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ENGLISH SEMANTIC LOANS, LOAN TRANSLATIONS, AND LOAN RENDITIONS IN INFORMAL POLISH OF COMPUTER USERS

MARCIN ZABAWA



WYDAWNICTWO
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LOAN TRANSLATIONS,
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OF COMPUTER USERS

Prace Naukowe



Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
w Katowicach
nr 3569

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OF COMPUTER USERS

Editor of the Series: Językoznawstwo Neofilologiczne
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INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that Polish is under a strong influence of English nowadays. In the past, such influence was largely restricted to lexical borrowings, noticed and commented upon both by linguists, in the literature on the subject (see especially the monographs by Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1994, 1995, 2006), and by non-linguists, for instance in the popular press. Nowadays the picture is different: English continues to affect Polish at the level of lexis; however, other spheres are not free from the English influence, either. Thus, apart from lexical loans, which have already been relatively thoroughly researched, semantic borrowings, loan translations, loan renditions, and semi-calques (all of which attracted much less attention from linguists) appear with a high frequency as well. In addition, minor types of influence, manifested through the existence of syntactic and morphological loans, can also be detected; such spheres as spelling or punctuation are also under the influence of English, particularly in the more informal varieties of Polish texts.

It is only natural to expect that different varieties of Polish are affected by English to a different extent. It is often claimed that specialized semantic fields are particularly rich in English borrowings. Among the specialized varieties, the area of computers seems a particularly important sphere for research, as computers and related devices, such as smartphones, are used nowadays on a daily basis. Thus, computers, and the Internet in particular, have revolutionized our life and our way of thinking and finding information. This has important consequences for the sphere of language: the constructions once used solely in the specialized variety by the people working professionally with computers are now penetrating into a more general variety and are used by the people who use computers only occasionally. The knowledge of at least some basic terminology associated with computers and the Internet seems thus a sheer necessity nowadays. A great proportion of such terminology is based, to a greater or lesser extent, on English; as new constructions and new meanings appear in

the Polish language of computer users (under the influence of English) all the time, there is a need for a constant research in the field. Thus, the aim of the present study is to investigate semantic loans and loan translations in the sphere of computer science; in addition, the book aims at discussing certain theoretical principles connected with, among others, establishing the criteria for finding the aforementioned types of loans in texts as well as distinguishing semantic loans and loan translations from related phenomena, such as native innovations or lexical re-borrowings.

Naturally, this is not the first study on semantic borrowings and loan translations in Polish; on the contrary, their list is already quite rich. The publications that particularly need to be mentioned include the ones by, in alphabetical order, Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000), Wiśniewska-Białaś (2011), Witalisz (2007a, 2015), and the present author (Zabawa 2012a). However, not much has been written so far on semantic loans and loan translations in the language of computer science. The current study offers, to the present author's knowledge, the most extensive discussion of English semantic loans and loan translations used in the semantic field of computers in Polish. Naturally, some of the constructions described in the present book were discussed by other scholars as well; most of them, however, were not mentioned in the literature on the subject or included in the dictionaries of Polish.

The present study is based on the corpus, designed, collected and analyzed by the present author. The reasons for compiling a new corpus, instead of using ready-made corpora, such as *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*, were manifold. Most importantly, NKJP does not allow its users to read entire texts that compose the corpus; being able to read the texts in their entirety is an essential prerequisite for finding constructions modelled on English. In addition, NKJP is the corpus of general Polish and thus not very practical from the point of view of analyzing one single specific variety; more specifically, it does not contain enough new texts on computers and the Internet.

The corpus, upon which the study is based, is composed of short texts (posts) taken from Internet forums devoted to computers. It is believed that this is a far better choice than a corpus compiled on the basis of Polish computer magazines, as such a corpus would be much less diversified, with much fewer authors taken into consideration. Besides, the articles in such magazines are often adaptations of the texts written previously in another language, usually English. As a consequence, they may contain unusually high proportion of semantic loans and loan translations, which does not necessarily reflect their actual usage in the language of non-specialists. For those reasons, it was decided not to use computer press, but the Internet. The present corpus can thus be described as the corpus of informal language of non-specialist computer users.

The book consists of five chapters, three appendices and a bibliography section. The first chapter, of introductory character, focuses on the theoretical

description of Internet communication, Internet language, and one of the electronic varieties, namely Internet forums. Section 1.2 discusses the concepts of register, dialect, sociolect, genre, and style, followed by the section devoted to the discussion of the types of Internet communication; then, a general discussion of the features of Internet language is offered. The next part deals with the description of the linguistic features of Internet communication. The aim of the final section is to provide general characteristics of Internet forums: among others, their types, functions, and aims are discussed at some length.

The second chapter, also of theoretical character, deals with the notions of semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions; related concepts, such as loan creations, are also mentioned. The first part of the chapter is devoted to semantic borrowings (a few points about semantic neologisms in general are also made), followed by the section on loan translations. Next, the problems connected with the identification of semantic loans and loan translations are discussed in great detail: most importantly, the chapter focuses on distinguishing between semantic loans and native semantic innovations, between multi-word loan translations and native phrasal innovations, as well as between semantic loans and loan translations themselves. Other problematic cases, such as those connected with distinguishing between semantic loans and lexical re-borrowings or between loan translations and loan renditions are also discussed at some length. The subsequent sections are devoted to the process of emergence of semantic loans and loan translations as well as to the possible reasons for introducing them into Polish, followed by the discussion on normative assessment of semantic loans and loan translations. The final sections of the second chapter are devoted to the literature review; in addition, they also provide a general description of English semantic loans and loan translations used in the Polish language of computer users.

The third chapter discusses the corpus, upon which the study is based. The introductory part discusses the priority of Internet texts over the press articles and aims at explaining the reasons lying behind the decision to choose the Internet forums as the basis of the present research. The next section deals with the corpus studies: First, theoretical introduction is given, including definitions of the notion of a corpus and the discussion of the types of linguistic corpora. The final part of the section, the most important one, is devoted to the discussion of the present corpus; among others, the following spheres are discussed: the process of corpus compilation, its size, and structure. In addition, the list of the Internet forums that the corpus is comprised of as well as the information on the respondents and the language of the corpus, viz. the degree of its specialization and the level of formality, is also provided. The final part of the third chapter presents the research questions.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the discussion of the results of the study. The first part, of a more theoretical character, provides information on the

methodology used in the research, followed by a description of problems, connected with the corpus analysis, mostly, albeit not exclusively, related to the identification of semantic loans and loan translations in the corpus. The information on the format of the description of the aforementioned types of borrowings is also provided; in addition, the types of constructions excluded from the present analysis are enumerated in detail. The organization of the main part of the chapter is as follows: First, single-word loan translations are presented, followed by the multi-word calques that appear without a simultaneous semantic loan. Finally, the largest portion of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of semantic loans, with accompanying multi-word calques (if present).

The fifth chapter presents the conclusions of the study. The majority of the chapter is devoted to statistical analysis concerning the borrowings found in the corpus.

There are also three appendices; the first appendix contains detailed information on the structure of the present corpus, the second one contains examples of semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions found therein; finally, the third one presents semantic loans found in the corpus together with their possible English models and references to page numbers.

CHAPTER 1

ELECTRONIC VARIETIES: INTERNET COMMUNICATION AND INTERNET FORUMS

1.1 Introduction

The present chapter offers a general description of Internet communication,¹ Internet language, and Internet forums. The organization of the chapter is as follows: the introductory Section 1.2 is devoted to the concept of register and related notions, such as dialect, sociolect, genre, and style; the proper content of the chapter begins with Section 1.3, which offers a brief description of the notion of Internet language and Internet communication; this section comprises the discussion of the types of Internet communication (Section 1.3.1), a description of general features of Internet language, such as interactivity or iconization (Section 1.3.2), and a discussion of linguistic features of Internet texts, such as the use of emoticons (Section 1.3.3). The subsequent Section 1.4 is devoted to the theoretical description of the register of Internet forum.

Two points must be underlined here: first, the aim of this chapter is not to provide a detailed account of language varieties (and related notions), as this would clearly be outside the scope of the study. Second, the chapter is not meant to be a detailed description of linguistic features of Internet texts or aspects of Internet communication. Its aim, by contrast, is to serve as a general introduction to the description of the corpus (Chapter 3), particularly in connection with the questions related to the status of its language, viz. whether it can be described as a sociolect or a professional variety or rather a general variety (Sections 3.4.6–3.4.7).

¹ The chapter focuses on written, rather than oral, Internet communication.

1.2 Language variation: Register, dialect, sociolect, genre, and style

1.2.1 Definitions of the terms

It is often claimed in the literature on the subject that the notion of register has been used in many different ways and it is not infrequently the case that different authors understand the term in a different way (Biber 1994: 32, Biber and Finegan 1994: 4, Biber and Conrad 2009: 21).² In general, a register will be understood in the present book as

a general kind of language associated with a domain of use, such as a ‘legal register’, ‘scientific register’, or ‘bureaucratic register’ (Biber, Connor and Upton 2007: 8).

A similar definition is provided by Crystal:

a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations, e.g. a register of scientific, religious, formal English (Crystal 2008: 409) [small capitals used for cross-referencing have been replaced with lower case letters].

Differences, naturally, do exist; as Biber (1994: 51) and Biber and Conrad (2009: 21) note, for example, some scholars apply the term register to occupational varieties only.³

Biber and Conrad (2009: 10, 32; cf. also Biber 1994: 32–34, Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 135, 158) rightly underline the fact that registers can be identified at different levels: thus, a register can be very general (high-level varieties), such as formal/informal or spoken/written; however, it can also be much more specific (low-level varieties), such as the register of family dinner-table conversations or of graduate-level textbooks in sociolinguistics; in fact, a register can even be more specialized, e.g. methodology sections in psychology

² A very extensive bibliography on the study of registers in English can be found in Atkinson and Biber (1994: 352–369) or Biber and Conrad (2009: 271–295). Both publications include, among others, the lists of studies on professional registers or, in the case of the latter, Internet registers.

³ Publications on occupational languages (Language for Special Purposes, LSP, or English for Special Purposes, ESP) are often close to register analysis (Ferguson 1994: 16), or, to be more precise, to the analysis of linguistic features of specialized registers (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 157); LSP, however, is often studied from the pedagogical point of view, including such areas as learners’ needs analysis, ESP course design, classroom materials, etc. The language of computer science (English for Computing Science) can be seen as a subtype of EVP (English for Vocational Purposes), EOP (English for Occupational Purposes) or EST (English for Science and Technology), which are, in turn, subtypes of ESP (for more on English for Computing Science, cf. Perrett 2004; for detailed discussion of ESP-related issues, cf. Dudley-Evans and St John 1998).

articles (Biber 1994: 34) or novels written by Jane Austen (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 135). Intermediate levels, as Biber notes, can also be distinguished, e.g. the register of conversations, textbooks, novels or essays (Biber 1994: 34). Thus, as can be seen, the registers vary both in content and form (Biber and Finegan 1994: 4). General registers, in contrast to specialized ones, have few specifying features (Biber and Conrad 2009: 32, cf. also Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 158).

The present book is an example of the study of a specialized register: the register of computer-related Internet forums. Additionally, a subgroup of professional registers can also be singled out: the register under study, while not being a typical example of a professional register (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.6), does contain its many characteristic features, such as the use of specialized vocabulary.

Registers should be clearly separated from dialects. The latter are connected either with a given location or a given demographic group (e.g. a given sex, a given social class, etc.) (Biber and Conrad 2009: 11). In other words, dialects are associated with different users (i.e. speaker groups) while registers with different situations of use (Biber and Finegan 1994: 4, Ferguson 1994: 21–22, Romaine 2000: 21, Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 135, Biber, Connor and Upton 2007: 8, Biber and Conrad 2009: 264), cf. also Holmes (2013: vii), who makes a distinction between language variation with the focus on users (i.e. regional and social dialects) and language variation with the focus on uses (i.e. style, context and register).⁴

Sociolects (social dialects) are subtypes of dialects (the second subtype being regional dialects); a sociolect is defined by Crystal as

a linguistic variety [...] defined on social (as opposed to regional) grounds, e.g. correlating with a particular social class or occupational group (Crystal 2008: 440) [capitals used for cross-referencing have been replaced with lower case letters].

A similar definition can be found in Grabias, who defines them (he uses the plural form *socjolekty*) as “odmiany języka uwarunkowane istnieniem powiązanych w rozmaity sposób grup społecznych” [language varieties conditioned by the existence of social groups connected in various ways⁵] (Grabias 2003: 81). The language of computer users studied in the present book should not, in the view of the present author, be seen as a sociolect (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.6).

It is also necessary to mention the related concepts of genre and style. Genre is often understood in a very similar way to register; it tends to concentrate,

⁴ But cf. Wardhaugh, who defines registers as “sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups” (Wardhaugh 2006: 52; cf. also Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 53), thus focusing on users rather than uses.

⁵ All translations by the present author.

however, on conventional structures that build a text, e.g. the way in which a typical business letter begins and ends (Biber and Conrad 2009: 2, 16–17).⁶ It is often associated with studying the linguistic structure “beyond the sentence” (Biber, Connor and Upton 2007: 8).

The notion of style, as Biber and Conrad (2009: 2, 18, 72) assert, also bears certain similarity to register, one of the chief differences being that the features of a given style are connected with “aesthetic preferences,” e.g. connected with particular authors, historical periods, etc. It must be noted, however, that the notion of style is also not always understood in the same way; it may, for example, be understood as part of register variation corresponding only to the degree of formality, i.e. casual as opposed to formal (Ferguson 1994: 28, Romaine 2000: 22, Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 52). This is how style will be understood in the present book (for the description of the level of formality of the register studied in the book, cf. Section 3.4.7).

1.2.2 Components of register description

In general, as is often noted in the literature on the subject (cf. Biber 1994: 33, Biber and Conrad 2009: 6–8, 32, Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 136), there are three perspectives associated with the analysis of a given register: (1) situational context, including, among others, the description of its communicative aims, physical circumstances, sets of participants, etc., (2) linguistic analysis, i.e. the description of its typical lexical and grammatical features, and (3) functional analysis, i.e. the analysis of the connections between situational contexts and linguistic forms, which includes, among others, possible interpretation of why a given linguistic feature is common in a given context.

In the case of situational characteristics of a given register, the following elements can be taken into consideration: participants (authors and addressees), relations among participants (including social roles, personal relationships, the degree of shared knowledge, both personal and specialist, etc.), channel (including mode, i.e. speech or writing), production circumstances (e.g. happening in real time or planned before), setting (i.e. time and place) and communicative aims and topics (Biber 1994: 40–41, Biber and Conrad 2009: 40). Situational description of the register under study (Internet forums) is presented in Section 1.4.

The aim of the linguistic analysis of a given register is to describe its typical (i.e. both pervasive and frequent, Biber and Conrad 2009: 53) linguistic features. However, it is not always easy to state whether a given feature should

⁶ Sometimes, however, the concept is used in the same sense as a register; thus many studies adopt one of those terms and do not use the other one (Biber, Connor and Upton 2007: 7–8).

be regarded as typical or not. In order to determine it, three methodological foundations should be considered (Biber and Conrad 2009: 51–69). First, the linguistic description of a given register becomes much more complete and effective when it is done contrastively, i.e. involves comparing at least two different registers⁷ (cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 8, 36, 51–52); in other words, the relative distribution of a given linguistic feature is established (Biber 1994: 35). Second, a given register should be analyzed quantitatively, as register markers (i.e. linguistic constructions that appear in one register but not in any other registers) are rare; consequently, a linguist is usually forced to concentrate on register features (i.e. elements that appear throughout a text from a given register and appear with a greater frequency than in other registers⁸) that must be studied quantitatively. One of the chief difficulties here is the consistent classification of linguistic features (Biber and Conrad 2009: 58–59).⁹ Third, to study a register, a scholar needs a representative sample of texts. Nowadays, it is often the case that registers are studied with the help of specially designed corpora.¹⁰ General linguistic description of Internet communication, including Internet forums, is provided in Section 1.3.3. Specific description of calques and semantic loans is offered in Chapter 4, while some comparison of the findings of the present study with the studies of other registers is provided in Chapter 5.

The last perspective, functional analysis, is, in a way, the combination of situational and linguistic analysis. It is concerned with the explanation of why certain linguistic features are particularly common in certain situational contexts (for the example of this type of analysis, on the basis of registers of textbooks and classroom teaching, cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 64–69). Certain observations in connection with the present research can be found in Chapter 2 (Section 2.9.3) and Chapter 5.

⁷ Naturally, as Biber and Conrad (2009: 36) note, studies on a single register do exist as well and are, in fact, common (for numerous examples, cf. Atkinson and Biber 1994, Biber and Conrad 2009).

⁸ These may include e.g. characteristic bits of syntax, formulaic sentences, special terms for recurring objects, etc. (Ferguson 1994: 20).

⁹ This is also one of the biggest problems in the present study; for more on this, cf. Section 2.4.

¹⁰ This is also the case of the present study; for the description of the present corpus, cf. Chapter 3.

1.3 The notion of Internet language and Internet communication

1.3.1 Types of Internet communication

In general, the communication via the Internet, or Internet communication, can be divided into synchronous and asynchronous (cf. Wyrwas 2004b, Crystal 2006, Beisswenger and Storrer 2008, Adamczyk 2009, Yus 2011).¹¹ Grzenia (2004a: 22–24) introduces here an additional class and distinguishes between three main types of Internet communication:

- conversational type (synchronous), also referred to as chat type, including e.g. various kinds of chats, instant messengers, such as *Skype*, *GaduGadu*, *AQQ*, etc. This type of Internet communication implies at least two participants exchanging messages in real time; it can thus be seen as analogous to face-to-face conversation and, consequently, more spontaneous (Golus 2004: 33, Chyrzyński 2010: 81), cf. Yus, who describes it as occurring “where interlocutors are connected simultaneously to the Net, [...] build up a sort of textual interactive dialogue that disappears as soon as the users stop the connection and switch off the computer”; as a result, “there are no traces of our presence, nor are more options for a long-lasting form of community” (Yus 2011: 28);
- e-mail type (asynchronous), including e-mails, discussion lists and groups as well as Internet discussion forums. Most probably, other genres, such as blogs, can be included here as well. This type, in contrast to the previous one, does not require the presence of two or more participants at the same time; they, as Yus notes, “build up an archive of interactions and an increasingly complex form of community where stronger communal ties can be fostered” (Yus 2011: 28). As a result, as Jagodzińska (2008: 139) rightly observes, there is no “here and now” (in contrast to the synchronous type). This type, as Adamczyk (2009: 172) asserts, is easier to analyze, as it is incomparably easier to collect such material in comparison with synchronous communication, which is usually of private character;
- hypertext type, including web pages and websites,¹² both individual, i.e. created by an individual person, and non-individual, e.g. of companies, organizations, etc.

¹¹ Other types of classification are naturally also possible; for example, one can distinguish between private communication, usually involving two participants, and group communication, open for every Internet user (Adamczyk 2009: 173).

¹² Grzenia (2004a: 23) makes a distinction here between web pages (*strony internetowe*) and websites (*witryny internetowe*). This distinction, although useful in certain studies, is irrelevant from the point of view of the present book and will not be discussed in detail.

The first two groups can be characterized as involving dialogues¹³ (bilateral communication, Lisiecki, quoted in Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 441); the last group, by contrast, is characterized by monologues (unilateral communication, Lisiecki, quoted in Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 441)¹⁴ rather than dialogues.

The present study concentrates on the language of Internet message boards (Internet forums), i.e. the second type. The group is, however, extremely diversified, as Internet forums differ from one another to a great extent. Thus, it is possible to distinguish between three main types of Internet forums, taking into consideration the amount of specialized terminology used (which may, although does not have to, correlate with the level of formality of the language) (Russ, quoted in Corr 2003: 51):

- the highest level, “where theoretical issues are discussed by experts in the field”;
- the workshop level, “where issues are discussed between the experts and product technicians”;
- the level of the consumer, “where the general public comes into contact with the technical product or service.”

The present corpus is located in the third group; the language can be characterized as ranging from very informal to semi-formal, with most of the texts classified as informal (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.7).

1.3.2 General features of Internet language

The notion of Internet language can be seen as an umbrella term for the language used in the texts published on the Internet. Nowadays, the growing interest in the communication on the Internet and the Internet language is well reflected by the rapidly increasing number of publications; they can generally be divided into those dealing with linguistic or socio-cultural aspects of the Internet. The present section focuses on the former.¹⁵

¹³ Some scholars use the term *polilogue* (Polish *polilog*), to describe the situation when many people take part in the conversation at the same time (Golus 2004: 35, Wyrwas 2004b: 59, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 451); others suggest using the term *netlog* (from *network* and *logos*), understood as a set of utterances with the features of monologue, dialogue, and polilogue (Taras 2004: 44).

