* or *knock-out stages*;
- professional terms and expressions which are also used in other LSPs, e.g. medical or legal terms, such as *Achilles tendon*, *infringement*;
- items belonging to the vocabulary of LGP, e.g. *dressing room, ball*.

M. Kashin (2009: 47) and M. Rosłoń (2011) point out well-known quotations by famous players and coaches or general statements which have become aphorisms and have entered the footballers', commentators' as well as fans' vocabulary, e.g. *Piłka jest okrągła a bramki są dwie.* (The ball is round and there are two goals.) – a quote by Kazimierz Górski meaning that the conditions are equal for both sides; *nazwiska i numery nie grają* (names and numbers don't play) – a statistically weaker team is able to beat a stronger one with famous players; *организованный беспорядок* (organised mess) — an attack where forwards swap their positions

several times; *сильные клубы — сильная сборная* (strong clubs mean a strong national team); *лучше фол, чем гол* (a foul is better than a goal) — a tactical foul is committed to prevent the opponent's dangerous attack.

A. Burkhardt (2006, after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 163) points out that there are approximately 2000 football terms in German. M. Lewandowski (2013) acknowledges that the number of terms from the semantic field of this sport is more or less the same in other languages. He remarks that even though the football terminology binds together the football language variations, the use of items belonging to it is not equal in them (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 162). Numerous linguists (e.g. M. Ghadessy, 1988, G. Leitner / M. Hesselmann, 1996, all after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 162) have proven that the word *ball* is the lexical item with the highest occurrence in football related texts. M. Lewandowski (2013: 162) adds that this is the case in both Polish and English texts, even though the word is replaced by the pronoun *it* or elliptically omitted. Accordingly, he states that the ball movement is the main focus of attention for all football commentators and writers.

When it comes to terminology of football language, numerous linguists point out the online multilingual dictionary of football terms compiled by T. Schmidt (online resource 4 – *Kicktionary* also described in detail in T. Schmidt, 2008). It divides the football lexis using the criterion of prototypical semantic scenes and frames, such as *Shot, Pass, Goal, Chance, Motion,* etc. M. Lewandowski (2013: 164–167) analyses the terms connected with the semantic categories of *pass* and *shot*, which tend to be the most frequent in football commentaries.

Football language is constantly developing and transferring, as new words and phrases are coined and others become outdated (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 168). J. Taborek (2012: 246) remarks that, since the modern football has been shaped in Great Britain (and more specifically in England), English is the language which has contributed most to the formation of football terminologies in other languages

The huge influence of English on Polish and Russian football languages is evidenced by a considerable number of loanwords and semantic loans of English origin in these languages (e.g. L. Krysin, 2004; M. Kashin, 2009; M. Lewandowski, 2013). Linguists unanimously state that football vocabulary includes all classic groups of lexical borrowings, i.e. loanwords, calques, hybrids and semantic loans. J. Ożdżyński (1970, 2009) states that these borrowings to a greater or lesser extent undergo all the processes of adaptation.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 167) points out the lexical calques from English in Polish football vocabulary, e.g. *żółta kartka* (yellow card), *sędzia asystent* (assistant referee), *otworzyć wynik* (open the scoring), *zaparkować autobus* (park the bus). He remarks that the very phrase *piłka nożna* (from *football*) is a calque. However, numerous linguists are not sure whether such creations in European languages could be classified as linguistic borrowings or they were independent creations which coincide semantically and morphologically with the English phrase (cf. G. Bergh / S. Ohlander (2012: 27).

Even though some linguists claim that these Anglicisms are overused (e.g. B. Walczak, 1987; M. Wiśnicki 2004) others underline that many languages

created native terms denoting the same concepts as the Anglicisms. Some of these terms function interchangeably with their English equivalents. In such cases Anglicisms are used most often to avoid repetitions (M. Lewandowski 2013: 167), e.g. *rzut rożny – korner* (corner), *bramkarz – golkiper* (goalkeeper).

Moreover, J. Taborek (2012: 246) points out that some Anglicisms that used to be common in Polish and German have disappeared from the general language and have been replaced by native equivalents, e.g. German *Corner → Eckstoß* or Polish adjective *footbalowy → piłkarski*. M. Kashin (2009: 46) points out several items which were borrowed from English into Russian to denote the most crucial terms for the game, e.g. the verb *шутовать* (from English *to shoot*), which were quickly replaced by native equivalents.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 168) highlights several English terms which are rendered in Polish by means of phrases or have no fixed equivalents, e.g. *winner* (*zwycięski gol*), *handball* (*zagranie piłki ręką* or *ręka*), *friendly* (*mecz towarzyski*). He also mentions several instances of an opposite trend, e.g. *okienko* (*top corner*), *przewrotka* (*overhead kick*).

Z. Kubiak (2007) and M. Kashin (2009:48) point out that as a result of Polish and Russian clubs entering the European football market, numerous new terms have been introduced to the football terminology of the two languages, e.g. *transfer / трансфер, okienko transferowe / трансферное окно* (transfer window), *agent / агент, легионер* (legionnaire – used to denote foreign players).

Another feature of football language examined by numerous linguists (e.g. L. A. Komleva, 2008; J. Taborek, 2012; M. Lewandowski, 2013; R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina, 2014) are the metaphors used there. They point out that a football match could be conceptualised by means of several source domains. R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina (2014) state that these metaphors are frequently used by sports commentators to overcome stylistic monotony.

The first and the most common semantic category of metaphors is that of military activities (J. Kowalikowa, 2009; M. Lewandowski, 2013: 172–174; R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina, 2014). Consequently, the match is shown as *battle, clash, encounter* or *combat*, stadiums of the teams as *fortresses* or *towers*, players as *soldiers*, *warriors* or *veterans*, coaches as *commanders* or *generals*. Journalists write of *assaults, raids, sieges, cannonades, rearguards, artilleries* of the teams. Undoubtedly, war and sport, especially football, have much in common. There are two sides who fight collectively (using a strategy) against each other. Moreover, there is always an attacking and a defending side.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 175–176) points out that perceiving a football game as a theatre play is frequent, but not as common as war metaphor. Both actors and footballers play in front of spectators. The stadium is described as a *theatre*, the pitch as a *scene*, where players perform their *roles*, either *big parts* or *episodes* (as *understudies*). In the spectacle of a football match players have to fulfil a *scenario* divided into *acts* (i.e. halves) and planned by the *director* (i.e. the coach, sometimes this comparison is also made to denote the playmaker who is responsible for initiating the actions).

The football match is often compared to other sports (e.g. L. A. Komleva 2008: 37–39; M. Lewandowski 2013: 176–177). The most common metaphor is presenting it as a boxing fight. One of the teams might be *knocked out*, the teams depending on their strength might be *lightweight* or *heavyweight*. Shots and goals are compared to *blows* or *punches*. Another sports metaphor is comparing a match to a game of chess, where the pitch is a *chessboard* and the players are *pawns*. The coaches make *reshuffles* in their teams (this metaphor is typical for Polish – *roszada*). Such an approach is justified by the fact that both games are based on strategy. L. A. Komleva (2008: 37–38) remarks that the chess metaphor is used in player's biographies and memoirs. It is often pointed out that mistakes or loss of players (pawns) have a significant influence on the final result. She remarks that a brilliant Soviet goalkeeper Lev Yashin was often described as *a grandmaster of the green board*.

Football is also often described as a race, where the winning side is *ahead* or *in front of* the losing team, which tries to *catch up with* or even to *overtake* and finally *outdistance* their opponents (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 177). Sometimes media commentators use metaphors pointing other fields of sport (L. A. Komleva 2008: 38), e.g. mountaineering, subsequent matches in the play-off cup stage are compared to climbing an 8,000-meter-high mountain (*восьмитысячник*).

M. Lewandowski (2013: 182) also describes instances of comparing the whole team to a machine (which can *run out of steam*, *be dismantled* or *work* properly). R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina (2014) provide examples of such metaphors in Russian, German and English: *"Трактор" включил заднюю передачу. После первого же матча на турнире в Екатеринбурге челябинцы отправились домой.* ("Tractor" shifted into reverse gear. After the first match in the Ekaterinburg tournament the team from Chelyabinsk went back home.); *Danach hat Borussia einen Gang höher geschaltet…* (After that Burussia got into a higher gear…); *The Galacticos have hardly been firing on all cylinders in the league this season.*

M. Lewandowski (2013: 178) also remarks that a football game is compared to a test, where the stronger team (a *teacher* or *professor*) may *give the lesson* to their opponents, often performing *textbook attacks*.

J. Taborek (2012: 247) and R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina (2014) point out that football is frequently conceptualised as religion. Stadiums are referred to as *temples* where *football believers* (the fans) *worship* their favourite teams. Sometimes the player which comes on the pitch from the bench and changes the course of the match is compared to a *messiah*.

M. Lewandowski, 2013: 179–184) discusses other metaphors applied in describing football. As every game is accompanied by a great deal of emotions, the defeat is frequently presented as death. Scoring a goal, especially the decisive one, is shown as *inflicting wounds, sticking a knife, killing* or *finishing* the opponent *off*. Furthermore, scorers of these goals are referred to as *assassins*, *slayers* or *executioners*. The team is not always defeated, it might *sink* or *be buried*, *destroyed*, *ripped to shreds, smashed*, etc. However, if the losing team comes back to a draw result it *rises off its death bed* or even *rises from the dead*.

Another metaphor is presenting excellent performance of the player or a team as a work of art (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 180). Consequently, players might be depicted as *artists*, *maestros*, *virtuosos* or *conductors*. The whole team might be presented as an *orchestra*, while spectacular passes or shots as *masterpieces*.

The journalists may go even further, comparing outstanding play to magic. Metaphors of this type concentrate on individual players, who might be *sorcerers* or *wizards* who cast *spells* and *bewitch* the spectators by brilliant performance. The efforts to score a goal are sometimes compared to hunting (where the stadium is a *hunting ground*, while forwards have a *predatory instinct* and *lurk* for the opportunity to score). R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina (2014) also point out metaphors from other semantic fields, which seem almost completely unrelated to football, such as gastronomy, construction works or marriage.

L. A. Komleva (2008: 39–40) underlines that some of the metaphors become so characteristic for football language that they become neosemanticisms which in some cases replace the original meaning of a given word. She underlines that the expression *спарринг-партнер* (Polish *sparing-partner* ← English *sparring partner*) which originates from the world of boxing, but nowadays is more and more frequently associated with the semantic field of football.

A similar change has happened with the word *derby / дерби* in English, Polish and Russian. The word *derby,* originally denoting a type of horse race, is used nowadays more frequently with reference to a match between two local teams. English has retained both meanings while in Polish the original meaning has almost completely vanished. In Russian, apart from the football meaning, the word has retained some connotations with the world of horse races, it also denotes a prize for winning such a race.

As a part of sports language, language of football has an impact on the general language. J. Taborek (2012: 249), on the basis of Polish, English and German discourses, remarks that metaphors from the semantic field of football constitute a considerable part of sports expressions used in the language of politics e.g. *play for time, score an own-goal, show a yellow card*, etc. Some expressions from the semantic field of football are also used in other sports (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 169 provides examples of studies from the field of chess and cycling). R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina (2014) point out that metaphors with the source domain of football are also used in colloquial utterances, e.g. "«*Ирина, за что ты дала пощёчину Максу?*» «*За игру рукой в штрафной площади*»". ('Irina, why did you slap Max's face?' 'For using a hand in the penalty area'.). M. Lewandowski (2013: 169) points out that the fact that numerous metaphors referring to football are used in other spheres of life is the evidence that the language of football should be treated as an independent sub-language.

The following subsections concentrate on the four sub-languages of the football language which will be discussed according to the division suggested by J. Taborek (2012: 239). Section 4.3.1. is concerned with the formalised football language of regulations and science. Section 4.3.2. presents the language of players and coaches. Section 4.3.3. deals with the language used by press, radio, TV and online

football journalists, while section 4.3.4. describes the language of football supporters.

