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## ENGLISH LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE ON STANDARD AND AMERICAN VARIETIES OF POLISH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

**Keywords:** borrowing, loanword, semantic loan, loan translation, American Polish, adaptation

### Abstract

The paper examines the different ways in which English linguistic material is borrowed and adapted by two varieties of Polish, Standard Polish spoken in Poland and American Polish used by the Polish diaspora in the US. The aim of the study is to compare the factors that determine the type and range of loans in both varieties of Polish. The comparison of the ways in which Standard and American Polishes are influenced and shaped by English embraces three main areas: 1) types of loans as products of the borrowing process (such as loanwords, semantic loans, loan translations, syntactic calques, etc.), 2) adaptation of loanwords with reference to phonological, graphic, morphological and semantic adaptation, and 3) semantic fields that are most heavily affected by the borrowing process. The findings of the analysis help to identify the reasons for the discrepancies in the treatment of the English language material in the two varieties of Polish.

### 1. Introduction

The present study has been inspired by the 1988 work of Einar Haugen on language contact, in which the author highlights the different results of two studies on the English linguistic influence on Norwegian (cf. Haugen 1953; Stene 1945). The two works analyse English loans in different varieties of Norwegian, i.e. Norwegian spoken in Norway and American Norwegian, which have been influenced by different varieties of English. The different treatment of English loans in different varieties of

the same language also finds exemplification in Spanish and its American varieties, in which a single English lexeme is adapted in different ways. The English *to park* has been adapted as *aparcar* in Peninsular Spanish and as *parquear* in Colombian Spanish (Rodríguez González 2002: 140). Structural calques from English illustrate the different ways in which English set expressions are loan translated into different varieties of the receiving language, e.g. the expression *rush hours* has been loan translated into *horas punta* in Peninsular Spanish and *horas pico* in American Spanish.<sup>1</sup> The thesis I would like to advance is that the way English lexemes are adopted and then adapted by speakers of other languages depends, among others, on: 1) which variety of English influences their language, 2) which variety of their mother tongue they speak, 3) whether they are immigrants to English-speaking countries, and/or 4) whether the English linguistic material has been adopted directly or indirectly, i.e. through the mediation of some other language(s).

The aim of this study is to prove the above thesis using as an example the influence of English on two varieties of Polish. This will involve comparing and contrasting the way English linguistic material is adopted by Standard Polish (SP), i.e. the Polish used in Poland, and by the Polish used by the Polish diaspora in the United States which has come to be known as American Polish (AmP, *amerykańskopolski*, Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 220) due to its geographical location and the significant impact of American English.<sup>2</sup> The English linguistic influence on both varieties of Polish has been amply discussed and exemplified in monographs, collections of articles and individual papers published in Poland (see bibliography). Major works devoted to English lexical loans of various types in Standard Polish include those by Fisiak (1961), Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1992, 1995, 2006, 2010), Chłopicki, Świątek (2000), Otwinowska-Kasztelaniec (2000), Nettmann-Multanowska (2003), Witalisz (2007), and Zabawa (2012), to mention only the monographs. Studies on the English influence on the varieties of Polish spoken outside Poland have a long history and those that are solely devoted to American Polish include a monograph by Doroszewski (1938) as well as a series of articles and book chapters, e.g. Dubisz (1981, 1976, 1997b), Szlifersztejn (1981), Żak-Pławska (1981), Strybel (1985, 1990), Morawski (1985, 1992, 1997), Miodunka (1990), Sękowska (1994), and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 78–83).

<sup>1</sup> Haensch (1995: 224, quoted in Rodríguez González 1999: 110) explains this discrepancy with a claim that English set expressions have been borrowed by Peninsular Spanish through the mediation of French, due to “the proximity and the intensity of cultural contact between Spain and France,” cf.: Peninsular Spanish *horas punta* < French *heures de pointe* < English *rush hours* and South American Spanish *horas pico* < English *peak hours*.

<sup>2</sup> The present study excludes English loans used by Polish diasporas living in other English-speaking countries such as Australia (for relevant information see Sękowska 1997b, Dębski 2009), Canada (see e.g. Członkowska 1981, Adamiec 1997) or the United Kingdom (see e.g. Otwinowska 1966, Hofman 1967, Dydymski 1970, Stanecka-Tyralska 1977, 1982, Zaremba 1978, Sękowska 1997a). It is interesting to observe that in a work devoted to the language of the most recent, i.e. post-2004 Polish immigration to the British Isles, ‘Ponglish’, understood as a mixture of Polish and English vocabularies, is sourced in bilingualism rather than in the borrowing process (cf. Błasiak 2011).

The earliest English loanwords in the Polish spoken in Poland had already appeared in 1661. The growing number of English loans in Standard Polish, however, has only been evident since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: 180 anglicisms in 1861, 250 in 1927, 2000 in 2010 (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010). These numbers apply only to loanwords, which means that the total number of English lexical loans in Standard Polish is much higher. Nearly 300 semantic loans and 240 loan translations from English are listed in Witalisz (2007) and the most recent studies prove the numbers are higher (Zabawa 2012).<sup>3</sup> Although there are no accounts of the numbers of English loans used by the early immigrants to the US, it seems justifiable to assume that the English linguistic influence on Polish started on American soil as soon as the first Polish immigrants to the United States reached Jamestown in 1608 (Pastusiak 1980: 7–8).<sup>4</sup> This means that English loans in American Polish are chronologically older than those in the Standard variety. Doroszewski (1938) lists 269 English loanwords in American Polish. Sękowska (1994) in her work on the language of Polish diasporas living in English-speaking countries records nearly 3000 English loans, however, this number applies to English borrowings found in four varieties of Polish, namely those spoken in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States and (except for the examples found in the main text) the indexed research material is not marked for any variety.

