

Prefazione agli *Occasional Papers del CeSLiC*

Quaderni del CeSLiC

General Editor – Donna R. Miller

Occasional Papers – Comitato Scientifico:

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Sono lietissima di presentare il secondo saggio della serie di *Occasional Papers*, una collana all'interno dei *Quaderni del Centro di Studi Linguistico-Culturali (CeSLiC)*, un centro di ricerca del quale sono responsabile e che svolge ricerche nell'ambito del Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere e Moderne dell'Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna.

Gli *Occasional Papers* finora pubblicati sono:

Fusari, Sabrina, Il direct mail per le organizzazioni nonprofit: analisi retorica interculturale italiano-inglese –

http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00000953/01/CESLIC_OP1.pdf

Louw, Bill, Dressing up waiver: a stochastic collocational reading of ‘the truth and reconciliation’ commission (TRC) - <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00001142/>

Nobili, Paola, ‘Saper vivere’ con gli altri – <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00001148/>

che vanno ad aggiungersi:

1) alla serie di manuali dei *Quaderni del CeSLiC: Functional Grammar Studies for Non-Native Speakers of English*, che già vanta tre volumi pubblicati:

- M. Freddi, *Functional Grammar: An Introduction for the EFL Student* <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00000867/>
- M. Lipson, *Exploring Functional Grammar* <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00000871/>
- D.R. Miller (with the collaboration of A. Maiorani and M. Turci), *Language as Purposeful: Functional Varieties of Texts* <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00000866/>

Un quarto volume che verte sulla traduzione in una prospettiva sistemica è in preparazione.

2) agli Atti dei Convegni patrocinati dal centro:

- a cura di D. Londei, D.R. Miller, P. Puccini, Gli atti delle giornate di studio del CeSLiC del 17-18 GIUGNO 2005: “**Insegnare le lingue/culture oggi: Il contributo dell’interdisciplinarietà**”, <http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00002055>

Mi rallegro ora di poter offrire un altro contributo di notevole interesse scientifico: il saggio di **Alicja Witalisz** dell’Università di Krosno, Cracovia, fine studiosa delle lingue e della linguistica nella prospettiva del cambiamento culturale. Il titolo del suo lavoro è:

ENGLISH LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE ON POLISH AND OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

Partendo dal presupposto secondo il quale l’importanza e il peso dell’influenza culturale di un paese dipende dal suo successo/potere economico in campo internazionale, la Witalisz offre un significativo studio sull’influenza della lingua inglese sulle lingue slave e in particolare sul polacco, in seguito alla sua apertura verso l’occidente, e in particolare gli Stati Uniti.

Mettendo in risalto la stretta relazione tra il modello consumista americano e le nuove tecnologie da un lato e l’introduzione ed affermazione di uno stile di vita occidentale nei paesi dell’est europeo dall’altro, l’autrice analizza alcuni notevoli fenomeni linguistici che, mostrano non solo l’influenza della lingua inglese sul polacco, ma anche come il linguaggio, in quanto forma di comportamento, rifletta in maniera più generale ciò che accade nella cultura slava.

I fenomeni linguistici analizzati sono principalmente due:

- i prestiti lessicali dall'inglese (suddivisi nelle due categorie di *prestito di necessità* o essenziale – che riguarda sia il termine che l'idea che esso esprime- e il *prestito di lusso* – in cui si prende in prestito un termine che ha un suo equivalente o in polacco o in altre lingue slave);
- i calchi 'semantici' e strutturali, che consistono nel prendere in prestito un significato espresso in inglese e traducendolo con una nuova espressione in polacco o in un'altra lingua slava.

L'analisi dettagliata e i molteplici esempi di cui questo studio è ricco mostrano bene come questi prestiti linguistici descrivano in realtà un fenomeno più ampio, che viene giustamente definito 'prestito culturale'.