4.3.1. Formalised language of football

The most formalised variations of the language of football are expressed in various types of rules and regulations, as well as diverse types of scientific texts related to the sport.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 46) remarks that football regulations form an almost exclusively written variety. He adds that the most important text is the document called Laws of the Game, issued once a year by International Football Association Board (IFAB) and consisting of 17 laws regulating the whole course of the match. There are also other regulations governing numerous football tournaments and competitions (cups, leagues) both national and international, issued also by other regional and national associations. J. Taborek (2012: 240) remarks that the regulations may cover various other fields of football activities, e.g. stadium rules of conduct or instructions of use of equipment. He points out that these texts use (and frequently are the source of) binding official terminology. Moreover, regulations include numerous features of legal texts, e.g. frequent use of nominalisation, impersonal structures, especially the passive voice, verbs and phrases characteristic for legal language, e.g. *at the discretion of*, as well as a high precision of terms used (J. Taborek, 2012: 240; M. Lewandowski 2013: 46).

J. Taborek (2012: 240) states that the language of scientific works closely related to sport is typical for academic writing. Apart from football terminology it also uses the terminological sets of other sciences, such as medicine, technology or physics. M. Lewandowski (2013: 47) points out that the scientific variety of the football language is stylistically diversified, as it involves both spoken and written texts, which can be formal, as well as semi-formal. Among the spoken contexts he enumerates various courses, workshops and lectures for coaches and officials. The written variation includes scientific and popular-scientific publications, which display numerous features of scientific style. He adds that there are also numerous self-study resources, e.g. tutorials describing how to improve performance skills (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 47).

4.3.2. Language of football players and coaches

M. Lewandowski (2013: 48) remarks that this variant of football language communication is almost exclusively oral. Some researchers (P. Seddon, 2004: 141; G. Bergh / S. Ohlander, 2012: 18) refer to the language of players and coaches as "pitchspeak". They point out that oral communication between players during the match is vital for their success as a team.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 48) underlines that pitchspeak is an action-oriented register. He points out that as a result of the dynamic character of a football match, information is frequently passed through body movement, gestures and facial

expressions. Such communication is indispensable if the level of noise at the stadium is high. He adds that the linguistic on-pitch communication between players and coaches comprises short assertive utterances of an agitative character. Such a character of these utterances stems from the fact that the commands have to be quick and simple in order to be efficient in the conditions of rapidly changing situation on the field.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 50–54) divides these utterances into four categories: instructions, warnings, announcements and assessing comments. He points out that English phrases are mainly imperative verb phrases, while in their Polish equivalents nominalisations and noun phrases dominate. For emphatic reasons words are often repeated (e.g. *szeroko, szeroko* or *wide, wide*). He underlines that in Polish imperative of the first-person plural is used more often than second person singular, which expresses the idea of unity of a team. They are often shortened and some prepositions, syllables or difficult phoneme clusters are avoided to facilitate and quicken the communication, e.g. *piłka* (ball) is replaced by *piła*.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 54–55) points out that the match communication between players as well as between coaches and players is full of abusive expressions and vulgarisms. He underlines that such linguistic items are used for three purposes. Firstly, they convey a negative comment, secondly, they encourage players to better performance. Finally, they are used to release stress and tension connected with the dynamic character of the match.

A distinctive feature of this variant of football language is the use of soccer slang or football jargon (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 55). Numerous words and phrases from the language of Polish football players and coaches are provided by M. Rosłoń (2011). The vocabulary set specific for this group include numerous neologisms which were have been coined within the environment, e.g. *babol* (a goalkeeper's mistake), *maser* (masseur), *kiero* (sports manager of the team), *doksi* (the doctor of the team). There are also numerous neosematicisms, e.g. *kot* (cat) – an agile and daring goalkeeper; *młotek* (hammer) – a player who has a powerful shot; *as kier* (hearts ace) – red card, *topór* (axe) – a player notorious for ruthless fouls. Some of them are also English-based loanwords (*kołcz* ← coach; *pas* ← pass; *no look pass; cross; Robinsonada* ← Robinsonade) or calques (*autobus w polu karnym* ← bus in the penalty box, *klasyczna dziewiątka* ← classic nine; *spadający liść* ← dropping leaf; *krótki / długi słupek* ← long / short post). Numerous well-adapted Anglicisms have also formed derivatives, e.g. drop → *drops, dropsztyk*; pas → *pasik, pasówka*. Z. Kubiak (2007) states that due to numerous jargonisms the language of the sportsmen is the least intelligible for people not interested in the sport. M. Lewandowski (2013: 57) divides the slang expressions into two categories. The first one includes items which denote objects which have no official equivalents, e.g. *howler* (Polish *babol*) an embarrassing mistake of the goalkeeper. The second comprises lexemes which are humorous and emotionally loaded equivalents of official terms, e.g. *park* (Polish *plac*) for the football pitch. He remarks that more and more items of the football slang are transferred

to the language of the commentators, especially in TV and Internet discourse, and consequently also to the language of supporters.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 55) claims that the language of coaches during the match consists of more complex structures than that of the players. He states that in post-match briefings and interviews players use a much more elaborate language than in on-field communication. Z. Kubiak (2007) adds that sometimes in interviews footballers also borrow expressions used by commentators.

J. Taborek (2012: 243) remarks that as a result of the commercialisation and international character of football more and more frequently the communication within a team becomes multilingual.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 57) emphasises that the language of referees varies depending on the situational setting. For instance, the one used during training courses could be classified as a semi-formal register of the language of regulations. The communication of the referee with his assistants has the features of a casual conversation. In the interaction with players and coaches, the referees use precise and laconic commands and instructions, which are often supplemented with gestures. According to many linguists (e.g. M. Halliday / R. Hassan 1991, after M. Lewandowski, 2013) the register of on-field referees' communication is "a closed register reliant on the kinetic code".

4.3.3. Language of football journalists

M. Lewandowski (2013) subdivides the language of football journalists using the media criterion into press, radio, TV and online variations.

The most important characteristic of football journalistic language is the plurality of expressions used to denote one object (Z. Kubiak, 2007; J. Taborek, 2012 M. Lewandowski, 2013). As has been stated, Anglicisms are frequently used to omit repetitions. This is also the reason for using synonyms (e.g. words like *game, fixture, encounter* often replace the word *match*), metaphors and comparisons which are most often created by journalists.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 67) states that in football journalists presuppose that the recipients share a similar amount of knowledge about the sport. It stems from the global popularity of this discipline. This factor is important in their language choice. For instance, football journalists often use descriptive indirect expressions when it comes to the basics of the sport, e.g. the phrase *to beat the goalkeeper* is used interchangeably with *to score a goal* (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 96–97). This method is also used to refer to teams using the names of their stadiums or coaches.

That is also why commentators in all media types use nicknames of teams and clubs in order to enrich and sometimes to shorten the utterance. M. Lewandowski (2013: 95) distinguishes three classes of such names. Firstly, there are ones derived from the professional group with which the club was related at its beginning, e.g. *the Gunners* for Arsenal London, *Wojskowi* ("the Army men") for Legia Warszawa or *Железнодорожники* ("the Railwaymen") for Lokomotiv Moscow. Secondly, they are connected with the club colours, e.g. *the Blues*

for Chelsea London, *Niebiescy* (the Blues) for Ruch Chorzów or *Красно-Белые* ("the Red-and-Whites") for Spartak Moscow. Finally, they may stem from names of animals present on club emblems or resembling the club colours, e.g. *the Magpies* for Newcastle United, *the Foxes* for Leicester City or *Słonie* (the Elephants) for Termalika Nieciecza. J. Taborek (2012: 248) classifies this phenomenon as antonomasia, i.e. denoting something using a generic name instead of proper name. It is frequent not only for clubs, but also for national teams, e.g. *Bafana Bafana* (The Boys) in the RSA, *Biało-czerwoni* (The White-and-Reds) in Poland, *La Furia Roja* (The Red Fury) in Spain, *Les Bleus* (The Blues) in France, *Squadra Azurra* (the Blue Team) in Italy or *The Three Lions* in England. M. Lewandowski (2013: 95) adds that journalists in their commentaries often use these names in the original form as foreign intrusions.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 65) point out that numerous linguists (e.g. R. Steen, 2007) claim that nowadays sports journalism could be classified as infotainment, as apart from providing information journalists try to entertain the readers, e.g. they add some backstage details gathered from interviews and briefings.

He also remarks that the commentators are generally required to be objective and not to support one of the sides (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 120–122). However, when they comment a match of their national team or an international match of a club from their country they may be partial. This is most often expressed by more frequently praising the team from their own country, while more frequently mitigating the other side. Moreover, it could be expressed by focusing more on the performance of the favourite team than on the opponents. It could also be displayed by means of stance adverbials, such as *luckily, hopefully, unfortunately*.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 64) remarks that there are various genres of press football texts: profiles of teams, players and coaches, notes announcing forthcoming events, interviews, commentaries, performance analyses. However, the most recognisable genre is the match report. He adds that football match reports are devoted to events that have come to an end thus they differ considerably from live radio, TV and online commentaries. He points out that these articles do not necessarily present the events in chronological order and have "the benefit of hindsight", thus they can assess some parts of the match with reference to the whole.

Andrews (2005: 46–47, after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 69) states that readers choose match reports in the age of the Internet because they want to experience the event one more time. They may also look for an expert analysis or statistical information they may have missed. Finally, they may like the style of the author.

M. Ghadessy (1988, after M. Lewandowski 2013: 65) points out that match reports consist of an objective report which is followed by a personal opinion of the author. This opinion is usually less extensive than in the case of a commentary. However, M. Lewandowski (2013: 69) remarks that nowadays the boundary between a report and a commentary becomes blurred.

Most of the written texts about football are non-interactive (i.e. there is no direct interaction between the author and the receiver). However, M. Lewandowski (2013:

67) underlines that when it comes to online texts (on sports websites) such interaction is possible, because readers can post comments under the article.

Depending on the time interval from the match the articles reporting the event vary in character (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 68). Those published online immediately after the final whistle are almost exclusively informative, whereas the more time an author has to compile the report the more elements of personal opinion the text contains. The type of publication and the importance of the match may impose space limitations on the authors. Consequently, usually online articles contain a more detailed account of the events.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 45) remarks that several utterance types can be distinguished within the television variety, e.g. player profiles, interviews, match previews, post-match analyses, the most classic and recognisable of which is live match commentary. He points out that TV commentary is usually provided by two commentators one professional broadcaster and one expert, most often a retired player or coach (M. Lewandowski 2013: 102). The former is responsible for an accurate account of the events happening, while the latter summarises and evaluates the events on the field from an insider perspective.

Depending on the course of events on the pitch commentators are put under various time pressures which reach the highest level during situations when a goal is likely (M. Lewandowski 2013: 103). Consequently, live TV commentary has to be given without delay, as it is produced in real time, and give the best possible account of the ongoing and constantly changing situation. J. L. Mackenzie (2005, after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 104) points out that this time pressure affects the complexity and correctness of the structures used by the commentator. M. Lewandowski (2013: 122–123) remarks that the utterances often may remain unfinished or be remodelled by the speaker. One of the most common mistakes is the lack of concord between the subject and the verb. Moreover, commentators tend to use erroneous verb forms or collocations. M. Lewandowski (2013: 104) adds that replays provide the commentators an opportunity to discuss and describe the event in greater detail and using a more sophisticated language.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 58) remarks that within the radio sub-genre of the football language the most common form is also the live match commentary. It exhibits some features characteristic for the language of TV commentary. A. Tworek (2000:336) and M. Lewandowski (2013: 59) point out that the quantity of words produced in a radio commentary is much higher than that in a television one. This stems from the fact that radio listeners receive the information exclusively via the audio channel. Consequently, radio commentator has to describe the course of events in greater detail than a TV one. M. Lewandowski (2013: 59) also remarks that the discrepancy between the two types is the result of more frequent pauses made by TV commentators (e.g. when a goal is scored). He points out that this leads to the fact that "radio commentary can be more colourful, lively and involved than its TV counterpart". This may also arise from a greater willingness of radio commentators to use comparisons and metaphors. Unlike TV commentary, its radio counterpart does not evaluate the ongoing events, but is focused on outlining them.

Radio commentary is also almost devoid of digressions (e.g. about the former career of a player) as there is no time to make them (M. Lewandowski 2013: 60).

Researchers dealing with computer-mediated communication generally point out that the discourse of the Internet combines the features of both spoken and written communication (B.H. Davis / J.P. Brewer, 1997; D. Biber / S. Conrad, 2009, after M. Lewandowski, 2013, 137–138).