The research material used for the present analysis comes from lexicographic works, monographs and scholarly articles devoted to the English influence on Standard Polish (Fisiak 1961; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992, 1995, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2010; Witalisz 2007, 2009, 2012, forthcoming; Zabawa 2012) and American Polish (Dubisz 1976, 1981; Żak-Pławska 1981; Dubisz, Sękowska 1990; Strybel 1990; Serwański 1992; Sękowska 1994; Dubisz 1997a), published in Poland in the years 1961–2012, as well as from my private collection of English lexical loans in both varieties of Polish assembled in the years 2000–2012. All the studies on American Polish and the recent works on the English influence on Standard Polish are based on linguistic facts retrieved from real utterances, which means that the instances of loans, which serve as a basis for identifying the general mechanisms of the borrowing and assimilation processes, have been excerpted from authentic texts.

The present study is qualitative rather than quantitative. Providing an exact number of English loans in any variety of Polish would pose difficulties for a number of reasons. The borderline between what is considered a loan and what is just a neologism or a nonce-formation that has appeared as a result of language contact is not clear-cut. The only solution to the problem, proposed in the literature on the subject, advocates regarding as loans only those borrowings which are attested in

<sup>3</sup> My recent research on English loan translations in Polish, the results of which are being prepared for publication, shows that there are over five hundred set expressions that have been loan translated from English. The study excludes professional jargons, which suggests that the overall number of English loan translations in Polish may be much higher.

<sup>4</sup> The Polish emigration to the US continued in waves (1608–1778, 1778–1865 – political emigration, 1865–1920 – economic emigration (Sękowska 1994: 18), after 1945 – political emigration) reaching 8 228 037 immigrants in 1980 (Brożek 1990: 55).

dictionaries. This, however, does not seem satisfactory in view of the fact that there are loans that are well-established and widely used but not listed (yet) in dictionaries, including dictionaries of English loanwords (cf. e.g. Witalisz 2007; Zabawa 2011).

The comparative analysis of the ways in which Standard and American Polishes adopt and adapt English language material embraces three areas: 1) types of loans as products of the borrowing process, 2) adaptation of loanwords with reference to phonological, graphic, morphological and semantic adaptation, and 3) semantic fields that are most heavily affected by the borrowing process. Another area that could be the subject of a comparative study are derivatives formed from English loanwords and loan translations. However, the present article examines only the first three issues, as the formation of derivatives in the receiving language occurs in the post-borrowing phase and is not part of the borrowing process itself (see Fisiak 1986: 258–261; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 62–65 and Sękowska 1994: 88–104 for discussions of the word-formation of English loanwords in Standard and American Polishes, respectively).

For reasons of space, the exemplifications that illustrate each type of loan or adaptation will be limited to just a few examples. The aim of this comparative study is to point to some general tendencies and differences in the treatment of the English language material by speakers of Standard and American Polishes. Rather than discuss each type of loan and adaptation separately, I shall focus on identifying differences in the way English lexemes and syntactic patterns are adopted by the two varieties of Polish, which will be followed by a comparison of the semantic fields that are most affected by the borrowing process.

## 2. Types of English lexical loans in SP and AmP

English lexical loans are the main subject in studies on English-Polish language contact. Taking into account the ways in which English lexical material is incorporated in Polish, all lexical loan categories are well-represented in both varieties of Polish. Using the classic typologies of loans (Betz 1949; Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Duckworth 1977),<sup>5</sup> it may be stated that English lexemes are borrowed by Polish in the form of loanwords, semi-calques and calques.

One-word and compound **loanwords**, both adapted and non-adapted,<sup>6</sup> are the most frequent type of English lexical loans in both varieties of Polish, e.g. SP. *casualny*

<sup>5</sup> These typologies of loans are predominantly used in studies on English-Polish language contact. Loan classifications proposed by Slavic researchers, e.g. Cyran (1974), Damborský (1974), are not used in the present study, as they do not include syntactic loans and the criteria used for the typology of lexical loans lack precision as they refer to a perception of the degree of loan assimilation in the receiving language, which is rather subjective. Also, following the Russian linguistic tradition, structural and semantic calques are not regarded as subtypes of lexical borrowing (cf. Jefremov 1974 in Obara 1989).

<sup>6</sup> The more detailed division into foreign words (G. *Fremdwörter*, P. *wyrazy obce 'cytaty'*) and borrowed words (G. *Lehnwörter*, P. *wyrazy przyswojone*), proposed by some German (Betz 1959: 128) and Polish researchers (Brückner 1974), is not included in this classification since this distinction is not universally accepted and has been the subject of controversy in language-contact studies

(< E. *casual*), SP. *leasing* (< E. *leasing*), SP. *fast food* (< E. *fast food*), SP. *biznesmen/businessman*, AmP. *bysnesista/byznesmen* (< E. *businessman*), AmP. *pocket money/piket many/poketmanej* (< E. *pocket money*), AmP. *kek/kejk/keik* (< E. *cake*), AmP. *blanket* (< E. *blanket*). In both varieties of Polish, English loanwords may be adapted to the system of the receiving language (see section 3). The category of loanwords also includes borrowed **acronyms** such as SP./AmP. *VAT* (< E. *VAT*), SP./AmP. *UFO* (< E. *UFO*) and **typographical signs**, e.g. SP./AmP. *&*, *@* (examples from Żak-Pławska 1981: 72; Strybel 1990: 223; Serwański 1992: 322; Sękowska 1994: 167, 174; Witalisz 2007: 67; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010: 33, 76, 123).