¹⁴ It must be added, however, that some websites allow their users to post comments.

¹⁵ For a selected bibliography on publications dealing with social and cultural aspects of Internet communication, cf. Grzenia (2004b). Naturally, Internet communication can also be studied and described from other perspectives as well, viz. technical (connected with e.g. describing technological innovations in the field of Internet use, technical properties of Internet communication, etc.), sociological (connected with social characteristics of the group of Internet users, in terms of e.g. age or occupation), legal (comprising legal aspects connected with e.g. uploading or downloading materials on or from the Internet), economical (connected with e.g.

It should be stressed at the beginning that terminology is diversified here; some authors use the term *Internet language* (e.g. Crystal 2006), but there is a plethora of other labels as well, such as *electronic language* (Collot and Belmore 1996: 14) or *cyberspeak* and *netspeak* (López Rúa 2007: 144); cf. also Crystal (2006: 19), Kuruc (2010: 162) and Żydek-Bednarczuk (2013: 443), who provide extensive lists of labels, including *netlish*, *weblish*, *wiredstyle*, *cyberspeak*, *Internet language*, *Internet style*, *Internet variety of language*, *electronic discourse*, *electronic language*, *e-language*, *interactive written discourse*, *computer-mediated communication* (Polish terminology includes *styl internetowy*, *internetowa odmiana polszczyzny*, *poliszczyna internetowa*, *język polski używany w Internecie*, *język internetowy*, *język Internetu*, *e-język*). In another Crystal's publication (2011: 2–3), he evaluates the labels and claims that some of them appear inappropriate, e.g. *cyberspeak* or *netspeak*, which sound as if “the medium was more homogeneous than it actually is”; others, such as *e-language*, do not seem to have caught on. In the present book, the term *Internet language*, seen as most widely accepted, will be used.

The first feature of Internet language is connected with the difficulty of placing texts (of the conversational and e-mail type) on the written-spoken language continuum. The Internet language is frequently described in the literature on the subject as a mixture of writing and speech, where the distinction between written and spoken language is blurred (cf. December 1993, M. Dąbrowska 2006: 263, López Rúa 2007, Beisswenger and Storrer 2008: 293, Baker 2010: 13, Chwesiuk 2012: 93, Pachowicz 2012: 32). Terminology is rich and diverse here; the Internet language is described as written speech (Crystal 2006), mixed medium (Crystal 2011: 19), literary or secondary orality¹⁶ (Collot and Belmore 1996, Gozzi 1999, Fowler 2014), “an oralized written text” (Yus 2011: 174), or, in Polish, as *wtórna oralność*, *oralizacja pisma*, or *piśmienność oralna* (Lubaś 2005: 97, Loewe 2006: 95, 98, Data 2009), and *piśmienność wizualna* or *telepiśmienność* (Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 443). Sometimes it is described as a more complex mixture, cf. Sikora and Rak (2011: 188), who see it as a hybrid of speech, writing, and iconic message transfer, or Żydek-Bednarczuk (2013: 439), who describes it as a result of the reconfiguration of oral, written, and electronic bases.

The above views, while useful in summarizing the difficulties in describing Internet texts, can nevertheless be seen as a certain oversimplification; no

the use of the Internet in teaching and learning or selling and buying goods through the Internet), etc. Such perspectives are, however, clearly outside the scope of the present book and will not be described in detail.

¹⁶ What is more, the terminology here differs to quite an extent. In December's view (1993; following Ong), for example, “secondary orality” is connected with the changes in a language growing from the radio and television broadcasts, whereas computer-mediated communication is responsible for the emergence of “a tertiary form of orality,” text-based orality, or, as Ferris (quoted in Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2011: 244) puts it, “new electronic orality.”

generalization is really possible here due to the diversification of Internet texts (cf. Grzenia 2004a: 22; for more on Internet genres, cf. Wyrwas 2004b, Witosz 2009, Crystal 2006, 2011, Loewe 2006, Grzenia 2007, Yus 2011, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013). Crystal (2011: 14) adds that the distinction between spoken and written variety that exists in the case of Internet language may be realized differently than in the case of non-Internet language (e.g. spoken communication using voice messengers such as *Skype* is different than face-to-face communication). Consequently, some authors do not treat the Internet language as a mixture of speech and writing, but rather as a completely new variety of language: Internet language or Internet Polish (cf. e.g. Dunaj and Mycałka 2009: 71–72, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 458).

The second feature of Internet language is connected with general “linguistic liberalism”; Godzic (2000) asserts that the linguistic prescriptive rules connected with the Internet are usually seen as “soft” rather than “hard” (in comparison with traditionally printed texts). A similar view is expressed by Dunaj and Mycałka (2009: 71–72), who mention certain instability of linguistic norms on the Internet, and Gajek (2006: 315), who writes about the democratic character of electronic medium and no overt control over texts published on the Internet. As a result, there is a much greater degree of linguistic freedom in the case of texts published on the Internet. This may facilitate the emergence of untypical constructions, including new semantic loans, loan translations, loan renditions, and semi-calques.

Third, a whole set of features typical for Internet communication of the conversational and email type can be enumerated.¹⁷ They include, among others:

- intertextuality (hypertextuality¹⁸): many, if not most, Internet texts contain hyperlinks to other texts; thus, in a way, a reader becomes a creator of the final text (Burszta 2001: 137, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2004: 17, Witosz 2009: 24, Crystal 2011: 28–29);
- interactivity: the traditional relationship between a writer and a reader is blurred, since a reader may actively participate in changing the texts, e.g. by adding one’s own comments (Burszta 2001: 137, Warchała and Skudrzyk 2010: 106);

¹⁷ Additionally, cf. also Suler (2005), who lists other features of, as he calls it, cyberspace. These are not discussed here in detail, as they are not really the features of texts themselves; rather, these are psychological features of Internet communication and/or self-presentation on the Internet in general. They include, among others, reduced sensations (we cannot see person’s facial expressions or gestures), identity flexibility (an Internet user may remain anonymous or pretend to be somebody else), equalized status, also known as net democracy (in the majority of cases, every person, regardless of status, gender, race, etc. “has an equal opportunity to voice him or herself”) or transcended space (the unimportance of geographical proximity). Some of those features are naturally connected with purely linguistic features, cf. reduced sensations feature entails heavy use of emoticons.

¹⁸ For detailed definitions of hypertext, cf. Kaplan (1995), Loewe (2006: 98–99).

- fragmentation: Internet texts are frequently fragmented, i.e. composed of parts of other texts; fragmentation may also refer to the graphic conventions (e.g. a text may be scattered throughout lines, can be decoded only in specific circumstances, i.e. here and now; the graphic code may be as important as the verbal one; the text might not be understood outside the here and now context) (Warchala and Skudrzyk 2010);
- iconization of text: an Internet user first sees the text arrangement, the type of font, colour, various special effects, etc. (Warchala and Skudrzyk 2010: 104). This feature is also connected with the possibility of “playing with the text” while writing it, e.g. by changing font types and sizes, using unconventional spacing, etc.;
- spontaneity, seen, among others, in the language (Internet texts have certain features of oral communication, cf. the beginning of the section);
- instability: Internet texts may be changed or erased at any moment (Kaplan 1995: 22, Crystal 2011: 29–30);
- immediacy: Internet texts are characterized by “real-time updating” (Yus 2011: 77);
- ubiquity: Internet texts can be accessed from any part of the world (Yus 2011: 77);
- globalization and internationalization: people with different native languages can communicate through the Internet with less difficulty than using traditional means of communication, as the Internet offers a wide variety of means helping in such situations, e.g. easily accessible online translators and dictionaries;
- personalization: Internet texts can be personalized (e.g. by means of cookies) (Yus 2011);
- multiplicity of formats on the same page (visual, verbal, aural), also referred to as multimodality;
- multiple authorship (Crystal 2011: 30–32).

To sum up, it can be asserted that Internet language, in general, should be classified as a completely new mode, as it is different from both traditionally understood oral and written variety.

1.3.3 Linguistic features of Internet communication

The language of Internet communication can generally be described as relatively spontaneous and informal. This is especially the case of synchronous communication (described by Ożóg (2001: 233) as *internetowa nowomowa* [Internet newspeak]), but it can be noticed, although to a lesser extent, in the case of asynchronous communication, including Internet forums, as well. Its most

salient features include¹⁹ (Godzic 2000, Sosnowski 2000, Ożóg 2001, Stålhammar 2001, Gólus 2004, Grzenia 2004a, 2007, Nosowicz 2004, Wyrwas 2004b, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2004, 2013, Lubaś 2005, Szybowska and Termińska 2005, Crystal 2006, 2011, Libura 2006, Loewe 2006, López Rúa 2007, Beisswenger and Storrer 2008, Zalewska-Greloch 2008, Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008a, Biber and Conrad 2009, Data 2009, Dunaj and Mycawka 2009, Greń 2009, Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2009, Szczęsa 2009, Szymański 2009, 2011, 2012, Witosz 2009, Żukowska 2009, Kuruc 2010, Warchala and Skudrzyk 2010, Sikora and Rak 2011, Lyddy et al. 2014, Yus 2011, Chwesiuk 2012, Pachowicz 2012, Zabawa 2009a, 2011b, 2012b, 2014b)²⁰:

- the tendency for brevity (described as “economy of communication” by Wach 2013: 162), manifested e.g. through a very frequent use of various abbreviations (e.g. *zw, dz, cze* for *zaraz wracam, dziękuję, cześć*), acronyms, clipped forms (e.g. *komp* for *komputer*), elliptical constructions, the omission of vowels (e.g. *cb, bd* instead of *ciebie, będą*²¹), etc.;
- dominance of short, simple, often unfinished sentences;
- intentional or unintentional deviation from syntactic, morphological, orthographical and/or punctuational rules or conventions, e.g. the use of non-conventional spelling, such as repetition of certain letters (e.g. *baaaaaardzo*²²), the use of unconventional derivatives, omission of certain punctuation marks, especially commas, repetition of certain punctuation marks, especially question and exclamation marks (e.g. *co robić????????*), untypical use of capitals (often seen as an equivalent of shouting²³), the use of asterisks instead of parts of swear words, e.g. *nie pier****ol, sier****aj*
- the lack of Polish diacritics (*a, e* instead of *ą, ę*, etc.)²⁴;

¹⁹ The description is based, in accordance with the scope of the present study, on Polish forums; many of the observations can, however, refer to Internet forums in general.

²⁰ In addition, there is an extensive bibliography on sociolinguistic and/or sociocultural approach to Internet communication and the Internet in general; the topics include, among others, the emergence of e-generation and the use of the Internet in Poland, the emergence of information society, the influence of the Internet on social relations, conversational strategies used in the Internet, etc. These are, however, clearly outside the scope of the present study and will not be discussed in detail.

²¹ Sometimes, e.g. within certain chat groups, brevity can actually be seen as a prerequisite for successful communication (Burszta 2001: 140). For more on the use of acronyms and abbreviations in Internet communication, cf. Grzenia (2007: 145–149), Yus (2011: 31); cf. also Walczak (2001: 146), in whose view the frequent use of various types of abbreviations and acronyms is a general feature of contemporary Polish, not necessarily its Internet variety.

²² A special case of non-standard spelling is known as leetspeak, e.g. *3.M.się* (for *trzymaj się*), *nie lubię tego d00a* (from English *dude*) (Kuruc 2010: 159).

²³ Some Internet users actually apologise for accidentally pressing the caps lock key and thus producing the text in capitals (Warchala and Skudrzyk 2010: 105).

²⁴ It may also be the result of coding problems, e.g. while using smartphones.

- the use of highly informal, expressive, spontaneous language²⁵;
- the use of neologisms and semantic or phrasal innovations;
- the use of English borrowings of various types: lexical (including the use of unconventionally assimilated loanwords, e.g. *fenkju*, Szybowska and Termińska 2005: 215), semantic, loan translations, loan renditions as well as various English-Polish hybrid constructions, whether modelled on English (semi-calques) or not;
- the instances of code-switching between Polish and English;
- the use of less typical English borrowings, e.g. in the sphere of punctuation or spelling (Zabawa 2010c; cf. also Greń 2009: 93, who describes them as mixing of spelling systems, or Szybowska and Termińska (2005: 215), who describe them as pseudo-English spelling of Polish words, e.g. *choody*, *moovish* for *chudy*, *mówisz*²⁶);
- internationalization of lexis (e.g. the use of internationally recognized abbreviations, such as *ID*, *FAQ*, or *HTML*)²⁷;
- the use of emoticons;
- frequent use of diminutives (Zabawa 2015e: 136–137; for more on current tendency in Polish to overuse diminutives, cf. Mańczak 2011: 218–219, Miodek 2012: 402);
- the use of onomatopoeic structures (written forms of non- or paraverbal communication), e.g. *heh*, *buhaha*, *haha*, *buuuuuu*, *hmmm*, *yyyy*, *eeee*.

Thus, as can be seen, Internet Polish differs to quite an extent from standard written language; some scholars, e.g. Zalewska-Greloch (2008: 155), go as far as to claim that Internet users actually create their own language (but cf. also Crystal (2011: 5), who asserts that most of such features are not new phenomena, since they did not appear first on the Internet, but were used elsewhere in the past as well). Various kinds of deviations from traditional rules can, on the one hand, be attributed to the fact that the communication via the Internet (especially via chats) is quick, reflecting the pace of natural speech (as a consequence, there is not enough time to check the spelling and correct possible errors); on the other hand, it can also be connected with the desire to be original, to experiment with the text, particularly with its graphic arrangement, etc. Thus, normative rules are frequently violated on purpose, so as to e.g. communicate certain attitudes.

²⁵ Nowadays the use of highly informal language is characteristic not only for the Internet language; on the contrary, colloquial expressions are now more and more frequently used in official and semi-official language, e.g. in the media (cf. the language of political discussions and interviews; for more on this, cf. e.g. Dubisz 2013: 127, Miodek 2013a: 368). Bibliography on the informal variety of language, its characteristic features, relation to other varieties, etc., is already quite rich; for a brief summary, cf. the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a).

²⁶ Cf. also Dura, who rightly notices that the forms of this type are not based on strict rules, e.g. *q* is sometimes used instead of *ku* and sometimes instead of *k* (Dura 2009: 211).

²⁷ Cf. Libura (2006: 46–47) who writes about an international sociolect of Internet users.

Naturally, many of such deviations as described above may also be attributed to haste, carelessness, lack of adequate knowledge concerning e.g. punctuation conventions, etc.

1.4 Situational description of Internet forums

An Internet forum, also known as an electronic forum or e-forum (Biber and Conrad 2009: 190) is a relatively new cultural phenomenon, but its name is derived from ancient times, cf. a forum in ancient Rome (Sawicka 2009: 34). It can be defined, after ODE, as “an Internet site where users can post comments about a particular issue or topic and reply to other users’ postings.” Thus the primary function of Internet forums, in much the same way as of chats or instant messengers, is the communication between Internet users.

Internet forums have a great deal in common with their predecessors, i.e. chat groups (Internet Relay Chat; for more on IRC, cf. December 1993, Godzic 2000, Crystal 2006) and discussion groups (also known as Usenet; for more on this, cf. Crystal 2006, Jagodzińska 2008, Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2009, 2011); forums, however, unlike chat groups, belong to asynchronous communication. Forums bear also certain similarity to e-mails (for more on this, cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 191).

Internet forums are numerous and popular; the biggest attract thousands of Internet users.²⁸ As Yun and Park (2011: 201) rightly notice, many Internet portals (e.g. news portals, portals of companies, institutions, etc.) offer free online forums for their readers²⁹; the forums run by individual people are also numerous (Sawicka 2009: 36).

From the point of view of a forum theme, two main types can be distinguished:

- general forums, with no prevalent topic. Such forums are normally large, with many distinct threads organized into thematic sections (subforums);
- (more) specialized forums, used usually by the people sharing a common profession and/or hobby. Additional examples of this type include e.g. forums for people suffering from a given illness or medical condition, belonging to a given minority (ethnic, sexual, etc.), living in a given foreign country, etc.

The present study concentrates on the second group (specialized forums devoted to computers and the Internet). Most of the forums that compose the corpus appear to be visited by the people that have certain problems with

²⁸ Naturally, very small forums, with only a few users, also exist.

²⁹ In fact, as Wyrwas (2004b: 54) asserts, they frequently actually encourage Internet users to post their comments.

a computer or a piece of hardware or software and seek advice on the one hand, and those willing to share their knowledge on the other (for more on roles of the participants of an Internet forum, cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 190–193).

Texts (known as entries or posts) on Internet forums, albeit written, can be described with the use of many features characteristic for spoken, rather than written, language (cf. Section 1.3.2). The distance between a sender and a receiver is much smaller in comparison with the traditional written communication: it is small in the temporal sense (the waiting time to receive an answer is usually much shorter), in the sociocultural sense (the participants in the exchange usually use informal forms of addressing each other) and, finally, in the linguistic sense (the language is far more informal than in the case of the majority of traditional written communication). Entries are not as rule-governed as in e.g. e-mails.

The posts on a given forum are normally directed to all its users, although sending private messages, i.e. directed to certain concrete users only, is also possible on most forums. The posts, each of which is marked with details concerning the date and time of its creation, are grouped into topics or themes (known as threads); the posts appear within each thread in the chronological order, usually from the oldest up to the newest. Thus, in most of the forums, the newest entries (within each thread) are located at the end of a given thread, although a reverse order (newest posts at the top) is also possible and can occasionally be encountered. It is naturally possible to reply not to the last entry, but to any of them in a given thread; in such cases, the original post is usually quoted, so as to avoid misunderstandings (Crystal 2006: 146, Grzenia 2007: 112–114; but cf. also Wyrwas 2004b: 61, who sees the quoting function as leading to a kind of linguistic redundancy, manifesting itself in often unnecessary repetitions).

Naturally, entries can be of various lengths: ranging from one-word, or even one symbol (such as an emoticon) up to a complete text of practically unlimited length.³⁰ Threads, in turn, can have varying number of entries: from single-entry thread, where no one has answered the first entry, up to threads containing a few hundred, or even a few thousand, entries. The number of Internet users taking part in a given discussion can also be diversified: it can be as few as two people (or, in certain cases, even one) or as many as a few hundred or possibly even a few thousand. Importantly, the number is not constant: new users may enter a given thread and start participating actively in the middle of a discussion; other users taking part in the discussion may abandon it for any reason and no longer participate in it (or participate only passively).

³⁰ In general, however, posts tend to be short; in fact, if an entry is particularly long, it is not infrequent to see author's apologies for its length (cf. Crystal 2006: 150–151). Short responses, as Crystal (2006: 150) notes, give the forums "conversational feel."

The discussion is, as was mentioned before, asynchronous, which means that a given thread may remain alive for only a few hours, or even minutes, up to a few months, or even years (sometimes, at some forums, inactive threads, i.e. the ones in which no new posts have been written for a specific period of time, are locked permanently and no new posts can be added there). Participants are not able to interrupt each other and the communication occurs in clearly separated turns.

The participants are usually anonymous to each other; some of them, though clearly a minority, use first names, while the vast majority use various kinds of nicknames functioning as a particular, using Chyrzyński's (2010: 81) words, "Internet ID"³¹ (for more on nicknames on the Internet, cf. Taras 2004, Crystal 2006: 165–168, Grzenia 2007: 130–137, Chyrzyński 2010,³² Yus 2011: 42–44, Żydek-Bednarczuk 2013: 449). Yus (2011: 42–44) sees them as equivalents of proper names but at the same time stresses the instability of nicknames (e.g. a given user may delete his/her account and then appear on the forum again, but using a different nickname; they can thus be used "with the intention of concealing the user's identity," Yus 2011: 44). Naturally, on certain forums there might be a group of users who have met in reality and, as a result, know each other in person.³³ It appears, however, that this is most probably a clear minority. It can thus be stated that one of the typical features of an Internet forum is the anonymity of its users (cf. also Crystal 2011: 13–14).³⁴

Most forums have certain rules regulating its life; they are usually written and located in the top thread. Sometimes the rules are supplemented or replaced by FAQ (frequently asked questions), i.e. the set of questions and answers regulating the life of a given forum or discussion group (Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2009: 196). The observance of rules is controlled by forum moderators and administrators. Apart from the rules, the observance of netiquette, "Internet savoir-vivre" (Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2009: 196), is also expected.³⁵

³¹ The second manifestation of one's identity, apart from the nickname, is the use of special signatures, i.e. a few lines of texts added to all posts of a given user (Godzic 2000: 180). They are very frequently aphorisms or quotations from songs or poetry.