Donna R. Miller

Bologna, li 1 giugno 2006

English linguistic influence on Polish and other Slavonic languages

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Modern, broadly understood culture in post-Soviet central and eastern Europe is undergoing rapid transformations, which is not only clearly visible in everyday life, but also finds a reflection in the language. As the cultural changes are to a large extent a result of an opening up to the west, it is understandable that Polish and other Slavonic languages are going through a process of intensive borrowing. This article aims at presenting recent English linguistic influence on Slavonic languages, Polish in particular, and its connection with some cultural changes.

The culture of the 21st century is very often referred to as the *Culture of McWorld*, *mass culture*, *global*, or *consumer's culture*, which well illustrates the kind of cultural transformations we are experiencing today. The new consumerist civilization copies the American model and promotes typically American elements of culture and civilization, a new portrait of a successful person, a new way life, of making a career, even new eating habits. This unavoidable influence of the American culture is undoubtedly caused by the never-ending commercial success of the USA, its position of the world's superpower, supported by the latest media technology. „Commercial success and the influence a country has on other countries decide about the attractiveness of its culture and its language. The inhabitants of countries which are less significant on the international scene of politics and economy search for the key to economic, political and military success in other cultures. They willingly imitate the culture and the language of the leading countries, today – the countries of Western Europe and the USA” (Lubecka, 1999:108).¹ The Americanisation of the world, referred to at times as the trivialisation of the western culture (Huntington, 1998), finds a reflection in language, and can endanger not only the independence of national cultures (Bauman, 2000) leading to the emergence of a global culture (Grybosiowa, 2002), but it can also endanger languages which do not enjoy the status of a *lingua franca*. Political, social and economic changes in central and eastern Europe after 1989 have given rise to the so called ‘new language’ (Ozóg, 2004), which is an excellent illustration of those changes.

¹ Translation mine.

Linguistic changes occur in every natural language. Most of the times though they are gradual and language users take their time to get used to them. Linguistic changes which have been observed in Slavonic languages in the recent 15 years can by no means be called gradual. The speed at which new linguistic patterns appear and spread is connected with the fact that modern mass media do not know the idea of physical borders and they reach almost immediately every recipient of their message.

Linguistic changes in Slavonic languages refer first of all to lexical and stylistic changes which are a result of a 'strong' wave of English borrowings. They have changed completely the face of Slavonic languages in recent years because of their international character and their high frequency in everyday language. In a general understanding of the term, a borrowing is understood to be a foreign lexical element, such as *roaming*, *reality show* or *face-lifting*, whose formal and semantic foreignness is obvious for an average user of language. Such borrowings, referred to as loanwords (Haugen, 1950), are easily recognizable, thanks to which a language user may decide not to use them, or to the contrary, to use them more than necessary. Most probably the majority of foreign lexical elements are borrowed for nominal reasons: we borrow foreign words to name foreign customs, such as *Halloween* or *hamburger*; new technological advances such as *komputer*² or *DVD*, etc. They form a class of essential borrowings (*prestiti di necessitá*), e.g. *espresso*. We borrow the name and the idea or object it refers to. The same could be said about professional jargons used by e.g. computer specialists or economists, where international vocabulary makes communication easier. Words like *interfejs*, *czat* or *dealing room* do not surprise us any more, what's more not using them would mean a lack of professionalism in the era of global communication. In such cases it would be difficult and time-ineffective to search for an adequate translation. Forming neologisms seems ineffective when we take into consideration the international scope of such terms. However, there appear lexical borrowings which, from a linguistic point of view, are inessential (*prestiti di lusso*), as they have their equivalents in Polish or other Slavonic languages. Their function is purely expressive and they are a result of a desire to become adapted to the popular culture which demands from you to be *happy*, *cool* and *super*, P. *jeść lunch* (E. *eat lunch*), P. *iść do pubu* (E. *go to a pub*), P. *grillować hamburgery w weekend* (E. *grill hamburgers at the weekends*), P. *robić shopping w mallu* (E. *do shopping at the mall*) or *czatować w Internecie z drinkiem w dłoni* (E. *to chat on the Internet with a drink in your hand*). In this 'Polish' sentence 13 out of 26 words are English. This of course does not mean

² Many English loanwords adapt to the Polish graphic system. In this and other examples, Polish spelling is used, if applicable. In many cases, the spelling of a borrowed word is not set, as in *business woman* or *biznes woman*.

that half of the Polish lexicon is English in origin, though at first sight it seems that there are as many English loanwords in Polish. This is caused by the fact that they are characterised by a very high frequency (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1997) and also belong to everyday spoken language. In fact there are about 2000 English words in everyday language, which in comparison with the entire Polish lexicon should not worry language purists.

