

GRZEGORZ SZPILA
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
grzegorz.szpila@uj.edu.pl

ANGLICISMS IN CONTEMPORARY UPPER SORBIAN – ENGLISH / ENGLISH – UPPER SORBIAN DICTIONARIES

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Abstract

This paper investigates four bilingual English – Upper Sorbian / Upper Sorbian – English dictionaries regarding the presence of Anglicisms therein. The paper describes the place of Anglicisms in the macrostructure of the lexicons as well their treatment within entries either as headwords or counterparts. The paper enumerates their numerical presence as well as the types of borrowings, and the other processes responsible for enriching the lexis of Upper Sorbian with English lexical elements as revealed in the dictionaries. The paper discusses the information regarding the adaptation of English lexical items in Upper Sorbian (phonetic, graphic, morphological and semantic) that can be obtained from the lexicographic works.

Introduction

It is not surprising that linguists have for a considerable time been interested in analyzing the interlingual relationships between English and other world languages in the light of the status of English as the modern lingua franca and its influence on other tongues on many a level. One of the domains in which the English language exerts an impact on other languages is undoubtedly lexis, which has arguably attracted the most attention on the part of language researchers studying the results of language contact. This perhaps is not surprising since English is believed to be the major source of lexical borrowings in the languages studied (Furiassi 2003: 121), a matter which is not restricted only to languages spoken in Europe.

The need to research the English influence on Slavonic languages was formulated a long time ago (Filipovič 1974: *passim*) and since then the contact between the languages of these two different groups has also been analyzed with regard to the presence of English loanwords in Slavonic languages. Indeed the lexical impact of English on the vocabularies of many European languages was described in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach (ed.) 2005), arguably the most important work of this type and scale compiled so far. The dictionary, somewhat surprisingly, does not provide information regarding the lexical borrowings from English in all the European languages. One of the languages not considered is Upper Sorbian (together with Lower Sorbian). The absence of the Sorbian component in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* is not of course intentional on the part of the dictionary's compilers but can be rationalized, and perhaps explained, either by the extremely limited research into English borrowings in Upper and Lower Sorbian and/or the assumption that the English loanwords in German penetrate the Sorbian languages profoundly enough to sanction generalizations concerning the two Slavic languages on the basis of the impact English has exerted on German and the influence of the latter on Upper and Lower Sorbian.

It may be safely stated that the existence of English words in the Sorbian languages is to a large extent conditioned by the contact of the latter with German (cf. Völke 2006: 43). Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that apart from the indirect contact between the English lexis and Upper Sorbian via German, the Slavonic language is in direct contact with English as well. The latter type of relation needs further examination but such an analysis goes beyond the scope of the present exploration.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the differing lexicographic descriptions of Anglicisms in the selected dictionaries from the perspective of the four major adaptation processes which regulate the assimilation of foreign words into target languages and which at the same time demonstrate the degree of adaptation of the foreign lexis. Linguists studying the process of borrowing usually differentiate the following types: phonetic, graphic, morphological and semantic adaptation. We have to bear in mind that words are adapted gradually and do not undergo all the processes while being accommodated in the system of the target language, which oftentimes is attested in their lexicographic description. The lexicons selected for the present study may give us some, but not necessarily all, the information concerning the degree of adaptation, because, for instance, they are not specialized dictionaries and so they do not provide information about the pronunciation, nor the etymology of Anglicisms – this is also the case with other foreign lexical items. More precise and exhaustive information could be obtained from dictionaries of foreign borrowings in Upper Sorbian, which would have a greater focus on aspects of assimilation, including, for instance, information about the etymology, which is conspicuously absent from the bilingual dictionaries discussed here. However, no dictionary of English borrowings exists for Upper Sorbian, nor is there a dictionary of foreign words available in this Slavonic language, nor a genuine monolingual Upper Sorbian dictionary in which it would be possible to find further information about borrowed items. Therefore, when analysing any lexicographic material we have to rely on all and every piece of information that is available in the description of headwords and their counterparts

in the target language. The analysis of the Upper Sorbian dictionaries can help to partially establish the status of Anglicisms in this tongue and should without doubt be supplemented by further lexicographic studies of the available dictionaries as well as other sources in order to attempt to ascertain the situation of English lexical elements in Upper Sorbian.