³² The paper by Chyrzyński is especially important here, as it presents the classification of Internet nicknames and analyzes Polish and English nicknames on the basis of selected social networking websites, discussion forums and chats.

³³ Cf. the case of the forum for the parents of diabetic children (Basińska and Łuczak 2014).

³⁴ As Golus rightly notices in connection with chats, anonymity might be a facilitating factor for Internet users to discuss topics which might be too embarrassing for them in real life (Golus 2004: 34). On the other hand, it may also be a facilitating factor for making offensive remarks, as "the interaction between sender and receiver is different from traditional conversation" (Crystal 2011: 7). For more on social and linguistic aspects of anonymity on the Internet, cf. Baym (1998) and Taras (2004).

³⁵ For more on netiquette, cf. Taras (2004: 48) and Żydek-Bednarczuk (2013: 456).

Internet forums can be multimodal; while most of their content is a textual one, it is possible on most of them to upload pictures and/or photographs. Users on the majority of forums can also paste links to music files, video movies, pictures, etc., located on external servers, other websites, etc.

It is difficult to precisely state the number of users of a given forum. Most forums do provide such information; the numbers provided, however, usually include inactive users. Thus they cannot be seen as completely reliable; they can, however, provide general information about the size and popularity of a given forum. It can be generally stated, as Naruszewicz-Duchlińska (2009: 196) observed in connection with discussion groups, that the number of users is not stable and may vary periodically.

The aims of taking part in the life of a forum might be very diverse. It may be treated as a means of gathering new information, exchanging opinions, asking for help, sharing one's knowledge with less experienced users, trying to persuade others to one's point of view, etc. A given forum may also function as the platform for social relations, where users spend their free time, look for people with similar experiences, for new friends, etc., cf. also Biber and Conrad (2009: 190), who see many of the aims of an Internet forum as being the same as that of "a face-to-face club meeting" (for more on the roles of Internet forums, cf. Sokół 2009).

1.5 Concluding comments

The aim of the present chapter was to serve as a general description of Internet language and Internet forums. On the basis of certain forums devoted to computers, the corpus, upon which the present study is based, has been compiled (for the description of the corpus, cf. Chapter 3). The next chapter will be devoted to the theoretical description of semantic loans, loan translations, loan renditions, and related notions.

CHAPTER 2

SEMANTIC LOANS, LOAN TRANSLATIONS, AND LOAN RENDITIONS: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to provide theoretical background concerning semantic loans, loan translations and loan renditions. In addition, related concepts, viz. semi-calques and semi-renditions, are also presented.

The notions of a semantic loan and a loan translation (also known as a calque) were discussed by numerous linguists; despite this, there is still not a shortage of various understandings of the two terms, cf. R. Fischer (2008: 5), who rightly claims that the terminology in the area of borrowings and language contact is “very mixed,” mostly due to a large number of studies dealing with the subject, which not infrequently approach the subject from different perspectives. Thus, most of the present chapter is devoted to presenting various definitions and understandings of the terms in question as well as discussing the differences and similarities that hold between them.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: the first part of the chapter (Section 2.2) is devoted to semantic loans, followed by the description of loan translations (Section 2.3). The next section (2.4) is concerned with the problems associated with the identification of semantic borrowings and loan translations, followed by a description of the process of their emergence (Section 2.5). Next, possible reasons for introducing semantic loans and loan translations are discussed (Section 2.6), together with the normative assessment of semantic loans and loan translations (Section 2.7). Finally, Sections 2.8 and 2.9 are devoted to the discussion of English semantic loans and loan translations in Polish, both

from a general perspective, including literature review (2.8), and from the point of view of the semantic field of computers (2.9).

The chapter is, in general, set in the English-Polish context; the introductory sections (2.2–2.3) are more general, while the subsequent sections (2.4–2.9) describe the picture from the point of view of English semantic loans and loan translations used in Polish.

2.2 Semantic loans: Theoretical aspects

2.2.1 Introductory comments

The present subsection is concerned with various understandings of the notion of a semantic loan. The structure of the subsection is the following one: first, definitions are presented (Section 2.2.2; a short discussion on semantic neologisms is also offered), followed by a brief description of terminological confusion in the field (2.2.3). Next, classification of semantic loans (2.2.4–2.2.5) as well as the influence of semantic loans on the existing system (2.2.6) is discussed.

2.2.2 Semantic loans and semantic neologisms: Definitions and general characteristics

Semantic loans

In the usual understanding, semantic borrowing is seen, in simplest terms, as borrowing of meaning from a foreign language.¹ However, there exist, as was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, numerous definitions of semantic borrowings. Most of them are formulated in a similar way, although differences are also evident. The aim of the present section is to discuss selected examples provided by the scholars working in the field.

One of the most succinct definitions was provided by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 14): “the transfer of meaning without the transfer of words.”

Another general definition (yet more detailed than the previous one) of semantic borrowings can be found in Markowski (2000: 99): “*takie elementy*

¹ As Waszakowa (2011b: 1) rightly asserts, the meaning may also be borrowed from an internationalism; it might not, therefore, be easy to precisely pinpoint the source language.

leksykalne, w których zaszła zmiana znaczenia pod wpływem odpowiedniego leksemu języka obcego” [such lexical elements, in the case of which a change in meaning under the influence of a specific foreign lexeme took place]. Interestingly enough, he uses the notion of “lexical elements” rather than words.

A more restricted definition can be found in A. Fischer, who defines semantic borrowings as “cases where an existing native word changes its meaning under the influence of language contact, usually because of phonological and/or semantic similarity with a word in the source language” (A. Fischer 2003: 104).² It would seem, however, that the notion of semantic loans need not, or perhaps even should not, be restricted to native words. In fact, the cases of a change of meaning of a foreign word (a lexical borrowing), already assimilated in the recipient language, are quite frequent (cf. the further part of the section). Besides, phonological similarity is by no means a necessary condition.

A more extended definition is provided by Picone. According to him, a semantic loan emerges when “a pre-existing French³ word, morpheme or locution shifts in meaning or becomes more extended or more restricted in meaning due to imitative language contact with English” (Picone 1996: 4). It is interesting that he extends the range of semantic borrowing to morphemes and phrases,⁴ not just words, as in the case of definitions proposed by other linguists.

Semantic loans (and loan translations) are frequently contrasted with lexical borrowings, cf. Markowski (2000), Waszakowa (2005, 2011a, 2011b), W. Viereck (1986: 116), Yelenevskaya (2008: 107), and Hoffmann (2011: 133); the authors describe semantic borrowings and/or calques as hidden, latent or indirect as contrasted with overt, evident, or direct (the labels used with reference to lexical borrowings⁵). Such a classification may be especially useful from the point of view of a non-specialist reader as it may then be easier to explain the nature of semantic loans to non-linguists: semantic loans are rarely, in contrast to lexical

² Cf. also Grzega or Görlach, who define the notion of loan meaning as involving copying “a polysemy of a foreign expression by the semantic extension of an indigenous word” (Grzega 2003: 37) or as “the extension of the meaning of a native word (simple or compound) by a foreign sense” (Görlach 2002: 9). Similar understanding was given by Schultz (2012: 50), who notes that “a semantic loan occurs when a meaning of a foreign-language word is transferred to an indigenous word”; see also Graedler (2002: 77), who discusses semantic loans (in the English-Norwegian context) as “Norwegian words that take on a new meaning held by an English formal equivalent.”

³ He writes with reference to English-French contact, but his observations can be generalized to a large extent.

⁴ It is not entirely clear what is meant here by locution; most probably, the term refers to multi-word phrases and expressions.

⁵ However, the term *direct borrowing* does not seem appropriate here, as it is usually used to describe one of the ways in which a lexical borrowing can penetrate into a recipient language (contrasted with intermediary borrowings), cf. e.g. Filipović (1986: 334; for more on this, cf. Zabawa 2012a: 34).

borrowings, felt as foreign by an average native speaker of a recipient language⁶ (Walczak 1992b: 222–223, Otwinowska-Kasztelanica 2000: 128).

In fact, even such a basic distinction as the one described above, is not universally agreed upon, cf. Weinsberg (1983: 78), who discusses loanwords, semantic borrowings and calques as subgroups of lexical borrowings (the other group being grammatical borrowings), and Wiśniewska-Białas (2011), who also sees calques as a subtype of lexical borrowings. Okulska (2006), in much the same vein, assigns semantic borrowings, wrongly in the present author's view, to the group of lexical borrowings.⁷ A seemingly similar (though not identical) classification has been proposed earlier by A. Fischer (2003), who distinguishes the group of semantic borrowings (together with three other classes: lexical borrowings of new objects or ideas, lexical replacement, and semantic differentiation) within the group of lexical intake and discusses them generally as lexico-semantic changes. This, however, may be justified, as semantic loans are indeed located within the realm of vocabulary, in contrast to, say, phonological or syntactic borrowings. Thus, semantic borrowings can be located within the group of borrowings affecting vocabulary, but not as a subgroup of lexical borrowings.

Interestingly (and contrary to some definitions quoted above), the process of semantic borrowing may affect not only native words, but borrowings as well. It is not infrequently the case that a given English borrowing is borrowed into Polish in only one of its meanings. For instance, *test* was borrowed into Polish and used in the meaning of 'a multiple choice test', whereas *test* in English has more uses.⁸ Currently, however, under the influence of English, the word is also used in new meanings, e.g. to denote any kind of written test or examination (Zabawa 2004b: 62–63; more examples of this type can be found in Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2013a: 18; cf. also Witaszek-Samborska 2006, who discusses a few such examples from the semantic field of food, e.g. *chipsy*, *drink*, or *koktajl*,

⁶ The same is true of calques (cf. Section 2.3), cf. Picone, "to the casual observer, and even the not-so-casual observer, many calques, perhaps most, will remain invisible" (Picone 1996: 102).

⁷ In fact, she distinguishes between "semantic extensions of loanwords having a long tradition of use in Polish" (which can indeed be possibly treated as lexical borrowings, as it is unclear whether such words are genuine examples of the borrowing of meaning or rather instances of multiple lexical borrowings, in which cases only one meaning is borrowed at a time; still, in the present book they are counted as semantic borrowings) and "lexical items of natural Polish origin that have undergone semantic shift under the influence of English" (Okulska 2006: 210). The latter, for which *twardy* and *szczyt* are provided as examples, are clearly examples of semantic borrowings, which should be kept apart from lexical borrowings (loanwords). Both processes (lexical and semantic borrowing) affect words, but the nature of the process is different in both cases: importation as opposed to substitution/translation.

⁸ The phenomenon of borrowing only some of the meanings of English words is a very widespread one: cf. Alexieva (2008) and Dunn (2008) for more such examples from various European languages.

and Rudnicka 2010b, who discusses the extension of meaning of the form *team* in Polish). It can thus be stated that lexical borrowings may undergo the same semantic changes as indigenous words (cf. also R. Fischer 2008: 3).

Even more importantly, structures other than words (again contrary to some definitions quoted above), i.e. affixes and multi-word expressions, can also extend their meaning, either as a result of the internal development of a language or foreign influence.⁹ For example, one could quote *rzeź niewiniątek*, *grzech pierworodny*, or *okragły stół*, now also used in the sense of ‘a difficult exam that most people fail’, ‘a cause of some negative phenomenon’, and ‘the way of negotiating with somebody, while everyone is seen as an equal’, respectively (Jawór 2010: 42–43, Waszakowa 2011a: 9; for more examples of multi-word semantic innovations, cf. Wesołowska 1978: 57). In the same line, the prefixes *arcy-*, *pro-*, and *super-* may be quoted, used now in a variety of new senses (for more on this, including numerous examples, cf. Zarębski 2010).

Semantic neologisms¹⁰

Semantic borrowings can be regarded as subtypes of semantic neologisms (*neosemantyzm*; Jadacka (2001a: 217) describes them as semi-new words, since they are new only at the semantic level), which, in turn, are subtypes of neologisms (the other types being lexical neologisms and morphological neologisms¹¹; cf. Lipka 2002: 108–109). Semantic neologisms can be subdivided into semantic loans, based on a foreign model, and native semantic innovations, created without such influence; however, such a distinction is in practice often not easy to make (for more on this, cf. Section 2.4.2).

Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego (henceforth USJP¹²) defines the term *neosemantyzm* as “wyraz, który nabrał nowego znaczenia lub jest używany w nowym znaczeniu; neologizm semantyczny” [a word that has acquired a new meaning or is used in a new meaning; a semantic neologism]; as Markowski (2006: 239) rightly notices, the definition comprises not only systematic changes

⁹ This is somehow in opposition to Haugen, who notes that semantic loans mostly relate to, as he sees them, “simple stems” (Haugen 1950: 214, 219–220).

¹⁰ In general, the notion of native semantic innovations falls outside the scope of the present book; as a result, they will not be discussed in detail. For a complete treatment of semantic neologisms in Polish, cf. the monograph by Wesołowska (1978).

¹¹ Different terminology is abundant here, cf. e.g. Lee 2010: 171, who uses completely different labels, cf. also Chalker and Weiner (1994: 255), who rightly note that the term “neologism” (without any specifying adjectives) is sometimes extended to include semantic innovations as well; for more on neologisms, including definitions, classifications, numerous examples in various languages, etc., cf. Algeo (1993), Picone (1996), Fischer (1998), Ayto (1999), Smółkowa (2001), Grabias (2003), Schmid (2008). A bilingual, English-Polish, dictionary of neologisms is also available (Ratajczak 2005).

¹² The full list of dictionary abbreviations is given in Bibliography at the end.

in meaning (*nabrał nowego znaczenia*) but also new meanings occurring in individual texts (*jest używany w nowym znaczeniu*), i.e. not (yet) having the status of a lexicalized meaning (for the opposite view, cf. Witalisz 2010). In much the same way, Wesołowska (1978: 78) distinguishes, on the basis of the degree of stabilization, between figurative uses and figurative meaning, cf. also Wojan (2010: 46–47), who distinguishes, at a more general level, between lexical (systemic) meaning and textual meaning. This distinction underlines the fact that many semantic neologisms, including semantic loans, are unstable and will most probably not survive in the language.

A quite different explanation of *neosemantyzm* can be found in the appendix section of *Nowy słownik poprawnej polszczyzny* (henceforth NSPP), where Jadacka (2002: 1701) discusses semantic neologisms as “wyrazy dobrze znane jako składniki systemu słownikowego, używane w zupełnie nowym znaczeniu, ukształtowanym na gruncie języka rodzimego lub zapożyczonym z języków obcych” [words well known as components of the lexical system, used in a completely new meaning, either developed in the native language or borrowed from a foreign language]. Thus, as Markowski (2006: 239) rightly notices, the definition stresses the fact that it is a completely new meaning that is added to an existing, well-known word. This, however, seems a too far-reaching limitation; in fact, there exist many classifications of semantic neologisms, including semantic loans, that stress the fact that the proximity of the new and the traditional meaning can vary to a great extent, cf. Haugen, who distinguishes between two types of semantic loans: loan homonyms, when the new meaning “has nothing in common with the old,” and loan synonyms, where only “a new shade of meaning” is added to a native word (Haugen 1950: 219).¹³ In fact, the changes in the case of some of the semantic borrowings are very subtle and no new meaning, or even a shade of meaning, appears, but rather the word is simply used in new collocations, cf. Górnicz (2010: 74), who describes the phenomenon as “zniesienie restrykcji kolokacyjnych” [the abolition of restrictions in collocations]. This understanding will also be used in the present book: thus, it is not necessary for the word to be used in a completely new meaning to be described as a semantic innovation or a semantic borrowing; in fact, there are many examples of semantic borrowings described in the present study where the change in meaning is very subtle.

Semantic changes (also referred to as *zmiany słownikowe* ‘dictionary changes’, cf. Milewski 1972: 197), as Algeo (1993) notes, are “extremely common”; a similar view was expressed by other linguists, e.g. Pyles and Algeo, who note that change in meaning is “a phenomenon common to all languages” (1982:

¹³ Haugen admits himself, however, that the classification is not always possible to be performed, as it is frequently not possible to measure precisely the degree of semantic proximity of the two meanings.

242), adding that “the meaning of practically any word is susceptible to change of one sort or another” (1982: 258). However, a somewhat different view was expressed by Ayto (1999); admittedly, he claims that using a word in a new meaning is the “most effort-free way of expanding the vocabulary of a language,” but at the same time he implies that the modifications of meaning are not very frequent in comparison with other types of neologisms in English. Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 64) also assert that the process of semantic innovation (including both semantic borrowings and semantic innovations not triggered by the influence of a foreign language) is important (in terms of enriching Polish lexis) in current Polish, but not as important as derivational neologisms and lexical borrowing.

Concluding remarks

To sum up, in the present book the term *semantic borrowing* (or *semantic loan*) will be understood in a broad sense, as a word (either genetically native or of a foreign origin, but borrowed earlier and at least partly assimilated) or a phrase whose meaning has been changed (transferred, extended, or restricted, cf. Section 2.2.4) on the model of its counterpart in another language. The change in meaning can range from a very subtle to a major one.

2.2.3 Semantic loans: Examples of terminological confusion

As was described in the previous section, not all the scholars working in the field understand the notion of a semantic loan in exactly the same way. What is more, there is a great deal of confusion concerning the terminology. The very name of *semantic loan* is sometimes criticized, cf. Haugen (1950: 214), who, while using the term himself, underlines the fact that other types of borrowings, e.g. lexical loans, are in fact semantic as well because of the semantic importation, i.e. the borrowing of meaning. Thus the term may not be very precise; it is, nevertheless, widely accepted and will be retained in the present book.

Semantic borrowing is sometimes also described as *loan meaning*¹⁴ (cf. Carstensen 1984: 44, Lehnert 1986: 134, Clyne 1995: 203¹⁵), or *semantic calque*. The latter term is used by quite a few scholars, e.g. Weinsberg (1983: 78), Görlach (2003: 96), Wach (2013: 162), also in its Polish-language version as

¹⁴ But cf. R. Fischer (2008: 6), who subdivides the notion of semantic borrowing into loan meaning and loan formation; thus, in her view, loan meaning is not equivalent to semantic borrowing but is rather its subtype.

¹⁵ According to Clyne (1995), loan-meanings, together with loan-translations, loan-renditions, and loan-idioms (the spelling with a hyphen is used), belong to semantic transfers.

kalka semantyczna, cf. Buttler (1978: 35), Nowowiejski (2010: 90), or *kalka znaczeniowa*, cf. Bartłomiejczyk (2006a: 32); cf. also Herman (2008: 11).¹⁶

The linguists that use both terms (i.e. *semantic borrowing* and *semantic calque*), usually use them interchangeably, with no distinction in meaning, e.g. Obara (1989: 58), Walczak (1992b: 225, 232; 2010: 189), Górnicz (2010: 74), Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 65). Markowski (2012: 126) even states explicitly that a semantic calque is a different name for a semantic loan.¹⁷ Not all linguists, however, share the same view, cf. Sawicka (2012: 60), who makes a distinction between, as she calls them, *kalki znaczeniowe* [calques of meaning] and semantic borrowings; she does not provide, however, any additional theoretical explanations and the examples provided do not seem to make the distinction clear. For a completely different understanding of a semantic calque, cf. Waszakowa or Okulska, who use it to describe loan translations, cf. *broń konwencjonalna* (E. *conventional weapon*) (Okulska 2006: 217) or *cyberwojna* (E. *cyberwar*) (Waszakowa 2005: 23).¹⁸ A similar, though not identical, understanding of a semantic calque can be found in Wieluniecka (2010), who understands it as a calque where at least one element is used in the extended, non-traditional, meaning (e.g. *strumienie video* calquing English *video streams*).

Consequently, it appears that it is better to discard the term *semantic calque* altogether, as it is far from clearly understood and, additionally, it makes the distinction between semantic loans and calques (cf. Section 2.4.5), already very unclear, even more blurred. Thus, in the present book, the term *semantic calque* will not be used; instead, the terms *semantic loan* and *semantic borrowing* will interchangeably be used.

¹⁶ Other terms are also documented, cf. e.g. Dubisz (1992: 43), who, while describing semantic borrowings used by the Poles living in an English-speaking country, uses the term *semantyczne repliki wyrazowe* [semantic word-replicas].