What does worry some professors of Polish is another kind of borrowing, namely semantic calques (*calco semantico*). In the case of calques we borrow just the idea, the meaning of a foreign word and attach that meaning to a native word or an earlier borrowing, well established in a language. That is why an average language user does not perceive them as foreign elements because what is borrowed from another language is just the meaning and not the foreign form which would be easily recognizable. Therefore some linguists refer to such semantic calques as hidden borrowings, as they are rarely recognised by non-specialists (Markowski, 2000). Examples of such new meanings are *szczyt* (E. *summit*, I. *vertice* as in: *incontro al vertice*) or *promocja* (E. *promotion*) which used to refer to graduation in Polish and now refers to promoting goods in shops. One other is *aplikacja* (E. *application*) whose traditional meaning co-exists with a new one 'application'. Under the influence of English those Polish words have acquired new meanings and as a result have been used in new contexts. Semantic calques occur more frequently if there is a formal similarity between the English and the native word, as in the case of *aplikacja* and *application* or *promocja* and *promotion*. The formal similarity results from the fact that both words are earlier Latin borrowings. The semantic discrepancy is caused by the fact that when Polish borrowed words from Latin in the 16th century, it took just one meaning of a polisemantic word whereas English or French took more of them. This is why today the meanings of English or French latinisms are broader.

The category of hidden borrowings also includes structural calques (*calco traduzione*), or using Haugen's terminology – loanshifts (Haugen, 1950), which are direct translations of English phrases into Polish or other languages. Again they are not usually perceived as foreign as they include native vocabulary and their meaning can be usually worked out from the context, e.g. P. *farma urody* (E. *beauty farm*), P. *strefa zero* (E. *ground zero*) or P. *śmieciowe jedzenie* (E. *junk food*).³

³ Italian also translates English phrases, e.g. I. *grattaciello* (E. *sky-scraper*), I. *fare soldi* (E. *to make money*), I. *cibo spazzatura* (E. *junk food*).

Both lexical borrowings and calques can be divided according to certain semantic fields in which they appear most frequently. The appearance of new idiomatic phrases translated directly from English is tightly connected with American cultural influences which we have been experiencing since 1989. This process is best illustrated by some cultural borrowings. The term ‘cultural borrowing’ was proposed by Bloomfield, whose claim was that each linguistic community learns from its neighbours. What Bloomfield had in mind was mutual adoption of some cultural issues, and also linguistic elements which „show us what one language has learned from another” (1933:458). The neighbourhood described by Bloomfield has to be understood today in a more metaphorical way. The development of communication technology has lifted physical borders between countries, and as a result – between languages.

The division of English borrowings in Polish into certain semantic fields allows for the identification of certain aspects of culture in which the American influence is best visible. Each of the semantic fields includes two categories, namely lexical borrowings and calques. Most English lexical borrowings adapt to the Polish graphic system, that is why their form may differ from the original. If a corresponding English borrowing is present in Italian, it is given in brackets. In the case of calques, each example includes a Polish translation, an Italian translation provided there is a corresponding one as well as the original English expression in brackets:

1. working style; making a career based on competition; achieving fast success:

lexical b.: P. *leasing* (I. *leasing*), P. *billing* (none, I. *bolletta trasparente*), P. *dumping* (I. *dumping*), P. *hipermarket* (I. *hypermarket*), P. *holding* (I. *holding*), P. *joint venture* (none, I. *corporazione società*), P. *consulting* (I. *società di consulting*), P. *marketing* (I. *marketing*);

calques: P. *łatwy pieniądz*, I. *soldi facile* (E. *easy money*), P. *robić pieniądze*, I. *fare soldi* (E. *to make money*), P. *selekcja negatywna*, I. ? (E. *negative selection*), P. *odnieść sukces na rynku*, I. *raggiungere il successo sul mercato* (E. *be successful on the market*), P. *techniki zarządzania*, I. *tecnicche di gestione* (E. *management techniques*);

2. new occupations:

lexical b.: P. *baby-sitter* (I. *baby-sitter*), P. *broker* (I. *broker*), P. *copywriter* (I. *copywriter*), P. *dealer* (I. *dealer*), P. *designer* (I. *designer*), P. *disc jockey* (I. *disc jockey*), P. *hacker* (I. *hacker*), P. *showman* (I. ?*showman*), P. *stylista* (I. *stilista*), P. *yuppie* (I. *yuppie*);

calques: P. *dyrektor kreatywny*, I. ? (E. *creative manager*), P. *biały kołnierzyk*, I. *colletti bianchi* (E. *white collar*), P. *kobieta interesu/biznes* woman, I. *business woman* (E. *business woman*), P. *asystentka osobista*, I. *segretaria personale* (E. *personal assistant*);

3. **ways of communicating; modern technology:**

lexical b.: P. *DVD* (I. *DVD*), P. *MP3* (I. *MP3*), P. *CD* (I. *CD*), P. *video* (I. *video*), P. *fax* (I. *fax*), P. *computer* (I. *computer*), P. *Internet* (I. *Internet*), P. *e-mail* (I. *e-mail*), P. *czat* (I. *chattare*), P. *roaming* (I. *roaming*), P. *joystick* (I. *joystick*), P. *compact* (I. *compact disk*), P. *laptop* (I. *laptop, portatile*), P. *modem* (I. *modem*), P. *serwer* (I. *server*), P. *skaner* (I. *scanner*), P. *pager* (I. *pager*), P. *discman* (I. *discman*), P. *enter* (I. *invio, inviare* 'send');

calques: P. *poczta elektroniczna*, I. *posta elettronica* (E. *electronic mail*), P. *telefon komórkowy*, I. *telefono cellulare, telefonino* (E. *cellular phone*), P. *strona internetowa*, I. *pagina web* (E. *web page*), P. *tożsamość sieciowa*, I. *nickname* (E. *web identity*), P. *wirtualna rzeczywistość*, I. *realtà virtuale* (E. *virtual reality*);

4. **the cult of beauty and youth** which makes you think that good looks will make you happy and successful in life:

lexical b.: P. *lifting* (I. *lifting*), P. *eye-liner* (I. *eye-liner*), P. *make-up* (I. *make-up*), P. *peeling* (I. *peeling*), P. *tonik* (I. *tonico per il viso*), P. *lotion* (I. *lozione*), P. *faktor* (I. *fattore*), P. *hydrożel* (I. *idrogel*), P. *rewitalizować* (original I. *rivitalizzare*), P. *tipsy* (I. *unghie finte*);

calques: P. *farma urody*, I. *beauty farm* (E. *beauty farm*), P. *śmietanka kosmetyczna*, I. ? (E. *cosmetic cream*), P. *odnowa biologiczna*, I. *rigenerazione biologica* (E. *biological regeneration*), P. *makijaż permanenty*, I. *make-up permanente* (E. *permanent make-up*);

5. **food and eating habits:**

lexical b.: P. *cheesburger* (I. *cheesburger*), P. *Big Mac* (I. *Big Mac*), P. *chipsy* (I. *patatine fritte*), P. *cornflakesy* (I. *cornflakes*), P. *fast food* (I. *fast food*), P. *hot dog* (I. *hot dog*), P. *lunch* (I. ?; *pranzo*), P. *barbecue* (I. *barbecue*), P. *snack bar* (I. *snack bar*), P. *catering* (I. *catering*), P. *dip* (I. ?), P. *dressing* (I. ?; *condimento*);

calques: P. *szybkie jedzenie*, I. *fast food* (E. *fast food*), P. *śmieciowe jedzenie*, I. *cibo spazzatura* (E. *junk food*), P. *jedzenie etniczne*, I. *cucina etnica* (E. *ethnic food*), P. *głęboko-mrożony*, I. ?, *sugelato* (E. *deep-frozen*), or the latest culinary phenomenon in Poland *Zjedz ile możesz*, I. ? (E. *All you can eat*);