M. Lewandowski (2013: 138) points out that minute-by-minute online written football commentary is a sub-genre of football language that is constantly developing and gaining popularity. This type of texts is more and more frequently used by websites of newspapers, magazines and broadcasting companies. Apart from the text added on a minute basis or each time something interesting happens in the match, such a commentary uses numerous icons for goals, bookings, substitutions, etc. in order to make the commentary more transparent and interesting for the recipient.

He adds that as an Internet genre, online written match commentary should be regarded as a hypertext (M. Lewandowski, 2013: 139). This stems from the fact that by means of numerous hyperlinks the reader is able to access various types of information, such as statistics, line-ups, fan commentaries, pre-match interviews, etc. These resources are available in graphic, textual, and audio-visual forms. Therefore, this type of text can be approached from the viewpoint of multi-modal communication. M. Lewandowski (2013: 141) underlines that this is by far the most interactive form of sports journalism, as some of the receivers' feedback messages may even be included in the main commentary.

Usually the commentary does not take place in real time as there is a slight time lapse between what is happening on the pitch and the moment when the comment is posted. Nevertheless, M. Lewandowski (2013: 141–142) points out that online live commentators are also working under time pressure, as they have not much time to edit their comments and must focus on choosing the most important details of what is happening. Apart from a play-by-play account this type of commentary usually tries to involve the recipients in the atmosphere of the match by using lexical and typographic means, word play, humour and irony. They are usually achieved by means of wordplay, unconventional metaphors and comparisons, as well as exaggeration of players', referees', and more and more frequently, also TV broadcasters' mistakes.

However, he highlights that this is the most report-oriented type of football journalistic texts and utterances, as it includes much less game analysis elements than its press counterpart. The play-by-play descriptions account for approximately 65 percent of the commentaries analysed by him, while the evaluation elements comprised only approximately 16 percent of that corpus.

As J. Chovanec (2008: 265, after M. Lewandowski, 2013: 152) points out, online commentary frequently imitates the features of radio and TV broadcasters "creating an impression of orality". M. Lewandowski (2013: 153) remarks that this is achieved by means of informal lexical items, linguistic formulas and typographic conventions, such as capitalising, boldfacing, using repeated letters or exclamation

marks. Online commentators tend to be even more partial than their TV counterparts. The informality is also expressed by using colloquial football and general language lexical means, but sometimes also ones which are generally considered offensive and thus are never present in other types of sports journalism.

4.3.4. Language of football supporters

M. Lewandowski (2013: 61) states that the most variable sub-language within the language of football is the language of football fans. This stems from the fact that it varies considerably depending on the communicative situation and the degree of identification with one of the playing teams. Consequently, the language of football fans should be perceived as a set of various registers used in different contexts.

M. Kashin (2009: 48) points out that the organised football fan movement was formed in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. The organised groups of the most fervent fans have developed their own slang and subculture. This is also the time when supporters' chants became increasingly popular.

Numerous linguists (A. Tworek, 2000: 336; Z. Kubiak 2007; J. Taborek, 2012: 242; M. Lewandowski, 2013: 61) state that the utterances of the supporters are highly informal and frequently include foul and abusive expressions, especially when referring to other teams.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 61) points out that chants and club anthems are an important element of supporters' communication. He remarks that these chants are sung for various reasons: for club identification, to cheer on the favourite team, to humiliate the other. They might be addressed to individual players, coaches, referee and the opponent's fans. J. Taborek (2012: 238) underlines that these chants often express the regional identity of the supporters. Most commonly they are created by the fans using melodies of popular songs, but they also might be pop songs, as is the case with the anthems of Liverpool FC, Borussia Dortmund (both *You'll never walk alone* by Gerry and the Pacemakers), Legia Warszawa (*Sen o Warszawie* by Czesław Niemen), Wisła Kraków (*Jak długo na Wawelu* by Konstanty Krumłowski).

M. Lewandowski (2013: 62) also enumerates other forms of fan communication in football: conversations between supporters before, during, and after a match, slogans written on their club scarfs or banners brought to the stadium[19]. Moreover, he mentions other forms of communication via fanzines (i.e. magazines issued by supporter organisations, which sometimes might be in conflict with the authorities of the club) and online blogs or forums.

Many linguists (e.g. E. Kołodziejek, 2006: 41; M. Lewandowski, 2013: 62) are of the opinion that the language of the most fervent supporters, who are organised in groups, should be treated as a subculture language. The language of these fans is

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19 Frequently, similar slogans are also expressed outside the stadium on stickers and graffiti.

characterised by a group-specific vocabulary. Z. Kubiak (2007) provides numerous examples of fan expressions describing the circumstances accompanying of a sport event e.g. *ultrasi* (extreme fans), *ustawka* (an organised group scuffle between fans of rival clubs), and names of stands occupied by the most fanatic supporters, *Żyleta* (Razor – Legia Warszawa), *Kocioł* (Cauldron – Lech Poznań), *Młyn* (Mill – used by several Polish teams). M. Lewandowski (2013: 62) points out examples of lexical items used by them to denote fans who change clubs they support depending on their performance (*fair-weather fans, plastic fans* in English and *sezonowiec, piknik, janusz* in Polish).

M. Kashin (2009: 48) points out that a considerable number of items distinctive for Russian fan slang have been borrowed from English, usually by means of English fanzines, e.g. *глорихантер* or *глорик* (glory hunter) — a fan who begins to support a team due to its victories described in the media; *скам* (scum) — an expression denoting negative event or feature of something; *скарфер* (scarfer) — a fan wearing a scarf with symbols of a given club. The last expression is also present in Polish in a form of the calque *szalikowiec* (*szalik* = scarf + *-owiec,* a suffix denoting the agent).

He remarks that the slang of football fans is still developing and new items are constantly coined. However, it has become a jargon in a sense that it is hardly comprehensible for laymen, as numerous words are assigned new meanings.

M. Lewandowski (2013: 62) states that supporters watching a match on TV usually do not behave like those on the stadium and may more often talk about topics not related to football. Thus, their utterances can be classified as the colloquial style of the general language.

5. Analysis of Anglicisms in selected texts related to football in Polish and Russian

This chapter constitutes the practical part of the study, i.e. the analysis of English borrowings found in a corpus including texts of football regulations and online football press articles written in Polish and Russian. The first section (5.1.) outlines the research done on the subject of Anglicisms in football texts and presents the purpose of the present analysis. Section 5.2. describes briefly the corpus of the analysis. The methodology of the analysis is discussed in section 5.3. Sections 5.4. and 5.5. are concerned with analysing Anglicisms in Polish and Russian translations of FIFA *Laws of the Game 2014/2015* and Anglicisms in Polish and Russian press articles related to football respectively, while section 5.6. collates the results of the analyses.

5.1. Subject and purpose of the analysis

The present analysis is devoted to Anglicisms in Polish and Russian language of football. As has been already mentioned, the language of football all around the world is based on the English terminology, as this sport in its modern form was moulded in Britain. It follows that both Polish and Russian football languages include numerous borrowings from English.

Since the end of the 1950s numerous Polish and Russian linguists have described Anglicisms and the ways of their adaptation from various viewpoints. These descriptions have taken a variety of forms: research articles devoted to particular borrowings (e.g. A. Markowski 2000; A. Otwinowska, 1997 in Polish and C. A. Belyaeva / T. N. Cvetkova, 2007; B. A. Gochiyaeva 2011 in Russian), systematic studies depicting the whole process of linguistic borrowing and its separate aspects (e.g. J. Fisiak, 1962, 1985; H. Jadacka 2003a; W. Chłopicki, 2005; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995, 2006, 2010; A. Witalisz 2007; M. Zabawa, 2008, 2012 in Polish and M.A. Breyter, 1999; A.I. D'yakov, 2001, 2014 [online resource 1], L. Krysin, 1995, 2004; A. Romanov, 2000; S. V. Vorob'eva, 2003, 2009 in Russian) and finally presenting English influence as one of the aspects in the outlines of the state of contemporary Polish and Russian languages (e.g. Z. Klemensiewicz, 1979; J. Miodek 1998 in Polish and V. G. Kostomarov 1999, V. I. Maksimov 2010a in Russian)[20].

As has been already mentioned, football language is a subject of numerous studies all around the world. There are even separate research groups devoted to the language of football, e.g. at the University of Innsbruck. The scope of the research done in this field is presented by a bibliography of studies concerning football and language (online resource 5). The publication includes approx. 50 titles

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[20] For more examples see presentation of Polish research in this field provided by Zabawa (2012: 49-53).

of studies devoted to Anglicisms in football language (e.g. I. Pickup, 1988; I. Balteiro, 2011).

There are several studies devoted exclusively to Anglicisms in Polish football language (e.g. S. Sępek, 2008) and comparative studies of English borrowings in Polish and German football languages (R. Lipczuk 1996, 2012). The study of Z. Kubiak (2007) compares the quantity of Anglicisms in the languages of football journalists, supporters and players. Moreover, numerous Polish publications taking a more holistic viewpoint on Polish football language (e.g. M. Lewandowski, 2008, 2013; J. Taborek, 2012) and its varieties (e.g. M. Wiśnicki, 2004; B. Grochala 2011, M. Rosłoń 2011) also include remarks on Anglicisms.

When it comes to research of the Russian language of football, there are several studies devoted to its particular varieties (e.g. K.S. Berezovskiy 2011 and R. Belyutin 2013 describe the discourse of football supporters and P. Istrate, 2005 discusses Russian football terminology), development (e.g. M. Kashin, 2009) and the metaphors used in it (e.g. L. A. Komleva 2008; R. Belyutin / Y. Belyutina, 2014). These studies mention borrowing of English elements, although this phenomenon is described more thoroughly in studies devoted to Anglicisms in the sports language (e.g. Z.S. Loginova, 1978; O. A. Shchetinnikova, 2009; A.B. Dvoynina, 2011), and to the language of sport in general (e.g. N.I. Muhamedova 2005; I.V. Nechaev 2006; D.B. Gudkov, 2010).

There are some works collating Anglicisms in Polish and Russian, the most extensive of which being the one by K. Luciński (2000). However, this study does not examine the semantic field of football in detail. To the present author's knowledge, there are no studies comparing Polish and Russian language of football. Consequently, the present analysis is intended to show Anglicisms and their adaptation in parallel in the football languages of Polish and Russian.

Moreover, it aims to show to what extent the official terminology constituting the core of other football language varieties is permeated with Anglicisms and to what an extent this is a tendency characteristic for the language of football commentators, as Z. Kubiak (2007) claims.

Both Polish and Russian linguists claim that Polish and Russian football languages witnessed the greatest influx of Anglicisms at the beginning of the 20th century. As the game has been developing and gaining its status not only of an international sport, but also cultural phenomenon, new concepts have been created in English and have spread into other languages. This is an ongoing process, as each year brings some smaller or greater changes in the rules of football. Moreover, some new English expressions find their way into Polish and Russian, while others come out of use. Consequently, the present study is also intended to show the most recent changes within Polish and Russian football language vocabularies.

5.2. Description of the corpus

The corpus of the analysis includes written Polish and Russian texts representing two sub-languages of the language of football – the formalised language of football

regulations and the language of football press journalism. The analysis of Anglicisms in football regulations language was based on the translations of the most canonic text in international football, the FIFA *Laws of the Game,* into Polish (*Przepisy gry*) and Russian (*Правила игры)*. The versions from the 2014/2015 season were chosen, as this is the most recent edition for which the translations into both Polish and Russian were available (in May 2016). The Polish translation consists of 20,953 words (146,310 characters), while the Russian one of 20,142 words (137,397 characters). For the purpose of comparability of the two texts the resolutions of PZPN (Polish Football Association) present in the Polish text were omitted in the analysis.

The analysis of football press articles was performed on a corpus of 84 articles downloaded from websites of two Polish and two Russian newspapers (*przegladsportowy.pl*; *sport.pl; sport-express.ru* and *rg.ru)*. Unlike the analysis performed by M. Lewandowski (2013), based exclusively on football match reports, the corpus of the present analysis also includes other types of football journalistic texts to depict the variety of this football sub-language. However, interviews with players and coaches were excluded, as they would present the language variety of persons professionally occupied with football. The texts were collected in the period from 25th March to 8th May 2016 in order to provide a variety of contexts including both club and national football fixtures. This was the time when a series of official friendly matches between European national teams took place. Moreover, at that time the majority of national league competitions reached their culmination. Furthermore, this period also covers the semi-finals of the most important international club competitions, the UEFA Champions League and the Europa League.