¹⁷ Earlier, however, Markowski (1992: 159) used the notion of a semantic calque in a somewhat restricted sense: it was used when a given phrase appeared with reference to foreign concepts, e.g. *konferencja (koszykówki)* (a concept connected with sports in the United States, e.g. conferences in the National Basketball Association). Obara (1989: 42), by contrast, adopts a different view: in his understanding, in the case of semantic calques the new meaning, modelled on a foreign template, tends to be figurative.

¹⁸ See also Sosnowski (2000: 322), who, while analyzing Polish and Italian used in the area of computers, distinguishes between semantic calques and lexical calques; lexical calques, in his understanding, appear to be equivalent to semantic borrowings. It is not entirely clear, however, what is meant by a semantic calque; most probably, the term seems to refer to loan translations, as in Waszakowa's and Okulska's understanding.

2.2.4 Semantic loans: Types of semantic change according to the direction of the semantic modification

Detailed, historical descriptions of various classifications of semantic change (including also the reasons and motives for such changes) can be found in Ullmann (1957: 171–257) and Wesołowska (1978: 17–25, 33–39), who describe, among others, the classic theories by Paul, Bréal, Meillet, Wundt, as well as the classifications of Wellander, Stern, Schwietering, Schuchardt, Roudet, Gombocz, Carnoy, and Sperber; cf. also Witalisz (2007a: 34–66), who discusses Paul, Stern, and Ullmann, and Małyska (2013), who, in turn, presents a brief summary of the theories. In general, they will not be discussed here in detail, as they are mostly concerned with internal processes, i.e. changes in the meaning that result from the internal development of a given language, and thus fall outside the scope of the present book.

A traditional classification of changes in meaning (according to the direction of semantic modification) can be found in e.g. Ullmann (1951, 1957, 1962), Buttler (1978), Pyles and Algeo (1982), Algeo (1993), McMahon (1994), Geeraerts (1997), Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000), Witaszek-Samborska (2006), Zabawa (2012a), Małyska (2013). Most of the authors distinguish between three main types¹⁹:

- specialization (semantic narrowing, also known as semantic restriction, specification, cf. Grygiel 2008, or narrowing of meaning, cf. Traugott and Dasher 2004: 56); in the case of semantic restriction, it is the scope of the word that is restricted, but its meaning is enriched with an additional feature and the precision is thus increased (Ullmann 1957: 204; 1962: 228–230, Pyles and Algeo 1982: 244, McMahon 1994: 178, Sihler 2000: 100);
- generalization (semantic widening, also known as semantic extension, neutralisation, cf. Grygiel 2008, or expansion or broadening of meaning, cf. Traugott and Dasher 2004: 56); in the case of semantic generalization, referential scope of the word is increased, but the precision of the meaning decreases, as some feature is subtracted (Ullmann 1957: 204, 1962: 228–230, Pyles and Algeo 1982, Sihler 2000: 99);
- transfer of meaning,²⁰ understood as “shift to include a quite different set of referents” (Pyles and Algeo 1982: 242–243, cf. also Milewski 1972: 197),

¹⁹ Some variations do exist; they are, however, of minor importance here, cf. e.g. Algeo (1993), who distinguishes between four groups (changes based on metaphor and metonymy are classified into two separate groups), or Witaszek-Samborska (2006: 31) and Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 65–69), who distinguish between changes in the range of the word (specialization and generalization) and changes in the content (metaphors and metonymies).

²⁰ Also labelled as semantic transfer, cf. e.g. Fischer (1998: 2).

embraces primarily metaphorical and metonymic changes²¹; Buttler (1978) includes here also “przesunięcie centrum znaczenia wyrazu” [the change of the dominant semantic component]. Traditionally, metaphors are understood as “figurative uses based on some similarity of form, function, relationship, appearance, and so on, between the normal (literal) referent of the word and some new referent” (Sihler 2000: 108) and the process of metaphorization “involves conceptualizing one element of a conceptual structure C_a in terms of an element of another conceptual structure C_b ” (Traugott and Dasher 2004: 28). Metaphors are usually either based on visual similarity, i.e. connected with a shape, colour, size, consistency, etc., or similarity in function, intended use, way of working, etc. (Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska 2013: 66). Naturally, the degree of similarity might range from obvious to the opaque; sometimes metaphorical associations may be quite unconventional. Besides, the similarity is usually only mentally assigned by humans to a given entity and is thus highly subjective, cf. e.g. a computer mouse, being arguably similar in shape (and possibly also in colour) to the mouse-animal (for more on metaphors in the domain of computers, cf. Section 2.9.2). Metonymy, by contrast, is defined as “a figurative use of a word which is suggested by some physical or temporal proximity, cause-and-effect, material, relationship, or similarity of use” (Sihler 2000: 115). Metonymies, as Sihler (2000) rightly mentions, are very often not lexicalized and can be said to appear in a given discourse rather than in a lexicon.

Semantic narrowing, widening and the transfer of meaning can be described collectively as denotational meaning changes, which can, in turn, be contrasted with connotational meaning changes, primarily pejoration and amelioration, where the associations of a word become worse or better, respectively (R. Fischer 2008: 5, Pyles and Algeo 1982: 247–252, Sihler 2000: 103; also described as deterioration and favourable changes, cf. Ullmann 1951: 78–79; 1962: 231–235).

As Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 68) rightly assert, semantic changes are frequently not sharply defined and it is sometimes not easy to precisely assign a given semantic novelty to a given type; besides, various processes may overlap and a given semantic neologism may be the result of more than one process happening simultaneously (e.g. extension and metaphorical change).

As for English semantic loans used in general Polish, most of them appear to be either metaphorical changes or extensions. Semantic restriction is rare (cf. Sękowska (2007: 47) and Witaszek-Samborska (2006: 31–32), who also note that generalization is more frequent than specialization), while metonymic changes usually appear to be of the native character, rather than triggered by a foreign

²¹ Other, less important changes include e.g. transfer due to the association of ideas or association of sound (Pyles and Algeo 1982).

language. The picture looks different, however, in the case of specialized varieties (such as that of computer science), where specialization appears more frequent than generalization (cf. Chapter 4).

2.2.5 Semantic loans: Types of semantic change according to the element affected

In addition to the classification presented in the previous section, English semantic loans in Polish can also be classified according to the element affected in the process. A classification of this type is provided by Markowski (2000: 102), who distinguishes between four main types:

- the general meaning is preserved, the new meaning being some kind of modification of the old meaning, e.g. *nominacja*, as in *nominacja do Oscara*;
- the word appears in new collocations rather than in the new meaning; the change in meaning is then, as Markowski puts it, “minimal,” e.g. *edycja*, as in *edycja konkursu*;
- the change of the expressive force of the word, e.g. *agresywny*, now also used in the approving sense of ‘success-oriented, dynamic, etc.’;
- significant change in meaning, e.g. *molestować*, used in the sense of ‘to molest somebody (sexually)’.

In the present study, a modified classification will be used; semantic innovations will be subdivided into three main groups, with an additional fourth group (of a distinct character):

- words used in a completely new meaning, e.g. *mysz* in the sense of ‘a computer device’, *czysty* as in *czysty dysk* ‘a hard disk free from viruses and other malware’; the change of this type is usually of metaphorical character;
- words used primarily in new collocations, with some modification of the traditional meaning; the change in meaning is, however, not substantial, e.g. *chory* as in *chory komputer* ‘a computer that does not work properly, either because of software or a hardware problem’; changes of this type can be classified as either metaphorical or based on extension;
- words used only in new collocations, with the meaning preserved, e.g. *dubbing* (a lexical borrowing itself), traditionally used in connection with the movies, now also referring to computer games; changes of this type usually correspond to semantic extension or, particularly in more specialized varieties, to narrowing (the general meaning is preserved, but becomes more precise);
- words used with no change in meaning or collocation; the change here results from changes in the extralinguistic reality. Such changes are not typical examples of semantic loans or semantic innovations, but, as in the case of typical semantic innovations, they make the dictionary definition no longer

adequate, e.g. *bilet*, defined in USJP as “karteczka, kartonik [...]” [a small piece of paper]; nowadays, tickets do not necessarily appear in the form of a piece of paper, but may appear as e.g. magnetic cards, records on a computer, etc. Thus, it is not meaning *sensu stricto* that changes here, but the entity in the extralinguistic world. In general, this group is excluded from the present analysis.

2.2.6 The influence of semantic loans on the existing system

In most cases, the process of semantic borrowing results in the extension of meaning, cf. Weinreich, who defines the process as “the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model” (Weinreich 1974: 48); he adds, however, that the old content may disappear, and thus the process may go “beyond a mere extension” (Weinreich 1974: 49).

Fischer goes a bit further and asserts that “older senses are usually lost in the process (or taken over by other lexemes),” adding that “the net result [...] is often zero” (A. Fischer 2003: 104). This, however, is clearly an exaggeration, at least in the English-Polish context, as older senses, in fact, rarely disappear altogether (cf. also Traugott and Dasher 2004: 11, who note, in connection with semantic innovations in general, that “despite what is often thought, the loss of an earlier meaning is relatively rare”; cf. also Sihler 2000: 99); rather, the old and new senses tend to coexist and the word changes from monosemous into polysemous (or, if it was already polysemous, ends up having more senses). It may naturally be the case that a given word in its traditional meaning is used less frequently, as in the case of *ikona*, where the new meaning (‘a picture on a computer screen’) is now probably more frequent than the traditional meaning (‘a holy painting’)²²; thus a new meaning may, in time, become the primary meaning of a given lexical item (Zabawa 2012a: 103, 119; for more on this, cf. Zabawa 2013d²³).

²² It is not easy, however, to precisely establish which meaning is more frequent: naturally, corpora are of much help here, but the results of corpora search are not fully conclusive either: the selection of texts, for example, may be biased.

²³ The study (Zabawa 2013d) was based on a questionnaire; the task of the respondents was to provide their associations with certain words, such as e.g. *pirat* or *ikona* (altogether, 16 words, minus four distractors, were taken into consideration). The aim was to check whether the respondents tend to associate e.g. the word *ikona* with computers or a painting used in Orthodox church. The results were highly interesting as the study corroborated that, for some words, the new meaning was already more popular than the traditional one. That was the case of *molestować*, *promocja*, *ikona*, *czatować*, *aplikacja*, *konsola*, and *sieć*. Naturally, for some words, it was still the traditional meaning which predominated in the associations, e.g. *ładować*, *album*, *strona*, *agresywny*, or *pirat*.

Thus, the emergence of a given semantic borrowing can frequently result in changes, to a varying extent, occurring in the existent vocabulary. For example in the sphere of computers, the construction *wysłać pocztą* (without any additional modifiers) is now frequently used in the new meaning of ‘to send something using electronic mail’. Thus, the construction in question, when used in the traditional meaning, is nowadays not infrequently supplemented by certain modifiers, such as *wysłać pocztą tradycyjną* (otherwise the form may be ambiguous in certain contexts).²⁴ The new meaning of *poczta* has thus influenced the traditional use as well.

Consequently, it can be stated that the new meaning added to a word should not be seen as “a mere addition to an inventory” (to quote Weinreich’s (1974) terminology). In other words, the emergence of the new meaning may alter the internal structure of meanings of a given word. A detailed classification of such changes is provided by Markowski (2006), who distinguishes between eight main types of changes in meaning (seen from the point of view of a relation of a new and traditional meaning):

- a. The new meaning has just emerged; it appears in language but is not (yet) the part of the norm or linguistic system. It is also not included in the dictionaries. Thus, the traditional meaning predominates.
- b. The new meaning becomes a part of the linguistic norm, but not (yet) a system.²⁵ It is not included in the dictionaries and the traditional meaning predominates.
- c. The new meaning is still relatively new but it is already included in dictionaries. The traditional meaning is still seen as the basic one, the one that first comes to native speakers’ minds.
- d. The new meaning is seen as relatively assimilated and stabilized in the language. It is, however, still treated as secondary in comparison with the traditional one.
- e. The traditional meaning is still seen as primary in the general variety of language. The new meaning has gained, however, equal status, or even priority in a given professional or social variety.²⁶
- f. The traditional meaning is seen as primary in one linguistic environment (e.g. a given professional variety) while the new meaning is felt as primary in a different environment. It is not easy to decide which of those two meanings is seen as primary in a general variety.

²⁴ The same tendency can also be detected in English where the forms *send by traditional post/mail* are observed alongside the more humorous *send by a snail mail* (also calqued into Polish as *poczta ślimacza*, used in humorous or less formal contexts).

²⁵ For more on the linguistic norm in Polish as opposed to the existence of borrowings (mostly lexical ones), cf. Sawicka (1995).

²⁶ Cf. also Pędzich (2010: 15), who distinguishes between semantic innovations where the new meaning appears (1) in the same variety as the traditional meaning or (2) in a different one.

- g. Both new and traditional meanings are seen as equally primary, thus having the same status in a general language.
- h. The new meaning is seen as primary, the traditional meaning has been moved to a secondary position.

The above classification, albeit useful in describing the degrees of the influence of the new meaning on the traditional one, seems, paradoxically, too detailed (and with too many factors taken into consideration) to be used in practice. For example, it is not always easy to distinguish between the meanings which are primary and those which are secondary. The dictionary criterion (the inclusion or exclusion of a given meaning) may be useful, but different dictionaries may bring conflicting evidence, as individual meanings may be present in one dictionary, but absent in another. Using a corpus may seem a better solution, but general corpora are usually not very representative for professional and social varieties. Consequently, the classification of a given change in meaning to one of the eight groups would unavoidably be arbitrary in certain cases. For this reason, it will not be used in the present study. Certain references to it, nevertheless, will be made in the conclusion section (Chapter 5).

2.3 Loan translations: Theoretical aspects

2.3.1 Introductory comments

As in the case of semantic loans, calques, also described as loan translations (also spelt as loan-translations, cf. e.g. Clyne 1995: 203), are also not infrequently defined in various ways; besides, many authors use the term *calque* without any further definition or explanation (cf. Obara 1989: 4, 9, who notes that the term in question is far from unambiguous and adds, “ułożenie [...] definicji [kalki] nie jest łatwe, ponieważ trudno wyraźnie oddzielić od siebie jednostki językowe nie będące kalkami od szeroko dziś pojmowanych kalk” [it is not easy to compose a definition of a calque since it is difficult to clearly distinguish between linguistic units which are calques from those which are not]; Obara 1989: 70). Various definitions given in the literature stress different aspects of the process and, what is more, they include a different range of phenomena that are termed calques. Thus, the aim of the present subchapter is to provide and discuss examples of different definitions of the notion of a loan translation.

The organization of the subchapter is the following one: first, various definitions are presented (Section 2.3.2), and then the classification of loan translations is proposed (Section 2.3.3).

2.3.2 Loan translations: Definitions

A loan translation,²⁷ also known as a calque²⁸ (originating from French *calquer* ‘to trace’; Crystal 2008) or a replica (Polish: *kalka*; other proposed names include *kopia*, *replika*, *odbitka*, *tłumaczeniowiec*, *klisza*, or *refleks*, cf. e.g. Bartłomiejczyk 2006a: 32), is defined by Schultz as

the complete, semantically accordant reproduction²⁹ of each constituent of a foreign word by use of synonymous word forms in the receiving language. The term not only relates to the translation process but also to its “product.”³⁰ *Third World*, for example, is a loan translation of French *tiers monde* (Schultz 2012: 50).

The above-given definition seems, however, confusing, as the author restricts the phenomenon to words (cf. also Shukla and Connor-Linton 2006: 294: “Typically, a loan translation is created by literally translating elements from the donor language into compound words in the borrowing language”); the example, by contrast, suggests that the process can apply to (idiomatic) phrases.

Sometimes a general term is used (such as *complex form*), without detailed description of the constructions that can be calqued, cf. the definition provided by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 14): “A calque is a complex form that was created on the model of a complex form in a donor language and whose constituents correspond semantically to the donor language constituents.”

A more detailed enumeration, by contrast, is given by Hoffmann (2011: 133); in her view, the notion of a calque can include “words in the strict sense,”³¹ expressions and idioms,³² cf. also Crystal, who defines a calque as

²⁷ Sometimes also described with the order of the components reversed, i.e. translation loan (T’sou 2001: 48).

²⁸ The term *calque* will be used in the present study with reference to both loan translations and loan renditions (cf. Section 2.4.6).

²⁹ See also Filipović’s explanation: “a calque or loan translation is used if no free morpheme is imported from English” (Filipović 2002: 236).

³⁰ See Carstensen (1988: 85), who also stresses that the term applies both to the process and the result of the process.

³¹ The notion of “a word in the strict sense” is not entirely clear, as Hoffmann offers here the example of a compound (German *Waterfall* > Hungarian *vízésés*). Most probably, it refers to units written orthographically as one unit.

³² The distinction between expressions and idioms is again not very clear; the example provided by Hoffmann for an expression (German *unter der Hand kaufen* ‘buy under the counter’;

A term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a type of borrowing, where the morphemic constituents of the borrowed word or phrase are translated item by item into equivalent morphemes in the new language. Such 'loan translations' are illustrated in English [by] *power politics* from German *Machtpolitik*, *Superman* from *Übermensch* (Crystal 2008: 64) [small capitals used for cross-referencing have been replaced with lower case letters].

A similar understanding is given by Aikhenvald, who, instead of writing about translating item by item, uses the notion of "morpheme by morpheme," thus stressing multi-morphemic nature of words that may undergo the process. She defines a calque as "a pattern translated morpheme per morpheme into another language" (Aikhenvald 2007: 2). In the further part of her paper, she provides a slightly more comprehensive definition: "These [i.e. loan translations] involve mostly ad hoc word-for-word or morpheme-per-morpheme translations from one language into another" (Aikhenvald 2007: 24).

Weinreich (1974: 50) defines loan translation in a similar way (albeit with the use of the notion of reproduction rather than translation), as the process of "reproduction in terms of equivalent native words," adding that the process may apply to "compounds, phrases, and even larger units such as proverbs" (cf. also Rosenhouse and Fisherman 2008: 14: "Calques can relate to single words, phrases and 'longer utterances'"). Most definitions thus stress the fact that the notion of a calque is applicable to both multi-morphemic words and phrases, cf. also Grosjean (1982: 318), who connects the notion of a calque with compounds and idiomatic expressions,³³ Ullmann (1951: 63), who states explicitly that the notion of loan translations may refer both to words and phrases, and Pisarek (1999: 175, in *Encyklopedia języka polskiego*; EJP), who also stresses that the notion of a calque may apply to both words and phrases.³⁴ This is also the view adopted in the present book.³⁵

lit. 'buy under the hand') can be seen as at least semi-idiomatic. Besides, the distinction between expressions and idioms is a semantic, rather than a structural one and is of little value for the present analysis.

³³ For a different view, see Clyne (1995), who uses a separate term for calqued idioms, namely *loan-idioms*, thus keeping it separate from loan translations. In the present book, this distinction will not be retained, as it is far from fully objective; in Clyne, as it appears, it is not based on the real idiomaticity of meaning, but rather on the formal structure: if the form is written as one word, it is treated as a loan translation; in the opposite case, it is classified as a loan idiom.

³⁴ To be precise, the definition applies the term to words, phrases (Polish *zwrot*) and expressions (Polish *wyrażenie*). The distinction between the last two is concerned with the structure of a construction (verbal as opposed to nominal or adjectival) and is not relevant from the point of view of the present discussion.

³⁵ In addition, it should be noted that calques can also be seen from a wider, connected with cultural, rather than strictly linguistic, perspective, cf. Grybosiowa (2002: 42), who discusses such expressions as *widzimy się jutro* as a calque of English *see you later* or German *wir sehen uns später*. This view, however, will not be followed in the present book.

It should be underlined here that for some linguists, the notion of a calque embraces semantic loans as well, cf. Görlach (2005 [2001]: xxvi), Winter-Froemel (2008: 21), and Örsi (2008: 213); for a similar view, cf. Sihler, who defines a calque as “an abrupt semantic change due to borrowing” (Sihler 2000: 128) and subclassifies calques into monomorphemic calques (also referred to as a one-word calque) and calqued compounds (also referred to as morpheme-by-morpheme calque). What is more, Sihler explicitly notes that many scholars treat calques as phenomena applying only to multimorphemic units, which, in his view, is “obviously not true” (Sihler 2000: 130; most linguists are, however, of a different opinion, cf. Gómez Capuz (1997: 88), who claims that a loan translation always refers to “polymorphemic unity”).

