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English-Sourced Direct and Indirect Borrowings in a New Lexicon of Polish Anglicisms¹

Abstract

In recent decades, Polish has experienced an unprecedented influx of English-sourced borrowings, both overt (loanwords) and covert (calques). This linguistic influence echoes the social, technological, environmental and ideological transformations, with these changes reflected in the Polish lexicon. The paper describes a lexicographic project aimed at updating the *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* (*A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Polish*) that was published in 2010. We discuss the theoretical assumptions, the content and the sources of the data for a new, corpus-based dictionary that is in the making, and illustrate the lexicographic solutions we adopted with regard to both well-established and the most recent direct and indirect Anglicisms. We also address the issue of the frequency and the usage of the latter in present-day Polish.

Keywords

Anglicism, loanword, loan translation, calque, lexicography, dictionary, corpus

¹ This paper builds on an earlier work by the authors published in Polish (cf. Cierpich-Kozieł et al. (2023)).

Abstrakt

Od kilku dekad mamy do czynienia z niespotykanym dużym napływem zapożyczeń angielskich do języka polskiego, zarówno tych jawnych (właściwych), jak i ukrytych (kalk). Zjawisko to jest rezultatem zmian społecznych, technologicznych, środowiskowych i obyczajowych, odzwierciedlonych w płaszczyźnie leksykalnej polszczyzny. Celem artykułu jest zarysowanie projektu leksykograficznego, w ramach którego realizowane są prace nad uaktualnionym i poszerzonym wydaniem *Słownika zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie*, wydanym w roku 2010. W artykule przedstawiono założenia teoretyczne, źródła materiałowe oraz planowaną zawartość nowo powstającego słownika anglicyzmów. Przyjęte rozwiązania leksykograficzne zilustrowano zarówno dobrze przyswojonymi, jak i najnowszymi anglicyzmami właściwymi i kalkami. W artykule omówiono także kwestie częstotliwości i sposobów użycia najnowszych zapożyczeń angielskich we współczesnej polszczyźnie.

Słowa kluczowe

anglicyzm, zapożyczenie właściwe, kalka, leksykografia, słownik, korpus

1. Introductory remarks

The *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* (SZA) [*A Dictionary of Anglicisms in Polish*] (2010) was compiled of words with either English or American qualifiers excerpted from three dictionaries published by Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN [E. Scientific Publishing House PWN]. The dictionaries were: the *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (WSWO) [E. A Great Dictionary of Foreign Words], with 3690 relevant entries, the *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (SWO) [E. A Dictionary of Foreign Words], with 350 Anglicisms, and last but not least, the *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN* (USJP) [E. A Universal Dictionary of Polish], with 126 English borrowings. Therefore, to create the updated lexicon, 4166 entries were taken from dictionaries published by the Polish Scientific Publishing House PWN. It should be noted that the number of entries taken from each of the dictionaries differ due to the fact that if a particular word is quoted in the WSWO, it is not named again in the remaining two dictionaries.

It was essential to determine whether the obtained corpus included actual Anglicisms, since often the words were internationalisms to which the English origin was incorrectly attributed. Examples include *klientelizm* (E. *clientelism*), which, in fact, comes from the Latin word *clientele*, lexemes whose English etymons were not found in different genres of large English dictionaries, such as *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (COD), the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (MEDAL), and the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (CALD), thus underlining their specialist mode, as in the case of **kałakut** 'kogut indyjskiej rasy kur' [E. an Indian breed of chicken], and, finally, words to which the English qualifier was

falsely ascribed, e.g. **kasyno** (E. *casino*), which *de facto* derives from the Italian word *casino*. Following this assessment procedure, approximately 2500 new borrowings appearing in the standard Polish language were collected from the cited dictionaries, as well as from other sources, and listed fully in the SZA. The borrowings included loanwords such as **dżem** < E. *jam*, as well as rare pseudo-Anglicisms, for example, **happy end**, originating from the E. *happy ending* (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010). More than a decade after the publication of the SZA, it was concluded that a new, updated version of the dictionary of Anglicisms should be compiled.

In the new dictionary an Introduction will include an historical overview of the English lexical influence on Polish, as well as define and exemplify the borrowing-related terms that are used in the volume. The introductory section will also provide information about the corpora used in the project and describe the microstructure of the dictionary entries. The main body of the new dictionary will be spilt into two parts, the first of which will present English-sourced direct borrowings (or loanwords), such as e.g. *phishing* (< E. *phishing*), while the second part will be a collection of various types of English-sourced calques, such as e.g. *szklany sufit* (< E. *glass ceiling*) and *chmura* in the Internet-related sense (< E. *cloud*). The new dictionary is intended to serve as a reference work and is aimed at various audiences, including academics involved with language contact, students of English Philology and other related fields, as well as an average language user interested in language-induced development and change. To achieve this goal, the concept of a “user-friendly dictionary” that was developed by Zgólkowa (1994 in Żmigrodzki 2003: 42) will be implemented.

2. The theoretical assumptions of the new dictionary

To begin with, it is necessary to define the term “Anglicism” as used in the new dictionary of Anglicisms in Polish. It is considered to be a lexical unit characterized by both English phonetics and English morphology that were transferred directly from English to another language. Thus, it can be either a word originating in English or a word with a different origin, e.g. Latin, Greek or Dutch, or a word from the so-called exotic languages. According to such a definition, the final source of language contact is viewed as being both principal and determinate. However, the term “Anglicism” can also be seen as a word originating in English, but which has been passed to a specific language through the medium of other languages. Additionally, “Anglicism” can refer to English-sourced morphological borrowings, semantic loans, loan translations, or loanblends, i.e. English-Polish hybrid formations

with a discoverable English etymon, as well as pseudo-Anglicisms. The latter, broader denotation is used in this project, similarly to an international project called GLAD (Global Anglicism Database; see 4.1), but hybrid structures that are not considered borrowings, namely derivatives created in Polish with an English element, such as *e-urząd* (E. *e-office*) are excluded (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2021).