The sub-corpus of Polish press articles comprises 20,997 words (145,074 characters) and includes 43 articles, including 31 match reports, 4 pre-match analyses, 5 analyses of players' performance, 2 analyses of teams' performance and 1 article devoted to the history of football. The articles were published on the websites related to two Polish newspapers, i.e. the oldest and largest Polish sports daily *Przegląd Sportowy* and *Sport.pl* – an online sports news portal of *Gazeta Wyborcza* – one of the most opinion-forming Polish dailies. There are 21 articles from *Przegląd Sportowy* (16 match reports, 3 pre-match analyses and 2 analyses of players' performance) which together amount to 10,611 words (73,539 characters). The corpus covers 22 articles from *Sport.pl* (15 match reports, 3 analyses of players' performance, 2 analyses of teams' performance, 1 pre-match analysis and 1 text on the history of football) which altogether consist of 10,395 words (71,544 characters).

The sub-corpus of Russian press articles includes 20,909 words (144,874 characters) and consists of 41 articles: 33 match reports, 4 analyses of teams' performance, 2 pre-match analyses and 2 analyses of players' performance. The articles come from websites of two Russian newspapers, i.e. *Спорт-экспресс,* a Russian sports daily, and an opinion-forming daily *Российская Газета.* The former newspaper is represented by 13 articles (9 match reports, 2 analyses of players' performance, 2 analyses of teams' performance), which amount to

10,776 words (74,228 characters). There are 28 articles (24 match reports, 2 pre-match analyses, 2 analyses of teams' performance) from *Российская Газета* in the corpus of the analysis (in total 10,133 words / 70,646 characters).

The numbers of articles from the newspapers included in the corpus are not equal, as the main criterion of choice was the word count of the press sub-corpora, which were intended to be comparable with the *Laws of the Game* translations from the quantitative viewpoint. The relatively low number of *Спорт-экспресс* articles stems from the fact that they are generally of a more descriptive character and thus longer than other texts, while articles from the website of *Российская Газета* are rather brief and concise. The Polish sources are much more balanced in this respect.

5.3. Methodology

Firstly, the *Laws of the Game* official translations and the online press articles were downloaded from the Internet. As has been mentioned in the previous section, the most recent edition of this document with both Polish and Russian official translations available in the public domain was that approved for the 2014/2015 season. The press articles were downloaded from the websites *przegladsportowy.pl; sport.pl; sport-express.ru* and *rg.ru* taking into account the criteria of thematic and contextual variety, as well as of quantitative balance with the *Laws of the Game* translations.

The texts comprising the corpus were then thoroughly scanned through by the author of the present study in search of linguistic borrowings of English origin in Polish and Russian. As numerous linguists (e.g. L. Krysin, 2004; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006; V. I. Maksimov, 2010a; M. Zabawa, 2012) claim, it is sometimes difficult to establish if a given structure has been created independently in the language or if it has its origin in another language. The origins and the original meanings (in the case of semantic loans) of probable Anglicisms were checked using Polish and Russian foreign words dictionaries (E. Sobol, 2000 and online resource 6), the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (M. Görlach, 2001) which provides information concerning both languages and the dictionaries of Anglicisms in Polish (E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2010) and Russian (A.I. D'yakov, 2014 [online resource 1]). In the case of Anglicisms in football regulations it was also possible to compare the Polish or Russian phrase with the English original (online resource 7). In some cases, English press texts were found in order to assess if a similar phrase is used in English.

The linguistic structures which proved to be based on an English model were divided using the criteria presented in section 1.3. The corpus included almost exclusively lexical borrowings which were subdivided in accordance with the generally accepted classification offered by E. Haugen (1950) and U. Weinreich (1979) into loanwords, loanblends, loan translations, semantic loans, loan creations and loan renditions.

For the purpose of quantitative analysis, the frequency of the Anglicisms in the sub-corpora was examined using the corpus analysis tool *AntConc 3.4.4.0.* The

numbers of occurrences and tokens (different forms in which a word or phrase could be found in the corpus) of the Anglicisms were compared with those of their Polish and Russian native equivalents.

Apart from Anglicisms strictly connected to football, the corpus also includes numerous Anglicisms from the general language, e.g. *politycznie poprawny ← politically correct, имидж ← image*, as well as ones belonging to the vocabulary of the language general for all (or several) sports, e.g. *asysta ← assist* or *овертайм ← overtime*. As Anglicisms in the language of football were the main focus of this study, the two remaining groups were not discussed in detail. However, in the case of some Anglicisms representing concepts characteristic for various sports, which are also indispensable for football, it was decided to include them in the analysis. It could be argued that some of these concepts are primary for football, as the principles of the most important sports resembling football to a greater or lesser extent were codified later than those of soccer (ice hockey in the 1870s; field hockey in the 1880s, basketball and volleyball in the 1890s; handball in the 1900s; D. Levinson / K. Christensen, 1999).

5.4. Anglicisms in Polish and Russian translations of FIFA *Laws of the Game*

As has been already pointed out, the language of football regulations is characterised by high frequency of legal terms, such as infringement (naruszenie przepisów / нарушение), caution (napomnienie / предупреждение), carelessness (nieostrożność / неосторожность). The Polish translation includes 24 types (745 occurrences and 72 tokens) of football language Anglicisms, while such elements found in the Russian version amount to 21 types (774 occurrences and 78 tokens).

5.4.1. Loanwords found in the sub-corpus

When it comes to loanwords, there are 4 types (35 occurrences and 9 tokens) found in the Polish text and 4 types (120 occurrences and 12 tokens) in the Russian text. Table 1. shows all the loanwords found in the translations of *Laws of the Game 2014/2015*. The Polish and Russian loans are presented with the numbers of their occurrences in parentheses "()" and tokens in square brackets "[]" found in the corpus. In this and subsequent tables the equivalents of a given loan which do not belong to the same class were written *in italics,* borrowings marked with an asterisk did not occur in the sub-corpus, while borrowings of interest were underlined. The Anglicisms were ordered alphabetically according to the English models.

Polish loanword *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian loanword *(Russian equivalent)*
but piłkarski	boot	бутса (1) [1]
piłka nożna (futbol*)	football	футбол (6) [1]

faul (11) [3]	foul	фол*
GLT (14) [3]	GLT	ГЛТ (18) [4]
technologia goal-line (9) [2]	goal-line technology	*технология определения забитого гола*
gol (1) [1]	goal	гол (95) [6]

Table 1. Polish and Russian loanwords found in the sub-corpus

The Russian version contains considerably more loanwords than the Polish one. This stems from the fact that the Russian word *гол,* the most frequent loanword in this text, based on the English word *goal* (scoring a point in the match), is at the same time the Russian official term for scoring in football. Accordingly, it frequently occurs in the text as a noun describing one of the crucial elements of the sport. Its Polish equivalent *gol* is used only once, as the official term for scoring a goal, *bramka*, is in Polish the same as one for the original meaning of the word *goal* in sports context according to the OED (the structure consisting of two posts and a crossbar, into which the ball has to be driven in order to score a point). The term for the structure on pitch has the same meaning in Russian, *ворота*, and in both languages it most probably is a semantic loan from German word *das Tor,* while in all three languages the words originally meant *a gate*. Interestingly, the only occurrence of this loanword in Polish is in a sentence describing the principle of away goals: *[G]dy po dwóch meczach – u siebie i na wyjeździe – wynik jest remisowy, (...) gole strzelone na wyjeździe liczą się podwójnie.* [If the aggregate score is equal after the second match, any goals scored at the ground of the opposing team will count double.]. As the official Polish term used each time this principle is described is a loan rendition *bramka (*plural *bramki) na wyjeździe* it can be supposed that this occurrence of English borrowing in the Polish text stems from a translator's mistake.

The corpus shows an opposite tendency in the case of Polish and Russian reproductions of the English word *foul*. As with the word *goal,* both languages have adapted Anglicisms *faul* and *фол,* however, the Russian word is not an official term and is not used in *Laws of the Game* translation. The Polish loanword is used in parallel with a native phrase *gra niedozwolona* (prohibited play) which occurs more frequently (21 occurrences compared with 11). It is worth mentioning that both expressions are used together twice, e.g. *Aby przewinienie mogło być potraktowane jako gra niedozwolona (faul), muszą być spełnione następujące warunki:(...).* [The following conditions must be met for an offence to be considered a foul: (...)].

Both texts include one acronym borrowed from English *GLT / ГЛТ,* which stands for *goal-line technology*. The corpus shows that Polish has also adopted the phrase in the form of a loanword – *technologia goal-line*. Russian uses only the fully adapted orthographically acronym (it is not used in the Latin script in the Russian text) even if the word *технология* (technology) is used. Alternatively, a descriptive loan rendition *технология определения забитого гола* [a technology of determining a scored goal] is used.

Moreover, the Russian text also includes an example of the morphological adaptation process called double plural. The loanword for English word *(football) boot* (plural *boots*) in Russian has the form *бутса* (plural *бутсы*) where the plural "-s" is retained in the word's singular form.

5.4.2. Calques found in the sub-corpus

In both languages the most numerous group of Anglicisms in football regulations language when it comes to occurrences were loan translations (10 types, 428 occurrences, 26 tokens in Polish and 8 types, 340 occurrences, 26 tokens in Russian). All the examples found in the texts of football regulations of the corpus could be classified as phraseological calques. They are presented in Table 2 in the same manner as the loanwords.

Polish calque *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian calque *(Russian equivalent)*
<u>sędzia asystent</u> (153) [7]	assistant referee	*помощник судьи*
<u>piłka w grze</u> (36) [1]	ball in play	<u>мяч в игре</u> (20) [1]
<u>piłka poza grą</u> (9) [1]	ball out of play	*мяч не в игре*
koło środkowe (5) [2]	centre circle	центральный круг (5) [3]
<u>pole gry</u> (200) [6]	field of play	<u>поле для игры</u> (213) [5]
reprezentacja narodowa A (1) [1]	national "A" team	*основной состав национальной сборной команды*
pole karne	penalty area	штрафная площадь (70) [4]
czerwona kartka (3) [1]	red card	красная карточка (5) [4]
niesportowe zachowanie (16) [4]	unsporting behaviour	неспортивное поведение (20) [4]
zasada „czekaj i patrz" (1) [1]	"wait and see technique"	метод «жди и смотри» (1) [1]
żółtka kartka (4) [2]	yellow card	жёлтая карточка (6) [4]

Table 2. Polish and Russian loanwords found in the sub-corpus

The most frequently occurring calques in the two texts were the Polish and Russian expressions based on English *field of play*, i.e. *pole gry* (200 occurrences; 6 types) and *поле для игры* (213 occurrences; 5 types). The term has been transferred into Polish as a noun phrase using the possessive genitive, which is the most frequent way of translating the *of* phrases into Polish, while Russian calque has been constructed as a prepositional phrase expressing purpose.

The discrepancy in occurrences of Polish and Russian calques stems from the fact that the Polish equivalent of the phrase *assistant referee* is an English-based loan translation *sędzia asystent*, while the Russian phrase *помощник судьи* (referee's helper) is a loan creation. This is a term with high frequency in all three texts, e.g. Polish: *W przypadkach awarii radiowego systemu komunikacji dodatkowi* **sędziowie asystenci** *będą używać* **specjalistycznego sprzętu z systemem dźwiękowym „beep"***, aby przekazywać swoje decyzje.* [English: *In the event of a breakdown of the radio communication system, the additional* **assistant referees** *will use* **an electronic signal beep flagstick** *to indicate their decisions.* and Russian: *В случае поломки радиокоммуникационной системы, дополнительные* **помощники судьи** *используют* **электронный флагшток с бип-сигналом** *для того чтобы показать свое решение.*]. This example was chosen to show several other phenomena observed in the corpus. The Polish and Russian sentences also include a general language loanword *beep / бип* which in Polish is provided with a description characteristic for an occasionalism, while the Russian word was assimilated orthographically by way of transcription and incorporated into a hyphenated noun compound. The Polish translation of the phrase *an electronic signal flagstick* has been considerably remodelled using a hypernym, while the Russian equivalent seems to be an Anglicism, which is erroneous, as the word is a loanword from Dutch *vlagstok → флагшток*.