Sometimes the opposite is claimed, i.e. the notion of a semantic borrowing embraces calques; thus, calques are seen as subtypes of semantic borrowings (Waszakowa 2005: 23). This makes the entire picture even more blurred.

In the present study, a loan translation will be understood as a polymorphemic unity (written orthographically as either a single word or more than one word). Loan translations will not be seen as a subtype of semantic borrowing (or vice versa); instead, it seems reasonable to keep the two phenomena (semantic loans and calques) clearly separated. The differentiation between them is, however, not always easy to perform (for more on this, cf. Section 2.4.5).

2.3.3 Loan translations: Classification

Formal classification

Polański (1999: 284, in *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego*; EJO) distinguishes between two basic types of loan translations: (1) lexical calques, further subdivided into word calques (*kalki wyrazowe*), e.g. *listonosz* (German *Briefträger*) and phrasal calques (*kalki frazeologiczne*), e.g. *zabijać czas* (French *tuer le temps*) and (2) grammatical calques, where a syntactic construction is translated literally, e.g. *wydaje się być* (E. *seem to be*). A similar classification, based on the distinction between lexical and phrasal calques, is accepted by numerous linguists working in the field, cf. Mindak (1983: 208), Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1994: 9), Markowski (2012: 134); frequently, however, different terminology is used, cf. e.g. Weinsberg (1983: 78), who divides the calques in the same way but uses the term *kalka słowotwórcza* rather than *kalka leksykalna* or *wyrazowa*.

Many authors present a more detailed classification (but virtually always based on the distinction between lexical, phrasal, and grammatical calques), cf. Walczak (2000: 74), who distinguishes between (1) lexical calques (*kalki leksykalne*), further subclassified into (1a) structural (or word-formative) calques

(*kalki strukturalne* or *słowotwórcze*) and (1b) semantic calques, (2) phrasal calques (*kalki frazeologiczne*), and (3) grammatical calques, further subclassified into (3a) morphological and (3b) syntactic calques (*kalki morfologiczne* and *składniowe*, respectively).³⁶ A different classification, though with the use of the same labels, is presented by Pulcini (2002: 161), who distinguishes between structural and semantic calques. Structural calques, which reproduce the form, can then be subdivided into lexical and phrasal. For yet another understanding of structural calques, cf. Górnicz (2010: 76), who sees the notion of structural calques as used in connection with multi-word structures only. Thus, there is a visible disagreement as to the range of phenomena subsumed under the name of structural calques.

Another classification worth mentioning is the one given by Sękowska (2007: 47), who divides calques into word-formative (lexical) calques and phrasal calques, but defines them in a different way. The former group, apart from such one-word constructions as *nastolatek* (E. *teenager*) and *wiatrówka* (E. *wind jacket*),³⁷ comprises also multi-word items, such as *kobieta interesu* (E. *businesswoman*), *rower górski* (E. *mountain-bike*), *narty wodne* (E. *water-ski*). Phrasal calques, by contrast, include such examples as *profesor wizytujący* (E. *visiting professor*), *zero tolerancji* (E. *zero tolerance*). This is not overtly stated, but the distinction is most probably based on the English model: in phrasal calques, in Sękowska's understanding of the term, both expressions, i.e. in a source and target language, are multi-word. When any of them (or both) is composed of just one word (or two words joined with a hyphen), then the term lexical calque is used. A similar distinction, albeit with the use of different labels, is introduced by Rudnicka (2010a), who distinguishes between phrasal and syntactic calques (*kalki składniowe*). In her view, syntactic calques, unlike phrasal ones, must have the form of multi-word units in both the source and the recipient language: thus *muzyka przyszłości* from German *Zukunftsmusik* is an example of a phrasal, but not syntactic, calque (in Sękowska's understanding, it would probably be seen as a lexical, rather than phrasal, calque). Yet another understanding of phrasal calques is given by Gómez Capuz (1997); in his view, the notion is reserved for metaphorical constructions, where there is "a global sense which cannot be derived from the addition of the senses of its constituents" (1997: 90). These,

³⁶ A similar, though not identical classification is provided by Wieluniecka (2010), who distinguishes between word-formative calques (*kalki słowotwórcze*), semantic calques (*kalki semantyczne*) and phrasal calques (*kalki frazeologiczne*). Thus, in her understanding, semantic calques form a separate group, rather than being a subtype of lexical calques, as in Walczak's understanding. The examples provided by Wieluniecka are, however, not entirely self-explanatory, as in e.g. *impuls dla rozwoju*, calquing English *impulse for development*, presented as a semantic calque while it clearly copies foreign syntactic pattern.

³⁷ This is a doubtful example, however. A typical calque of *wind jacket* would rather be something like *kurtka wiatrowa*.

however, are rather untypical classifications and will not be followed in the present book.

Perhaps the most detailed classification of calques is presented by Obara (1989; for a concise summary, cf. Walczak 1992a), who also distinguishes between the three main groups (lexical, phrasal, and grammatical), but with numerous subclasses:

- lexical calques (*kalki leksykalne*), subdivided into: (1) loan translations (*kalki leksykalne strukturalne, kalki słowotwórcze, kalki-tłumaczenia*), which can further be subclassified into (1a) loan translations proper (*kalki leksykalne dokładne*) and (1b) loan renditions (*kalki leksykalne niedokładne*), and (2) semantic calques (semantic borrowings), further subclassified into (2a) synonymic semantic calques (proper semantic calques), based on polysemous model (*kalki leksykalne semantyczne synonimiczne* or *właściwe*), equivalent to semantic loans and (2b) associative semantic calques (*kalki leksykalne semantyczne asocjacyjne*), where the model is not a polysemous word, but a word which accidentally has a similar structure or grapho-phonemic shape as the word in the recipient language. The latter (2b) group can be further subdivided into (2b1) substitutional associative semantic calques (*kalki leksykalne semantyczne asocjacyjno-substytucyjne*) and (2b2) accidental associative semantic calques (*kalki leksykalne semantyczne asocjacyjno-akcydentalne*).
- phrasal calques (*kalki frazeologiczne*), further subclassified into exact (*kalki frazeologiczne dokładne*) and inexact ones (*kalki frazeologiczne niedokładne*). The majority of phrasal calques, as Obara (1989: 49) asserts, belong to the latter group. The inexactness may be of different kinds: formal (*kalki frazeologiczne niedokładne z odstępstwami gramatycznymi*; the form is different, e.g. one-word construction is rendered as a multi-word construction), lexical (*kalki frazeologiczne niedokładne z odstępstwami leksykalnymi*; not the closest equivalent is used), or semantic (*kalki frazeologiczne niedokładne z odstępstwami semantycznymi*; the construction may have a different and/or additional meaning in comparison with the model). A special type of phrasal calques can also be mentioned: calques-abbreviations (*kalki-abrewiatury*, Obara 1989: 50), e.g. Polish *UE* from English *EU*, an example of formally inexact calque.³⁸ Additionally, phrasal calques can also be subdivided on the basis of the strength of the calqued collocation (Kolker 1968, quoted in Obara 1989: 47): (1) strongest collocations: idioms, proverbs, etc., (2) medium-strength collocations, and (3) weak collocations. For instance, the following Polish constructions, calqued from German or French, are provided: (1) *tu*

³⁸ This must be kept separated from such forms as Polish *VAT*, which belong to the group of lexical borrowings.

leży pies pogrzebany, (2) *rzucić rękawicę*, (3) *pole bitwy*. This is, however, not an easy classification to make, as it does not seem sufficiently precise.³⁹

– grammatical calques, further subdivided into (1) morphological calques, e.g. the disappearance of certain morphological categories, and (2) syntactic calques, e.g. when a word in the new construction has a new syntactic function or is used in a different case, tense or mood. In both cases, unlike in the case of lexical and phrasal calques, it is only the skeleton of the construction (without the filling, i.e. words) that is borrowed. Such calques can only be exact (Obara 1989: 53, 62, 75). They are outside the scope of the present paper and will not be discussed in detail.

The above-given classification is very useful, although, paradoxically, it may appear too detailed: group 2b (within lexical calques), for example, constitutes a rare type. They are similar to incorrectly used false friends, e.g. *ewentualnie* in the sense of ‘at the end’ under the influence of English *eventually*. A different classification (based on different principles) is offered by Silva-Corvalán (1995), who deals with the Spanish-English contact. She distinguishes between the following types of calques: (1) single-word calques (equivalent to semantic loans), (2) multiple-word calques, (3) multiple-word calques of bound collocations, idioms and proverbs, and (4) lexico-syntactic calques which bring about some changes, e.g. in combinational restrictions or the use of prepositions in the replica language. The classification, although an interesting one, is in fact far from being precise and it is often difficult to make a clear-cut division between the classes. For example, the construction *máquina de contestar* (E. *answering machine*) is grouped by Silva-Corvalán into the second class, but it could equally well be assigned to the third group, as the entire phrase can be seen as at least partly idiomatic.

Thus, as can be seen, some authors classify the calques on the basis of formal structure of the elements (with the main groups being lexical, phrasal, and grammatical), while others take into account the semantics, i.e. degree of idiomaticity of a given construction, or combine both approaches (as in the example above; for more on this, cf. the subsequent section). Another important difference is connected with the status of semantic calques (which are, in the view of most scholars, equivalent to semantic loans, cf. Section 2.2.3): in some classifications, they are included as one of the calque types; in others, however, they are not. The understanding of a phrasal calque also differs to quite an extent.

³⁹ See also Latkowska (2002: 88–89), who distinguishes between four main classes of phrasal calques. The classification has been made for the purpose of her study, i.e. the classification of English-induced constructions used by the Polish students of English, but it seems quite universal. The following groups are distinguished: collocational patterning, e.g. *wziąć autobus* (E. *to take the bus*), idiomatic calquing, e.g. *mieć słodki ząb* (E. *to have a sweet tooth*), syntactic calques (mostly reflecting foreign word order), e.g. *on jest miły do porozmawiania* (E. *he is nice to talk to*), and prepositional patterning, e.g. *w obrazku widać* (E. *in the picture*).

Despite the differences, most of the linguists agree that the term calque may relate to words, phrases, and larger units (including entire sentences, e.g. *W czym mogę pomóc?*, on the model of English *Can I help you?*; Otwinowska-Kasztelanica 2000, Waszakowa 2011a: 7). It is not clear, however, which types of constructions are particularly frequently calqued: Görlach (2003: 96), for example, stresses the fact that calquing at the level of phrases is much rarer than at the level of words. The findings of the present study, by contrast, prove the opposite (cf. Chapters 4 and 5).

In the present book, calques will be classified into lexical and phrasal calques, corresponding to one-word and multi-word calques. Both types can appear, as was mentioned before, only in connection with polymorphemic entities. In addition, certain examples of prepositional calques, i.e. connected with the novel use of a preposition in a given phrase, will be given. Semantic loans will be treated separately and will not be seen as a subtype of calques.

Semantic classification

Apart from the formal classification, it is also possible to classify the calques on a completely different basis, with the meaning of the components taken into account.

Weinreich (1974: 51) classifies loan translations into two following groups: (1) constructions in which the components appear in the traditional meaning and only their particular combination is modelled on a foreign language and (2) constructions in which one or more components appear in the extended meaning modelled on another language (naturally, the entire construction is also modelled on a foreign source). A similar, albeit more detailed, classification is offered by Wesołowska (1978: 56), who classifies phrasal neologisms⁴⁰ into four main groups:

1. Newly created constructions with a new global meaning. The new meaning is not a sum of the meanings of its elements, e.g. *zimna wojna*.
2. Constructions in which only one element appears in a new meaning; the second element remains semantically unchanged, e.g. *bank krwi*. *Krew* appears in the traditional meaning, while *bank* appears in a new meaning; the word in the new meaning may be termed a bound semantic innovation or a bound semantic loan (*neosemantyzm związany*; cf. Wesołowska 1978; the English term used by Witalisz 2014), cf. also Obara (1989: 41), who notes that such constructions can be described as semantic calques (i.e. semantic loans) inside phrasal calques.

⁴⁰ This classification is thus not connected with constructions modelled on foreign structures. It can, however, at least to a certain extent, be used to describe such constructions as well.

3. Constructions in which the semantic change is connected only with the use of a given word in (slightly) extended context; thus, the word does not really appear in a new meaning, but rather develops a new shade of meaning, e.g. *dom dziecka*, *dom mody*, *dom obuwia*.
4. Constructions in which both elements appear in the traditional meaning; it is only the combination into a phrasal unit that is new, e.g. *dżentelmen jezdni*.

Some of the types are closely connected and the distinction between them will not always be possible, cf. e.g. types 2 and 3; it may seem more reasonable, therefore, to divide loan translations into fewer groups, with clearly marked boundaries. This was done by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 36), who distinguishes between two groups only, the first corresponding to Wesołowska's type 2 (though in her understanding one or more elements may appear in the extended meaning) and the second to type 4, e.g. *użytkownik końcowy*, cf. English *end user*. This is also the classification that will be used in the present book: thus, multi-word loan translations will be subdivided into those used with the simultaneous semantic loan (where at least one element is used in the new sense under the influence of English) and those used without such loan (where all the elements are used in the traditional senses and it is only the connection that is new).

2.4 Problems connected with the identification of semantic loans and loan translations

2.4.1 Introductory comments

The aim of the current section is to describe certain problems that may arise when one decides to analyze semantic loans and/or loan translations. The problems are mostly concerned with distinguishing between certain related phenomena: semantic loans and native semantic innovations (Section 2.4.2), semantic loans and lexical re-borrowings (2.4.3), loan translations and native phrasal innovations (2.4.4), semantic loans and loan translations (2.4.5), loan translations and loan renditions (2.4.6), loanblends (semi-calques) and hybrids (2.4.8), and loan translations or loanblends and lexical borrowings (2.4.9). In addition, loan creations are discussed (Section 2.4.7).

2.4.2 Distinguishing between semantic loans and native semantic innovations

The first problem to be discussed is connected with distinguishing between semantic borrowings and native semantic innovations, i.e. not triggered by any foreign model. The problems were highlighted by numerous linguists, cf. a general statement by Obara (1989: 92): “rozpoznawanie kalk semantycznych jest niezwykle trudne” [recognizing semantic calques is extremely difficult], cf. also Hoffmann (2011: 139), who notes that semantic loans are “rather difficult to recognize.”⁴¹

There are various criteria used to distinguish between the two processes mentioned above. Markowski (2000: 99–100; 2004: 39; 2005: 217), for example, uses the chronological criterion: if a given meaning existed earlier in a foreign language, usually English and/or French (which can be determined on the basis of dictionaries), and it appeared later in Polish (Markowski adopts here an arbitrary criterion connected with a date and takes into account the situation when a given meaning does not appear in the dictionaries in Polish published up to the year 1990), then it might, with a high degree of probability, be treated as a semantic novelty of foreign origin (see also Górnicz 2010: 74, who expresses roughly the same view; cf. also one of the previous studies by the present author, where this criterion was used and the entire process was presented graphically in the form of a diagram, Zabawa 2012a: 93–95).

The chronological criterion is not universally accepted, however. Other linguists approach the problem from the opposite direction, cf. Gerstner (quoted in Hoffmann 2011: 139): “[...] we can surely claim that a certain element is a semantic loan if its semantic change cannot be explained with general semantic rules and tendencies (Gerstner 1998: 87).” It seems, however, that the statement is an overgeneralization; besides, it is not easy to establish precise semantic rules connected with meaning change, cf. Haspelmath (2003: 2): “[...] we have very little systemic information about general tendencies of lexical semantic change [...]”

The summary of categories useful in such differentiation is provided by Wesołowska (1978: 51–52, after Kurkowska) and Witalisz (2007a: 84–89; 2007c).⁴² In general, as they rightly assert, it is more probable that a given semantic novelty has its roots in a foreign form when:

- parallel changes can be observed in at least a few languages;

⁴¹ Görlach (2003: 33) even claims that semantic loans are actually “less easy to detect” than multi-word loan translations or loan renderings. This, however, is a questionable remark and it cannot really be proved in practice.

⁴² Some of the criteria were also mentioned by other linguists, cf. e.g. Bartłomiejczyk (2006a: 32).

- there is a relatively large distinction between the traditional and a new meaning (a novelty is not just a new shade of meaning);
- a given novelty is restricted to some collocations particularly frequently used in a foreign language;
- a given novelty is used in connection with foreign contexts;
- a given novelty is used in specialized texts; it can be added that semantic borrowings are more likely to appear in certain semantic fields, such as e.g. computer science, medicine, physics, etc.

Witalisz (2007a, 2007c) uses certain labels for such criteria, such as: (1) the historical criterion (borrowings in a language reflect the historical processes; the end of the 20th century is connected with the opening of Poland towards Western Europe and the United States, thus opening the way for western cultural influences; cultural influences, in turn, usually involve linguistic ones); (2) the lexicographical criterion (the comparison of definitions of a given word in Polish and British and/or American dictionaries; as Witalisz rightly notices, a given meaning may be new not just in Polish, but in British English as well, under the influence of the American variety; this is the case of e.g. the new meaning of *agresywny/aggressive*, appearing much earlier in American than in British English); (3) the criterion of context (connected with the text type, semantic field, etc.: certain words appeared first in the contexts connected with British or American cultural phenomena or political events). An additional criterion may be connected with comparing derivatives of a given word. Thus, the new meanings of Polish *agresywny*, *agresywnie*, *agresywność* reflect the English model (*aggressive*, *aggressively*, *aggressiveness*). Interestingly, however, the new meaning has not appeared in the case of *agresor* and *agresja*, perhaps because it is also non-existent in the case of English *aggressor* and *aggression*. This is also a strong hint for the hypothesis of the English origin of the new meanings of *agresywny* and its derivatives (Witalisz 2007a: 129–130).

It seems that it is not possible to distinguish English semantic borrowings in Polish from native Polish extensions with one or two criteria. Rather, a whole set should be taken into account. The present author has proposed one's own list of criteria (cf. Zabawa 2015c: 313–314). They include:

- lexicographic criterion: if a new meaning of a word appeared earlier in English dictionaries, there is a greater probability that the semantic novelty has its roots in English (but cf. Waszakowa 2012d for the criticism of lexicographic criterion in connection with neologisms: she notes that, among other problems, dictionaries are frequently imprecise, sometimes contain clear mistakes, etc.);
- corpus criterion: if a word in the new meaning appeared first in English corpora, or appears there with a greater frequency (in comparison with the Polish corpora), there is a greater probability that the semantic novelty was modelled on English;

- semantic criterion: if the new meaning of a word is very different from its traditional meaning(s), there is a greater probability that the word is an English semantic borrowing;
- the criterion of analogy: if there are many serial changes in meaning of the same type in Polish, there is a greater probability that a given word is an example of a native extension in meaning;
- the extralinguistic (cultural) criterion: if it is not only the meaning that is new, but the concept or object itself, there is a greater probability that the word is an English semantic borrowing;
- the criterion of the text source: if a word in the new meaning appeared first in the texts translated or adapted from English, there is a greater probability that the semantic novelty was modelled on English.

Even such a set of criteria, however, is far from fully conclusive and in many cases it is not really possible to form a definite conclusion; instead, only hypotheses can be made (for more on this, including examples of the difficulties associated with e.g. using lexicographic or corpus criterion in practice, cf. Zabawa 2015c: 306–315). It may also well be the case that both processes (i.e. the influence of English and the internal development of Polish) are simultaneously in operation.

This lack of certainty is well reflected in the publications dealing with semantic borrowings, as the authors frequently describe linguistic units with a certain degree of uncertainty, adding such descriptions as e.g. “prawdopodobnie z języka angielskiego” [probably based on English], cf. e.g. Markowski (2000: 103) or Bojałkowska (2011: 64); for more on this, cf. Zabawa (2015c: 310). Sometimes both groups (i.e. semantic borrowings and native semantic innovations) are discussed together, cf. e.g. Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 65), who, when describing semantic innovations in the lexis of the city of Poznań, have decided to treat both semantic borrowings and native innovations as one group of semantic novelties and do not further distinguish between them.