It is generally acknowledged that recently the number of Anglicisms in Polish has increased significantly, as a result of the pandemic, amongst others reasons (e.g. *lockdown*, *drive-thru*). Therefore, the content of the new dictionary, that is the collection of Polish Anglicisms, will be substantially enlarged through the addition of new direct borrowings, as well as the different calqued expressions defined above with reference to the term “Anglicism”: semantic loans, e.g. *mysz* (‘komputerowa’ [computer mouse]) (< E. *mouse*), *project* (‘przedsięwzięcie’ [undertaking]) (< E. *project*), *definiować* (‘określać, nazywać’ [to specify, to name]) (< E. *define*), loan translations, such as *adres elektroniczny* (< E. *electronic address*), *mięka waluta* (< E. *soft currency*), *szczęśliwe godziny* (< E. *happy hour*), *handel elektroniczny* (< E. *e-commerce*), as well as loanblends, such as *etyczny haker* (< E. *ethical hacker*) and *studia gender* (< E. *gender studies*). Additionally, in the new dictionary certain SZA entries are discarded, i.e. those considered to be out of date, such as *CD-R* ‘płyta kompaktowa służąca do jednorazowego nagrania czegoś’ [compact disc used for a single recording]; those considered strictly professional, e.g. *CMYK* ‘zestaw kolorów podstawowych w druku wielobarwnym (niebieskozielony, purpurowy, żółty i czarny), z których w wyniku mieszania można otrzymać inne barwy; także: paleta kolorów możliwych do uzyskania w ten sposób; także technika generowania kolorów przez urządzenia wyjściowe, np. drukarka’ [a set of primary colours in multicolour printing (blue-green, purple, yellow and black) from which other colours can be obtained by mixing; also: a palette of colours that can be obtained in this way; also a technique for generating colours by output devices such as a printer]; and, last but not least, those entries considered to be rarely used. The frequency of the headwords of the latter was evaluated in an accessible Polish language corpora, e.g. Pl. *dżemper/jumper* ‘rodzaj swetra’ [kind of a sweater] occurs only once in a set of 400 concordance lines for homographs in the Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego [The National Corpus of Polish, NKJP], with all the others denoting a proper name (‘a film’ and ‘a car brand’). Analogous results were confirmed by searches in two alternative corpora: the plTenTen and the Monco PL. Thus, in the new dictionary Anglicisms are not only verified in these corpora (see Section 5), but also on the Internet (social media mostly).

3. Loanwords in the new dictionary – the entry structure

Many elements of the entry structure have been transferred from the SZA, such as the presentation of the graphic forms, which are classified in accordance with their frequency of use based on the corpus data. This is followed by the pronunciation, if different from the Polish graphic notation. The abbreviation “wym.” (from the Polish *wymowa* – [pronunciation]) in the SZA is not included in the new dictionary, since the pronunciation of an Anglicism incorporated into Polish is noted in conventional square brackets, as explained in the *Introduction*. At this point it is worth mentioning that the pronunciation is also marked in cases when there are at least two graphic variants in Polish: the English and the Polonized form, which usually corresponds phonetically with the Anglicism, e.g. **camping/kemping** [kemping]. In addition, a simplified phonetic notation is suggested, identical to that used in the SZA (more professional transcriptions can be found in, e.g. in the *Podręczny słownik poprawnej wymowy polskiej* (PSPWP) [The Concise Dictionary of Correct Polish Pronunciation], in order to make the new dictionary more accessible non-academic Polish users.

An abbreviation regarding the part of speech follows, e.g. rz. (*rzeczownik* [noun]), cz. (*czasownik* [verb]). Unlike in the SZA, the term “frazą” [phrase] is added to certain borrowings, such as **cash and carry**. In addition, it was decided to simplify the structure of the entries by omitting the inflected forms of nouns and verbs, although nouns are followed by their grammatical gender or genders when the gender is not immediately obvious, e.g. **cherry/cherry brandy** ż/n. [feminine/neuter]. It should be underlined that in Polish the appropriate grammatical gender is ascribed unambiguously in most instances, which is not the case in the German language, amongst others. The gender distinction implemented in the new dictionary is traditional, simple and thus well-known to the average user: the gender can be masculine, feminine or neuter.

This information is followed by the definition/s of a particular Anglicism. In general these were adopted from the SZA, albeit on occasion slightly modified, e.g. in the definition of **banjo/bandžo** ‘muz. instrument muzyczny Afroamerykanów, rodzaj gitary o długiej szyjce, okrągłym pudle rezonansowym krytym napiętą błoną i o różnej liczbie strun’ [mus. a musical instrument of Afro-Americans, a type of the guitar with a long neck, round resonator covered with a stretched membrane and with various numbers of strings], the lexeme *Murzyni* [Negroes], which today is considered offensive, was deliberately substituted with the word *Afroamerykanie* [Afro-Americans], due to its neutral connotations.

The next element in an entry is the English etymon. If the Polish form is identical with the English form, it is marked by <ang.> [E.]. When two or more graphic representations exist in Polish and only one corresponds with the English etymon, typically the English form is provided. Furthermore, if the English pattern differs from the Polish, the English etymon is stipulated. English words attested in Old English or Middle English are considered native units and their etymology is ignored, e.g. **free**. Finally, borrowings whose English equivalents were recorded subsequently, as in the SZA, are followed by certain etymological remarks, e.g. ang. [Eng.] *generative*, z łac. [from Latin] *generativus*.