The dictionaries chosen for the present analysis are:

Stone G. 2002. *Hornjoserbsko-jendźelski słownik*. Budyšin. = *HJS*

Wornar E. 2007. *Jendźelsko-hornjoserbski šulski słownik*. Budyšin. = *JHŠŠ*

Richardson K. 2009. *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu*. Budyšin. = *JSSZŠ*

Strauch M. 2000. *Sorbian [Wendish]-English / English-Sorbian [Wendish]*. New York. = *SEESD*

Macrostructure

All four dictionaries have the same general structure: all are bilingual, contemporary, general, synchronic lexicons, which are semasiologically orientated. *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu* is an exception in that it is also in part an onomasiological dictionary: it arranges the headwords within 20 lexical fields. Also it seems to be the least general as it is not only limited in scope by its size (1000 headwords) but also and more importantly by the target user – primary school students (*JHŠŠ* is also geared towards the school user). The other three are examples of bilingual dictionaries *par excellence*.

The megastructure of *HJS*, *JHŠŠ* and *SEESD* is similar, except the A-Z list of headwords also contain the outer texts (Adamska-Sałaciak 2013: 219). The latter consist of Zawod (*JSSZŠ*); Abbreviations/Wužiwane skrótšenki, The Upper Sorbian Alphabet (*SEESD*); Preface, Abbreviations, the Upper Sorbian Alphabet, Upper Sorbian Pronunciation and Grammar (*HJS*); Zawod, Přispomnjenja..., Skrótšenki a kwalifikatory and an extended lexico-grammatical section (*JHŠŠ*).

In none of the dictionaries is there explicit information concerning the type of vocabulary that forms the macrostructure of the lexicons. Nor do they make any reference to borrowings from English, nor from any other languages, into Upper Sorbian. It seems that English loanwords are taken for granted and there is no marked difference between the treatment of English and Upper Sorbian headwords/equivalents, which becomes evident in the analysis of the microstructure.

The corpus collected on the basis of the four dictionaries contains over 500 English lexical items (501). The material does not distinguish between Anglo-Americanisms and Briticisms (cf. Wanzeck 2010: 133), and although further analyses of English borrowings in Upper Sorbian could perforce make such a distinction to establish the relation between the two types of words (and the impact of British and American English on Upper Sorbian), it seems that in most cases such distinctions are impossible and/or futile. Additionally, the Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian are not differentiated on the basis of their etymology: both historically English (*baby*, *byte*,

nylon, šerif) and non-English (*bikini, curry, kiwi, kayak, wigwam*) words in Upper Sorbian are treated in the same manner. The material analyzed does not include proper names either. All the words in my corpus are in consequence called Anglicisms. The table below lists the four dictionaries used for the analysis and shows the number of Anglicisms therein and their percentage *vis à vis* the total number of headwords. It has to be noted that the total number of Anglicisms takes into account the headwords and the equivalents.

Dictionary	Word content	Number of Anglicisms	Percentage of Anglicisms
<i>Sorbian[Wendish]-English/English-Sorbian [Wendish]</i>	circa 4500/3200	166 / 161	3.7% / 5%
<i>Hornjo-serbski słownik</i>	circa 20 000	169	0.8%
<i>Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu</i>	circa 1000	46	4.6%
<i>Jendźelsko-serbki šulski słownik</i>	circa 15 000	339	2.3%

The statistics show different numbers of Anglicisms identified in the dictionaries. The dictionary most abundant in Anglicisms is Wornar's dictionary, while the learner's dictionary has the fewest number of English elements although percentagewise this dictionary is the most saturated with Anglicisms.¹ The low number of Anglicisms in this dictionary is motivated by the target user but nevertheless shows the penetration of English elements into the lexis treated as the core vocabulary for school children. The first two dictionaries in the table contain almost the same number of Anglicisms but the saturation of Strauch's dictionary with Anglicisms is clearly greater.