As a result of the problems indicated in the present section, it is not infrequently the case that certain constructions are described, wrongly in the present author’s view, as semantic loans or loan translations (where in fact these are native extensions), cf. e.g. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (2008b), who discusses the word *pakować* used in the meaning ‘to increase muscle mass by exercising’ as a semantic loan from English while *to pack* is not used in this sense in English (cf. OED, ODE, OALD). Another doubtful, in the present author’s view, example is provided by Handke (2007), viz. *domówka* ‘a party held at home, rather than e.g. in the restaurant, pub, club, etc.’, described as a calque of English *homing*. The construction does not seem to be calqued, however; rather, it was most probably created by analogy to such constructions as e.g. *firmówka* ‘a party held

at a workplace⁴³. Yet another doubtful example, provided by Wach (2013), is *ściągac* (in the sense of ‘to download something from the Internet’); its English counterpart (*download*) is used only in the sphere of computers (cf. ODE) and thus it does not share any meanings with the traditional meanings of *ściągac* in Polish (i.e. ‘take off’, ‘take down’, ‘cheat’, etc.). Thus *ściągac* could not be linked with *download* (no common meaning shared before the era of computers). Another example working in a similar way is *sterownik* (a computing term). It cannot be seen as a semantic borrowing modelled on English *driver*. If it were the case, the form used in Polish would be most probably *kierowca*. Thus, *ściągac* should most probably be treated as a semantic innovation (triggered by English, but not in the sense of the existence of a semantic borrowing), whereas *sterownik* should be most probably seen as a derivational neologism.

The reverse situation, i.e. when a semantic loan is not described as such, also exists, cf. Sosnowski (2000), who describes the form *administrator* (used in the sense of ‘a person managing a computer forum, editing inappropriate entries, banning users, etc.’) as a form created with the use of a derivational morpheme *-or*. The form in question should, however, rather be seen as a semantic loan, created on the model of English *administrator* (cf. Section 4.5.4).

In some cases, another difficulty may be present: the source language may not always be obvious, cf. e.g. the new usage of the word *dokładnie* (used to agree with what somebody has just said), usually seen as a semantic loan modelled on English *exactly* (cf. e.g. Otwinowska-Kasztelanica 2000: 35); some authors, however, attribute its emergence to the influence of German *genau* (or, to be more precise, a joint influence of both English and German, cf. Piotrowski 1998: 273), which may well be the case, especially in connection with Silesian dialect, heavily influenced by German. Such problems must sometimes remain unsolved.

2.4.3 Distinguishing between semantic loans and lexical re-borrowings

Another problem connected with a semantic change relates to distinguishing between semantic loans and cases of lexical re-borrowings (or multiple acts of lexical borrowing). There is a visible confusion among linguists here; certain authors may treat the same constructions in a different way: *aplikacja*, for example, when used in the sense of ‘a computer program’, is usually seen as a semantic loan (cf. Witalisz 2007a: 225–226), but it is also occasionally treated as a lexical borrowing (Zięba 2008: 17). In much the same way, *promocja*, used in

⁴³ Besides, *homing* is not noted in this meaning in the English dictionaries (cf. OED, ODE, OALD).

the sense ‘a set of advertisements for a particular product’ and ‘an act of selling a new product at a reduced price’, is usually discussed as a semantic borrowing (cf. Otwinowska-Kasztelanic 2000: 91, Witalisz 2007a: 283–284, Zabawa 2008a: 37–38; 2012a: 141–142), but it can also be seen as a lexical loan from English (Markowski 2006: 247–248; 2012: 83; cf. also USJP, which contains two entries: *promocja I* and *promocja II*, thus signalling that the two are homonymous forms with different etymology).

It is therefore sometimes very difficult to distinguish between a semantic and a lexical loan. As is occasionally claimed, semantic innovations, be it native or based on a foreign model, are typically cases of polysemy, while re-borrowings will usually be connected with homonyms, cf. Nosowicz (2004: 105), who states that the new meaning, assigned to a given word in the process of semantic innovation, is connected in some way with the traditional meaning of the word, or Jadacka (2001a: 221), who claims: “Neosemantyzacja to proces językowy związany ze zjawiskiem polisemii” [Semantic innovation is a linguistic process connected with the phenomenon of polysemy]. There are also linguists, however, who support the opposite view, cf. Gottlieb (2005: 164), who defines semantic loans as “existing words acquiring new meanings or new homonyms” and Ullmann (1962: 180), who notes that, though rarely, homonymy may also appear as a result of semantic borrowing.

Dictionaries are frequently of not much help, either, cf. e.g. USJP, which discusses the word *mysz* as a homonym (*mysz I*: an animal, *mysz II*: a computer device; additionally, etymology is provided for *mysz II*: it is, according to the dictionary, borrowed from English *mouse*), while *okno*, which underwent similar path of development as *mysz*, is treated as a polysemous form.⁴⁴ In addition, sometimes different dictionaries do not agree as to the description of a given form. For example, *portal* (traditional meaning: ‘richly decorated gate or entrance to a building’, new meaning: ‘a kind of website’) is treated as a polysemous word in USJP and as an instance of homonymy (with the word coming from German and from English, respectively) in WSWO (Rudnicka 2011b: 65).

Certain criteria are discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 78–84), such as the degree of proximity between a new and a traditional meaning; they are often difficult to use in practice, as measuring a degree of semantic similarity appears to a large extent an arbitrary process. Thus, in some cases, it is most probably unavoidable to make, at least to a certain extent, arbitrary decisions. Forms such as *aplikacja*

⁴⁴ In addition, cf. Witalisz (2010), who stresses, rightly in the present author’s opinion, the incomplete or even incorrect etymological information in dictionaries concerning semantic loans. New meanings are simply added to the existing ones, without new information concerning their etymology. As a result, the new sense of *aplikacja* (related to computers) is presented as if it originated in Latin (Witalisz 2010: 239).

or *stres*, both analysed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.5.4), will be treated as semantic loans, although it is also possible to see them as lexical re-borrowings.

A different situation emerges in the case of such forms as *laser*, used in the meaning of ‘a laser printer’, or *komórka*, used in the meaning of ‘a cell phone’, described by Jadacka (2001a). They can be treated as, as she calls it, semantic derivatives (i.e. semantic innovations). A more valid approach, according to her, due to the formal and semantic connection between *drukarka laserowa / laser* and *telefon komórkowy / komórka*, is to see them as formal derivatives. Thus, the words *laser* (traditional meaning: ‘a device producing laser radiation’; new meaning: ‘a laser printer’) and *komórka* (traditional meaning: ‘a cell’; new meaning: ‘a mobile phone’) will not be treated as cases of semantic innovations, but native derivatives.⁴⁵ For more examples of such problematic cases, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 78–84, 2007c: 18),⁴⁶ Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 65), Waśkowski (2008), Zabawa (2015c); for older examples, cf. Wesolowska (1978: 57); for general discussion, not connected with English-Polish context, cf. Weinreich (1974: 49–50). In general, as was mentioned above, such constructions as *laser* used in the sense of ‘a laser printer’ are not treated as semantic loans (although the word *laser* is used informally in this sense in English) and are not taken into account in the present study.

2.4.4 Distinguishing between loan translations and native phrasal innovations

The third problem, of a related nature (cf. Section 2.4.2), is connected with distinguishing between loan translations (calques) and native phrasal innovations, i.e. not modelled on any foreign construction. This seems even more problematic than distinguishing between semantic loans and native semantic innovations (cf. Section 2.4.2). As Obara (1989: 73) notes, “wytyczenie wyraźnej granicy pomiędzy kalkami a jednostkami językowymi, które nimi nie są, nie jest łatwe” [it is not easy to make a clear-cut distinction between calques and linguistic units which are not calques], cf. also Kiss (quoted in Obara 1989: 96), “ekscerpcja kalk jest zajęciem bardzo pracochłonnym i wymagającym dużej ostrożności podczas uznawania określonych jednostek językowych za

⁴⁵ It is also possible, however, to provide alternative explanations: *laser* in the sense of ‘a laser printer’ can also be seen as an instance of change based on metonymy (in the case of which it will also be treated as a native innovation). The new sense of *komórka*, in turn, can also be seen as triggered by English *cell*, used, among others, in the sense of ‘a mobile phone’.

⁴⁶ Witalisz (2007a) discusses, among others, the new meanings of *autor* and *elektorat*. She also provides examples of inconsistency among scholars who sometimes treat the same new meaning as a semantic borrowing and, in a different publication, as a lexical re-borrowing.

kalki” [looking for calques is a very time-consuming process; it also requires a great deal of caution while classifying given linguistic units as calques], K. Viereck (1986: 162), “Full substitutions are not always recognizable; there are many questionable cases”, and Walczak (2010: 192), “Ogólnie rzecz biorąc, kalki są trudne do zidentyfikowania i w języku polskim jest, w moim przekonaniu, wiele dotąd w literaturze przedmiotu niezidentyfikowanych kalk [...]” [generally speaking, calques are difficult to identify and there are in Polish, in my view, many calques not identified so far in the literature on the subject].

Obara (1989: 84–84) rightly observes that the formal and semantic identity cannot be seen as a conclusive proof for the existence of a calque; in other words, it is not enough for constructions in two languages to have identical structure to treat them as calques (for example certain phrases based on the Bible have international character and may have been created independently in many languages, without any model in a certain language, Obara 1989: 95–96; besides, as was noted by the present author, that would lead to absurd conclusions such as treating the construction *kierownik hotelu* as a calque of English *hotel manager*; Zabawa 2015c: 311). On the other hand, it is worth noting, as Öhmann (quoted in Obara 1989: 85–86) states, that when in a given layer of vocabulary, particularly a specialist one, there exist lexical borrowings, then it is reasonable to expect that calques will be present, too.

Witalisz (2007c: 22) rightly notices that it is very frequently difficult, if not impossible, to determine if a new construction is directly based on English or not. For instance, she mentions the construction *szampon przyjazny dla włosów*. It is impossible to determine whether this is a calque of English *hair-friendly shampoo*, or rather an expression created already in Polish, by means of analogy to the existent constructions with *przyjazny* in the extended meaning (e.g. *samochód przyjazny dla środowiska*).

In the literature on the subject, it is not uncommon to describe certain forms as calques, although they do not really qualify as such, cf. e.g. Wach (2014: 242), who discusses such forms as *nagrywarka DVD* or *serwerownia* as calques of English *DVD burner* and *server room*. This seems doubtful; a calque would rather be something along the line of *wypalarka DVD* and *pokój serwerowy* (Zabawa 2015c: 313). Both forms are most probably native derivatives created on the basis of the English lexical borrowing *serwer* and the form *nagrywać*. Other doubtful examples include the ones given by Jezierska (2011). She discusses such examples as *e-książka* and *e-szafa*⁴⁷ as calques. While *e-książka* is most probably a semi-calque (cf. Section 2.4.8) of English *e-book*, *e-szafa* should be classified as a hybrid construction (cf. Section 2.4.8), rather than a calque. Another doubtful construction, though of a different nature, is *e-mail*, described as a calque by

⁴⁷ The exact meaning is not explained; however, it may be deduced from the context that the form is used in the meaning of a blog about fashion, clothes, etc.

Wach (2013), while it appears a typical example of a lexical borrowing (the form *e-mail* was borrowed as one single unit into Polish and only then *e-* was separated, cf. Zabawa 2004a).

Grzega (2003: 28–29) provides here a brief list of criteria, which may be helpful in distinguishing between a native and a foreign source in the case of potential loan translations; apart from the formal criterion (i.e. the proximity of form of a given phrase in the two languages), he suggests performing a cross-linguistic comparison, comparing dates of the first occurrence of a given construction in the two languages and considering cultural issues. In one of the previous articles by the present author (Zabawa 2015c: 313–314), a more complete list of criteria was formulated; these are the same criteria as the ones used in distinguishing between semantic loans and native semantic innovations (cf. Section 2.4.2). They will be repeated here, as their exact application differs:

- lexicographic criterion: if a new construction appeared earlier in English dictionaries, there is a greater probability that the construction has its roots in English and can be treated as a calque;
- corpus criterion: if a given construction appeared first in English corpora, or appears there with a greater frequency (in comparison with the Polish corpora), there is a greater probability that the construction was modelled on English;
- semantic criterion: if a given construction has a metaphorical or idiomatic meaning (i.e. different from the sum of meanings of its components), there is a greater probability that the construction is modelled on a foreign source;
- the criterion of analogy: if there are many constructions created in the same way in Polish, there is a greater probability that a given construction was created without foreign influence;
- the extralinguistic (cultural) criterion: if it is not only a construction that is new, but the concept or object itself, there is a greater probability that the form is an English calque;
- the criterion of the text source: if a given construction appeared first in the texts translated or adapted from English, there is a greater probability that the construction was modelled on English and is an example of a calque.

These criteria are again, however, far from fully conclusive and not easy to use in practice. Besides, they may in some cases exclude each other or provide conflicting evidence, cf. e.g. the form *pracoholik*, described by Waszakowa (2012a: 7) as a calque from English *workaholic*; as she asserts in her different publications, however, it may have also been formed in Polish by analogy to *alkoholik* (Waszakowa 2012b: 3, 2012c: 2). It may naturally also be possible that both processes (foreign influence and analogy to existing constructions in the native language) are in operation simultaneously.

As a result, a researcher is frequently only able to form a certain hypothesis, rather than a final conclusion; consequently, the authors, as in the case of

semantic loans, frequently describe possible calques with a certain degree of uncertainty, cf. e.g. Witalisz (2009: 90), who discusses such forms as *radio konkurs* as “być może za ang. *radio competition*” [possibly from English *radio competition*] (for more on this, cf. Zabawa 2015c). It should be added at this point that such a distinction may actually be even more problematic in the case of loan renditions (for the discussion of loan renditions, cf. Section 2.4.6).

Another problem is connected with detecting the proper source construction, cf. e.g. Nowowiejski (2010: 90), who, apart from mentioning clear examples, such as *pierwsza dama* (E. *first lady*) or *politycznie poprawny* (E. *politically correct*), lists also such constructions as *sprzedaż bezpośrednia* (most probably, the Polish construction is a calque of English *direct selling*, rather than *network marketing*, provided by Nowowiejski).

Finally, it should be underlined that it is sometimes not possible to exactly pinpoint the source language, cf. also Gottlieb (2005: 166): “Especially with loan translations, it is often hard to determine from which language the item in question is calqued.” For example, one could mention the Polish construction *drapacz chmur*, usually seen as a rendering from English *skyscraper* (cf. e.g. Witalisz 2011: 159), but it may well be the case that the form has actually been modelled on German *Wolkenkratzer* (itself a rendering from English), in which case it would be seen as loan translation, rather than rendering, from German.⁴⁸ The etymology of a given construction may thus change the classification of a given construction. Another example of the same type is the construction *kalendarz pogody*, discussed by Rudnicka (2012b) as a calque from German *Wetterkalender*; it can, however, also be seen as a calque from English (cf. *weather calendar*). Another example is the set of constructions with *bank*, such as *bank danych*, *bank krwi*, *bank nasienia*, and *bank żywności*, usually described as English calques (E. *data bank*, *blood bank*, *sperm bank*, *food bank*), but cf. Pacuła (2009: 227), who provides German constructions which can also be seen as source constructions (*Datenbank*, *Blutbank*, *Samenbank*, *Lebensmittel-Bank*).

2.4.5 Distinguishing between semantic loans and loan translations

The fourth problem, of a more theoretical character, is connected with distinguishing between semantic borrowings and loan translations.

At the beginning of the section the classic work by Haugen (1950) should be quoted, where he distinguishes between importation and substitution⁴⁹; on the

⁴⁸ Cf. the discussion on *Wolkenkratzer/skyscraper* in Gottlieb (2005: 166–167), who concludes that “such etymology-related questions often remain unanswered” (p. 167).

⁴⁹ Cf. also Weinreich’s (1974: 47, 52) distinction between transfer and reproduction.

basis of this distinction, three groups of borrowings are singled out: loanwords, loanblends (cf. Section 2.4.8), and loanshifts. Loanshifts, as seen by Haugen (1950: 214), encompass loan translations and semantic loans. The same view (i.e. seeing semantic loans and loan translations as two types of the same notion of a loanshift or a full substitution) is then copied after Haugen by numerous linguists, cf. e.g. W. Viereck (1986: 116), Lehnert (1986: 148), Hockett (1958: 411–413), A. Fischer (2003), Grzega (2003), Haspelmath (2003), Hoffmann (2011), cf. also Górnicz (2010: 74), who describes semantic borrowings as “specific calques.” Grosjean (1982), following Haugen, also sees loanshifts as a group comprising semantic loans and calques.⁵⁰ He states that in both cases “the influence from the other language is purely semantic” (Grosjean 1982: 217); this, however, is not entirely true. While it is true in the sense that no phonological importation is in operation, there is the influence of the form in the case of calques.

It is beyond any doubt that the two phenomena do have certain features in common (most notably the replacement of a foreign element with an indigenous one). Thus the processes involved in the creation of the two kinds of entities are similar, as both of them involve the more or less exact translation of a foreign word or phrase into a recipient language, but the output is different: in the case of semantic loans a new meaning is assigned to a recipient language, the form remaining without any changes (thus no new formal element appears in the native language), while in the case of multimorphemic calques a new meaning may or may not emerge⁵¹; it is rather the form that is new in the recipient language (i.e. a new combination of vocabulary, a new collocation, etc., not existing before, appears in the target language), thus making it in a way contrary to semantic loans (cf. also Gómez Capuz 1997: 88, Sihler 2000: 130). Thus, in general, as was mentioned before, it seems more reasonable to separate the two phenomena, including clear terminological separation.

The distinction is, however, often not easy to perform. As Buttler, Kurkowska and Satkiewicz (1987: 147) note, semantic innovations frequently appear first in a given collocation and only then is a given form used in the new meaning independently, i.e. outside the original context. The same situation can frequently be observed in the case of English semantic loans in Polish. As Chłopicki

⁵⁰ Cf. also Witalisz, who uses the term *anglosemantyzm* [a semantic innovation of English origin] or a semantic neologism, which comprises both semantic loans and (structural) calques (Witalisz 2007a: 134, 2007c: 17, 2010: 234–235).

⁵¹ A multimorphemic loan translation may introduce a new meaning to a recipient language (as in the case of Polish loan translations from English in the sphere of the names of professions, e.g. *tajemniczy klient*, Zabawa 2015c: 314) or it may simply provide a synonym of a concept that already exists in the language, e.g. *drapacz chmur* coexisting with *wieżowiec* (the connotations of *wieżowiec*, however, do not appear exactly the same as that of *drapacz chmur*; cf. Zabawa 2015c: 307).

rightly noted, “new meanings are usually developed by or expressed through new phrases and expressions” (Chłopicki 2005: 115). For instance, such forms as *architektura komputera* can be seen as either a calque of English *computer architecture* or as a semantic loan *architektura*, used in the extended meaning under the influence of English *architecture* (for more on this, cf. Zabawa 2015c: 311–312). An even more problematic case arises in connection with the adjectives *twardy* and *miękki*. Waszakowa provides a number of constructions which are rightly seen as calques, cf. e.g. *twarde/miękkie narkotyki, pornografia, drinki, kwalifikacje, zarządzanie*, etc. (Waszakowa 2009: 17–19). The question remains, however, whether the forms *miękki* and *twardy* should simultaneously be seen as semantic loans or not. The problem of this type is also connected with such phrases as *agresywne sprzedawanie*, described by Chłopicki (2000: 189) as a calque. While it is true that the equivalent English phrase is *aggressive selling* and, consequently, the form can safely be described as a calque, it must also be mentioned that the form *agresywny* can, and is, also treated as a semantic borrowing (cf. Witalisz 2007a: 220–221⁵²). In some cases, the new sense of a given word may result from the ellipsis of an English-induced calque, e.g. the new meaning of the word *zapora* (a partial ellipsis of the construction *zapora ogniowa*, which is, in turn, a loan rendition of English *firewall*; cf. Section 4.5.4). Since, in such cases, it is not really possible to clearly distinguish between the two, it seems reasonable to count them both as loan translations and semantic loans at the same time. This will be the solution adopted in the present book. Thus, semantic loans and loan translations will not be analyzed in separate chapters. Instead, they will be divided thematically into sections and discussed within the same chapter (cf. Chapter 4).