Similarly to the SZA, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (COD) was the source of the etymologies for the English models listed in the new dictionary, rather than its parent *The Oxford English Dictionary online* (OED), since the explanations are simpler and thus more suitable for non-academic users of the new dictionary. Although the COD was published many years ago, it proved to be an ideal reference dictionary when verifying the etymologies of the loanwords (these remain constant, unaffected by the passing of time, and can thus be simply duplicated). This dictionary was extremely useful, as it contains terminology of a more specialized nature. Unfortunately, Polish etymological dictionaries are not entirely satisfactory, since, firstly, only a limited number have been published, and these are frequently incomplete [Brückner (1927), Sławski (1952–1982), Bańkowski (2000), Długosz-Kurczabowa (2008), Boryś (2005), Mańczak (2017)], and secondly, far more importantly, they fail to include more recent lexical items, a matter which is relevant with regard to Anglicisms. As Boryś (2005: 7) observes in the Introduction to his etymological lexicon:

The dictionary included, first of all, native words and certain selected loans from different languages, mainly early and medieval borrowings, which do not seem to be words of foreign origin to a native speaker of Polish. Also some later loanwords, in particular those originating from Slavic languages, which could have been treated as native lexical items, were mentioned. The homonymy between the Polish words and the items of foreign origin is the reason behind the inclusion of more recent borrowings. Other loans, frequently used in contemporary Polish, the reader may find in any of the available foreign word lexicons [translated by E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld].²

² “Do słownika weszły przede wszystkim wyrazy rodzime oraz wybrane zapożyczenia z innych języków, głównie zapożyczenia wczesne, średniowieczne, które nieraz dla użytkownika języka polskiego nie mają znamion wyrazu obcego pochodzenia. Zamieszczone są także wybrane zapożyczenia późniejsze, zwłaszcza z innych języków słowiańskich, które mogłyby uchodzić za wyrazy rodzime. Powodem umieszczenia w słowniku nowszych zapożyczeń bywa też homonimia z wyrazem innego pochodzenia, zwłaszcza z wyrazem rodzimym. Inne, liczne w dzisiejszej polszczyźnie zapożyczenia może czytelnik znaleźć w każdym z dostępnych słowników wyrazów obcych”.

The analysis of the corpus comprising the three PWN dictionaries revealed that the suggested etymologies could be questioned and, thus, it was essential that an English dictionary should be a point of reference. Certain lexical entries were erroneously ascribed an English origin, whereas in fact they belong to the category of internationalisms and, consequently, it is difficult to determine from which language they entered Polish. Although in some instances it was noted that they had equivalents in tongues other than English, they were still incorporated within the aforementioned corpus, e.g. *kanister* < Ger. *Kanister*, E. *canister* ‘puszka blaszana’ [a tin], and Lat. *canistrum* ‘rodzaj koszyka’ [a type of basket], Gr. *kánastron* [a tin]>; *kapitał* < Fr., E. *capital*, It. *capitale* ‘suma główna, główna część’ [a total, main part]>. In numerous headwords, it was stated that the words originated from English, whereas they, in fact, constituted a group of internationalisms, for instance, **karbonizacja** <E. *carbonization*>, **katalizować** <E. *catalyze*>, **kawitacja** <E. *cavitation*>. Interestingly, in older Polish dictionaries of foreign words some of these borrowings were assigned a Latin or Greek origin. Thus, it is interesting that the attribution of an English origin to a variety of internationalisms possibly resulted from the fact that nowadays English borrowings predominate. Examples in which the English origins were erroneously indicated include **kambryk** ‘batiste’, which actually originated from the name of the French town *Cambrai*, **komando** (from Ger. *Kommando*), and **komandor** (a word of Russian origin, but ultimately derived from French).

However, as mentioned above, with regard to certain words that have more recently enriched the English lexis, certain additional etymological remarks were made, e.g.:

kanioning < E. *canyoning* < Spa. *canón* < Lat. *canna* + E. *ing* >
 keczup / ketchup < E. *ketchup* + probably < Can. *k'êchap* >
 kemping < E. *camping* + < Fr. < It. *campo* < Lat. *campus* + E. *ing* >.

In turn, in some entries the information concerning the origin of the English models was corrected:

khaki it is: from Hindi *xaki* ‘kolor pyłu, kurzu, ziemi’ [the colour of dust, dirt]
 it should be: from Urdu *khākī*

klaps it is: E. *clappers*, from *clap* ‘trzaskać, klaskać’ [to clap, to applaud, to crack]
 it should be: E. *clap*, pl. *claps*

klomb it is: formerly Ger.-Austr. *Klomb*, from E. *clump* ‘kępa, gruba bryła’ [clump, lump]
 it should be: *clump* from Middle Low Ger. *Klumpe*, from Middle Dutch. *Klomp* (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2017).

Below, is a typical entry from the SZA:

appeasement [wym. epizment] -mentu, -mencie, *mrz, blm, odm* lub *ndm* | *polit.* polityka ustępstw wobec rosnących żądań któregoś z mocarstw, prowadzona w imię zachowania pokoju (termin stosowany dziś głównie w odniesieniu do polityki brytyjskiej wobec Niemiec w latach trzydziestych XX w.)
 <ang. dosł. ‘uspokojenie, załagodzenie’>
 [pronunciation, inflectional suffixes, n. masc., policy of making concessions to growing demands of a power in order to maintain peace (the term is most often applied to the foreign policy of the UK towards the Germany of the 1930s)]
 <E. lit. ‘mitigation’>