Two other types which may be treated as sub-categories of loanwords, i.e. reduced compound loanwords and redundant compounds, are a frequent object of analysis in studies on American Polish. Both types are very rare in Standard Polish. **Reduced compound loanwords** are English compound words that have been borrowed in an ellipted form. The modified element disappears in American Polish and the modifier takes over the meaning of the whole expression, which frequently involves a change in its grammatical category, e.g. AmP. *income* (< AmE. *income house*), AmP. *living* (< AmE. *living room*), AmP. *shopping* (< AmE. *shopping center*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 224, Strybel 1990: 224). A Standard Polish example of a reduced compound loanword might be the noun *smoking* 'tuxedo', an ellipted form of E. *smoking jacket*.<sup>7</sup> **Redundant compounds** exhibit a hybrid nature, being composed of an English compound word and a Polish lexeme that is semantically equivalent to one of the constituents of the English compound, e.g. AmP. *downtown miasta*, E. lit. 'downtown of town' (< AmE. *downtown*), AmP. *wieprzowy pork chop*, E. lit. 'pork pork chop' (< AmE. *pork chop*), AmP. *knickers spodnie*, E. lit. 'knickerbockers knickers' (< AmE. *knicker-bockers*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 224; Strybel 1990: 224). The Standard Polish *deska snowboardowa*, E. lit. 'snowboard board' (< E. *snowboard*) is an isolated case.

In both Standard and American varieties of Polish we find structural, phraseological and semantic calques from English. One- and multi-word structural calques, i.e. **loan translations**, either violate or follow the English structural pattern, e.g. SP. *jajogłowy* (< E. *egg-headed*), SP. *nowomowa* (< E. *newspeech*), AmP. *uprzyjemniacz* (< E. *entertainer*), AmP. *ogłaszacz* (< E. *announcer*), SP. *Gabinet Cieni* (< E. *Shadow Cabinet*), SP. *gorący ziemniak* (< E. *hot potato*), SP. *poprawność polityczna* (< E. *political correctness*), AmP. *godziny biurowe* (< E. *office hours*); AmP. *pokój do siedzenia* (< E. *sitting room*), AmP. *otwarte powietrze* (< E. *open air*).<sup>8</sup> Less frequent and attested only

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(cf. Winter-Froemel 2008a). Also, the formal (phonetic, graphic and morphological) adaptation of loanwords is a progressive and fluctuating process, shaped by the knowledge of English among Polish native speakers. Moreover, even if an English word is not adapted graphically and morphologically, it would have to be adapted phonetically when used as part of an utterance made in Polish by an average Pole. However, this may not be true for American Poles who are likely to keep the original pronunciation of loanwords unadapted morphologically.

<sup>7</sup> This type of loan is classified in other studies as a pseudo-anglicism (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2002: 226) or loan clipping (Alexieva 2008: 46).

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion and exemplification of the types of structural patterns used in multi-word expressions loan translated from English see Strybel (1990) for AmP. and Witalisz (2012) for SP.

in Standard Polish are **loan renditions**, in which loan translated English expressions differ lexically from their English etymons, e.g. SP. *czarny koń*, E. lit. 'black horse' (< E. *dark horse*), SP. *drugi oddech*, E. lit. 'second breath' (< E. *second wind*). In contrast with Standard Polish, American Polish abounds in redundant loan translations that result from a mechanical imitation of a foreign pattern, as if the receiving language speakers were not aware of the non-compositional meaning of the English etymons, e.g. AmP. *pełna piwnica* (< AmE. *full basement*), AmP. *pokój do odpoczynku* (< AmE. *rest room*), AmP. *otwarte powietrze* (< E. *open air*). **Phraseological replicas** as structural copies and semantic importations of English idiomatic expressions are found in both varieties of Polish, e.g. SP. *mieć motylki w brzuchu* (< E. *to have butterflies in one's stomach*), SP. *mieć trupa w szafie* (< E. *to have a skeleton in the cupboard*), AmP. *co jest złego z tobą?* (< E. *what's wrong with you?*), AmP. *robić swoje najlepsze* (< E. *to do your best*), AmP. *mieć kolację* (< E. *to have dinner*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 225, 231; Strybel 1990: 218, 225; Serwański 1992: 319; Sękowska 1994: 78, 84, 85; Dubisz 1997a: 257; Witalisz 2007: 308, 310, 315).

**Semantic loans** from English are frequent in both Standard and American Polishes. They involve various types of semantic change such as meaning broadening, amelioration or metaphorical extension, e.g. SP. *nomincja* 'submitting a name for candidacy' (< E. *nomination*), SP. *agresywny* 'effective, energetic, creative' (< E. *aggressive*), SP. *mouse* 'computer device' (< E. *mouse*), SP. *sieć* 'network' (< E. *web/network*) or 'chain [of hotels/shops]' (< E. *chain*), AmP. *gorący* 'spicy' (< E. *hot*), AmP. *pensja* 'retirement money' (< E. *pension*), AmE. *pozycja* 'position at work' (< E. *position*). **Multi-word semantic loans** are less frequent in both varieties, e.g. SP. [*dostawa*] *od drzwi do drzwi* (< E. *door to door [delivery]*), AmP. *szkoła wyższa* (< AmE. *high school*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 226, 232, Sękowska 1994: 93, Witalisz 2007: 220, 268, 291).

**Loanblends** (semi-calques) as partial translations of foreign compound words are much more frequent in American Polish than in the Standard variety, e.g. SP. *cyberprzestrzeń* (< E. *cyberspace*), SP. *megaprzebój* (< E. *mega hit*), SP. *pracoholik* (< E. *workaholic*), AmP. *pokój utility* (< AmE. *utility room*); AmP. *główny office* (< AmE. *main office*), AmP. *sklep groseryjny* (< AmE. *grocery store*). Loanblends appear also in the names of American Polish companies, e.g. AmP. *Iwański Moving Center* (< AmE. *X Moving Center*), most of which follow the constituent order typical of the donor language (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 225, Strybel 1990: 222, Serwański 1992: 321, Witalisz 2007: 107).