A detailed description of four situations of the coexistence of semantic loans and loan translations is presented by Witalisz (2014; in the present corpus, the first and second types are particularly common):

- a loan translation coexists with a semantic loan, e.g. *spotkanie na szczycie* (summit meeting) and *szczyt* (summit), *wirus komputerowy* (computer virus) and *wirus* (virus), where it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish which construction (a loan translation or a semantic loan) appeared earlier; it is also possible, according to Witalisz, to see *szczyt* as an ellipsis of *konferencja na szczycie* (and thus as a native process), cf. Wesołowska (1978: 63), who also describes it as a native process (labelled as semantic thickening);
- a semantic innovation results from the imitation of foreign collocations, e.g. *administracja* in the meaning of ‘government’, *bank* in the meaning of ‘a supply of something’, which originated in such constructions as *administracja Busha* (Bush administration), *bank krwi* (blood bank). Another example of this kind,

⁵² But cf. also Herman (2008: 11) for the opposite view: in her opinion, the source of the new meaning of *agresywny* is not certain.

from the semantic field of computers, is given by Okulska (2006: 218), who describes the word *wirtualny*, used traditionally in the meaning ‘theoretically possible’, now used in the meaning of ‘happening in or through the Internet’ (cf. Section 4.5.4). This extension, as Okulska rightly asserts, probably has its roots in the calque *rzeczywistość wirtualna* (E. *virtual reality*). The form *wirtualny* was then separated from the fixed phrase given above and started to be used (in the new meaning) in new collocations. It is thus not infrequently the case that the emergence of a given semantic borrowing may be preceded by the existence of a calque;

- an adjectival semantic innovation results from the imitation of foreign collocations, e.g. new meaning of *przyjazny* (referring to objects rather than people), originating from such constructions as *przyjazny dla użytkownika* (user-friendly), *przyjazny dla środowiska* (environmentally friendly).
- a semantic innovation is taken from a certain phrase, e.g. *gołębie* from *gołębie i jastrzębie* (doves and hawks).

In the literature on the subject, confusing semantic loans with loan translations is fairly common, cf. e.g. Wach (2013), who discusses the form *organizator* (in the sense of ‘computer program functioning like a personal organizer’) as a calque, whereas it seems rather a typical example of a semantic borrowing, created under the influence of English (*personal*) *organizer*. Another construction is *nagła śmierć* (used in sport, particularly football), discussed by Nowowiejski (2010: 90) as a loan translation. It seems, however, that it is a semantic borrowing (modelled on English *sudden death*), rather than a calque, as it is only the meaning, not the form, that is new. Other examples are provided by Wiertelwski (2006), who discusses examples of calques and semantic borrowings used in the Polish bike slang. Among them, *zabie udka* ‘a type of a bike pedal’ or *ukąszenie węża* ‘puncture’ (on the model of English *froglegs* and *snake bites*) are discussed as English calques whereas they should rather be treated as multi-word semantic loans. For more examples of this type, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 134–135; 2012b: 226; 2014: 223–224), who discusses the problem of multi-word semantic loans on the basis of such examples as *od drzwi do drzwi* and *koń trojański* used in new meanings under the influence of English *door to door* and *Trojan horse* (cf. also Zabawa 2015c).

Thus, the distinction between semantic loans and loan translations cannot be made automatically on the basis of the number of words of a given construction: it is a mistake to see semantic loans as only one-word units and structural calques as multi-word units⁵³ (cf. also Wesołowska 1978: 56–57). Thus the

⁵³ The reverse situation, i.e. describing calques as semantic borrowings also exists: Waszakowa (2009: 18) lists such constructions as *globalne ocieplenie* (E. *global warming*), *rzeczywistość wirtualna* (E. *virtual reality*), *świadomość globalna* (E. *global consciousness*) as semantic borrowings, while they are clearly calques (the forms *globalny* and *wirtualny*, however, can safely be treated as semantic loans). Interestingly enough, the list includes the form *księgarnia internetowa*, which,

construction *mapa drogowa* should be seen as an example of a multi-word semantic borrowing, rather than a calque (Zabawa 2015c). Another example of this type is the extended meaning of construction *wolny strzelec*, discussed rightly by Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000: 35–36) as a semantic loan (on the model of English *freelancer*).

Interestingly enough, certain constructions are examples of both loan translations and semantic loans. For example, one could mention the phrase *ground zero*, used traditionally in English in the meaning of ‘the point on the earth’s surface where a nuclear bomb explodes’ (OALD), then, as *Ground Zero* (capitalized), in the extended meaning of ‘the site of the World Trade Center in New York, destroyed on 11 September 2001’. The Polish form *strefa zero* has followed the same pattern, being thus both a loan translation and a semantic loan.

As was mentioned before, in the present book forms such as *architektura komputera* will be counted as both a loan translation (E. *computer architecture*) and a semantic loan (*architektura* used in the extended meaning, appearing in a number of other constructions as well).

2.4.6 Distinguishing between loan translations and loan renditions

Another problem, of vital importance, is connected with distinguishing between loan translations and loan renditions.

One of the first linguists who made the distinction in question was Weinreich (1974: 50). He (following Betz) proposed the distinction between loan translations proper (“in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element,” termed by Obara as *kalka dokładna*, cf. Obara 1989: 23), loan renditions (“in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction,” termed in Polish as *kalka niedokładna*, cf. Obara 1989: 23), and loan creations (for more on loan creations, cf. Section 2.4.7). A very similar distinction within calques is made by Görlach (2003: 33), who distinguishes between constructions formed by exact translation, free rendering or by the usage of “formally independent equivalent” (i.e. a loan creation). This classic distinction is now copied by numerous linguists, though often with a different description, cf. R. Fischer (2008), who describes the three types as the (complete) translation, partial translation (also termed incomplete imitation, Winter-Froemel 2008: 22), and free translation. In the case of free translation, nothing is actually translated, but the concept is rendered

most probably, is neither a semantic borrowing nor a calque. Admittedly, the form copies English *Internet bookshop*, but the form is unlikely to have been copied as a whole from English; rather, it has been created with the assimilated adjective *internetowy*, which can be used nowadays with a very wide variety of nouns.

in a recipient language on its own and no resemblance to a foreign model is visible. Thus Görlach's notion of "formally independent equivalent" seems to better describe the phenomenon in question.

Despite the general agreement between linguists, differences do exist; they are usually concerned with the exact understanding of loan rendition and the nature of its distinction from the model (cf. Grzego 2003: 28, "loan translations and loan renditions have not always been separated consistently"). Differences can also be observed at a more general level, cf. e.g. Stathi, who classifies loan renditions and loan creations as subgroups of loan translations (Stathi 2002: 322) or Hoffmann (2011: 138–141), who, on the basis of Duckworth's taxonomy, discusses loan renditions (together with loan translations) as subgroups of loan formations.

Loan renditions, also called approximate loan translations, cf. Gómez Capuz (1997: 89), partial replicas, cf. Hoffmann (2011: 138–141), and, interestingly, but rather inappropriately, loan mistranslations,⁵⁴ cf. Sihler (2000: 131), are thus similar to loan translations, but in their case there is some deviation from the model. Different linguists, as was noted above, understand this deviation in a different way, cf. the definitions below.

Some scholars, e.g. Hockett, describe loan renditions in a very general way, as "loan translations with some distortion,"⁵⁵ cf. Hockett (1958: 412); others provide a more detailed explanation, cf. Hoffmann (2011: 140), who sees them as involving "the relatively free translation of a foreign word or expression, whereby at least one element of the new lexeme differs semantically from the original form." A different understanding is provided by Görlach (2003: 96), who asserts that loan renderings occur when "the equivalence [between a donor and a recipient language] is not as close as it might be, whether formally [...] or semantically" and defines the notion as "a rendering which deviates from the meaning [...] or morphology" (Görlach 2002: 9).⁵⁶ Obara (1989: 27) adds here that in the case of loan renditions certain morphemes may be omitted altogether or some morphemes may be added.

Thus, sometimes only the lexical deviation from the model is taken into account, sometimes both lexical and/or formal⁵⁷; finally, according to some

⁵⁴ *Mistranslation* suggests something wrong or imperfect; this feeling is amplified by Sihler's mention of "botched calques" and description of "missing the target." For that reason, the standard term loan rendition seems to be much more objective and appropriate.

⁵⁵ Cf. also Obara (1989: 4, 9), who advocates the broad understanding of loan renditions, allowing for much deviation from a foreign model.

⁵⁶ Interestingly, the scholars that made a contribution to the volume *English in Europe*, edited by Görlach, do not always follow his definitions, cf. e.g. Humbley (2002: 122), who describes constructions with deviations in morphology and/or syntax (introducing prepositions, modifications in word order) as loan translations rather than renditions.

⁵⁷ In addition, distortions at the semantic level may be added here (Obara 1989: 49, Witalisz 2012b: 228). They involve changes in the meaning of a given phrase modelled on English e.g. *pierwsza dama* or *strefa zero* with certain meanings in Polish not present in the case of English

scholars, only the formal aspect should be taken into consideration, cf. the German form *Wolkenkratzer*, which would usually be seen as a loan rendition of English *skyscraper* (a lexical deviation from the model is present), but cf. Jefremov (quoted in Obara 1989: 3), who sees such constructions as loan translations rather than renditions, as the word-formation model is identical.

Another problem mentioned by Görlach seems particularly important in the case of English-Polish contact. In Polish, with its distinctively different syntactic and morphological system (in comparison to the English one), it is not infrequently virtually impossible to translate a given construction in such a way that it can qualify for being formally identical (a similar problem appears e.g. in the case of French, cf. Humbley 2002: 118, 122, Italian, cf. Pulcini 2002: 161, Russian, cf. Maximova 2002: 206–207, Bulgarian, cf. Alexieva 2002: 256–257); the result would be that the vast majority of calques would have to be classified as loan renditions (cf. a similar situation in Romanian; Constantinescu, Popovici and Ștefănescu 2002: 184). A similar understanding is presented by Grzega (2003), who classifies French *grate-ciel* and Spanish *rascacielos* as loan translations. Both of them, however, literally mean ‘scrape-sky’ and are thus not formally equivalent of the English phrase *skyscraper*. The explanation lies in the adopted view: Grzega describes loan translations as exact modelling of a foreign phrase; he adds that, however, the category includes also translations “with respect to the word-formation patterns of the recipient language” (Grzega 2003: 26). Loan rendering, by contrast, involves a change in the choice at the lexical level, cf. German *Wolkenkratzer* (literally ‘clouds-scraper’) created on the model of English *skyscraper*.

The same solution will be adopted in the present book; *pranie mózgu*, for example, will be treated as a loan translation (rather than a loan rendition) from English *brainwashing* despite the fact that the construction is structurally different. This is generally in line with Witalisz (2009: 94), who also describes such forms as *grupa docelowa* (E. *target group*) or *farma urody* (E. *beauty farm*) as structural calques from English. In much the same way (cf. Witalisz 2012b), forms such as *opera mydlana* will also be treated as calques (E. *soap opera*), as it is not possible to form a construction that would be formally equivalent to its source (**mydło opera*); *czarny koń*, by contrast, is an example of a loan rendition (E. *dark horse*; Witalisz 2011: 159; 2012b). Thus, the distinction between loan translations and loan renditions will be primarily made on the basis of the choices at the lexical level (for a more detailed discussion on distinguishing between loan translations and loan renditions, cf. Zabawa 2016).

first lady and *Ground Zero* (‘the wife of the Polish president’ and ‘the place in Chorzów where an exhibition hall collapsed’ or ‘the place in Toruń, where the first dead bird, infected with bird flu, was found’ (Witalisz 2007a: 184; 2007b: 240; 2011: 153; 2012b: 228, 232). Another example of this type is *okrągły stół* (E. *round table*, cf. the king Arthur myth) (Maćkiewicz 2012: 14).

2.4.7 The status of loan creations

As was mentioned before, there exists a distinction between loan translations proper, loan renditions, and loan creations.

Loan creations, also described as pseudo-calques (Molnár 1964, quoted in Obara 1989: 71; Walczak 1992b: 228) or false loans (Gómez Capuz 1997: 93; Polish terms include *kalki pojęciowe*, Rot, in Obara 1989: 19, and *kalki-ekwiwalenty*, Obara 1989), are defined as “new coinages stimulated by the need to match designations available in a language in contact” (Weinreich 1974: 51). Görlach adds that loan creations are constructions “without formal equivalence,” which were “prompted by a foreign word” (Görlach 2003: 62, 96). They are frequently coined, as Walczak (1992a: 72) underlines, out of purist tendencies, to replace lexical borrowings functioning in a given language.

It must be stressed here that many definitions of a loan creation are far from precise; Hoffmann (2011), for example, states that they “have such a slight similarity with the original model that certain linguists deny the existence of this category, as often it is almost impossible to track the foreign influence.”⁵⁸ As can be seen, the definition is vague and operates within immeasurable concepts (*a slight similarity, almost impossible*).

In addition, scholars do not agree as to the status of loan creations. Most importantly, it is doubtful whether loan creations can be seen as borrowings at all (cf. the discussion in Winter-Froemel 2008: 21, cf. also Graedler 2002: 73, who discusses them, perhaps more appropriately, under the name of independent creations). Haugen describes them as “terms whose existence may ultimately be due to contact with a second culture and its language, but which are not strictly loans at all,” adding that they are “secondarily created within the borrowing language” (Haugen 1950: 220), cf. also Weinreich (1974: 51), who states, following Betz, that in their case, “the reference to the model form in another language is quite vague.” Thus, these are, essentially, either constructions created in the recipient language using the native linguistic material or native semantic innovations; the only element which is borrowed is the concept, i.e. the idea, and, as Hoffmann (2011: 139) puts it, “stylistic value,” or, as Walczak (1992b: 227) describes it, they are “inspired from the outside” or created as a result of “the impulse from outside.”

⁵⁸ This view is also stressed by Winter-Froemel (2008: 22), who underscores the fact that a given concept is designated in “an entirely new way”; she provides an example of French *autonome*, used to denote the concept of *off-line*. Hoffmann (2011), in turn, provides here an example of German *Umwelt* ‘environment’, created to express the content of French *milieu*. Görlach (2002: 9) refers to them as “formally independent” equivalents providing the example of German *Nietenhose* for English (*blue*) *jeans*, cf. also Corr (2003: 68) who provides the example, among others, of German *Bildpunkten* for English *pixels*.

As a result, it does not seem reasonable to discuss them as calques, cf. also Grzegą (2003: 29–30), who rightly notes that subsuming loan creations under the notion of borrowing would mean that all types of novel formations and semantic extensions, as long as they express “imported concepts,” would have to be treated as borrowings, which does not seem justified; a similar view was expressed earlier by Walczak (1992a: 73–74; 1992b: 226–228; 1999: 128), who rightly claims that adopting that view would mean that no linguistic borrowing could ever be replaced by a native counterpart, as such counterparts would be by definition treated as loan creations (for the opposite view, cf. Obara 1989: 18–19, 74 and Görlach 2002: 9, who advocate including them into the group of calques,⁵⁹ or Lehnert 1986: 135, who also counts them as a specific type of borrowings).

Loan creations are borrowings only in the sense of borrowing an object or an idea from a foreign culture rather than language. Winter-Froemel (2008: 21) proposes here, as she calls it herself, a third solution: loan creations can be treated as “contact-induced innovations” but not borrowings. Such an approach may seem tempting but it would most probably be difficult to be used in practice: it may be very difficult to distinguish between loan creations and native semantic or phrasal innovations. Besides, the notion of *contact-induced innovations* is a very general one and includes, as Winter-Froemel admits herself, lexical borrowings, semantic borrowings, and loan translations as well.

For the reasons mentioned in the current section, it would seem more reasonable and practical to exclude loan creations completely from the group of borrowings. Thus, in the present book, the group of loan creations will not be treated as a type of a calque and will not be taken into consideration.

2.4.8 Distinguishing between loanblends (semi-calques) and hybrids

Another problem is connected with a range of constructions which can and should be treated as loan translations. The situation is clear in the case where all elements of a construction in a recipient language are of native origin (or etymologically foreign, but well-assimilated and not felt as foreign), as in *wersja elektroniczna* (E. *electronic version*) or *rzeczywistość wirtualna* (E. *virtual reality*). The situation is less clear, though, in the case of such constructions as *skrypt phishingowy* (E. *phishing script*), where *phishingowy* is a derivative formed on the basis of the English lexical borrowing *phishing*. The clearest solution was offered by Witalisz (2015: 55), who discusses the group of semi-calques (*półkalki*; cf.

⁵⁹ Görlach makes, however, an interesting restriction, defining loan creation as “a free rendering which is formally independent of the etymon (but can be proved to be stimulated by it) [...]” (Görlach 2002: 9). It appears that it may be rather difficult to provide such a proof in many cases.

Haugen's loanblends; Haugen 1950; partial loan translations, Lychyk 1994: 146; partial substitutions, K. Viereck 1986: 161; R. Fischer 2008: 6; partial loanwords, Molnár, quoted in Obara 1989: 82), characterized by partial morphemic substitution (they are thus somehow between the processes of importation and substitution); Witalisz provides numerous examples, e.g. *seks sklep* (E. *sex shop*), *Kinder niespodzianka* (E. *Kinder surprise*)⁶⁰ and *biznes wiadomości* (E. *business news*), cf. also the example provided by Wiertlewski (2006: 73): *bike moda* (E. *bike fashion*). The notion of semi-calques may also relate to one-word units (cf. also Obara 1989: 62, who subdivides semi-calques into lexical semi-calques and phrasal semi-calques), e.g. *cyberprzestrzeń* (E. *cyberspace*) (Witalisz 2015: 55).⁶¹ In other words, semi-calques can be defined as the structures copying the foreign model, where at least one element is translated and at least one element is borrowed.⁶² They can thus be contrasted with calques, characterized by full morphemic substitution, e.g. *but sklep* (from English *shoe shop*). This is the view adopted in the present book; it is also worth mentioning here that semi-calques appear with a high frequency in the present corpus. In addition, the group of semi-renditions will be distinguished: they can be seen as constructions on the borderline of semi-calques and loan renditions, where one element is imported and the other one is approximately translated (or rendered), e.g. *dwuklik* from English *double-click*.

Additionally, it is very important to keep semi-calques apart from hybrids (cf. Obara 1989). Semi-calques are created on the model of English; hybrids, by contrast, are composed of native and foreign elements,⁶³ but do not imitate a foreign model as a whole, e.g. *balkon party* (probably by analogy to *garden party*, Witalisz 2015: 88) or *biker niedzielny* (probably by analogy to *niedzielny kierowca*, Wiertlewski 2006: 73).

There is, however, a great deal of terminological confusion in the literature of the subject, cf. e.g. Gottlieb (2005: 164), who also distinguishes between semi-calques and hybrid constructions, but with the use of different labels, viz. partial borrowings (which correspond to semi-calques), e.g. Danish *speedbåd*

⁶⁰ The English etymology here is doubtful, as the entire phrase may also be based on German *Kinder Überraschung*.

⁶¹ Wieluniecka (2010: 270) provides another example, namely *superwygląd*; this seems, however, doubtful.

⁶² But cf. Klos et al. (2006: 59) for a more restricted view: semi-calques (referred to as English-Polish compounds) are discussed therein "as a result of borrowing one element from English directly *without any change of spelling*" [emphasis mine]; the example provided is *marker genetyczny* on the model of English *genetic marker*. This, however, seems an over-restriction; in the present book, forms such as e.g. *drukarka laserowa* (E. *laser printer*) will also be treated as semi-calques (for a different approach, cf. Witalisz 2015).

⁶³ But cf. e.g. Ociepa (2001: 53), who provides the example of *hipermarket*, where no element of native origin is actually present. To add to the terminological confusion, he uses the term *kalka niepełna* as an equivalent of a hybrid.

(E. *speedboat*), and expanded borrowings, where a native element is added to the foreign form (which correspond to hybrid creations), e.g. German *Schaltjoystick*. For another example of a different use of terminology, cf. Bralczyk (1999: 219), who describes such forms as *kinder niespodzianka*, *nimm dwa*, *zostań cool* as hybrids, whereas in accordance with the criteria proposed in the present book, they would rather be classified as semi-calques, cf. *Kinder Überraschung*, *nimm zwei*, *stay cool* (the inconsistency in the use of the two terms is also mentioned in Obara 1989: 20, 23).

Another problem is connected with the range of forms that can be counted as hybrid constructions. Sawaniewska-Moch and Moch (2000: 177) include here, most probably not fully appropriately, English lexical borrowings with Polish derivational suffixes such as *-owiec*, e.g. *oldschoolowiec*, *oldschoolowy*, *hardcore'owy*, *hardcore'owo*, cf. also a similar approach by Forintos and Szentgyörgyi, who, while discussing the influence of English upon Hungarians living in the UK, distinguish between two types of hybrids: derivational blends (imported stem + native affix; the reverse situation, i.e. native stem + imported affix is theoretically possible, but no examples were found in their corpus) and compound blends (imported stem + native stem) (Forintos and Szentgyörgyi 2014: 65). According to Walczak (1997), hybrids can possibly be understood in a very broad way, including derivatives from loanwords. A different view was expressed by Obara (1989: 65), who claims that such derivatives should not be counted as hybrids. Such broad understanding is, as he claims, rarely encountered nowadays.⁶⁴ In the present book, forms such as *oldschoolowy* will be treated as derivatives of morphologically adapted loanwords rather than hybrids.