Both Polish and Russian text contain a calque which is a word-for-word translation for the expression *ball in play*, i.e. *piłka w grze* and *мяч в игре*. However, in both languages the loan translations expressing the opposite meaning (*ball out of play*) are used almost exclusively in the language of regulations, as loanwords *aut* and *аут ← out* are in use within other varieties of Polish and Russian football language. The Polish expression *piłka poza grą* is a word-for-word calque of the English model. However, the Russian phrase *мяч не в игре* is a loan rendition using the negative particle "no". The English model was not reproduced directly, as its literal translation had already been used in Russian football language. The expression *вне игры* (out of play) is the official equivalent of English *offside* and is more widespread in all football language varieties than the loanword *офсайд*. This stems from the fact that both English prepositions *off* and *out* can be translated into Russian as *вне*.

5.4.3. Semantic loans found in the sub-corpus

The Polish translation of *Laws of the Game 2014-2015* also provides two examples of semantic loans of English origin in the Polish football language shown in Table 3.

Polish semantic loan	English term	Russian equivalent
<u>słupek</u> (29) [4]	post (goalpost)	*штанга*
<u>nożyce</u> (1) [1]	scissors kick	*удар «ножницы»*

Table 3. Polish semantic Anglicisms found in the sub-corpus

As has been already underlined, it is sometimes difficult to establish which sport was the origin of a given term shared with other games. Such is the case with the English word *goalpost* (or shorter *post*), as football is not the only game with a goal consisting of two posts and a crossbar. However, on the basis of the data provided by D. Levinson / K. Christensen (1999) it could be stated that the extension of the meaning of Polish word *słupek* (a pillar / a post) with a football context most probably was influenced by the English model. The Russian equivalent represents the same meaning, but its form *штанга* suggests that it is a loanword (or a semantic borrowing) from German *die Stange*. As the language contact of Polish with German was relatively intensive at the time when the Polish football terminology was formed, one cannot also exclude the possibility of German being the intermediary language in the case of the semantic loan *słupek*.

The Polish semantic Anglicisms *nożyce* ← *scissors kick* is an example of copying the metaphor which was probably coined by players or journalists into the language of regulations and to other languages. Its Russian equivalent, *удар «ножницы»*, cannot be classified as a complete calque, as the word *kick* was replaced with the Russian word for *hit* or *blow*. Russian also uses a variant of this expression with the instrumental case *удар «ножницами»*. It is written in quotation marks which indicates the metaphorical character of the expression and suggest its low frequency in Russian. In other contexts in both Polish and Russian alternative native expressions *przewrotka* and *удар через себя в падении* are more frequent.

5.4.4. Loan creations and loan renditions found in the sub-corpus

As English is the primary language where the football terminology was formed, it is the source of the four classic groups of lexical borrowings, i.e. loanwords, calques, hybrids (which are not represented in the sub-corpus) and semantic loans. However, there are also numerous native coinages expressing new concepts, but whose forms are only vaguely related or unrelated to the English model. Such Anglicisms, referred to as loan creations or loan renditions (see Subchapter 1.3., p. <u>20</u>), found in the corpus (8 types, 252 occurrences, 35 tokens in and 9 types, 314 occurrences, 40 tokens in Russian) are listed in Table 4.

Polish loan creation / rendition *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian loan creation /rendition *(Russian equivalent)*
<u>korzyść</u> (29) [3]	advantage	<u>принцип преимущества</u> (9) [2]
rzut wolny bezpośredni	direct free kick	<u>штрафной удар</u> (46) [5]
<u>piłka nożna</u> (8) [2]	football	*футбол*
pole bramkowe (43) [5]	goal area	площадь ворот (42) [3]
<u>linia środkowa</u> (9) [3]	halfway line	<u>средняя линия</u> (9) [6]
rzut wolny pośredni	indirect free kick	свободный удар (121) [7]
<u>pole karne</u> (74) [6]	penalty area	*штрафная площадь*
nożyce	scissors kick	<u>удар «ножницы»</u> (1) [1]
<u>strefa techniczna</u> (18) [5]	technical area	<u>техническая зона</u> (15) [5]
<u>wrzut</u> (44) [5]	throw-in	<u>вбрасывание мяча</u> (47) [5]
<u>linia boczna</u> (27) [6]	touch line	<u>боковая линия</u> (24) [6]

Table 4. Polish and Russian loan creations and loan renditions found in the sub-corpus

The most crucial of Polish examples of English-based loan renditions, although not the most commonly occurring in the corpus, is the official name of the sport – *piłka nożna*. This is an incomplete calque from English as the Polish word *noga* (adjective *nożny* → feminine form *nożna* as the noun *piłka* "ball is feminine) means *a leg* and not *a foot*. Apart from this phrase an English-based loanword *futbol* is also used in Polish, although exclusively in contexts more informal than the language of regulations. The Russian language is much less complicated in that matter, as the loanword *футбол* is the only name of the game in that language.

When it comes to the names of the set pieces in football, the Polish and Russian equivalents could be perceived as incomplete calques from English. However, a more in-depth analysis of their structure verifies such a view. The Polish equivalent of *free kick – rzut wolny* (literally "free throw") – instead of a noun referring to kicking the ball uses one for throwing. This suggests that the expression entered the Polish football language as a result of a transterminologisation from the language of basketball or handball. The latter suggestion seems even more probable, as the Polish expression reflects the structure of the German term *der Freiwurf* (also "free throw"). Probably, this calque from German also gave rise to coining the Polish expression *rzut karny* and *rzut rożny*[21] (literally "penal throw" and "corner

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21 In fact, the adjectival phrase is not an official term and does not occur in the Polish text, but is characteristic for other varieties of football language. The official term present in the regulations text is a prepositional phrase *rzut z rogu* ("a throw from the corner").

throw"), which are based on the same compound head. It is hard to assess if the phrases *rzut wolny bezpośredni* and *~ pośredni* (the expressions for *direct* and *indirect free kick*) have been formed on the basis of the English model or also using the intermediation of German.

The Russian compounds for the names of football set pieces are based on the head *удар* (*a blow*), e.g. *corner kick = угловой удар* which seems to directly reflect the German compound *der Eckstoß* (both literally "corner blow"). In the case of the remaining terms, the Russian terminology seems to be more independent from both English and German models[22]. The term using the adjective "free" as a modifier, *свободный удар* is also most probably a calque of the German *der Freistoß*. However, its meaning in Russian was narrowed to *indirect free kick* exclusively, while the *direct free kick* is denoted by a phrase *штрафной удар* which appears to be a semantic shift of the German expression for *penalty kick* (*der Strafstoß;* both literally "penal blow"). The Russian official equivalent for a *penalty kick* is *одиннадцатиметровый удар* ("eleven-meter blow") which probably is a calque of German *der Elfmeter.* However, as the analysis of Russian football press articles proved, an English-based loanword *пенальти* is used interchangeably with it in the other football sub-languages.

The Polish and Russian expressions denoting parts of the football field can be classified as loan rendition Anglicisms, as they reproduce the English compounds more freely that it in the case of loan translations. Most frequently they use different heads, e.g. *strefa techniczna / техническая зона* ("technical zone" instead "~ area") or *pole karne* ("penalty field" instead of *penalty area*; in Russian there is a complete calque), but there are also examples of changing the modifier, e.g. *linia środkowa / средняя линия* ("middle" instead of "halfway" line). Sometimes the English one-word model is rendered as a two-word compound, e.g. *advantage → принцип преимущества* (advantage principle) or *throw-in → вбрасывание мяча* (throwing the ball in), while Polish uses a neosemanticism (*korzyść*) or neologism (*wrzut ← w* "in" + *rzut* "throw").

5.4.5. General remarks on Anglicisms found in the *Laws of the Game* texts

Surprisingly, loanwords were not the most numerous group among lexical borrowings in both *Laws of the Game 2014/2015* translations, while they generally constitute the largest group of Polish and Russian Anglicisms. The most numerous group were loan translations, with 10 types, 428 occurrences, 26 tokens in Polish and 8 types 340 occurrences 26 tokens in Russian. This probably stems from the official style of both Polish and Russian text. As has been stated, the terminological systems of various fields not only tolerate, but also support the creation of multi-word compounds and such is the case with the *Laws of the Game 2014 / 2015* texts.

All the Russian loanwords in regulations texts are completely adapted in terms of orthography, while the original spelling was retained in only one Polish loanword

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22 Consequently, they were classified as loan renditions from English.

(*goal-line*). This stems from the fact that this Anglicism is treated in by Polish as an uninflected modifier and whenever it should be used in an oblique case it occurs with the inflected noun *technologia* (technology). All remaining loanwords in both Polish and Russian translation texts are inflected, which is indicated by the number of tokens (although, it is more visible in the analysis of football press texts). In the case of one Polish and one Russian loanword, the sub-corpus also includes some derivatives. There are two derivatives of Polish *faul* – a verb *faulować* and a participle *faulowany* (one occurrence each) and three of the Russian *футбол*: two nouns *футболист* ("a footballer" – 12 occurrences; 8 tokens) and *футболка* ("a T-shirt" – 6 occurrences; 5 tokens), as well as an adjective *футбольный* (5 occurrences; 2 tokens).

5.5. Anglicisms in press articles related to football

The second part of the analysis was devoted to examining Anglicisms in Polish and Russian online press articles related to football. The press sub-corpus includes 32 types (333 occurrences and 87 tokens) of Polish football language Anglicisms, while such elements found in the Russian parallel texts amount to 41 types (398 occurrences and 114 tokens).

5.5.1. Loanwords found in the sub-corpus

When it comes to football Anglicisms, there are 11 types (148 occurrences, 32 tokens) of loanwords in Polish online press texts of the corpus and 20 types (221 occurrences, 53 tokens) in Russian articles. This most numerous group of Anglicisms found in the press sub-corpus is presented in Table 5.

Polish loanword (*Polish equivalent*)	English term	Russian loanword (*Russian equivalent*)
but piłkarski	(football) boot	бутса (2) [2]
<u>centra</u> (1) [1]	centre	*навес* / <u>кросс</u> (1) [1]
środkowy napastnik	centre forward	центрфорвард (2) [2]
<u>Champions League</u> (3) [2]	Champions League	*Лига чемпионов*
korner* *(rzut rożny)*	corner	корнер (1) [1]
cross* *(dośrodkowanie)*	cross	<u>кросс</u> (1) [1]
faul (5) [5]	foul	фол (6) [5]
<u>futbol</u> (12) [4]	football	<u>футбол</u> (43) [5]
napastnik	forward	<u>форвард</u> (21) [7]
<u>gol</u> (116) [10]	goal	<u>гол</u> (99) [9]

<u>golkiper</u> (3) [3]	goalkeeper	<u>голкипер</u> (9) [4]
pomocnik	half-back	<u>хавбек</u> (3) [2]
<u>hat trick</u> (1) [1]	hat trick	хет-трик / хэт-трик*
cofnięty napastnik	inside	<u>инсайд</u> (1) [1]
sędzia liniowy	linesman	<u>лайнсмен</u> (1) [1]
ofsajd*	offside	<u>офсайд</u> (4) [1]
rzut karny	penalty (kick)	<u>пенальти</u> (21) [5]
playmaker*	playmaker	<u>плеймейкер</u> (1) [1]
<u>pressing</u> (3) [2]	pressing	прессинг*
sędzia	referee	<u>рефери</u> (2) [2]
obrona (bramkarska)	save	сейв (1) [1]
transfer (3) [3]	transfer	<u>трансфер</u> (2) [2]
<u>walkower</u> (1) [1]	walkover	*техническое поражение*

Table 5. Polish and Russian loanwords found in the sub-corpus

In order to show the scale of the Anglicisation of the football lexis, the loanwords were collated with their native (or non-English) equivalents. Such a comparison was not performed in the case of regulations texts, as most usually Laws of the Game provided exclusively one official term. The most numerous Anglicism in Polish texts was the word gol (116 occurrences, 10 tokens), while its synonym *bramka* occurred 119 times in the corpus (tokens – 12). The frequency seems comparable, but, as has been stated in the previous section, the word *bramka* is used in two meanings (as a synonym of gol 57 times). The second synonym *trafienie* (a hit) which refers to the military area, is used less frequently (18 occurrences, 5 tokens). The synonym of the Russian Anglicism гол (99 occurrences, 9 types), the word *мяч*, also has a double meaning (primarily "a ball" and secondarily "scoring a goal"). It occurs 45 times in the synonymous sense (8 tokens). Another example of predominance of English-based loanword is the Russian word *пенальти* (21 occurrences, 5 tokens; while its synonym *одиннадцатиметровый удар*, also spelled *11-метровый удар*, has 3 occurrences and 2 tokens). The higher frequency of Anglicisms over native equivalents in these cases stems most probably from their shorter graphic form.