Hybrid creations and loan creations, although usually not regarded as products of the borrowing process,<sup>9</sup> are discussed in studies on language contacts since their appearance is conditioned by the influence of a foreign language. This is illustrated by **loan creations**, i.e. contact-induced innovations, formally and lexically Polish, which

<sup>9</sup> The status of loan creations has long been a matter of linguistic disagreement. Haugen (1956: 765) expresses doubts whether loan creations [Betz's (1949: 24) *Lehnschöpfung*, Haugen's (1956: 765) "native induced creation," Winter-Froemel's (2008b: 21) "independent innovation by word formation"] should be sub-classified as instances of loans, as they are only "stimulated by foreign models but without any common formal features". An opposing view is presented in e.g. Betz (1949: 24), who includes this type of linguistic innovation in his discussion of linguistic borrowing.

were coined independently from the source language model to render the foreign concept. They are characteristic of both varieties of Polish, e.g. SP. *Wszystko po 2 złote* (AmE. *Dollar Tree* [store]), SP. *zaplecze intelektualne* (E. *think tank*), SP. *wyszukiwarka* (E. *search engine*), AmP. *zamrażacz/zamrażalnia* (E. *freezer*), *ochładzacz pokojowy* (E. *air-conditioner*); AmP. *hamulczarz* (E. *brakesman*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 223, Serwański 1992: 319, Sękowska 1994: 98, see footnote 3). **Hybrid formations** such as SP. *oscypekgate*, SP. *WięśMac* or SP. *Góral Burger* (Witalisz 2007: 106) do not have English etymons and were coined by analogy to English expressions that include combining forms such as *-gate* or *-Mac*. No instances of hybrid creations are quoted in studies on American Polish, however, they have been heard by the author among speakers of American Polish in Chicago in the years 2000–2007. This may suggest that it is, as in the case of Standard Polish, a relatively recent linguistic phenomenon in American Polish. The Polish mass media, which also influence contemporary American English, excel at the use of formations involving English combining forms such as: *-gate*, *euro-*, *super-*, *cyber-*, etc. (cf. Waszakowa 2005). In short, it may be stated that in this case English influences American English through the mediation of Standard Polish.

Generally speaking, both varieties of Polish borrow English lexical material, with this borrowing resulting in the same types of loans. It needs to be emphasised, however, that the same English lexeme may be loan translated in different ways in the two varieties, e.g. SP. *białe kołnierzyki* and AmP. *białokołnierzykowiec* (< E. *white collar* [worker]), SP. *sklep sieciowy* and AmP. *sklep łańcuchowy* (< E. *chain store*), SP. *godziny szczytu* and AmP. *ruchliwe godziny* (< E. *rush hours*), SP. *drapacz chmur* and AmP. *drapacz nieba* (< E. *sky-scraper*).<sup>10</sup> Some English set expressions that are loan translated by Standard Polish are borrowed by American Polish in the form of loanwords, e.g. SP. *strefa zero* and AmP. *Ground Zero* (< AmE. *Ground Zero*), SP. *klasa średnia* and AmP. *middle class* (< E. *middle class*) (examples from Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 225; Strybel 1990: 226; Sękowska 192: 106; Witalisz 2007: 160–163, 305–315). Also, the instances of each type of loan are somewhat different in each of the two varieties of Polish with inessential loans, i.e. those that have their Polish equivalents, being a characteristic feature of American Polish.

### 3. Adaptation of English loanwords in SP and AmP

#### 3.1. Phonological adaptation

The phonological adaptation (integration, assimilation) of loanwords is defined as the adjustment of the pronunciation of an English lexeme to the phonetic system of the receiving language. This integration process is a consequence of the quantitative and

<sup>10</sup> The discrepancies in the way English vocabulary is borrowed by the two varieties of Polish suggest that speakers of the regional dialects of Standard Polish may also adapt English loanwords or loan translate foreign set expressions through the use of different means. A provisional study of the Polish National Corpus reveals more than a hundred records of *gorący kartofel* as a dialectal counterpart of *gorący ziemniak* (< E. *hot potato*) used in the metaphorical, English sense. This encourages further research in this area.

qualitative differences between the phonological systems of the two languages, which may also include differences in the distribution of word stress. In both varieties of Polish, the phonological adaptation of English loanwords involves the substitution of English sounds with Polish phonemes that are closest to the English phonemes (Sękowska 1994: 55; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 48). In cases where the English phoneme does not have its Polish counterpart, e.g. E. /æ/, the loanword may be pronounced in two different ways as in the two phonetic versions of the English *manager*, i.e. SP./AmP. *menager/menadżer* (E. /æ/ > P. /e/) and SP./AmP. *manager/manadżer* (E. /æ/ > P. /a/). Although English loanwords are adapted phonologically in both varieties of Polish, speakers of American Polish are more likely to imitate the original English pronunciation, especially while code-switching, which is facilitated by the continuous exposure to spoken American English.<sup>11</sup> On the whole, the phonological substitutions that occur during the borrowing process (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 50–53; Dubisz 1997a: 244–246) are similar in Standard and American varieties of Polish. A potentially different phonological adaptation of the same English loanword in the two varieties may be determined by the pronunciation differences between the American and British varieties of English, and may result from the significant idiolectal, local, social and generational diversity of American Polish speakers (Dubisz 1997a: 245).