Anglicisms show different distributions within the dictionaries. That is to say, some Anglicisms appear in all four and others only once in one of the four lexicons. The following enumeration lists Anglicisms that have been excerpted from all four lexicons: *alligator, anorak, baseball, basketball, bus, disco, fairny, golf, helicopter, hobby, hokej, interview, jeans, kanu, keks, lift, partner, piknik, pulower, reporter, rowdy, šampun, slogan, sport, start, tabu, tenis, test, toast, traktor, trend, t-shirt, tunl, wagon*. Almost as frequent are the following lexemes: *baby, bara, blidotenis, bos, camping, cent, charterowy, cowboy, design, designer, dollar, esej, fan, farma, firma, fit, fitness, fulm, hot dog, import, inch, jazz, job, kenguruh, keyboard, klub, lady, layout, lord, manager, medije, mikrofon, okay, party, pony, poster, punt, rugby, shortsy, slum, squash, steak, teenager, tramwajka, volleyball, whisky*. On the other hand, many an Anglicism is registered only once, for example: *chipsy, cornflakes, species, shake (SEESD); clan, cracker, cutter, flanel, freak, gag, jumbojet, smog, speedway, sterling, unca, yuppie (HJS); Halloween, inlineskaty, monster (JSSZŠ); kiwi, linolej, spleen, tweed, wigwam (JHŠS)*.

¹ In comparison *Wot A do Ž. Słowničk za zakładnu šulu* (Langerowa, Šoćina 2007) includes 32 Anglicisms.

As far as English borrowings are concerned it is not surprising that the vast majority of the headwords are nouns, followed by adjectives and verbs, with other classes being extremely rare amongst the borrowed lexical units (cf. Onysko 2004: 61; Kowner, Rosenhouse 2008: 12). The dictionaries reflect this tendency very well: they contain 84% of nouns, 10% of adjectives and 6% of verbs, of which some examples are listed below.² The high percentage of adjectives in comparison with verbs is a result of the application of derivational processes to English bases, and such derivatives are counted in this analysis as borrowings as well. Adverbial/adjectival elements are represented by *okay*, and *hi* is classified as a borrowed interjection. Not all the dictionaries register all the major parts of speech, for example, *JSSZŠ* does not list any verbs.

HJS: nouns: *anorak, album, bojkot, clown, tiket*; adjectives: *crossowy, fair, golfowy, wirtualny* verbs: *bluffować, boksować, campingować, padlować, sprintować, šampunować, šarterować*.

JHŠS: nouns: *baby, bikini, bos, bypass, derby, email*, adjectives: *fitnessowy, hobbyjowy, recyklujomny, sportowy, zoomowy*; verbs: *boykottować, charterować, faksować, kidnapować, klonować*.

SEESD: nouns: *broiler, camping, cent, cowboy, designer, hamburger, inch*, verbs: *interviewować, managować, padlować, picknikować*; adjectives: *fit*.

JSSZŠ: nouns: *comic, keks, kompjuter, monster, poster, snowboard, šampun*; adjectives: *busowy, cejdejkowy, comicowy, kompjuterowy, tenisowy*.

The selection of Anglicisms for this analysis included all types of words, both monomorphemic and multimorphemic, including compound words. In my material there are no formulaic expressions, which the dictionaries in question fail to register. It has to be noted that certain Anglicisms appear in many open collocations in the dictionaries yet not as headwords or equivalents of the headwords, for example, *denim – jeansowy płat* (*HJS*), *contact lenses – kontakne čočki* (*JHŠS*).

Simple words are illustrated by, for example, *acre, baby, bob, bos, clown, comic, dress, fair, fan, freak, gin, sprint* and others. Complex words can be exemplified as follows: *bowling, camping, gangster, komputer, kontejner, manager, rewolwer* and many others. The following are examples of compound words: *babysitter, barkeeper, basketball, baseball, cornflakes, countdown, cowboy, gentleman, grapefruit, hot dog, know-how*.

These examples represent Anglicisms in the dictionaries in their original forms. Nevertheless, the lexicons show examples of multimorphemic lexical items derived according to Upper Sorbian word formation rules. Such words are derived either from simple or complex words in English, for example, *comicowy* (US *comic* < Eng. *comic* + US. *-owy*), *editěrować* (US. *editër* < Eng. *edit* + US. *-ować*), *eksportować* (US. *export* < Eng. *export* + US. *-ować*), *fairność* (US. *fair* < Eng. *fair* + US. *-ny, -osć*), *grilowanje* (US. *gril* < Eng. *grill* + US. *-ować, -nje*).