In the new dictionary, this citation is as follows:

appeasement [epizment] rz. m. *polit.* polityka ustępstw wobec rosnących żądań któregoś z mocarstw, prowadzona w imię zachowania pokoju (termin stosowany dziś głównie w odniesieniu do polityki brytyjskiej wobec Niemiec w latach trzydziestych XX w.)
 <ang. dosł. ‘uspokojenie, załagodzenie’>
 [pronunciation, n. masc. *pol.* policy of making concessions to growing demands of a power in order to maintain peace (the term is most often applied to the foreign policy of the UK towards the Germany of the 1930s)]
 <E. lit. ‘mitigation’>

A further change is the recommendation that derivatives exhibited within a headword, insofar as they have no equivalents in the source language, for instance, **digitalizacja/dygitalizacja**, **digitalizować/dygitalizować**, **digitalny/dygitalny** are catalogued as separate entries, since they have counterparts in English: *digitization*, *digitalize*, *digital*. By contrast, the headword **dumping** comprises verbal and adjectival derivatives that have no direct etymons in English, i.e. both have been formed within the Polish language: Pl.v. *dumpingować* (cf. E. *to dump*) and Pl.adj. *dumpingowy*. Below, the entry looks as follows:

dumping/damping [damping] rz. m. *ekon.* eksport towarów po cenach niższych niż istniejące na rynku kraju, do którego są eksportowane, nieraz niższych niż koszty produkcji, w celu wyeliminowania konkurencji i zdobycia lub utrzymania rynku; der.: *dumpingować*, *dumpingowy*
 <ang. *dumping*>
 [pronunciation, n., masc. *econ.* the export of goods at prices that are lower than the market prices in the country to which they are exported, sometimes lower than the production cost, in order to eliminate competition and win the market; der.: *dumpingować*, *dumpingowy*]
 <E. *dumping*>

A similar approach was adopted in a work that is no longer published, namely *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms. A Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Sixteen European Languages* (2001). This dictionary included Polish Anglicisms together with their derivatives in situations in which they did not function as separate lexemes in the English language. Variants in the perfective aspect such as Pl. *sfejkować*, based on Pl. *fejkować* [E. *to fake*], were not incorporated in the dictionary, possibly as a result of the fact that Polish is highly inflectional and many such patterns could be omitted unintentionally.

It is worth noting that in the SZA, no derivatives created in the Polish language were included, due, on the one hand, to the disparate theoretical assumptions, and, on the other, to the fact that over the course of time, borrowings become assimilated within the recipient language and thereby are subject to the derivational processes. This is especially noticeable in the growing number of recent feminine forms in Polish.

Finally, the new dictionary entries will not include illustrative sentences excerpted from the corpora due to the large amount of language data and the limited space.

3.1. Anglicisms of the past decade

As mentioned above, the latest *Dictionary of Anglicisms in Polish* (SZA) included loans registered by 2010. Since then, the number of lexical innovations of English origin has increased in Polish so rapidly that it merits close scholarly attention. Over the course of the last decade, the dynamic growth in technological development, as well as the changes in the methods of communication, have been of an unprecedented nature. These transformations are reflected in, among others, the considerable influx of Anglicisms into the Polish language. The new dictionary encompasses borrowings excerpted from both written language: a) Internet articles, b) social media: Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, c) gossip websites, and d) blogs, as well as spoken language: 1) information and breakfast TV programmes, and 2) videos available on YouTube. The actual use of the excerpted dataset was verified by means of language corpora (see Section 5). Additionally, survey methodology was employed, in order to investigate Anglicisms used by children and teenagers, aged 7–18, as well as young Poles, aged 19–25. The questionnaire was designed in Polish and consisted of five open-ended questions, both factual and attitudinal. Altogether, 111 interviewees listed borrowings incorporated into their daily communication, which they considered eye-catching, useful or unnecessary. As a result of the survey a number of lexical items not obtained from other sources of data (e.g. *cringe*, *rel*, *slay*) were identified.

There are at least seven semantic fields in which the most recent, but as yet undescribed and unclassified, loanwords of English origin abound:

- 1) technology and technological novelties:
dron, smart clock, parować (< E. *to pair*), *segway, stream, ultrabook*;
- 2) social media and new forms of communication:
celebrycki (adj. < E. *celebrity*), *influencerka* (n. fem. < E. *influencer*), *followers* (n. masc. sing. < E. *follower*), *lajkować* (v. < E. *to like*), *lurker, postować* (v. < E. *to post*), *tiktoker*;
- 3) social and political reality:
exit poll, fake news, kamienie milowe (< E. *milestones*), *lockdown, peak*,³ *pushback*;
- 4) lifestyle:
after/afterparty, barber, BMI, control freak, coworking, finger food, glitterowy (adj. < E. *glitter*), *groomer, no life, pushować* (v. < E. *to push*), *royalsi* (n. < E. *the royals*), *slow life, street food, wine pairing, vapować* (v., < E. *to vape*);
- 5) sports:
indoor cycling, pole dance, skatepark, spinning, trickboard;
- 6) fashion:
bomberka (< E. *bomber jacket*), *concept store, fashion victim, make-up no make-up, nude, outfit, trendsetterka* (n. fem. < E. *trendsetter*);
- 7) aesthetic medicine and cosmetology:
laserowy resurfacing (< E. *laser skin resurfacing*), *microblading, thermolifting*.

The collected material displays tendencies typical of the process of borrowing. As noticed by Whitney (1881) and proved by Haugen (1950), Fisiak (1961) and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995), nouns are the parts of speech most easily borrowed, with verbs, adjectives, and adverbs much less frequent, and interjections only found very occasionally. It should be emphasized that due to the massive inflow of the most recent Anglicisms, the frequency of those parts of speech other than nouns is demonstrably higher than before, e.g.:

- verbs: *lurkać/lurkować* (< E. *to lurk*), *sharewać* (< E. *to share*), *stalkować* (< E. *to stalk*);
- adjectives: *casualowy* (< E. *casual*), *parentingowy* (< E. *parenting*), *sfokusowany* (< E. *focused*);
- adverbs: *holistycznie* (< E. *holistically*), *offline’owo* (< E. *offline*), *randomowo* (< E. *randomly*);
- interjections: *OMG, LOL*.