### 3.2. Graphic adaptation

The graphic adaptation of loanwords, if it occurs, is motivated by the discrepancies between the graphic systems of Polish and English, which differ both in the quantity and quality of graphic signs (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 42), and by the fact that Polish orthography largely reflects the pronunciation of a lexeme. The example of the Polish rendering of the English lexeme *manager*, quoted in the previous section, proves that the graphic adaptation of loanwords is an ongoing process (cf. Winter-Froemel 2008a: 162). The spelling of English loanwords is not consistent in either of the two varieties of Polish, e.g. SP./AmP. *dżinsy* and *jeansy* (< E. *jeans*), SP./AmP. *diler* and *dealer* (< E. *dealer*), SP./AmP. *bejsbol* and *baseball* (< E. *baseball*), SP. *biznesmen*, AmP. *biznesman/byznesman* and SP./AmP. *businessman* (< E. *businessman*). The way English loanwords are spelt by Polish speakers is determined by their knowledge of English and also by the level of formality and the addressee of their writing. In studies on language contact, it is assumed that graphic adaptation is one of the markers of the degree of assimilation of loanwords. This view should be reconsidered at a time when the English language competence among Polish speakers has improved considerably. On the whole, if an English lexeme that enters Polish is integrated graphically, the types of graphic substitutions are similar in both varieties and include,

<sup>11</sup> The coexistence of two communities speaking two different languages is also reflected in the way American Poles pronounce Polish words that are similar formally to their English counterparts. Some Poles, while speaking Polish, use American phonetics when pronouncing words such as P. *problem*, or words with the letter 'r' in the final position, e.g. P. *doktor*. This is not the case in Poland, unless for humorous or mocking reasons.



for instance: E. 'a' > P. 'ej' (SP. *interfejs* < E. *interface*, AmP. *bejbik* < E. *baby*), E. 'sh' > P. 'sz' (SP. *szok* < E. *shock*, AmP. *szopować* < E. *to shop*), E. 'č'/'ck' > 'k' (SP. *komputer* < E. *computer*, AmP. *korner* < E. *corner*) (examples from Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 29, 33, 44; Sękowska 1994: 157, 158, 168, 179). Mańczak-Wohlfeld estimates that about two-thirds of English loanwords have been adapted graphically in Standard Polish (1995: 45; 2010: 10). No quantitative accounts are available for American English.

### 3.3. Morphological adaptation

The morphological adaptation of loanwords lies on the borderline between inflection and derivation. However, most studies on the morphological processes that occur during the borrowing process do not make a clear distinction between inflectional and derivational processes. This may be caused by the fact that, for instance, the adaptation of an English verb to the Polish inflectional system requires the addition of one of the two Polish derivational suffixes, *-ować* or *-nąć*, thus it is unclear whether we deal with just adaptation or derivation. Sękowska (1994: 57) suggests that morphological adaptation (rather than derivation) occurs when the addition of a Polish affix to a foreign base or the substitution of a foreign affix with a native one does not involve a change in the grammatical category or the meaning of the loanword. An English loanword may also lose an affix in the course of the borrowing process. The three morphological adaptations may be illustrated by SP. *kliknąć* (< E. *to klik*), AmP. *szopować* (< E. *to shop*), AmP. *kompetycja* (< E. *competition*), SP. *pikle* (< E. *pickles*). The derivation or word-formation of loanwords occurs if a well-established loanword is used in the receiving language as a base to which Polish affixes are added to form new lexemes, e.g. SP. *klikalność*. The derivation of loanwords is not part of the borrowing process.

In both varieties of Polish, English nominal loans may be inflected for number, gender and case, e.g. SP. *komputery* (< E. *computers*), SP. *biznes* (masculine, < E. *business*), SP. (*o*) *interfejsie* (< E. (*about*) *the interface*), AmP. *basementy*, (< AmE. *basements*), AmP. *lota* (feminine, < AmE. *lot*), AmP. (*w*) *supermarkecie* (< AmE. (*at*) *the supermarket*) (examples from Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010; Serwański 1992: 318). In the assignment of gender both formal and semantic criteria are taken into account (Fisiak 1975). The morphological adaptation of English nouns in both varieties may involve either the addition of Polish suffixes, e.g. SP. *grahamka* (< E. *Graham bread*), AmP. *nerska* (< E. *nurse*), or the substitution of English suffixes with Polish ones, e.g. SP. *cybernetyka* (< E. *cybernetics*), AmP. *plajściarz* (< E. *plasterer*), or the loss of a suffix, e.g. SP. *piżama/pidżama* (< E. *pyjamas*) (examples from Dubisz 1981: 55; Serwański 1992: 318; Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 222; Fisiak 1986; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992: 23).

The morphological adaptation of English verbs involves two stages in both varieties of Polish. First, English verbs are equipped with a Polish verbal suffix, either *-ować* or *-nąć*, e.g. SP. *surfować* (< E. *to surf*), AmP. *kolektować* (< E. *to collect*). Second, they undergo further adaptation involving Polish prefixes which mark the completion of an activity, e.g. *od-* (AmP. *odzypnąć* < E. *to zip*), *po-* (AmP. *posłajsować* < E. *to slice*),

*wy-* (SP. *wyczarterować* < E. *to charter*), *za-* (SP. *zaparkować* < E. *to park*) (examples from Dubisz 1981: 59; Sękowska 1994: 74; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 61). What seems to be a typical feature of American Polish, i.e. the post modification of borrowed verbs by the Polish particle *się*, as in AmP. *badrować się* (< E. *to bother*), by analogy to the semantically equivalent native Polish *niepokoić się*, or AmP. *fajtować się* (< E. *to fight*), by analogy to the native Polish *bić się*, is rarely attested in Standard Polish, e.g. SP. *logować się/loginować się* (< E. *to log in*).

English adjectives are adapted morphologically with the use of Polish derivational suffixes in Standard Polish, e.g. *-owy* as in P. *coolowy* (< E. *cool*) or *-ny* as in *casualny* (< E. *casual*), and they are inflected for case, number and gender. The morphological adaptation of English adjectives is very rare in American Polish but if it does occur, it makes use of the same adaptation methods as Standard Polish. There are single cases of inflectional suffixation (AmP. *cipszy* ‘cheaper’ < E. *cheap*) and prefixation (AmP. *najcipszy* ‘the cheapest’ < E. *cheap*) (examples from Dubisz 1981: 58–59; Serwański 1992: 317).