² The statistics presented here confirm my observations (Szpila [forthcoming]) concerning the use of Anglicisms in the Upper Sorbian press in the years 2013–2015.

The vast majority of the words are borrowings, that is lexemes represented in the lexicons either in their original forms or adapted shapes. Another category are calques and semi-calques created on the basis of English lexical items (cf. Obara 1989) and reinforced by their German calqued or semi-calqued counterparts. Calquing is considered the other major source of new elements in a language (cf. Onysko, Winter-Froemel 2011: 1552), but examples of calquing and semi-calquing in the dictionaries are rare, although the following do exist (some can be classified as phraseological calques and semi-calques): *charterowy lět* (Eng. *charter flight*), *coologiska zahroda* (Eng. *zoological garden, zoo*), *hodowy pudding* (Eng. *Christmas pudding*), *podłoha za myšku* (Eng. *mousepad*), *tenisowy hrajer* (Eng. *tennis player*), *popsew* (Eng. *pop song*), *pophudźba* (Eng. *pop music*), *kameramuž* (Eng. *cameraman*), *mikrožołma* (Eng. *microwave*), *wirtuelna realita* (Eng. *virtual reality*), *kisaty dešč* (Eng. *acid rain*) as well as *pfadfinder* (Eng. *pathfinder*), which is a borrowed calque from German (Germ. *der Pfadfinder*). I found only one pseudo-Anglicism in the dictionary – *handy* – a classic example of this type of creation in German is also used in Upper Sorbian.

The collected words can be classified into various thematic classes, representing the domains which make use of English words in the process of nomination (Kleparski 2001: 22; Kovács 2008: 181). English borrowings in a foreign language can be grouped into many different thematic categories of which I have chosen only a few, those which to my mind best represent the lexical domains most significantly affected by English in the four dictionaries. My observations concerning the vocabulary domains with English loanwords confirm Völke's (2006: 38) remark that in Upper Sorbian we can find new lexical items of foreign origin in arguably all lexical fields.

Sport: *aerobika, badminton, baseball, basketball, blidotenis, bob, bokser, bowling, derby, golf, hokej, krawl, kriket, rugby, skateboard, squash, surfowar.*

Clothes: *bikini, blazer, dress, jeansy, kilt, overall, pulower, pyjama, shorts, slip, t-shirt.*

Transport: *awtobus, jeep, jumbojet, lokomotiwa, tramwajka, trolleybus, wagon.*

Technology: *byte, cejdejka, email, hacker, harddisk, hardware, high-techowy, internet, joystick, kompjuter, layout, monitor, notebook, online, processor, software.*

Music and entertainment: *bas, disco, film, jazz, musical, reggae, rock, rum.*

Food and drink: *biskwit, chipsy, coca-cola, cornflakes, curry, drink, gin, grapefruit, hamburger, pudding, hot dog, keks, ketchup, kiwi, popcorn, porridge, roastbeef, steak, toast, whisky.*

Lifestyle: *fitness, Halloween, hippy, hobby, hooligan, party, piknik, rowdy, skinhead, yuppie.*

Microstructure

As was the case with the megastructure and macrostructure, the dictionaries do not differ much from one another when it comes to the form of their microstructure. Although *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu* always provides each

headword with example sentences in English and Upper Sorbian (for example, *Četa Lizzy, wuj Bill a baby bydla na burskim statoku, Widžiš poster mojeje najlubšeje popoweje skupiny, Džensa snědam toast*), this feature is entirely absent from *SEESD* and only occasionally appears in the other two dictionaries (for example, *Zličbowanki so wšě z kompjuťerom pisaja* in *JHŠS*).

The entries in the four dictionaries provide equivalents, occasionally together with a periphrastic semantic explication of the concepts. *JHŠS* is the only lexicon that includes information concerning the pronunciation of English words as headwords. The entries may contain a certain amount of grammatical information and collocations, but the English borrowings as mentioned earlier are not treated as a special category of words, hence their entries are only as informative as the other entries.