6. **clothing:**

lexical b.: P. *body* (I. *body*), P. *patchwork* (I. *patchwork*), P. *toples* (I. *topless*), P. *T-shirt* (I. *T-shirt*), P. *jeansy* (I. *jeans*);

7. **popular culture:**

lexical b.: P. *Halloween* (I. *Halloween*), P. *show business* (I. *show business*), P. *sitcom* (I. *sitcom*), P. *mass media* (I. *mass media*), P. *newsy* (I. *informazioni*), P. *hit* (I. *hit*), P. *singiel* (I. *single, singolo*), P. *graffiti* (I. *graffiti*), P. *puzzle* (I. *puzzle*), P. *casting* (I. *casting*), P. *remake* (I. *remake*), P. *replay* (I. *repaly*), P. *thriller* (I. *thriller*), P. *talk show* (I. *talk show*), P. *karaoke* (I. *karaoke*), P. *sex shop* (I. *sex shop*), P. *cool* (I. ?);

calques: P. *opera mydlana*, I. *soap opera* (E. *soap opera*), P. *telewizja kablowa*, I. *televisione via cavo* (E. *cable TV*), P. *numer jeden*, I. *numero uno* (E. *number one*), P. *ścieżka dźwiękowa*, I. ? *colonna sonora* (E. *sound track*), P. *efekty specjalne*, I. *effetti speciali* (E. *special effects*), P. *trójwymiarowe kino*, I. *cinema tridimensionale* (E. *three-dimensional cinema*), P. *wysoki/niski sezon*, I. *alta/bassa stagione* (E. *high/low season*), P. *Milego dnia!*, I. *Buona giornata!* (E. *Have a nice day!*);

8. **sports and ways of spending free time:**

lexical b.: P. *(wind)surfing* (I. *(wind)surfing*), P. *snowboarding* (I. *snowboarding*), P. *curling* (I. *curling*), P. *jogging* (I. *jogging*), P. *stretching* (I. *streching*), P. *treking* (I. *tracking*), P. *jacht* (I. *jacht*);

calques: P. *tenis stołowy*, I. *tennis da tavolo* (E. *table tennis*), P. *deska snowboardowa*, I. *tavola da snowboard* (E. *snowboard*),

9. the use of metaphor in **advertising** to manipulate the recipient into buying a product by establishing a discourse of positive, homely associations:

lexical b.: P. *billboard* (I. ?), P. *marketing* (I. *marketing*), P. *telebeam* (I. ?), names of products;

calques: P. *inteligenty proszek do prania* (E. *intelligent detergent*), P. *samochód przyjazny dla właściciela* (E. *a car friendly to its owner*), P. *rodzina papierów do kopiowania* (E. *family of copy papers*), P. *Wszystko czego potrzebujesz to ...* (E. *All you need is ...*), P. *cena promocyjna*, I. *prezzo speciale* (E. *promotional price*), P. *specialna oferta*, I. *offerta speciale* (E. *special offer*), or the latest acquisition: P. *Wszystko po 4 zł*, I. ? *Tutto a 1 euro*, (E. *One dollar tree*);

10. the use of **euphemisms** and **avoiding naming things directly**:

calques: P. *trzeci świat* (E. *Third World*), P. *trzeci wiek* (E. *third age*), P. *poprawność polityczna* (E. *political correctness*), P. *sukces medialny* (E. *medial success*), P. *beztuszczowy/wolne od tłuszczu* (E. *fat-free*), P. *oferta specjalna* (E. *special offer*), P. *lekkie papierosy* (E. *cigarettes – light*), P. *wirtualna wspólnota* (E. *virtual community*), or

a classic oxymoron P. *wirtualna rzeczywistość* (E. *virtual reality*), i.e. ‘a reality that does not exist’;