Generally speaking, the morphological adaptation of English loanwords, if it occurs, exploits the same mechanisms in the two varieties of Polish, though it is a much less frequent phenomenon in American Polish where a large proportion of English loanwords, with the exception of verbs, remain unadapted morphologically (Dubisz 1981: 65; Żak-Pławska 1981: 71). As already stated, in the post-borrowing phase well-established loanwords, nouns in particular, may serve as a base for new derivatives and there is a whole range of affixes, both Polish and foreign, that may be used to form, for example, denominal adjectives or abstract nouns (Fisiak 1986: 258–261; Sękowska 1994: 88–104; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 62–65).

### 3.4. Semantic adaptation

The semantic adaptation of English loanwords in Standard Polish is investigated with reference to the semantic fields that are extended due to lexical borrowing (see Section 5), and the types of semantic changes that may occur during the borrowing process. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 67–77) draws on those typologies of semantic change that are best applicable to the study of loanwords (cf. Paul 1920; Ullmann 1964)<sup>12</sup> and states that the meaning of English loanwords in Standard Polish may be narrowed, broadened or changed completely due to the following: 1) only one sense of a polysemous English etymon is borrowed, e.g. SP. *shaker* (< E. *shaker*), 2) an English lexeme is borrowed in an ellipited form (e.g. SP. *smoking* < E. *smoking jacket*), 3) the loan is a derivative coined in the receiving language, e.g. SP. *farmerki* (< E. *farmer*), or 4) the English loanword develops semantically on Polish soil, e.g. SP. *fajf* (< E. *five*). However, the author asserts that the majority of English loans, regardless of the semantic field they represent, preserve their original meaning when borrowed by the receiving language.

The semantic adaptation of English loanwords is not an object of study in the works on American Polish, which may suggest that cases of semantic adaptation are rare, i.e.

<sup>12</sup> Witalisz (2007), in a study on the semantic changes induced by semantic borrowing, additionally refers to the typologies proposed by Jaberg 1901 and Stern 1921.

English loanwords in American Polish do not alter their meanings. This can hardly be the case as it seems doubtful that speakers of American Polish borrow English lexemes together with their entire polysemies (cf. Mańczak 1985: 371).

#### 4. English influence on the syntactic systems of SP and AmP

Apart from lexical loans of the types mentioned above, English linguistic influence on Polish is manifested in the uncritical adoption of English syntactic patterns, a phenomenon characteristic especially of American Polish, which borrows English grammatical patterns more readily than Standard Polish. Frequent syntactic calques in American Polish may be an effect of the direct language contact and the use of two languages on a daily basis by American Poles (Sękowska 1994: 79).

The instances of copying English syntactic patterns include compound words in Standard Polish which violate the Polish grammatical system. These copy the structural pattern typical of English compound loanwords, such as *reality show* or *web kiosk*. Standard Polish expressions such as *biznes wiadomości*, *radio konkurs*, *DVD premiera*, *Komputer Świat* are loanblends and loan translations from the English *business news*, *radio competition*, *DVD premiere* and *Computer World*, respectively. Much more frequent are hybrid creations, e.g. SP. *balkon party* [E. lit. 'balcony party'], *Góral burger* [E. lit. 'highlander burger'], *Szymon Majewski Show*, formed by analogy to such English expressions as *pyjama party*, *Hamburger* and *The Conan O'Brian Show*, respectively (Witalisz 2009). Although a foreign syntactic pattern is used in such formations, they belong to the sphere of lexicon and as such are not perceived as intruders in the syntactic system of Standard Polish.

A similar phenomenon may be found in American Polish, where the loan translations of English compound words or phraseological units follow a syntactic pattern typical of English, i.e. the modifying element precedes the modifier, e.g. AmP. *szkolna dziewczyna* (< AmE. *schoolgirl*), AmP. *wenecka zasłona* (< AmP. *Venetian blind*) (Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 226; Strybel 1990: 225). As already stated, copying a foreign syntactic pattern is also evident in the names of American Polish companies, e.g. AmP. *Zalewski Bracia*, AmP. *Iwański Moving Centre* (Serwański 1992: 321), and professional titles, which follow personal names, e.g. AmP. *Jack Kowalski J., DDS* (Junior, Doctor of Dental Surgery) (Serwański 1992: 322).

Unlike the Standard variety of Polish, American Polish is heavily influenced by English syntactic patterns, which may be exemplified by the following language phenomena that do not appear in Standard Polish:

- the structure of a whole sentence may be adopted directly from English, e.g. AmP. *Jestem 20 lat stary* (Żak-Pławska 1981: 71), AmP. *Oczekuję usłyszeć od Was* (Serwański 1992: 320);
- personal pronouns precede verbs in sentences, e.g. *Ja dziękuję* (Żak-Pławska 1981: 77);
- the order of the constituents in a sentence is altered under the influence of English syntactic structures, e.g. AmP. *wysokiej jakości wykonanie* (instead of P.

wykonanie wysokiej jakości), AmP. *słynnej firmy Grundig radia* (instead of P. *radia słynnej firmy Grundig*) (Serwański 1992: 321);

- adverbs such as P. *dziś, teraz* appear in the final position in a sentence in AmP (Serwański 1992: 320);
- prepositions in prepositional verbs are changed or lost, e.g. AmP. *czekać za kimś* (< E. *to wait for someone*), AmP. *grać karty* (< E. *to play cards*) (Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 227; Sękowska 1994: 79);
- female names are not inflected for gender, AmP. *Wanda Ostrowski-Piotrowski* (Serwański 1992: 321).