³ “Peak inflacji” [E. *inflation peak*], “peak zachorowań” [E. *infection peak*].

Also, the graphic adaptation of English loans transferred over the past decade necessitates meticulous attention to the spelling. Although still gradual, this process has dramatically accelerated, e.g.: *lookać* → *lukać* (v. < E. *to look*), *oldschoolowy* → *oldskulowy* (adj. < E. *oldschool*).

3.2. Methodological problems

Today, easily accessible knowledge, the rapid flow of information, a higher standard of living, as well as an increased public awareness, have all resulted in a broadening of language users' conceptual apparatus. Therefore, specialized vocabulary more and more often permeates general language use. While compiling the list of the most recent Anglicisms, a question arose as to which lexical items should be included in the dictionary and which should be disregarded. These decisions were made with reference to both a corpus-based study and the analysis of the above-mentioned written and spoken texts. The incorporated terms are either recognized or used by certain Polish speakers or larger speech communities, for instance:

- economic terms, e.g. *pay gap*, *stagflacja* (< E. *stagflation*);
- psychological terms, e.g. *borderline*, *prokrastynacja* (< E. *procrastination*);
- sociological terms, e.g. *girlpower*, *slow life*;
- IT terms, e.g. *deepfake*, *phishing*.

Terms excluded from the new dictionary in the main belong to professional and highly specialized language varieties, language practised by smaller speech communities.

Last but not least, Anglicization permeates the Polish language in ways that could not be included in this project. On the one hand, there are the omnipresent English-language hashtags, for instance: #photooftheday, #nofilter, #polishgirl, #followme, which, in general, are unadapted and sometimes even misspelled (cf. #beuty, #doughter, #polandgirl, #sanday or #tattoo). On the other hand, the advertising industry in Poland employs English-language proper names and slogans, for instance: *Lexus. Experience amazing*, *KIA. The Power to Surprise*, *Korean Exclusive Snake (Eveline Cosmetics)*, *Always Fabulous (Bourjois)*.

4. English-sourced calques in the new dictionary

Following the lexicographic practices (Rando 1987; Sørensen 1997; Carstensen et al. 1993–1996) associated with certain European languages that are also experiencing considerable lexical influence from English, the new dictionary will include calqued expressions. Consequently a large collection of

calques of various types will be presented in a separate part of the dictionary, a decision which is pragmatically motivated by the need to arrange the headwords composed of native lexical material in alphabetical order. The 2010 SZA did not include calques for two reasons. Firstly, the editors' aim was to collect in one volume English-sourced loanwords, i.e. direct borrowings; this is why, as already mentioned, the SZA was largely based on headwords excerpted from earlier lexicographic compilations of foreign words in Polish published by Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN [E. Scientific Publishing House PWN]. Secondly, the SZA was compiled in the 2000s, when expressions calqued from English were infrequent and certainly under-researched. The few publications at that time that dealt with semantic loans were: Kurkowska (1976); Mycawka (1991a,b, 1992), Markowski (1992, 2000); Koziara (2003), and Witalisz (2007). Other works, devoted chiefly to direct borrowings, only mentioned single instances of calques (see e.g. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995).

4.1. Sources of language data

The calqued expressions in the new dictionary have been sourced chiefly from previous publications, but also from an international electronic database. In addition calques that appear on a daily basis in the Polish public sphere were collected. Over 300 English-sourced semantic loans are discussed in Witalisz (2007), with the author also providing the first Polish collection of 240 one- and multi-word loan translations (structural calques) from English. As this collection was an unexpected result of the main research on semantic loans, it was attached as an Appendix (Witalisz 2007: 305), together with a comment concerning the need for further research into loan translations of English origin in view of their rapidly growing numbers.

The 2010s witnessed a further influx of various types of calqued expressions into Polish, which was duly noted in a 2015 publication devoted entirely to English-sourced loan translations (Witalisz 2015). The data, including over 550 loan translations, have been classified into subtypes, taking as a starting point the product of calquing, before creatively and critically exploiting typologies previously proposed in European language contact literature. As loan translations represent a special strategy of lexical development, uniting word-formation processes, semantic change and borrowing, the volume addresses various linguistic phenomena, such as the semantic processes that are part of the calquing process, lexical adaptation and the institutionalization of calques in the recipient language, as well as methods of calque identification and classification.

The data presented in both quoted volumes have been critically reviewed through the use of three corpora of Polish (see Section 5). Also, the data

gathered in both volumes have recently been used for another, rapidly growing collection of English-sourced calques, which together with the more numerous direct loanwords, have become a foundation of the Polish contribution to the GLAD electronic cross-linguistic database of Anglicisms. Currently, the database comprises data from 20 languages, including Indo-European and Ural-Altaic tongues, as well as Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese and Korean (see details of the GLAD (Global Anglicisms Database) project at: <http://gladnetwork.org> and in: Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2021). In the years 2016–2021 Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld and Alicja Witalisz, who are responsible for the Polish contribution to the database, have collected over 3500 English-sourced borrowings of various types, both overt and covert, as well as critically evaluated earlier collections of loans, with the aim being to avoid the inclusion of loans that are highly specialized terms, obsolete or rarely used in the GLAD database. The GLAD database is a work in progress; the data are/can be continuously expanded, updated and revised through a new editable interface (only accessible to the contributors), designed and administered by a Dutch team led by Nicoline van der Sijs and Jesse de Does from the Instituut voor de Nederlandse taal. The database, which is equipped with an effective search engine, is available to the public at: <https://glad.ivdnt.org/>.