In Warnar's dictionary we encounter an interesting lexicographic situation. For some Anglicisms the author provides extended definitions, which hardly function as translational equivalents. The case in point is the lexeme *adapter*, which has the following explanation: "tykač z wjacorymi móžnosćemi přizamknjenja" for the meaning of 'a device for connecting two parts, such as plug' (Stone adduces the Anglicism *adapter/adaptor* in the sense of 'record player'). This is surprising as *Prawopisny słownik hornjoserbskeje rěče* (Völkel 2005) and *Deutsch obersorbisches Wörterbuch neuer Lexik* (Jentsch, Pohontsch, Schulz 2006) no longer distinguish the two meanings and introduce the Anglicism for both senses. Similarly, Warnar does not register the Upper Sorbian *baby* as an equivalent for *baby* despite its presence in many a Sorbian dictionary. This strategy may be explained by the prescriptive approach to using foreign lexical items to the detriment of native vocabulary (cf. the lack of *bachelor, bike, box*). However, it may lead to situations when English loanwords are registered as equivalents of words other than their English etymons, for example, *blancmange* is translated as *puding*, but *pudding* only as *dessert* and *pojědź*; *mikser* is paired with the English *blender* but not with *mixer* ("kuchinska mašina"). Another reason may be simply that with the vocabulary of Upper Sorbian changing so rapidly the dictionary makers hesitate to include Anglicisms for fear that the latter might be ephemeral borrowings and so not merit a place in a lexicon.

Pronunciation

It is impossible to establish the way English words are pronounced by native speakers of Upper Sorbian by analysing the Anglicisms in the four dictionaries: they do not contain information about the pronunciation of Anglicisms (they may give the pronunciation of English words as headwords). The only information pertaining to the issue of phonetic assimilation may be obtained from the spelling of Anglicisms which in some cases – it may be assumed – reflects their pronunciation. In other cases we have to take that bilingual speakers of German and Upper Sorbian follow the German pronunciation of English loanwords. The spelling of well-established Anglicisms, as mentioned, suggests their pronunciation, for example: *biskwit, bojkot, kontejner, kompjuťer, ketčup, krawl, kwis, hokej, pulower, skawt, skeč, šampun, šarter*,

šerif. However, it remains to be ascertained if the accent of the English counterparts has changed or not and if so, how. It has to be said that because the spelling is not consistent (for instance, *ketchup*, *container* and others) we cannot be sure either if the pronunciation changes alongside the change in graphic shape simply by looking at the dictionaries.

Spelling

As far as the spelling of Anglicisms is concerned, we observe that English loanwords either retain their original spelling (the vast majority) or change to adhere to the spelling rules of Upper Sorbian, in which case the graphic adaptation reflects also the assimilation on a phonetic level (see above): *džungl*, *faks*, *skeč*, *šampun*, *skeč*, in which English sounds are replaced by Sorbian phonemes (for instance: /dʒ/, /f/, /ʃ/ > /dž/, /č/, /š/). The changes are conditioned by the correspondence between letters and sounds in Sorbian (for example: “c” = /ts/) as well as by the non-existence of certain letters or combinations thereof in the target language (for instance: “ph”, “x”). The main processes regarding orthographic adaptation amongst Anglicisms in the selected material are as follows:

- Replacement of letters: *bokser*, *kompjuter*, *kombajn*, *koncern*, *klawn*;
- Elimination of double letters: *bas*, *bos*;
- Reduction in clusters of letters: *ticket*, *gril*, *hokej*, *joker*, *trick*;
- Lower case spelling: *aids*, *american football*, *internet*;
- Elimination of hyphenation or solid spelling: *comicstrip*, *jumbojet*, *soapopera*, *widejohra*, *widejorekorder*.