11. English expressions, denoting American cultural phenomena, translated into Polish and used to refer to events happening in Poland: P. *Pierwsza Dama*, I. *First Lady* (E. *First Lady*) does no longer refer to the wife of the president of the USA, but the wife of any president; P. *strefa zero*, I. *zona zero* (E. *ground zero*), used frequently in the American media after the terrorist attacks in New York in September of 2001 is now used to events happening in Poland in which people’s lives are endangered or in which people die, e.g. this phrase was used very recently to refer to an area where a dead swan infected with the avian flu was found; P. *Dolina Krzemowa*, I. ? (E. *Silicon Valley*), P. *drapacz chmur*, I. *grattacielo* (E. *sky-scraper*).

A special type of calques are hybrids or loanblends, i.e. formations in which one element is of foreign origin and the other one native, as in Italian *Gardaland*, where *land* is an English element. The most frequent and fashionable are formations with English elements such as *hiper-* (e.g. P. *hipernowoczesny* ‘very modern’; P. *hiperpoprawny*, E. *hypercorrect*), *mega-* (e.g. P. *megagwiazda*, E. *mega star*; P. *megaprzebój*, E. *mega hit*; P. *megasukces* ‘huge success’; P. *megaimpreza* ‘great party’) or *super-* (e.g. P. *supersklep* ‘a very good shop’, P. *supercena* ‘very good prize’; P. *superwydajny* ‘very efficient’; P. *superpomysł* ‘a brilliant idea’).⁴ Borrowing such language elements illustrates the American tendency to exaggerate one’s opinions about reality, go into extremes and boost one’s self-esteem. Hybrids may be also found in the language of mass media which, following their American pattern, are able to present even the most insignificant event or a piece of information in an attractive and attention-catching way.

Most borrowed lexical items form derivatives: e.g. P. (n.) *komputer* (E. *computer*) > P. (adj.) *komputerowy* > P. (adv.) *komputerowo* > P. (n.) *komputerowiec* > P. (v.) *skomputeryzować* > P. (p.p.) *skomputeryzowany*. They become well adapted to the Polish derivational system.⁵

Similar cultural and linguistic changes can be observed in other Slavonic countries, such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Russia, countries which were for so many years deprived of political, cultural and linguistic contacts with the West. If one analyses English

⁴ Examples from Mycawka, 2000 and Przybylska, 1995.

⁵ The same process can be observed in other languages, e.g. Italian: (n.) *sponsor* > (v.) *sponsorizzare* or (n.) *computer* > (v.) *computerizzare* > (p.p.) *computerizzato*.

borrowings in Russian or Slovak, they appear in similar semantic fields as in Polish, mostly in areas such as economy and management, education and culture. Similarly, they form derivatives as in those examples from Russian⁶: R. (n.) *sport* (E. *sport*) > R. (adj.) *sportivnyi*; R. (n.) *altiernativa* (E. *alternative*) > R. (adj.) *biezaltiernativnyi* > R. (abstr. n.) *biezalternativnost*; R. (n.) *eksperimient* (E. *experiment*) > R. (adj.) *eksperimentalnyi*; R. (n.) *lobbi* (E. *lobby*) > R. (v.) *lobbirovat* > R. (gerund) *lobbirovanie*, or from Slovak: S. (n.) *fax* (E. *fax*) > S. (adj.) *faxovỳ* > S. (v.) *faxovat'*; S. (n. masc.) *expert* (E. *expert*) > S. (n. fem.) *expertka* > S. (adj.) *expertny*; S. (n.) *finiš* (E. *finish*) > S. (v.) *finišovat* > S. (n. fem.) *finišmanka*; S. (n. masc.) *spíker* (E. *speaker*) > S. (n. fem.) *spíkerka* > S. (adj.) *spíkerský*.