It must be noted, however, that the proto-source of all the collections quoted above are data that have been collected more or less systematically since the mid-2000s and excerpted manually from the printed and electronic press, radio and television programmes, electronic media, overheard conversations and the public space, as seen in the recent Pl. *Pocałuj i jedź* (< E. *Kiss & Drive*).

The collection of English-sourced calques is continually updated, with cross-linguistic research that involves a comparative analysis of English loan translations found in other European languages that provide additional information. The collaboration between Henrik Gottlieb (University of Copenhagen), Ramón Marti Solano (University of Limoges) and Alicja Witalisz, as part of a Loan Translation Project, aims to verify which English set phrases and idioms have been calqued into three genetically distant Indo-European languages: Danish, Polish and Spanish, a project which is intended to be a point of departure for further cross-linguistic research.⁴ The findings of these comparative studies, although the project is in its initial stages and it is planned to include more languages, are promising. Such research

⁴ I would like to take the opportunity to thank all the other collaborators, representing the Albanian, Czech, Dutch, French, Greek, Italian, Romanian and Russian languages, for their contribution, expertise, as well as sound and systematic work to develop the Loan Translation Project. A.W.

is likely to contribute significantly to the expansion of the collection of loan translations in the new dictionary of Anglicisms in Polish.

4.2. Identification and provenance of calques

A tool for the automatic identification of English direct borrowings in Polish corpora has not as yet, to the best of our knowledge, been developed, though technically it seems to be achievable as a tool for the automatic identification and excerption of direct Anglicisms has been designed for Spanish (Álvarez Mellado 2021) and partially for Norwegian (Andersen 2012; Losnegaard, Lyse 2012). With regard to calques, by definition composed of native lexical stock, automatic identification does not seem possible, due to the phenomena of polysemy and homonymy. For instance, the homonymous co-existence of idiomatic calques and non-idiomatic native phrases, such as the idiomatic Pl. *gorący ziemniak* ‘a controversial and difficult issue’ (< E. *hot potato*) and the non-idiomatic Pl. *gorące ziemniaki* [E. hot potatoes] (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, Witalisz 2019), as well as the lack of semantic and pragmatic annotations of the contextual meaning (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Wilson 2018: 179) prove problematic. This means that the identification of calques remains a manual exercise and depends on the language competence and extralinguistic knowledge of the contact researcher.

The identification of an expression that is a candidate for a calque is just the first step in a multi-stage diachronic analysis, whose aim is to verify not only the foreign provenance of the calque, but also its etymon and the specific donor language. The scientific interest in this challenging task is manifested in the multiple works on linguistic borrowing, published throughout the more than a century-long history of European language contact studies (see an extensive reference list in Witalisz 2015: 59–69). Among the manifold criteria proposed to verify the foreign provenance of a native-looking innovation, the most effective seem to be the following:

- 1) the culture-specificity of the calqued expression, e.g. Pl. *poprawność polityczna* (< AmE. *political correctness*), Pl. *dzieci kwiaty* (< AmE. *flower children*), Pl. *jesz, ile chcesz* (< AmE. *All you can eat*);
- 2) a discoverable historical prototype, e.g. Pl. *strefa zero* ‘the New York WTC site after the attacks on 9/11, 2001’ (< AmE. *Ground Zero*);
- 3) the context of use, i.e. the innovation is used in a text referring to the foreign reality, e.g. Pl. *pierwsza córka* < AmE. *First Daughter* ‘the daughter of the head of state’;
- 4) the authorship, e.g. Pl. *fakty alternatywne* (< AmE. *alternative facts*), an expression used by Kellyanne Conway, Counsellor to President D. Trump, on 22.01.2017;

- 5) the historical-linguistic context, i.e. a documented influx of foreign loans from a specific language at a specific period of time, related to particular political or social events;
- 6) the historical non-linguistic evidence, e.g. the advent of computers and the Internet in the USA released onomasiological needs in other languages, e.g. Pl. *poczta elektroniczna* < E. *e-mail*, Pl. *chmura* < E. *cloud*;
- 7) the idiomaticity, e.g. Pl. *gorący ziemniak/kartofel* < E. *hot potato*;
- 8) the synchronic coexistence of a calque and direct loanword in the recipient language, e.g. Pl. *szczęśliwe godziny* and *happy hours* (< E. *happy hour*);
- 9) the untypicality of a collocation in the recipient language, e.g. Pl. *prać pieniądze* (< E. *money laundering*);
- 10) an untypical word-formation pattern that violates the grammatical rules of the recipient language, e.g. Pl. *biznes wiadomości* (< E. *business news*);
- 11) the co-occurrence of formally and semantically similar calqued expressions in several languages, e.g. Pl. *poprawność polityczna*, Chinese 政治正确 (lit. 'political correctness'), Czech *politická korektnost*, Fr. *politiquement correct* (adj.)/*rectitude politique*, Ger. *politische Korrektheit*, Hu. *politikai korrektség*, It. *correttezza politica*, Ru. *политическая корректность*, Sp. *corrección política*, Sw. *politisk korrekthet* (< AmE. *political correctness*);
- 12) the type of semantic field, e.g. terms related to IT technology, business, science, pop culture, cosmetology and aesthetic medicine.

Due to the constant development of new technologies and word processing tools, the verification of the status of a calque has currently become more reliable. The old-school lexicon-based manual verification has been replaced with a corpus-based diachronic comparative analysis of the first authentic attestations of an innovation and its alleged etymon, as well as their collocational patterns (Witalisz 2015: 67; Zabawa 2017: 52). An advanced model for the verification of phraseological calques has been proposed in Andersen (2019), with a 4-stage diachronic-contrastive corpus method exploiting advanced statistical tools and involving a comparison of the diachronic frequency profiles and the functional equivalence of the calque and its etymon.