We should note at this point that the dictionaries discussed here may provide two versions of the orthographic forms, such as *kwisowy/quizowy*, *charterowy/šarterowy*, *esej/essay* (*SEESD*), whereas elsewhere they reflect the alternative spellings in English itself, such as *hot dog* vs. *hotdog*, and finally different dictionaries may even vary in the way they register the spelling of Anglicisms: *biscuit* (*HJS*) vs. *biskwit* (*JHŠS*), *boycott* in *HJS* vs. *bojkot* (*JHŠS*), *scout* (*SEESD*) vs. *skawt* (*HJS*). The four dictionaries eloquently demonstrate that the spelling of some Anglicisms is not standardized into one form only (*container/kontejner*, *computer/kompjuter/komputer*, *volleyball/wolejbul*) but otherwise adaptation on the orthographic level seems regular and predictable.

Morphology

The four dictionaries provide scant information regarding the grammatical aspects of Anglicisms. The grammatical sections of the entries are limited or non-existent (*JSSZŠ*), although two dictionaries *JHŠS* and *HJS* provide grammatical

information about the gender and inflection of the headwords, including those which are Anglicisms (in *SEESD* the grammatical information is random and occasionally erroneous). As far as Anglicisms are concerned, the headwords provide information concerning parts of speech, gender and inflection. The part of speech is assigned indirectly in *HJS* as nouns are described in terms of gender (for example, *bas*, *bokser*, *bulldozer* are masculine nouns; *hostess*, *jachta* and *padla* are feminine nouns; *bluffować*, *boksować* and *campingować* are verbs); in *JHŠS* the grammatical information is available only for English headwords and not for the equivalents, but it is direct. There is also information regarding inflection: the open classes are crossreferenced with the inflectional paradigms of the outer matter of *HJS* but in the case of uninflected nouns or adjectives the information is provided in the microstructure of the headwords, for example: *fair* and *jury* are classified as indeclinable.

The derivatives automatically imply the declinability of forms, which can be observed in the case of nouns, adjectives and verbs: *campingowaniščo*, *fairnošć*, *startowc*; *busowy*, *centowy*, *comicowy*, *crossowy*, *fitnesowy*, *golfowy*, *hobbyjowy*, *njefairny*, *padlowy*; *bluffować*, *boksować*, *joggować*, *toastować*. Derivation concerns adjectives (and in consequence adverbs) and verbs. Nouns are borrowed without the necessary prefixal-suffixal formatives unless further semantic senses are to be derived, such as feminine nouns from English genderless nouns, for example, *designer/designerka*, *partner/partnerka*, *reporter/reporterka*, *steward/stewardka*. Surprisingly, such feminine derivatives are extremely rare in the lexicons analyzed. We can only speculate about the grammatical features of other forms, as no grammatical information is provided. Therefore, Anglicisms such as *cool* and *fit* which do not bear Upper Sorbian derivational suffixes could be treated as indeclinable, which in fact they are. Other features can be ascribed to Anglicisms only on the basis of the grammatical (inflectional and gender) system of Upper Sorbian.

In the material I noted only two specific examples concerning the morphological process of adaptation, namely the process of the deplurization of nouns, which involves ignoring the original plural suffix and adding a native marker of plurality, and examples include: *chipsy*, *jeansy*, *legginsy* and *shortsy* (but cf. *jeans* in *SEESD* and *shorts* in *JHŠS*). The reverse process can be exemplified by dint of the lexemes *pyjama* and *overall*, whereby the English plural suffix is eliminated.

Semantics

The dictionaries discussed are typical bilingual dictionaries in that they provide only synonyms for the headwords. The equivalents when English words are headwords are almost always corresponding Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian, for example: *hamburger* – *hamburger*, *lobby* – *lobby*, *volleyball* – *volleyball* in *SEESD*, if, that is, Upper Sorbian has a borrowing as an equivalent (but cf. *cider* – *jablukowe wino* in *HJS*). Occasionally, English words may be translated by means of another English word as an Anglicism, for example: *briefs* – *slip*, *hooligan* – *rowdy*, *rollerblade* – *inliner* (*HJS*).

It should be noted that recent dictionaries have introduced other equivalents for the above words, for example, *Deutsch-obersorbisches Wörterbuch neuer Lexik* (2006) cites *hooligan* as an Anglicism in Upper Sorbian. The dictionaries are not consistent in registering Anglicisms, as some provide them as equivalents, other do not, preferring to suggest native words as counterparts: cf. *babysitter* – *hladar/ka, dohladowar/ka dzěci* in *SEESD* vs. *babysitter* – *babysitter* in *HJS*.