In both varieties of Polish the forms of address are influenced by the English *you/your*. Polish *Wy/Wasz* and *Ty/Twój* are used instead of the more formal or impersonal way of referring to people one does not know, e.g. AmP. *Obsłużymy was po polsku*, AmE. *Rezerwujcie miejsca teraz* (Serwański 1992: 320–321); SP. *Tu umyjesz auto na błysk!*, SP. *Zadzwoń na darmowy numer* (advertising slogans).

## 5. Semantic fields most affected by English lexis

Gruchmanowa (1976) observes that the range and degree of assimilation of English loanwords is linked directly to the semantic categories they represent. In a number of studies on the English influence on the Standard and American varieties of Polish we find attempts to classify English loanwords according to the semantic fields they represent, but a comparative study of the proposed sets is difficult for several reasons. The proposed semantic fields overlap and their content, especially in the case of American English, are determined by the sources from which the research material was obtained, e.g. memoirs vs. newspaper articles, informal spoken vs. official written texts, etc. Some authors work only in selected semantic fields, e.g. Gruchmanowa (1976) concentrates on finance, kitchen appliances, parts of the human body and animal-related terminology, of which the most numerous are the first two; Sękowska (1992: 106)<sup>13</sup> analyses nominal loanwords only. Certain authors differentiate between major and minor semantic fields (cf. Fisiak 1970; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 68–73), whereas others do not provide qualitative data nor differentiate between English loans in American and Canadian Polishes (cf. Morawski 1990: 239–244).

The most comprehensive accounts of American Polish are provided in Doroszewski (1938: 79–80) and Sękowska (1994: 111–112), who list 13 and 14 semantic fields, respectively. The fields that reappear most frequently in both studies include: 1) work (incl. names of occupations, tools, products, working clothes, supervisors), 2) administration (names of offices and organisations), 3) finance and trade, 4) education, and 5) eating habits (incl. names of meals, drinks, foods). Less frequent are: 6) home (incl. names of tools, objects, everyday activities), 7) entertainment, 8) family and

<sup>13</sup> The research is based on English nominal loanwords listed in *Słownik wyrazów polonijnych. Zeszyt próbny – słownictwo anglopolskie* (71–143).

9) means of transportation. Semantic fields such as 10) slang vocabulary, 11) journalism, or 12) military service, appear only once.

Studies on the semantics of English loanwords in Standard Polish are more comprehensive and include the works of Koneczna (1936–37, 21 semantic fields, 531 loans), Fisiak (1970, 12 major semantic fields, 721 loans) and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (45 major semantic fields, 1700 loans). The accounts are based on different quantitative data, which clearly reflect the growing number of English loanwords in Standard Polish in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the time span between the publications, in all three works the semantic field of 1) sports is the most numerous. The fields that reappear in all three studies include: 2) sea and naval terms, 3) economics, trade, banking, 4) education, science and technology, 5) food and drink, 6) culture (incl. art, music, dancing, radio, theatre), 7) means of transportation and travelling, 8) clothing, 9) human being and society, 10) law and 11) the natural world (e.g. names of animals). Mańczak-Wohlfeld's (1995) set of semantic fields includes for the first time the semantic fields of computers, cybernetics and drugs, though, at the time of publication they did not have many representatives (and were listed as 12<sup>th</sup>, 41<sup>st</sup> and 45<sup>th</sup>, respectively).

Separate studies have been carried out on the semantics of English loan translations and semantic loans in Standard Polish (Witalisz 2007: 186–191, 305) and the most numerous semantic fields as far as these two types of loans are concerned include: 1) politics, 2) business, economy and trade, 3) popular culture, 4) the mass media, 5) computer-related terminology, 6) advertising, 7) cosmetology and 8) sport, which corresponds by and large to Mańczak-Wohlfeld's findings regarding loanwords.

All in all, the semantic fields of both varieties of Polish are enriched by English loans from all walks of life. The most amply-represented areas include: business, economy, trade, work, sport, (popular) culture, education and technology, eating habits, and means of transportation.

## 6. Reasons for the discrepancies in the adoption and adaptation of English linguistic material

The differences in the treatment of English linguistic material in the two varieties of Polish, discussed in Sections 2, 3 and 4, are the result of a number of factors. The most significant is the difference in the language situation of the two communities. Speakers of Standard Polish live in a largely monolingual society, whereas the users of American Polish are part of a bilingual (or multilingual) community (cf. Dubisz 1997b: 327)<sup>14</sup> and their constant contact with American English through

<sup>14</sup> This twofold manner in which English influences Polish reflects Bloomfield's well-known division into cultural and intimate borrowing (1933: 444–475). It seems that "cultural borrowing," as a category separate from "intimate borrowing," is not an entirely satisfactory term as it may indicate that intimate borrowings cannot be culture-related, which certainly is not the case, cf. Poles in the US using culture-specific words such as *Halloween* or *Ground Zero*. Therefore "cultural," as Bloomfield understands it, cannot be confused with "culture-specific," as the latter category may refer to both of Bloomfield's terms.

the mass media intensifies the borrowing process (Sękowska 1992: 104). This is reflected in the relatively high number of unadapted one- and multi-word loanwords in relation to the adapted loans, as well as in the English syntactic calques that are characteristic of American Polish.

Individual instances of English lexical loans in both varieties of Polish may also be dependent on the variety of English that influences them, which, in turn, is connected with the lexical differences between British and American Englishes. For example, American Polish adopts vocabulary that is typically recognised as American English, e.g. AmP. *kandy* (< AmE. *candy*), AmP. *kop/kap* (< AmE. *cop*), AmP. *stritkar* (< AmP. *streetcar*) (Dubisz 1981: 54) and it seems unlikely that American Polish would be influenced by British English. While it is reasonable to assume that the Polish used in the US has only been influenced by American English, finding out which variety of English influences Standard Polish may be problematic, especially with reference to the most recent loans sourced from the Internet and modern media. In an era of new communication techniques, it is sensible to assume that contemporary Standard Polish is influenced by both varieties of English. A Pole living in Poland may participate in the same online conversation (held in either Polish or English) as his compatriots living in the United States or on the British Isles.