The identification and verification of the foreign provenance of a calqued expression raises a number of questions, of which we address only two. The first concerns calques which are members of a whole series of expressions that share a common morpheme or lexical unit, such as the combining form *e-* in, e.g. Pl. *e-książka* (< E. *e-book*) and Pl. *e-handel* (< E. *e-commerce*) or the adjective Pl. *przyjazny* [E. friendly] in, e.g. Pl. *przyjazny dla środowiska* (< E. *environment-friendly*) and *przyjazny dla skóry* (< E. *skin-friendly*). It

seems that definite conclusions regarding the status of other such expressions, e.g. Pl. *e-urząd* [E. e-office] and Pl. *przyjazna pożyczka* [E. a friendly bank loan] cannot be made, even if it was possible to find corresponding English expressions. It remains unclear whether they have been calqued from English or coined independently in Polish by analogy to the calques previously mentioned.

A separate issue concerns the current trend of using English words to name new inventions, products, social movements and other phenomena, such as the Italian-made *Slow Food* movement, initiated as a response to and rejection of the USA-made *fast food*. This practice of the “Anglicisation” of product names and concepts is certainly related to the *lingua franca* status of English and the desire to promote goods and ideas internationally. Yet the question that remains for a lexicographer and language contact researcher is whether, e.g. Pl. *wolne jedzenie* is a calque of E. *Slow Food* or It. *Slow Food*.

4.3. Subtypes of calqued expressions in the new dictionary

The collection of calqued expressions in new dictionary includes one- and multi-word exact and inexact⁵ loan translations, one- and multi-word loanblends (i.e. hybrids with discoverable English models), and one- and multi-word semantic loans and semantic calques, which are exemplified below:

- exact one-word loan translation, e.g. Pl. *nowomowa* (< E. *newspeak*);
- exact multi-word loan translation, e.g. Pl. *Pocałuj i jedź* (< E. *Kiss and ride*);
- inexact one-word loan translation, e.g. Pl. *żarciowóz* [E. *chowtruck*] (< E. *foodtruck*);
- inexact multi-word loan translation, e.g. Pl. *mieć trupa w szafie* [E. *to have a dead body in the closet*] (< E. *to have a skeleton in the cupboard*);
- calqued acronym, e.g. Pl. *ŚOZ* (< E. *WHO*);
- one-word loanblend, e.g. Pl. *pracoholik* (< E. *workaholic*);
- multi-word loanblend, e.g. Pl. *długi drink* (< E. *long drink*);
- semantic loan, e.g. Pl. *aplikacja* ‘computer programme’ (< E. *application*);
- semantic calque, e.g. Pl. *chmura* ‘a large area on the Internet for data storage’ (< E. *cloud*);
- multi-word semantic calque, e.g. Pl. *przypudrować sobie nos* ‘to inhale a drug’ (< E. *to powder one’s nose*).

⁵ The inexactness of a loan translation has been variously interpreted in the literature. We assume that the inexactness of translation involves only a lexical deviation from the foreign model, as in Pl. *czarny koń* [E. *black horse*] (< E. *dark horse*), and that formal (morphological and syntactic) deviation from the foreign model, frequent in the case of genetically distant languages, does not determine the inexactness of translation.

The diversity of exact and inexact multi-word loan translations compiled in the new dictionary can be illustrated by the following syntactic subtypes:

- nominal loan translations, e.g. Pl. *finansowanie społecznościowe* (< E. *crowd-funding*);
- attributive loan translations, e.g. Pl. *w tyle głowy* (< E. *at/in the back of one's mind*);
- calqued set phrases, e.g. Pl. *wychodzić z szafy* (< E. *to come out of the closet*);
- calqued statements, e.g. Pl. *Jabłko z wieczora, unikniesz doktora* (< E. *An apple a day keeps the doctor away*).

The fine-grained subdivisions of loan translations proposed in the literature, including reversing, non-reversing, analysing, synthesizing, expanded and contracted loan translations (Witalisz 2015: 94),⁶ well illustrate the formal differences between the calque and its etymon. Loan translations representing these subtypes will not be provided with additional annotations in the new dictionary, due to the fact that some subtypes are relatively infrequent.

An intriguing outcome of the English-Polish language contact are the loan creations (or replacement words), such as, e.g. Pl. *sygnalist(k)a* [E. lit. signal + -ist] (< E. *whistle blower*), whose creation is inspired by language contact, though formally they are independent of the corresponding English etymon. It is not planned to include such loan creations in the new dictionary, unless they coexist with a direct loanword which served as the inspiration for their coining, as in, e.g. Pl. *think tank* and *zaplecze intelektualne* [E. intellectual backup'] (< E. *think tank*). Also excluded are the numerous instances of etymonless hybrid creations, coined independently in Polish out of native words and well-assimilated English morphological or lexical loans, e.g. Pl. *szafing* (*szafa* 'closet' + *-ing*) 'parties at which used clothes are exchanged', Pl. *balkon party* (*balkon* 'balcony' + *party*) 'party on a balcony'. The new dictionary will list, however, pseudo-Anglicisms, such as *before party*, which will be marked accordingly.