English lexical items are usually provided with only one equivalent (Anglicism), but in some cases they are given more than one; that is, apart from an Anglicism the dictionaries list Upper Sorbian lexemes as counterparts, for example: *babysitter* – *babysitter, pěstónča; canoe* – *padlowanski čolm, kanu; clan* – *clan, wulkosójba; layout* – *layout, načisk; sticker* – *nalěpk, sticker (HJS); band* – *kapata, hercy, band; baby* – *čěšenk (SEESD)*. Naturally, more equivalents appear when the English words are polysemous, as is the case with *trip* – *jězba, wulět, pućowanje; trip; zakopnjenje*. It may happen that one English word is paired with different equivalents, each of which contain an Anglicism, the case in point being *comic* which is translated as *comic* and *comicowy zešiwk* in *JSSZŠ*, *comic, comicstrip* in *JHŠŠ*, and additionally as *comic-zešiwk* in *SEESD*.

In very infrequent cases English words and Anglicisms are additionally explained in differing ways, for example: *AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome); derby* – *derby (tradicionelne konjace wubědžowanje); squash* – *(hra) squash; kilt* – *šotiska muska suknya; know-how* – *praktisko-techniska wěda, nazhonjenja (SEESD); sterling (britiski měnowy system) sterling (HJS)*.

In each case the meaning of the headword is clearly conveyed. A problem only presents itself when English might have influenced the existing words of foreign origin in Upper Sorbian by extending their senses, which is illustrated by *album* – *album (HJS); pirate* – *pirat* and *virus* – *wirus (SEESD)*, a fact which is not mentioned in the dictionaries. In such cases it is not certain which sense of the English word the Upper Sorbian lexeme may have and if and how the words have enriched their semantics in the way, for example, Polish lexemes have under the influence of English (but in *JHŠŠ virus* – *wirus* is in the medical sense only). Similarly, some polysemous senses of Anglicisms are not registered, as in *application* – *pisomna próstwa, nałożowanje (HJS)*, where another sense of *application (aplikacija)* is not registered. The explanation may be quite simple yet at the same time informative, because we may assume that the dictionaries did not register some senses as they were not present among Upper Sorbian words at the time of the compilation of the dictionaries.

Semantically speaking, the dictionaries under scrutiny also provide examples of neo-semanticization/anglosemanticization of native Upper Sorbian words, that is a modification of the lexemic senses due to the influence of foreign words (cf. Witalisz 2007: 17). The most frequently adduced example of the influence of the semantics of *net* and *mouse* upon other languages is eloquently registered in the dictionaries. According to the lexicons, the Upper Sorbian words *syć* (as an equivalent of *web* vs. *pawčina* in *JHŠŠ*) and *myška* (in *podłoha za myšku* in *JSSZŠ*) have broadened their meanings to cover the assimilated senses of their English counterparts.

Conclusion

The analyzed dictionaries show the presence of English loanwords in the vocabulary of Upper Sorbian, thanks to which we can establish a significant number of Anglicism in the language and observe the adaptation processes. Due to the lack of exhaustive information, however, we cannot fully account for the nature of these processes in Upper Sorbian: the dictionaries do not include phonetic information about the pronunciation of English borrowings, the information about inflection and gender assignment is too limited and the precise semantic descriptions of the borrowed items could be extended. In assessing the assimilation of English lexical items in Upper Sorbian we have to rely on the general nature of the adaptation processes in borrowings and resort to a knowledge of German and Upper Sorbian. Such an analysis of English loanwords in the selected Upper Sorbian – English / English – Upper Sorbian dictionaries allows us not only to determine the number of Anglicisms in this Slavonic language, the processes of adaptation in operation, but also to ascertain their diachronic development and presentation in Sorbian lexicography, as well as to compare the lexicographic description of Anglicisms with their actual use. Lexicographic analyses of English borrowings in Upper Sorbian provide material for an examination of the assimilation of English words in closely related tongues (Upper vs. Lower Sorbian) as well as for comparative studies of Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian and English borrowings in other Slavonic languages.

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