The rare instances in which the loanwords are adapted differently in the two varieties of Polish may be related to the distinction between direct and indirect borrowing. American Polish has always borrowed English lexical items directly from the source language, whereas the first wave of English loanwords entered Standard Polish through the medium of French, German and Russian and are classified by Fisiak as indirect (Fisiak 1962: 288–290), cf. e.g. SP. *befsztyk* and AmP. *beefsteak* (< E. *beefsteak*). It is only the post-1945 loans in Standard Polish that are direct borrowings from English. The direct or indirect way of borrowing a foreign lexeme may be reflected in the phonetic or/and morphological shape of the English loanwords in the two varieties of Polish, cf. e.g. SP. *farma* (via German) and AmP. *farm* (< E. *farm*), SP. *kombajn* (via Russian) and AmP. *combine* (< E. *combine* [*harvester*]).

English loans in Poland are mainly introduced by educated speakers representing such social or professional groups as e.g. journalists, politicians, scientists and students. In American Polish, English loans that have been graphically adapted but remain uninflected are introduced by people whose knowledge of Polish is far from perfect (which is evidenced by errors in their Polish written texts) and whose knowledge of English is also limited (Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 218). The Polish of the Polish diaspora in the US is very much diversified. Immigrants represent various geographical regions and speak different dialects so they do not form a unified community in the sense of their language competence in Polish and English. These factors determine the way English words are adapted phonetically and graphically in American Polish and contribute to the high number of inessential loans.

One other factor relates to the different circumstances of learning. In Poland, English is no longer just a school subject; at present there is a much greater exposure to both British and American Englishes due to the Internet and modern communication technologies. In America, on the other hand, the process of learning English

was different. The immigrants were not necessarily literate, they “picked up the English they needed from fellow workers, themselves often immigrants” (Haugen 1988: 5) and from their compatriots.<sup>15</sup> Thus English loanwords are introduced orally to American Polish, which is reflected in the way they are adapted graphically. Recently, in Standard Polish there has been a tendency to preserve the original spelling of the English etymon, which may be explained by the different learning process.<sup>16</sup>

## 7. Conclusions

American Polish is more vulnerable to the influence of English, i.e. it has been more affected by English in terms of the number and types of loans, which is a consequence of the daily co-existence of the Polish diaspora and the English-speaking American community, which results in a direct multi-level influence of the American civilisation on its national minorities. American Polish speakers live and work in a bilingual context (in contrast to Poles living in a monolingual context in Poland), which contributes to an easier adoption of foreign language elements.

The above study reveals that there are both differences and similarities in the ways English linguistic material is borrowed by Standard and American Polishes. The types of lexical loans from English are similar in both varieties, with the exception of reduced compound loanwords and redundant compounds that are typical of American Polish. In both varieties English lexical loans are more frequent than syntactic calques, however, American Polish copies English syntactic patterns more readily than Standard Polish. The syntax of American Polish is influenced by English much more than the syntax of Standard Polish.

English loanwords may be adapted phonologically, graphically, morphologically and semantically to the system of the receiving language and no significant differences have been found in the ways English lexemes are adapted formally in the two varieties of Polish. In comparison with Standard Polish, however, English loanwords (with the exception of verbs) tend not to be adapted in American Polish. Its speakers are either bilingual (understood as people with the ability to use two languages with equal or nearly equal fluency) or at least exposed to spoken American English on a daily basis, which allows them to use the unadapted English lexemes and to understand them better if they are used in their original forms.

The use of unadapted English words and phrases is part of intrasentential code-switching, which is a typical feature of American Polish, whose speakers introduce unadapted English phrases to Polish utterances, a phenomenon hardly ever found on Polish soil in everyday communication. English lexemes, and even whole phrases appearing in their original form, interlard the speech and writing of American Poles

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<sup>15</sup> This, however, may be different in the case of the present-day Polish diaspora in Great Britain, where many Polish immigrants are well-educated professionals and know English well on arrival.

<sup>16</sup> See Sękowska (1992: 108; 1994: 53) for factors that determine the number, semantic range and form of borrowings in the languages of the Polish diasporas in English-speaking countries.

(Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 221, Dubisz 1997b: 329). This practice may be the reason for the rare inflectional adaptation of English lexemes, especially adjectives, in American Polish. English loanwords in American Polish tend to keep their original spelling (Serwański 1992: 322), even if Polish affixes are added.

Inessential borrowings, i.e. those which co-exist with semantically equivalent Polish words, are more frequent in American Polish than in the Standard variety. Although inessential loans do occur in Standard Polish, especially in the language of young Poles, it seems that borrowing from English or any other foreign language is treated in Poland as an effective means of filling lexical gaps in Polish. Sentences such as “Przynieś blankety z klozetu (z basamentu, z office’u),” which are commonly heard in the everyday speech of the Polish diaspora in the US, are not used in Standard Polish.

The frequent inessential loans and the limited inflectional adaptation of English lexemes in American Polish may suggest that the awareness of the grammatical, stylistic and lexical language norms among its speakers is gradually disappearing (Dubisz 1981: 67). Even though both varieties of Polish are being influenced by English, the easy adoption of English syntactic patterns by American Poles is a sign that their Polish is adapting to the new linguistic environment and mutating much more than Standard Polish. The direct language contact between American Polish and American English and the fact that American Poles are part of a multi-lingual society where Spanish is becoming the second most widely-used language in the United States may lead to a further increase in the differences between Standard Polish and its American variety.

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