English words borrowed by Russian well adapt to the Russian phonological system. One of the most noticeable adaptations is the stress shift in words like R. *marketing* (E. *marketing*), R. *monitoring* (E. *monitoring*), R. *footbol* (E. *footboll*) or R. *golkiper* (E. *goalkeeper*).

In Slovak, just like in Polish, there are many formations with English morphemes such as *auto-*, *euro-*, *hyper-* or *super-*, c.f. S. *autorádio*, S. *autosalón*, S. *autoservis*, S. *autostop*; S. *európanstvo*, S. *euroregión*, S. *euroskeptický*; S. *hyperaktívny*, S. *hypermoderný* or S. *supermoderný*, S. *superobrovský* (PSP, 2000).

Many English loanwords in Slovak or Russian are essential borrowings in the case of which there is lack of an equivalent word in Russian, e.g. R. *seil* (E. *sale*), R. *peidzher* (E. *pager*), R. *spiker* (E. *speaker*), R. *diler* (E. *dealer*), R. *lizing* (E. *leasing*) and some phrases:

R. *Pervichnyi reiting na vtarom rynke* (E. *Prime rating on a secondary market*)

R. *Windows eta ne instrument monopolia na rynke brauzerov* (E. *Windows is not an instrument of monopoly in the browser market*)

R. *Imperiya Microsoft vyigrala na sude* (E. *The Microsoft empire wins the case*)

But there are also inessential borrowings which are used mainly for stylistic or emphatic effect or for establishing some positive or negative connotations, c.f.:

R. *novyi bestseller* (E. *new bestseller* instead of R. *modnaya kniga*)

R. *satisfaktsiya* (E. *satisfaction* instead of R. *udovletvorenie*)

R. *rossiiskoye shou s angliiskim aktsentom* (E. *show* instead of R. *predstavlenie*; E. *accent* instead of R. *udarieniie*).

⁶ Roman alphabet is adopted here for all the examples from Russian, which come from Chachibaia and Colenso, 2005.

Slavonic languages are changing all the time and it must be said that they follow the changing reality efficiently. Linguistic changes are an excellent illustration of the changing culture and they illustrate not only the American influence, but also other cultural changes that occur globally, especially if one takes into consideration the fact that many of the English words or expressions mentioned here become internationalisms. Sapir (1921), the originator of language determinism, would be astonished today by the versatility of linguistic influences reflecting cultural changes. In his view the role of a community in the development of civilization can be estimated by analyzing linguistic influences, examining which language elements were acquired by another language or languages, and how this process helped in conveying new ideas, new concepts, inventions or traditions.

One might wonder what are the reasons for such an easy adaptation of English vocabulary in Slavonic languages. Certainly it is the good command of English, especially among young people, journalists, specialists in various fields; also an easy access to electronic technology, which is dominated by English; very often it is also linguistic snobbery. The role of mass media in spreading linguistic innovations cannot be underestimated here either.

It can be said that in the case of lexical borrowings we first borrow the lexeme and then the tradition, as in *Halloween* or *Walentynki*. It seems that in the case of calques it is an opposite process: first we borrow an idea, and then we try to find a name for it, e.g. *P. Zjedz ile możesz* (E. *All you can eat*) ‘type of a restaurant in which paying a certain amount of money you can eat as much as you want/can’. That is why language is an excellent tool of registering cultural changes. It has to be emphasised though that several borrowed words do not necessarily prove the existence of changes in a culture. It seems however that the scale of the described phenomena as well as the unity and inseparability of language and culture (Hall, 1959) may prove such a connection. Linguistic influence is an inevitable result of material and spiritual exchange between nations, and so it must accompany any long-lasting contacts between communities speaking different languages.

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Abbreviations:

- abstr. n. – abstract noun
- adj. – adjective
- adv. - adverb
- E. - English
- fem. – feminine
- I. - Italian
- masc. - masculine
- n. - noun
- P. - Polish
- p.p. past participle
- R. - Russian
- S. - Slovak
- v. - verb