Two Russian loanwords for English forward and offside seem to be used as synonyms of equal status with native equivalents: *форвард* (21 occurrences, 7 tokens) – *нападающий* (14 occurrences, 5 tokens); *офсайд* (4 occurrences, 1 token) – *вне игры* (3 occurrences, 2 tokens).

When it comes to other Anglicisms in both Polish and Russian, they are used less frequently than their native equivalents, e.g. *golkiper* (3 occurrences, 3 tokens)

vs. *bramkarz* (30 occurrences, 5 tokens) and *голкипер* (9 occurrences, 4 tokens) vs. *вратарь* (20 occurrences, 5 tokens); *centra* (once) vs. *dośrodkowanie* (4 occurrences, 4 tokens), *wrzutka* (colloquial, 2 occurrences, 2 tokens) and *кросс* (once) vs. *навес* (7 occurrences, 5 tokens); *рефери* (2 occurrences, 2 tokens) vs. *судья* (16 occurrences, 5 tokens). In the last example the discrepancy in occurrences stems probably from the fact that the Anglicism is used exclusively in the language of football, while its equivalent is an LGP word.

The word *хавбек* (3 occurrences, 2 tokens) is also less frequent than its synonym, *полузащитник* (literally "half defender", 15 occurrences, 2 tokens). Interestingly, the native equivalent seems to be a loan rendition of the English model where the first element of the compound was translated literally and a native synonym (*защитник*, "defender") replaced the word *бек* (back), which exists in Russian football language but is not frequent.

In the case of some Russian loanwords there are no Polish equivalents reproducing the English model. Instead, the native formations were coined (loan creation), e.g. midfielder → *pomocnik* ("helper"), inside → *cofnięty napastnik* ("an attacker moved back"), or a hypernym is used, e.g. referee → *sędzia* ("judge"). There is also one example of a reversed situation, Polish *walkower* (walkover) compared to Russian *техническое поражение* ("technical defeat").

Numerous Anglicisms in Polish football language have remained orthographically unassimilated, although they had been assigned a full declension pattern, e.g. *hat-trick, hat-tricka, hat-trickowi, hat-trickiem, hat-tricku*, plural *hat-tricki, hat-trick*ów, hat-trickom, hat-trickami, hat-trickach*. This Anglicism is also assimilated in Russian, but it is not present in the corpus. It is assimilated in terms of spelling, although two alternative spellings are in use *хет-трик / хэт-трик*. Interestingly, in Russian there is also an expression for scoring four goals in one match, *покер* (poker), which is occasionally used in English as well. However, this word is used as an equivalent of English term double brace most frequently with reference to Primera División. The word poker is often used in this meaning in Spanish and most probably is a semantic loan from that language in both English and Russian.

Another such loanword is the Polish Anglicism *pressing* (3 occurrences, 2 tokens). Its original spelling is reflected by the word's initial pronunciation in Polish (with double /s/, E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2010: 164), although nowadays the pronunciation with one /s/ seems to prevail. The word *прессинг*, which is present in Russian football language, is represented in the corpus of the present analysis in the form of derivative: *прессинг → прессинговать → прессингуя* ("while applying pressing", 2 occurrences), which is an imperfective transgressive participle (Russian *несовершенное деепричастие*). Such derivatives are also present in Polish but are not represented in the texts.

This is not the only Anglicism in the analysed press articles which forms various derivatives. In both languages the words *futbol / футбол* display the most considerable word-formation activity. Apart from *futbolówka* and *футболка* (2 occurrences 2 tokens), which have been already described in subsection 2.3.2.3.,

there are also words for "footballer" – *футболист* (18 occurrences 8 tokens) / *futbolista* (no occurrence), adjectives *futbolowy* (1 occurrence) and *футбольный* (4 occurrences 3 tokens) and an adverb *футбольно* (used in Russian texts once in the comparative *футбольнее*). Other derivatives include adjectives *голевой* (9 occurrences, 8 tokens), *трансферный* / transferowy for goal and transfer, as well as verbs *faulować* / *фолить* (each occurred once) for "foul". These coinages prove the complete morphological assimilation of these Anglicisms. The corpus includes an example showing the extent of derivational processes with Anglicisms. A Russian adjective *голеодорский* is based on the word *голеодор* (a forward scoring many goals), which in its turn is most probably based on the words *гол* "goal" and *тореадор* "toreador", e.g. *Федор Смолов стал штамповать свои* ***голеодорские*** *подвиги на любой вкус.* [Fedor Smolov started to adapt his goal scoring feats to any taste].

5.5.2. Calques found in the sub-corpus

The press sub-corpus includes 8 types of loan translations in Polish (102 occurrences, 20 tokens) and 10 types in Russian (94 occurrences, 26 tokens), which are shown in Table 6.

Polish calque *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian calque *(Russian equivalent)*
w długi róg (bramki)	at the far corner	<u>в дальний угол</u> (3) [2]
w krótki róg (bramki)	at the near corner	<u>в ближний угол</u> (2) [1]
<u>na dalszy słupek</u> (2) [1]	at the far post	на дальнюю штангу*
<u>liga mistrzów</u> / LM (45) [5]	Champions League	<u>лига чемпионов</u> (42) [6]
liga Europy (20) [3]	Europa League	лига Европы (16) [4]
fałszywa dziewiątka (1) [1]	false 9	ложная девятка*
mixed zone	mixed zone	<u>смешанная зона</u> (3) [2]
sam na sam (jeden na jeden*)	one on one	<u>один на один</u> (5) [1]
otworzyć wynik*	open the scoring	открыть счёт (6) [3]
czerwona kartka (3) [2]	red card	красная карточка (2) [2]
Puchar UEFA*	UEFA Cup	Кубок УЕФА (3) [2]
skrzydłowy (10) [4]	winger	*вингер*
Puchar Świata (2) [1]	World Cup	Кубок мира*
<u>żółtka kartka</u> (19) [3]	yellow card	<u>жёлтая карточка</u> (12) [3]

Table 6. Polish and Russian calques found in the sub-corpus

The most common calques in both Polish and Russian are the expressions denoting the Champions League, *liga mistrzów* (45 occurrences, 5 tokens) and *лига чемпионов* (42 occurrences, 6 tokens). The corpus indicates that the Polish phrase is well adapted into the system of that language, as it is sometimes clipped to the acronym LM (7 occurrences, 2 tokens)[23]. Interestingly, the Russian loan translation contains an earlier loanword based on English word *champion → чемпион*. This word was not analysed in detail, as it belongs to the general sport vocabulary.

According to the OED, the phrases *yellow card* and *red card* are undoubtedly concepts primary to football. Both of them were calqued into Polish as *żółta kartka* and *czerwona kartka*, as well as into Russian as *жёлтая карточка* and *красная карточка*. Russian texts also include an alternative native term for yellow card, *горчичник* (3 occurrences, 2 tokens), a colloquial metaphorical periphrasis based on the resemblance of the yellow card to a mustard poultice.

The next example shows the dynamic character of the football language. The corpus includes three occurrences of the Russian loan translation *смешанная зона*, which is a reproduction of English *mixed zone*. Moreover, there is also one instance of Russian hybrid (loan blend) *микст-зона* which has been formed using the English morpheme and the Russian word for *zone*. The corpus shows that they are equal synonyms in Russian, as they are used interchangeably within one paragraph. The Polish loanword *mixed zone* is not present in any of the articles of the corpus. This phrase is not frequent in Polish texts. This is indicated by the fact that it is often accompanied by the native word *strefa* (zone). Thus, the English-based expression is treated as an uninflected modifier, which is frequent in the case of unassimilated borrowings occurring with low frequency. A rendition *strefa wywiadów* (interview zone) seems more commonly used in Polish football language, although none of the two expressions has been noted in any Polish dictionary.

There are four English expressions determining the direction of a pass (cross), shot or save in relation to the goal and the attacking team which are reproduced in a form of a phraseological calque in either Polish or Russian. Russian has loan-translated English phrases *at the near corner / at the far corner*, e.g. *Артур Юсупов поставил точку в этой встрече, пробив Акинфеева **в ближний угол**.* [Artur Yusupov sealed the victory in this meeting by shooting at the near corner past Akinfeev.]; *Джеко удивил ударом с носка **в дальний угол**, когда все ждали передачи.* [Džeko surprised with a toe poke at the far corner, when everybody was expecting a pass.] The third sentence shows that these phrases are used not only in relation to shooting: *Итог – 1:0, датский голкипер пропустил **в ближний**.* [Result – 1-0, the Danish goalkeeper let the ball in through the near (corner)]. When referring to the corners of the goal, Polish uses renditions *krótki róg* and *długi róg* ["short" and "long corner"]. Polish football language calqued English phrases "at the far / near post" *na bliższy / dalszy słupek*, e.g. *Na 2:0 podwyższył Guilherme,*

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23 Moreover, in Polish the phrase is used in its original form, Champions League (3 occurrences, 2 tokens).

Brazylijczyk uderzył na dalszy słupek. [Guilherme scored for 2-0, the Brazilian shot at the far post].

Another word-for-word calque is Russian, *один на один,* based on English phrase *one on one*, e.g. *Гризман убежал **один на один** с Нойером, и нисколько не закомплексовал, что перед ним лучший вратарь мира, спокойно отправив мяч в сетку – 1:1.* [Griezman ran for a one on one with Neuer and, not showing any inhibition due to the fact that the best goalkeeper of the world was in front of him, he calmly placed the ball in the net – 1:1.]. The Polish calque for this expression (*jeden na jeden*) also exists, however it is not present in the corpus. It has a comparable frequency with a native loan rendition *sam na sam* (alone together)

5.5.3. Semantic loans found in the sub-corpus

Semantic Anglicisms in the analysed press articles amount to 6 types (34 occurrences, 16 tokens) in Polish and 4 types (19 occurrences, 12 tokens) in Russian.

Polish semantic loan (*Polish equivalent*)	English term	Russian semantic loan (*Russian equivalent*)
<u>derby</u> (3) [3]	derby	<u>дерби</u> (11) [4]
menedżer (1) [1]	manager	*менеджер*
<u>outsider</u> (1) [1]	outsider	<u>аутсайдер</u> (3) [3]
słupek (8) [3]	post	*штанга*
<u>sparring</u> (19) [6]	sparring	<u>спарринг</u> (2) [2]
<u>stoper</u> (2) [2]	stopper	*стоппер*
mur*	wall	<u>стенка</u> (3) [3]

Table 7. Polish and Russian semantic loans found in the sub-corpus

When it comes to semantic loans, several of them are based on a form borrowed earlier from English. Consequently, only the new meaning related to football was transferred to Polish and Russian. Moreover, three of the semantic Anglicisms found in the corpus have been "borrowed" by the language of football from other sports (most probably within English as all the sports in mind were popularised in their modern form by Great Britain in the 19th century), the nouns *derby* and *outsider* from horse racing and *sparring* from boxing.

As has been already mentioned in Subchapter 4.3., the football meaning of the Anglicism *derby / дерби* (a match between teams from the same city or region) has prevailed over the original sense in both Polish and Russian. In Russian this word *дерби* (11 occurrences, 4 tokens) is uninflected (due to its untypical form like *киви* or *бикини*). However, as a result of the fact that the form of Polish *derby*

(3 occurrences, 3 tokens) is similar to the plural forms of numerous native nouns, e.g. *dęby, choroby*, it is nowadays not treated as an uninflected word. The noun is used in Polish as a plurale tantum and inflected *derby, derbów, derbom, derbami, derbach*. Interestingly, this word used to be perceived as uninflected singular neuter noun, e.g. in 1987 B. Walczak (1987: 52) claimed that the use of this word as plurale tantum is erroneous and violates the language norm. The fact that the neuter adjectival form which had been used in accordance with the old norm is identical to the plural adjectival form, e.g. *warszawskie derby, warszawskie lotnisko* (neuter singular), *warszawskie lotniska* (neuter plural) resulted in using the word also in the plurale tantum form.