One of the key typological problems in studies on calques is the classification of structural calques such as, e.g. Pl. *obiad biznesowy* (< E. *business lunch*), Pl. *skrzynka (e-)mailowa* (< E. *e-mail box*), in which one component is a native derivative of a well-assimilated English loanword (i.e. Pl. *biznes* (< E. *business*) and Pl. *e-mail* (< E. *e-mail*) in the above examples). Such

⁶ Minor subtypes of loan translations are illustrated by the following: reversing: e.g. Pl. *czynnik ludzki* [E. lit. factor human] (< E. *human factor*), non-reversing: e.g. Pl. *śmieciowe jedzenie* (< E. *junk food*), analyzing: e.g. Pl. *wojna w sieci* [E. war in network] (< E. *network war*), synthesizing: e.g. Pl. *równowaga sił* [E. lit. balance powers[Gen.]] (< E. *balance of power*), expanded: e.g. Pl. *wszystko wliczone w cenę* [E. lit. all included in price] (< E. *all-inclusive*), contracted: e.g. Pl. *serwis społecznościowy* [E. lit. service social] (< E. *social networking service*).

calques could be classified either as loanblends (i.e. half-translations) or as loan translations, especially in those cases when the English loanword has been graphically adapted and does not resemble its foreign etymon. The solution that will be adopted in the new dictionary is still under discussion.

4.4. Composition of dictionary entries for calques

It is proposed that a dictionary entry for a calqued expression includes: 1) the type of calque, 2) the English etymon, 3) the meaning, defined on the basis of how the calque is used in Polish, with additional annotation if this is different from the meaning of the etymon, and optionally 4) a *qualifier*, in the case of specialized terms, 5) lexical variants, 6) other types of loans based on the same etymon, marked for cross-reference with →, and 7) related loans presented in other parts of the dictionary, marked for cross-reference with →.

The new dictionary of Anglicisms is intended to serve both a descriptive and registering function, which explains the inclusion of lexical variants of multi-word calques found in Polish corpora.

Consider the following illustrative examples of dictionary entries for calques of various types:

<p>chmura kalka sem. <ang. cloud> <i>inf.</i> obszerne miejsce w Internecie do przechowywania danych [E. cloud sem. calque <E. cloud> <i>IT.</i> ‘a large area on the Internet for data storage’]</p>
<p>czarny kapelusz kalka <ang. black hat> <i>inf.</i> → haker, który narusza bezpieczeństwo danych komputerowych z błahego powodu, złośliwości lub dla osobistych korzyści, w odróżnieniu od → białego kapelusza [E. black hat calque <E. black hat> <i>IT</i> → a haker who illegally violates the safety of computer-stored data for no reason or out of spite and for private gain; in contrast to → white hat]</p>
<p>drapacz chmur kalka <ang. skyscraper> budynek wielopiętrowy (por. → skyscraper ad) [E. skyscraper calque <E. skyscraper> a multi-storey building (cf. → skyscraper ad)]</p>
<p>krwawa Mary półkalka <ang. Bloody Mary> drink alkoholowy z wódki, soku pomidorowego i przypraw [E. Bloody Mary loanblend <E. Bloody Mary> an alcoholic drink made of vodka, tomato juice and spices]</p>
<p>mieć motylki w brzuchu kalka <ang. to have butterflies in one’s stomach> odczuwać ekscytację, gdy jest się zakochanym (por. znaczenie ang. ‘odczuwać niepokój przed np. testem lub wystąpieniem publicznym) [E. to have butterflies in one’s stomach calque <E. to have butterflies in one’s stomach> to feel excitement when one is in love (cf. English meaning ‘to feel anxiety before, e.g. an exam or speaking in public’)]</p>

szklany sufit kalka <ang. glass ceiling> bariera dyskryminująca, która uniemożliwia kobietom i mniejszościom awans na wysokie stanowiska [E. **glass ceiling** calque <E. glass ceiling> a discriminatory barrier that prevents women and various minorities from professional advancement]

zapora/ściana ogniowa kalka <ang. firewall> *inf.* zapora ograniczająca przepływ danych komputerowych i chroniąca serwer sieciowy przed uszkodzeniem lub nieautoryzowanymi użytkownikami (też: zapora sieciowa; → **firewall**) [E. **fire barrier/wall** calque <E. firewall> *IT.* a barrier that limits the flow of electronic data and secures a computer system from damage or unauthorized users (also: network barrier; → **firewall**)]

5. Final remarks – verification of the frequency and usage of Anglicisms in Polish corpora

To verify the frequency and usage of Anglicisms in contemporary Polish, three corpora of Polish were consulted: The National Corpus of Polish (NKJP, <http://nkjp.pl>; Peźnik 2012), the Monco PL Monitoring Corpus (<http://monco.frazeo.pl>; Peźnik 2020) and the plTenTen corpus of Polish available on Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/pltenten-polish-corpus/>). The NKJP is used mainly to verify the usage of older loans that were borrowed into Polish before 2012, as well as to verify the first attestation of Anglicisms borrowed in the second half of the 20th century. The other two corpora, the Monco PL and the plTenTen, serve to verify the most recent Anglicisms. Both are multi-million web-based collections of texts with the Monco PL self-updating automatically. All corpora are sociolinguistically diversified and include texts representing various genres.

At this stage, it is too early to calculate the exact ratio of direct Anglicisms to calques in the new dictionary, which in previous studies has been estimated as 83% of direct loanwords to 17% of calques (Bańko, Witalisz 2018). The data compiled so far intimate that an increase in calqued Anglicisms is likely to be observed. However, two factors suggest that the new dictionary will not be able to answer the question concerning the exact number of Anglicisms in Polish. The first is the exclusion from the dictionary of both short-lived slang Anglicisms and highly specialized terminology, the other is the unprecedented and dynamic growth of the number of Anglicisms observed in contemporary Polish, induced not only by the global status of English, but also by the ever increasing bilingualism of the Poles. The aim of the authors, however, is to demonstrate the current state of knowledge and to register a section of Polish lexis that is rapidly developing also for reasons other than the influence of English.

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