Another example of transterminologisation from the language of horse racing is the noun *outsider* → Polish *outsider* (1 occurrence) and Russian *аутсайдер* (3 occurrences, 3 tokens). According to L. Zieliński (2002: 270) this word initially used to mean a horse running on the outer track where the surface was uneven, which made the horse unlikely to win. The last part of this meaning was then also transferred to other sports including football, where it is now frequently used.

The extension of the English *sparring* has broadened the meaning of Anglicisms *sparring* (19 occurrences, 6 tokens) and *спарринг* (2 occurrences, 2 tokens) in Polish and Russian. The corpus indicates that this meaning is quite frequently used in Polish, which confirms the remarks of L. A. Komleva (2008, p. 89).

Although it is a loanword in Russian, the Polish equivalent of the English word *stopper, stoper,* is a semantic loan. This stems from the fact that the graphic and phonological form were present when the new meaning entered Polish. The original meaning of the word, which is nowadays a homophone of the semantic football language Anglicism, is "stopwatch" (phonetically transformed German *die Stoppuhr* → *stoper*).

Another pair of semantic Anglicisms whose form is based on the non-English form are the words *mur* (not present in corpus) and *стенка* (3 occurrences, 3 tokens) which represent the meaning of the word *wall* as *a line of defence players who defend their team's goal during a free kick*. The Oxford English Dictionary marks this definition with a label *Association Football*. Consequently, it was classified as an Anglicism in the present study. However, words for *wall* are also used in this meaning in other languages crucial for forming the international sports terminology, e.g. in German where the noun *die Mauer* is also used in the context of handball and one cannot exclude the possibility it is the donor language for this semantic loan in Polish and/or Russian.

5.5.4. Loanblends found in the sub-corpus

The corpus includes three examples of English-based loanblends in Russian football language (29 occurrences, 7 tokens). They are presented in Table 8.

Polish loanblend *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian loanblend *(Russian equivalent)*
mixed zone	mixed zone	микст-зона (1) [1]
gol samobójczy	own goal	<u>авто-гол</u> (1) [1]
–	≈ Premier League	<u>Премьер-Лига</u> (27) [5]

Table 8. Polish and Russian loanblends found in the sub-corpus

The Russian noun *авто-гол* represents the English compound *own goal* in a form of a hybrid, while it consists of the English morpheme goal (*гол*) which is modified by the Greek morpheme *autós* which in Russian is expressed by the morpheme *авто-* which replaced the original "own". It occurs once in the Russian texts of the corpus: *В ответном полуфинальном матче Лиги чемпионов мадридский "Реал" переиграл "Манчестер Сити" со счетом 1:0 благодаря **автоголу** Фернандо.* [In a second-leg Champions League match Real Madrid beat Manchester City 1-0 thanks to an own goal by Fernando.].

Interestingly, the name of the top Russian football league, *Премьер-Лига* (full name *Российская Футбольная Премьер-Лига* or *РФПЛ*), is a loan blend based on two foreign morphemes: *премьер* ← French *premier* (first) + *лига* ← Latin *liga* (league). Moreover, most probably this expression was based on the name of the top football club league in England – the Premier League. That is why this expression (occurring 27 times in the corpus, 5 tokens) was classified as an Anglicism in the present analysis.

5.5.5. Loan creations and loan renditions found in the sub-corpus

In some cases, the concept from the semantic field of football was transferred from English into Polish or Russian, however its representation does not correspond formally with the model. The analysis established the presence of 8 types (49 occurrences, 19 tokens) of such lexical Anglicisms in Polish football press articles and 5 types (35 occurrences, 16 tokens) in the Russian texts. They are shown in Table 9.

Polish loan creation / rendition *(Polish equivalent)*	English term	Russian loan creation / rendition *(Russian equivalent)*
<u>gol na wyjeździe</u> (7) [4] <u>gol wyjazdowy</u> (4) [2]	away goal	<u>гол в гостях</u> (1) [1]
środkowy napastnik (1) [1]	centre forward	*центрфорвард*
<u>wyrównać</u> (4) [1]	equalise	<u>сравнять счёт</u> (8) [4]
piłka nożna (10) [2]	football	*футбол*
<u>mecz towarzyski</u> (17) [4]	friendly match	<u>товарищеский матч</u> (20) [6]

sam na sam (2) [1]	one on one	*один на один*
<u>stały fragment gry</u> (4) [4]	set piece	<u>стандартное положение</u> (5) [4]
strefa techniczna*	technical area	техническая зона (1) [1]

Table 9. Polish and Russian loan creations and loan renditions found in the sub-corpus

In many cases, e.g. *own goal, friendly match*, it is hard to ascertain if a given concept was primarily created in English or in other languages. Accordingly, only structures resembling English models to a greater or lesser extent were chosen.

The English verb *to equalise* is rendered by means of a Polish neosemanticism *wyrównać* (to even out) and a Russian idiomatic expression *сравнять счёт* (to even the score). The Russian rendition needs an object and is used as fixed phrase with the Russian noun for *a score*, while both the English model and the Polish rendition need no object.

Both Polish and Russian created an incomplete calque in order to express the concept of *friendly match*. In both the modifier was changed from "friendly" into "sociable": Polish *mecz towarzyski* (17 occurrences, 4 tokens) *товарищеский матч* (20 occurrences, 6 tokens).

When it comes to the English compound *set piece* Polish reproduces it using synonyms for both head and modifier – *stały fragment* (literally "permanent fragment" 4 occurrences, 4 tokens). In Russian the idea of fixedness was conveyed by an adjective "standard" (*стандартный*), while the head was replaced with a noun meaning "position" or "situation" (*положение*) – *стандартное положение* (5 occurrences, 4 tokens). The corpus also includes the clipped and more colloquial variety of this phrase *стандарт* (standard), which to express its informal character is sometimes written in quotation marks.

Interestingly, the English phrase *away goal* (which is rendered by Russian *гол в гостях* "a goal on a visit as a guest") is represented in Polish by two synonymous phrases *gol na wyjeździe* ("a goal on a visit", 7 occurrences, 4 tokens) and *gol wyjazdowy* ("a visit goal", 4 occurrences, 2 tokens).

As is the case with the loanwords *futbol / футбол* the Polish loan rendition (incomplete calque) *piłka nożna* has coined derivatives, e.g. an adjective *piłkarski* or the generic name for a player *piłkarz* using productive word-formation patterns.

Furthermore, Polish and Russian press articles also included some instances of proper names, which could be classified as Anglicisms, because they reproduce the English original. These are the nicknames of several English clubs which were either transferred in their original form (only into Polish) or literally translated giving rise to structures resembling calques or semantic loans (in both languages). However, due to the uncertain status of proper names as linguistic borrowings they were treated as a separate group and presented in Table 10. If the equivalent is not present in the corpus it is marked *in italics*.

Polish equivalents	Official Team Name (Nickname)	Russian equivalents
The Blues	Chelsea London FC	Синие
Lisy	Leicester City (The Foxes)	Лисы
The Reds[24]	Liverpool FC	Красные
The Citizens / City[25]	Manchester City	Горожане / Сити
Czerwone Diabły /"ManU" / United	Manchester United (The Red Devils, MU, ManUtd, ManU)	Красные Дьяволы / МЮ
Sroki	Newcastle United (The Magpies)	*Сороки*
$\neq$ *Koguty*[26]	Tottenham Hotspur (The Spurs)	Шпоры
Synowie Albionu	the English national team (The Three Lions / The Sons of Albion)	*Три Льва* / Львы
The Special One	coach Jose Mourinho	*no equivalent in the corpus*
Teatr Marzeń	the Theatre of Dreams	Театр Мечты

Table 10. Football nicknames reproduced directly or as calques into Polish and Russian

5.6. Cross-category comparison

The analysis confirmed that there is a considerable difference in the distribution of Anglicisms in the two variations of the football languages of Polish and Russian. However, due to the semi-statistical approach used, it was observed that each type of text is superior in terms of a different indicator over the other. While the press texts include approx. 1.5-2 times more types of Anglicisms than the other variation (32 and 41 vs. 24 and 21), in the texts of regulations the usage of the English-based

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24 The Polish adjective plural form *czerwoni* is not used, as this is a colloquial expression for communists.

25 The clipped form was used by one of the Polish authors to make a pun *syty Manchester City*. It is based on the phonetic resemblance of the English word and a Polish adjective for "replete" *syty* /sɨtɨ/ in order to refer to the languid performance of the team in the Champions League semi-final with Real Madrid.

26 The Polish nickname refers to the club's emblem (which features a rooster standing on a occer ball) and not the official name as do the English and Russian ones.

borrowings is higher by similar ratio (745 and 774 vs. 333 and 398). This tendency is even more visible when the word count of Anglicisms in a type of text is compared with the word count of the whole sub-corpus.

As several of the Anglicisms found in the corpus comprised more than one word (there were two- and three-word expressions, e.g. *czerwona kartka* or *мяч в игре*), the Anglicisms word count in the sub corpora is as follows: Polish version of *Rules of the Game* 1238, the Russian translation 1348, in Polish press articles 486 and 538 in the Russian ones. Consequently, the percentages of Anglicisms in the sub-corpora are 5.91 percent, 6.69 percent, 2.31 percent and 2.57 percent respectively. It is worth pointing out that these data consider only the football language Anglicisms. It can be assumed that the percentages are somewhat (approx. 1 percentage point) higher for the overall number of English-based elements in the corpus. For instance, when it comes to the equivalents of the English word *match → mecz* and *матч* in both types of texts as well as in both Polish and Russian they belong to the most frequently used words. In fact, these are the most frequent content words in Polish and Russian press articles included in the corpus when taking all the tokens of each inflected word into account (*mecz* – 8th place on the word frequency list with 225 occurrences and 7 tokens; *матч* – 7th place in the word frequency list with 167 occurrences and 10 tokens).

The two juxtapositions indicate that the football press articles are characterised by a greater variety of the Anglicisms used, whereas the football regulations seem to be more pervaded with the elements of English origin. The former tendency stems from the fact that journalists want to enrich their language looking for synonyms of frequently used words (see section 4.3.3. p. 92). The latter results from the fact that many of the Anglicisms discovered in the *Laws of the Game* translations are words crucial for the football terminological systems and consequently used in the texts with high frequency.

Furthermore, the two types of football texts also differ with regard to the classic groups of lexical borrowings distinguished by most linguists. Figures 2-5 show the Anglicisms found in the sub-corpora of the analysis divided into loanwords, calques, semantic loans, hybrids and loan creations. The number of occurrences of each group is presented in parentheses "()", the number of tokens in square brackets "[]" and the number of types in curly brackets "{}".
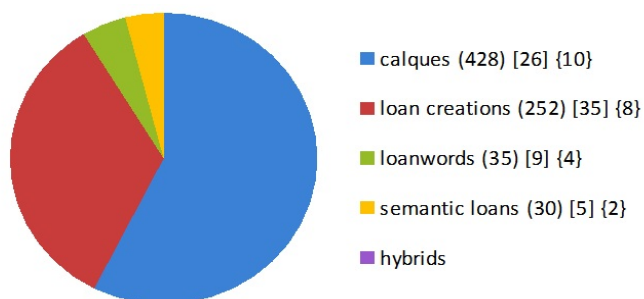
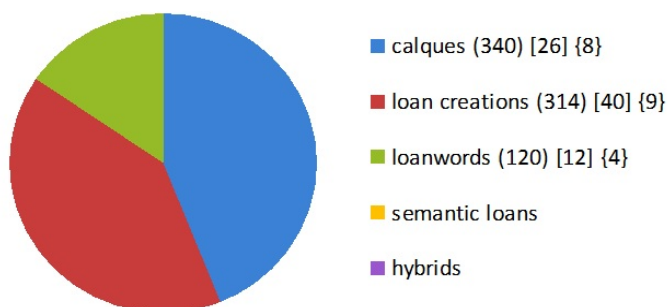*Figure 2. Anglicisms in Polish translation of Laws of the Game (745) [75] {24} by group*

calques (428) [26] {10}

loan creations (252) [35] {8}

loanwords (35) [9] {4}

semantic loans (30) [5] {2}

hybrids

Figure 3. Anglicisms in Russian translation of Laws of the Game (774) [78] {21} by group

calques (340) [26] {8}

loan creations (314) [40] {9}

loanwords (120) [12] {4}

semantic loans

hybrids
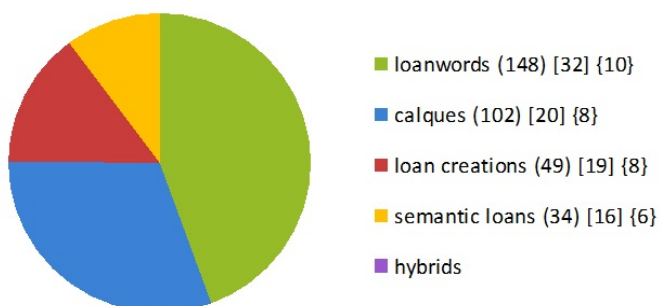
Figure 4. Anglicisms in Polish online football press articles (333) [87] {32} by group

loanwords (148) [32] {10}

calques (102) [20] {8}

loan creations (49) [19] {8}

semantic loans (34) [16] {6}

hybrids
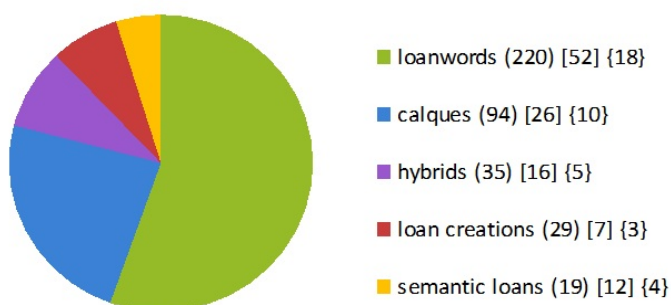
Figure 5. Anglicisms in Russian online football press Articles (398) [114] {41} by group

loanwords (220) [52] {18}

calques (94) [26] {10}

hybrids (35) [16] {5}

loan creations (29) [7] {3}

semantic loans (19) [12] {4}

120

The figures transparently depict the main difference between football press articles and football regulations, i.e. the most numerous group of Anglicisms. In *Laws of the Game* translations the first place is occupied by calques, while loanwords dominate in the online press articles. As has been already remarked, due to the fact that the former type uses almost exclusively the official football terminology of the languages, where forming multi-word terms is promoted, which in its turn favours creating English-based calques. In the latter sub-language calques form the second largest group after loanwords, as due to the less official character of these texts the use of synonyms expressing one concept is not only tolerable, but also desirable.

The other important difference visible from the figures is the number of loan renditions and creations in the football text types. They play a crucial role in the analysed regulations texts (forming the second largest group in both Polish and Russian Anglicisms analysed), whereas they are not that important in the press articles. However, it is worth adding that in Polish they are more numerous than in Russian in this sub-language.

Moreover, not all groups of lexical Anglicisms are represented in each sub-corpus. Only the set of Russian press articles includes all six classic types, while there are no semantic loans or hybrids in the Russian regulations sub-corpus.

Finally, the numbers of tokens[27] of the Anglicisms in both languages, as well as in both registers indicate that these elements have been completely adapted into the inflectional systems of Polish and Russian, and even if they are uninflected, they are used not exclusively in the nominative.

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27 This number reflects the number of inflectional forms of case (in nouns and adjectives), number (nouns, adjectives, verbs), gender (adjectives, verbs) or person (verbs). The particular forms were not discussed in detail in the present analysis.

Conclusions

It is worth mentioning that, due to the fact that the corpus of the study is narrowed to particular sources from a particular period of time, the analysis shows only a fragment of the phenomenon as a whole. There are numerous Anglicisms which are present in the football languages of Polish and Russian, but are not represented in the corpus, e.g. the Polish semantic borrowing *skaut ← scout* denoting a member of the team's staff seeking for talented young players (apart from the meaning "a boy scout" already present in Polish) or the Russian loanwords *хет-трик ← hat trick, вингер ← winger*. Accordingly, the analysis was aimed at describing the most general trends related to football-language Anglicisms in Polish and Russian.

The present study confirms the belief of numerous linguists (e.g. K. Luciński, 2000; M. Podhajecka, 2002; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2006) that Russian includes more Anglicisms than Polish. Several concepts which are expressed by football Anglicisms in Russian are denoted in Polish either by means of loanwords from other languages (most frequently German), e.g. *rzut rożny* vs. *угловой удар*, or independent native creations which could not be classified as Anglicisms, e.g. *хавбек* vs. *pomocnik, рефери* vs. *sędzia, сейв* vs. *obrona bramkarska*. Moreover, a higher number of occurrences of English-based elements in Russian could also be explained with the fact that several Russian Anglicisms have no native synonyms and, as a consequence, are used more frequently than their Polish equivalents, e.g. *футбол* vs. *futbol = piłka nożna*.

The analysis shows that a vast majority of football Anglicisms in Polish and Russian are fully adapted into the orthographical and phonological systems of the languages. In most Polish words of that type and all Russian ones the spelling has been subordinated to the original pronunciation transcribed in accordance with the target language spelling rules, e.g. *goalkeeper → golkiper / голкипер, foul → faul, half-back → хавбек*. Only five of them in Polish, i.e. *Champions League, goal-line, hat trick, playmaker, pressing*, have retained the original spelling.

When it comes to morphological adaptation of the Anglicisms, almost all of the examined borrowings have been assigned a full paradigm, also including some words unassimilated graphically in Polish (cf. the word *hat-trick* discussed on p. <u>111</u>). The only uninflected Anglicisms found in the present analysis are Polish *goal-line, Champions League* (due to low frequency and foreign-like pronunciation) and Russian *дерби, пенальти, рефери* (due to an unusual ending of the graphic form which cannot be ascribed to any declension pattern). A proper morphological adaptation is also confirmed by the existence of numerous derivatives of the football Anglicisms in both languages. Obviously, the native words and the earlier borrowings from other languages forming some Anglicisms in Polish and Russian are also active when it comes to derivatives, e.g. *piłka nożna* (football) → *piłkarz* (footballer), *piłkarski* (football adjective), etc.

The semantic adaptation of the analysed Polish and Russian Anglicisms is in accordance with the earlier remarks of Polish and Russian linguists. The English borrowings are most frequently incorporated with only one of their model's meanings. The only exception occurs when a new sense is added as a result of semantic borrowing, e.g. *derby / дерби, manager / менеджер*.

Despite the fact that language of sport is generally considered to include the largest number of Anglicisms and football is undoubtedly one of sports where the influence of English on terminologies in other languages is the most considerable, the proportion of Anglicisms when it comes to the total size of the corpus is not excessively high (varying approx. 2-7 percent depending on type of texts in the football language and approx. 4-8 percent when including additionally Anglicisms from the LGP found in the corpus). This confirms the belief shared by the majority of both Polish and Russian linguists that Anglicisms pose no danger to the languages analysed. The processes of multi-level adaptation prove that such elements are necessary in both Polish and Russian.

In the case of the press texts analysis the juxtaposition of Anglicisms with their non-English equivalents in the two languages has confirmed that in the majority of cases the English models have not supplanted the words which have emerged in Polish and Russian earlier. They are used either interchangeably or as less frequent equivalents of non-English-based elements.

In the era of globalized football its language all around the world is nowadays influenced not exclusively by English. The period of Spanish dominance in this sport (winning the World Cup in 2010 and UEFA Euro in 2008 and 2012 by the Spanish national team, as well as 7 Champions League triumphs of Spanish clubs in the 21st century) has lead to gaining a status of internationalisms by several Spanish expressions, e.g. *tiki-taka* or *poker* (which was discussed at p. 111). Consequently, a more detailed insight into borrowings from other languages into the football languages of Polish and Russian is an interesting direction of further studies on Anglicisms in these languages.

Although the general tendencies when it comes to Anglicisms in the Polish and Russian language of football were outlined in the present study, some subjects within its scope and related to it deserve an additional insight. It would be worth examining how the idiolect of a particular author influences the number and character of English-based elements occurring in football-language texts produced by them. Moreover, the study concentrated exclusively on the languages of football regulations and football press journalists. To the present author's knowledge, not much research was devoted to Anglicisms in the sub-language of Polish and Russian supporters. Such a study would provide a broadened perspective on the Anglicisms in the football languages of Polish and Russian.

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26.03.2016 | Grali finaliści Euro: Zwycięstwa Rosji oraz Austrii. Remis Węgrów z
Chorwacją http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/sobotnie-mecze-towarzyskie-
druzyn,-ktore-wystapia-w-euro-2016,artykul,658351,1,12341.html Accessed on
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26.03.2016 | Kadra potrzebuje Kuby. 5 rzeczy, które wiemy po meczu z Serbią
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serbia,artykul,657543,1,13297.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.
26.03.2016 | Niemcy wpadają w panikę i zaczynają bać się... Polaków. „Nic nie
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26.03.2016 | Ukraińcy uzależnieni od kolegi Teodorczyka
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jarmolenki,artykul,658809,1,13392.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.
30.03.2016 | Kompania braci to za mało. Portugalia – Belgia 2:1
http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/mecze-towarzyskie-przed-euro-2016-portugalia-2-
1-belgia,artykul,658911,1,12341.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.
31.03.2016 | Euro 2016: Wszyscy w naszej grupie prężą muskuły. U Niemców do
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11.04.2016 | Tak grali kadrowicze: dobrze Zieliński i Fabiański, Lewy i Grosik bez
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11.04.2016,artykul,662709,1,13297.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.
04.05.2016 | Hiszpańska klątwa Bayernu i Guardioli. Gol Lewandowskiego nie
pomógł. Atletico w finale! http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/pilka-

nozna/europuchary,bayern-monachium-odpadl-z-atletico-madryt-gol-roberta-lewandowskiego,artykul,669755,1,832.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

04.05.2016 | Kubeł zimnej wody na rozgrzane głowy Austriaków
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05.05.2016 | Dwa hiszpańskie finały? Kluby z Primera División nie mają sobie równych w Europie http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/pilka-nozna/europuchary,hiszpanska-dominacja-w-europejskich-pucharach,artykul,670145,1,832.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

05.05.2016 | Madryt stolicą piłkarskiej Europy! Zatargi z Lizbony rozstrzygną w Mediolanie http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/pilka-nozna/europuchary,madryt-stolica-pilkarskiej-europy-zatargi-z-lizbony-rozstrzygna-w-mediolanie,artykul,670116,1,832.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

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06.05.2016 | Królowa Ligi Europy nie zawodzi! Sevilla w trzecim z rzędu finale
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08.05.2016 | Atletico wypada z gry! Barcelonie zagrozić może już tylko Real
http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/barcelona-rozgromila-espanyol-i-jest-blizsza-mistrzowskiego-tytulu,artykul,671149,1,13056.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

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08.05.2016 | Kolejne pochwały dla Szczęsnego. Thiago Cionek bliżej utrzymania
http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/pilka-nozna/ligi-zagraniczne,thiago-cionek-blizej-utrzymania,artykul,671115,1,461.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

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08.05.2016 | Rewelacja rozgrywek sprowadzona na ziemię. Legia nie dała szans Piastowi http://www.przegladsportowy.pl/pilka-nozna/ekstraklasa,ekstraklasa-legia-warszawa-piast-gliwice-4-0,artykul,671129,1,381.html Accessed on 08.05.2016.

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http://www.sport.pl/euro2016/1,136510,19836384,niemcy-wlochy-4-1-w-sparingu-przed-euro-2016.html#indeks_news Accessed on 08.05.2016.
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http://www.sport.pl/pilka/1,65041,20018993,liga-mistrzow-dlaczego-bayern-nie-gral-dogrywki-z-atletico.html#indeks_news Accessed on 08.05.2016.
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http://www.sport.pl/pilka/1,65041,20020587,liga-mistrzow-nieznosne-atletico.html#indeks_news Accessed on 08.05.2016.
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06.05.2016 | Liga Europy. Liverpool kolejnym rywalem Sevilli Grzegorza Krychowiaka

http://www.sport.pl/pilka/1,65042,20026807,liga-europy-liverpool-kolejnym-rywalem-sevilli-grzegorza-krychowiaka.html#indeks_news Accessed on 08.05.2016.

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