2.4.9 Distinguishing between loan translations or loanblends and lexical borrowings

Both calques and semi-calques should be carefully distinguished from lexical borrowings, such as e.g. *gay party*, *talk show*, or *show biznes* (Witalisz 2009: 89–93).

Naturally, there are borderline cases, where the classification may not be obvious. An important distinction is made by Weinreich (1974: 50), who distinguishes between three types of interference which can be involved in the case of multimorphemic units: apart from calques and loanblends he also discusses “the transfer of analyzed compounds.” He defines the process as the adaptation of the elements of a compound or phrase “to word-formative or syntactic patterns of the recipient language.” This is an important distinction, as

⁶⁴ For more on hybrids, including classification and examples, cf. Rostowska (2009).

the constructions of this type are plentiful in the Polish language of computer users, cf. such constructions as *laptop gamingowy* (based on English *gaming laptop*), cf. also Berteloot and van der Sijs (2002: 51), who discuss such constructions as loan formations, providing examples of Dutch constructions modelled on English, e.g. *diepvries* (E. *deep-freeze*) or *luidspreker* (E. *loudspeaker*). A similar phenomenon is described by Pulcini (2002), who provides examples from Italian; here, however, the forms have a formal resemblance to English because of common etymology, e.g. *pubbliche relazioni* (E. *public relations*). Berteloot and van der Sijs, unlike Weinreich, discuss them as a subtype of calques, but, like Weinreich, see them as distinct from loan translations, where “unrelated (but equivalent) words are used” (Berteloot and van der Sijs 2002: 51).

It appears that structures such as *laptop gamingowy* cannot be classified as either calques or semi-calques as there is no native element (cf. also Witalisz 2015: 88, who discusses such forms as “adapted multi-word loanwords” and provides the example of *media masowe* based on English *mass media*); they are therefore excluded from the present study.

2.5 The emergence of semantic loans and loan translations

It has often been suggested (cf. Haugen 1950: 210, Winter-Froemel 2008: 26, Buttler 1976: 93) that the emergence of all types of borrowings, including semantic loans and loan translations, entail pre-existing bilingualism on the part of the speakers of the recipient language. As Winter-Froemel asserts, for lexical borrowings to emerge, the degree of required bilingualism is relatively small; in the case of analogical innovations (i.e. semantic loans and loan translations/renditions), the degree of required bilingualism is incomparably higher. The initial requirement is described as

the TL [target language] speaker must be able to understand not only the SL [source language] word, but also know how it relates to other words or meanings in the SL, in order to then imitate the SL pattern of word formation or polysemy in the TL (Winter-Froemel 2008: 26).

The process for analogical innovations is described as follows:

[...] the speaker analyses the SL form (e.g. Engl. *mouse* designating the concepts COMPUTER MOUSE and ANIMAL MOUSE) and retrieves the TL equivalent for the source concept (Engl. *mouse* ANIMAL MOUSE ↔ Fr. *souris* ANIMAL MOUSE), which is then associated to the target concept or serves as a basis for a word formation (Winter-Froemel 2008: 26–27).

A similar explanation can be found in Görlach: a semantic borrowing occurs when “an existing word which shares one meaning with the foreign item may take over the new meaning” (Görlach 2003: 62). It is worth pointing out to the preliminary condition for semantic borrowings: the word must share a meaning⁶⁵ with its foreign word counterpart (for the same view, cf. Weinsberg 1983: 78; for a different view, cf. Obara 1989).

Semantic borrowings frequently appear in the language as a result of hasty, careless translations using the most obvious equivalent (a primary counterpart⁶⁶), cf. also Gellerstam, who notes that in the process of translation, quite frequently not the best equivalent is chosen, “partly due to the power of habitual use, partly due to the translator failing even to consider other alternatives” and labels it “Pavlovian translation” (Gellerstam 2005: 206). For instance, the English form *icon* in the sense of ‘a symbol of something’ is often translated into Polish by means of the word *ikona*, rather than, say, more appropriate *symbol*. The form in the new meaning is then repeated and is finally accepted (e.g. by including the new meaning in a dictionary). The result of the procedure is that “a recipient language form is filled with a new content,⁶⁷ due to the influence of a foreign word” (Hoffmann 2011: 138–139). The entire process can thus be seen as an example of (over)simplification (cf. Arabski 1979: 141). The exact procedure, including diagrammatic presentation, was presented in Zabawa (2007: 93–98; 2012a: 99–105).

In Haugen’s view (1950: 214), loanshifts (i.e. both semantic loans and loan translations) occur particularly frequently when “there is both phonetic and semantic resemblance between foreign and native terms” (Haugen 1950: 220; cf. also Grosjean 1982: 317). Hoffmann (2011: 133), however, is of a slightly different view: she seems to assert that one of the differences between them is that of motivation: in her view, loan translations are motivated by the semantic similarity, as opposed to semantic loans, motivated by formal similarity. This is not completely true, however. Indeed, the process of semantic borrowing

⁶⁵ However, it is questionable and, in fact, counter-intuitive, to assume that it must be exactly *one* meaning that is shared.

⁶⁶ The term *primary counterpart* has been borrowed from Arabski (1979), who used it in connection with interlanguage and second language acquisition (cf. also Zabawa 2007).

⁶⁷ As for the new content, Waszakowa rightly asserts that there is frequently a common element between the traditional and the new meaning. In the case of *icon*, for example, the common element is PICTURE and SYMBOLIC (Waszakowa 2011b: 12). Thus one of the features (of the traditional meaning) is singled out (for more on this, cf. Wesołowska 1978: 29) and can then be found in the new meaning. For example, in the case of the word *mouse*, the shape and the colour were the basis for the name of a computer device (the first computer mouse devices were gray and wired). Certain features are eliminated, others are strengthened. In the case of *mouse*, the feature of [+animate] is eliminated. In the case of *icon* or *avatar*, the feature of [+used for religious purposes] is eliminated (Waszakowa 2011b).

may be facilitated by the formal similarity or even formal sameness,⁶⁸ but this is by no means a necessary condition as there are quite a few examples of semantic borrowings where the forms in English and Polish do not bear the slightest similarity in form, cf. e.g. *dokładnie*–*exactly*, *poczta*–*mail*, *strona*–*page*, *wchodzić*–*enter*, *sieć*–*net* (Zabawa 2012a: 105). Thus, it would seem better to assert that calques are indeed usually motivated by semantic similarity (understood here as the sameness of concepts in the extralinguistic reality) while semantic borrowings are not dependent on the degree of formal similarity between the constructions in a donor and a recipient language, cf. also Ullmann (1951: 63), who also notes that semantic borrowings are not restricted to the cases where there is a resemblance between the two forms (in the donor and recipient language), though in such cases the process of semantic borrowing is much easier to detect. It is also worth quoting Gómez Capuz (1997: 86) here, who distinguishes between homologues, where there is no formal connection between source and target word (Gómez Capuz adds that the new meaning in the case of homologues is usually a metaphorical one and thus we can speak of “borrowed metaphors”) and analogues, where such analogy is present (he also adds that analogues appear more frequently than homologues, at least in Western languages). Naturally, in both cases there is the analogy of meaning, i.e. the words share one of their meanings, usually a basic one.

Loan translations, as semantic loans, are usually introduced into the recipient language as the result of (too) literal translation of English words and constructions⁶⁹ (Weinsberg 1983: 78, Newmark 1988: 84, Gómez Capuz 1997: 88, Markowski 2000: 104–105, Gellerstam 2005: 203–206, Gottlieb 2005: 176, Bartomiejczyk 2006b: 102, Witalisz 2007a: 179). Interestingly, calqued expressions can then be modified in various ways in the target language, cf. Mycałka (2012), who discusses examples of various types of innovations on the example of the construction *zamieść coś pod dywan*, calqued most probably from English. As a result of adaptation processes, the form appears as e.g. *wmieść pod dywan*, *zamiatać pod szafę* (innovations based on replacement of one of its elements),

⁶⁸ Cf. the examples provided in the previous book by the present author, where many semantic loans do indeed have either identical or closely related spelling in English and Polish, e.g. *album*–*album*, *partner*–*partner*, *test*–*test*, *absolutnie*–*absolutely*, *adres*–*address*, *konsola*–*console*, *wirus*–*virus*, *instalacja*–*installation* (Zabawa 2012a: 105). Formal similarity is, naturally, more frequent between the languages which are genetically closer, e.g. German and English. Some examples of this type are provided by Winter-Froemel (2008: 31), e.g. *Maus*–*mouse*.

⁶⁹ Such translations are especially frequent in texts prepared by journalists translating foreign media's news, office workers preparing multi-language documents and translators of movies and books. Other important sources include automatic translation, done with computer software (Rudnicka 2010a: 19). Such translations (usually nonce constructions) are examples of occasional calques (*kalki okazjonalne*) (Witalisz 2007a: 306); they may, naturally, be repeated and finally accepted, cf. also Aikhenvald (2007: 25), “The calquing may start from ‘nonce’ calques (similar to one-off borrowings), which may at first be perceived as mistakes.”

zamiatać pod psychiczny dywan, zamiatać prawdę pod dywan (innovations based on various types of extensions), *pod dywan* (innovations based on shortening).⁷⁰ Other examples of this type were described by Sękowska (2007, after Nowak), who discusses the form *dwa w jednym* (E. *two in one*), which gave rise to such constructions as *trzy w jednym, cztery w jednym, osiem w jednym*, etc. They are frequent in everyday language but rare in terminological constructions, such as found in the present corpus. For this reason, such innovations will not be discussed in detail here.

2.6 The reasons for introducing semantic loans and loan translations

As was noted before, the number of semantic loans and loan translations is generally not very high in comparison with lexical borrowings. It is, however, slowly yet consistently growing; this happens for a number of reasons.

It is possible to describe the reasons generally; it is much more problematic, or even impossible, to establish the reasons for the occurrence of certain individual borrowings. In general, as Fischer notes (in connection with lexical and semantic borrowings), the motives can be divided into internal (i.e. linguistic), extralinguistic and socio-historical reasons. Fischer rightly notes, however, that explanations can frequently “only be guessed at” and “actual, verifiable proof is hard to come by”⁷¹ (A. Fischer 2003: 105). Nevertheless, some general reasons connected with the emergence of both semantic loans and loan translations can be established.

One of the reasons for the emergence of semantic loans and loan translations is identical to the one mentioned by Weinreich (1974: 57) in connection with lexical borrowings: “using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets.”⁷² It is thus connected

⁷⁰ In addition, the construction in question can be used in wrong contexts (a phenomenon described by Myćwka as *nadużycie semantyczne* [semantic abuse]), e.g. used in the meaning of ‘to lie, not tell the truth’, ‘be better than somebody’, ‘forget’, etc.

⁷¹ See also Sihler (2000: 94), who claims that a semantic change, with some rare exceptions, is “completely patternless” (a similar view was expressed by McMahon 1994: 185: “semantic change is highly unlikely to be as regular and predictable as, say, sound change [...]”; for the opposite view, cf. Traugott and Dasher (2004: 3–4), who claim that at the macro-level “the direction of semantic change is often highly predictable,” admitting at the same time, however, that “regularities are not absolute”). The same is probably true, if a little exaggerated, about semantic loans. Thus, the changes in meaning, including their possible reasons, should be studied independently, as their distinct nature often does not allow for far-reaching generalizations.

⁷² Cf. also Wojtaszek (1998: 54), who describes “the lack of motivation for creation of Polish equivalents of new, mainly technical, terms” as one of the reasons for the emergence of English

with filling lexical gaps and the nominative function (also described as the referential function, Cabré 1999: 206, or filling communicative intentions, Geeraerts 1997: 104–105); it is in a way easier to translate literally a foreign multimorphemic word or expression rather than invent a completely new one in one's native language (cf. Ayto (1999: ix), who sees semantic innovations as “the most effort-free way of expanding the vocabulary”). It may, naturally, also be connected with insufficient linguistic competence in the recipient language (cf. Markowski 2000, Winter-Froemel 2008).

Another reason is the increasing knowledge of English among Poles. Smółkowa stated in 2000 that “Język angielski – główne źródło najnowszych pożyczek – dobrze znają tylko nieliczni” [the English language, the main source of the newest loans, is known well by few people only] (Smółkowa 2000: 67). This is hardly true nowadays. Naturally, no completely trustful data is and can be available, but the percentage of the Poles who know English well is undoubtedly on the constant increase (cf. Zabawa 2012a: 185).

The next factor that facilitates the emergence of semantic loans and loan translations is connected with the increase (after 1989) of the prestige of English (the issue of the prestige of English was touched upon by numerous linguists, cf. e.g. Miodek 2000: 80). This, naturally, is directly responsible especially for the emergence of lexical borrowings, but it is important in connection with calques or semantic borrowings as well: more and more people nowadays learn English, read English texts, watch English movies and television series, etc., then, when they want to talk or write about something (using their native language) they have read or watched in English, they resort to literal translations. This may be a fertile ground for the emergence and spread of loan translations and semantic loans, as many of them are most probably introduced into the recipient language, Polish in our case, subconsciously (cf. also Gramley and Pätzold (1992: 31), who note that “most shifts in meaning seem to be unintentional”).

The prestige of English is closely associated with another reason, namely linguistic snobbery (Markowski 2000: 103–105, Chłopicki 2000: 194–195)⁷³ and adding “local colour” (Winter-Froemel 2008: 28–29); the latter is connected with the expressive function⁷⁴ (cf. Witalisz 2007a: 27; cf. also aesthetic need,

lexical borrowings in Polish. It seems that the same reason can be quoted for the emergence of at least some of the semantic borrowings and loan translations. Translating the item into Polish is in a way the easiest method (apart from directly importing the form) of introducing a new term.

⁷³ But cf. Nowowiejski (2010), who asserts that the fad of using English words is not as strong as it used to be. He argues that nowadays the knowledge of English becomes the necessary element of each person's education; as a result, English has lost its status of unusualness, attractiveness, prestige, etc.

⁷⁴ The expressive function can also be related to linguistic creativity, a desire to play with a language and/or to capture the recipient's attention (Markowski 2000, Winter-Froemel 2008). These should also be included when discussing the reasons for introducing semantic loans and loan translations.

Algeo 1993). As a result, a (false) impression may be created that the meaning of a given construction (modelled on English) is different than the construction used traditionally in Polish. Markowski quotes here an example of *nowa generacja żyletek* which may be perceived as having a different meaning from *nowy typ żyletek* (*generacja* may suggest sophistication, better workmanship, major improvement over the previous type, etc.).

Other factors worth mentioning, connected with the previous one, are the predominance of English in the world of modern technology, globalization, and the existence of specialized literature and instruction manuals in English, which are then translated, sometimes mechanically, into Polish.

Another feature that may facilitate the emergence of calques is the brevity of English constructions; as Chłopicki rightly noted, “the compactness of English nominal structures [...] allows an expression of the message in the most succinct way” (Chłopicki 2005: 119). This may, however, often lead to incorrect (from the normative point of view, cf. Section 2.7) constructions, e.g. *zakaz min przeciwpiechotnych* (E. *land mines ban*) instead of correct (but also longer) *zakaz stosowania min przeciwpiechotnych* (Chłopicki 2005: 119).

Finally, the reasons may include linguistic purity and the desire to remove foreign loans from the language. As semantic loans and loan translations are rarely felt as foreign by an average speaker (cf. Otwinowska-Kasztelanic 2000), lexical loans may be, consciously or not, replaced by them, cf. also Gellerstam 2005: 203, who notes that “changes in meaning are more anonymous [than lexical borrowings] and easily acceptable.”

It should be noted here that the list of possible reasons could be extended to include very general motives, usually associated with semantic innovations and neologisms in general. These include, among others, the lack of vocabulary precision (Ullmann 1957: 92–96; 1962: 116–128), which is the result of its generic character (Russell 2008 [1922]: 212, Putnam 2008a [1970]: 280–281, Ullmann 1957: 107–108; 1962: 116–117, 168, Gibbs 1994: 26, 38, Gibbs and Matlock 1997: 214, Pyles and Algeo 1982, McMahon 1994: 176, Grygiel 2008: 34, Traugott and Dasher 2004: 24, cf. also Hock and Joseph (1996: 218), who write about “the inherent fuzziness of meaning”), heterogeneity of meanings (i.e. the possibility of understanding a given word in various ways, depending on the linguistic context, extralinguistic situation and even such sociolinguistic factors as the profession, age, sex, or even personality of the speaker or writer who has used a given word; cf. Grygiel 2008: 34, Drażek 2008: 60, Kleszczowa 2002: 207–208), general vagueness of vocabulary, often resulting from the lack of clear-cut boundaries in the extralinguistic world (Geeraerts 2008 [1993], Gipper 2008 [1959], Quine 2008 [1960]: 271–274, Labov 2008 [1973]: 388, Putnam 2008b [1975]: 294, Geeraerts 1997: 12–13, Williamson 2008 [2001]: 462–463), the lack of familiarity of the speakers with certain concepts denoted by various words (Ullmann 1957, Gibbs 1994: 37), discontinuous transmission of language from

parents to children (Milewski 1972: 199, McMahon 1994: 177), general polysemy of vocabulary⁷⁵ (and thus the easiness to accept new meanings) (Traugott and Dasher 2004: 11–16), etc. These factors are, however, connected with semantic innovations in general, rather than semantic loans as such; consequently, they will not be discussed here in greater detail.

It is possible to predict, at least to a certain extent, which constructions are more likely to be calqued and used in another language. The list of such criteria was prepared and discussed by Aikhenvald (2007: 26–36). She mentions, among others, the following criteria which may facilitate the translation of certain phrases⁷⁶:

- the existence of gaps (real or perceived) in the recipient language;
- pre-existing structural similarity between languages in contact;
- the existence of a lookalike in a recipient language (cf. the existence of calques organized around certain words, e.g. *karta*, as in *karta graficzna*, *karta dźwiękowa*, etc.; cf. Section 2.9.3);
- the compactness of a given construction;
- morphotactic transparency and the clarity of morpheme boundaries of a given construction in the source language;
- the frequency of a given construction in the source language;
- unifunctionality and semantic transparency.

Naturally, certain sociolinguistic criteria must also be accounted for, such as the degree of knowledge of a source language among target language speakers, the kind of language contact (direct interaction between speakers or the indirect contact, e.g. through media only), general degree of openness of recipient language community towards foreign cultures, general attitude towards foreign elements in a language and many others (Aikhenvald 2007: 36–44).

⁷⁵ It is a well-known fact that polysemy is in fact more widespread than monosemy, cf. Kleszczowa: “w języku naturalnym prawie każdy leksem jest wieloznaczny” [in a natural language almost every lexeme is polysemous] (Kleszczowa 2002: 207) and Ullmann (1962: 159), “polysemy is a fundamental feature of human speech.” Within the same line, Górska (2009: 84) claims that “polysemy is the norm for language,” Kjellmer (2003: 9) notes that “polysemy is an indispensable element in language communication” and Wierzbicka (2008 [1987]: 435) mentions that ordinary language is characterized, among other things, by “a very high level of polysemy.”

⁷⁶ Not all of her criteria are valid in English-Polish situation. Thus, only a selection is presented here.

2.7 Normative assessment of semantic loans and loan translations

In general, there are no obvious criteria for assessing neologisms (including semantic loans and loan translations) in a language. In fact, Kleszczowa argues that they are inevitable and should not be assessed in any way:

Tak więc akty kreowania nowych jednostek ani nie doskonalą języka, ani też nie są przejawem chaosu. Są immanentną właściwością języka naturalnego, która z pewnością warta jest uwagi, ale której nie powinno się wartościować (Kleszczowa 2012 [2002]: 191).

[The acts of creating new linguistic units neither perfect a language nor are the symptoms of chaos. They are an immanent property of a language, which definitely deserves attention, but should not be assessed in any way.]

On the other hand, one cannot disagree with Winter-Froemel, who argues that the reception of various types of borrowings, including semantic loans and loan translations, will depend on the general attitude of a given receiver towards foreign language and culture (Winter-Froemel 2008: 29–30).⁷⁷ It is thus not easy to assess semantic borrowings and loan translations normatively. Markowski (2000: 107) assesses them generally unfavourably; he comments that semantic borrowings are rarely noticed by an average Pole and, when they appear in new collocations or in a more general meaning, can hinder comprehensibility (cf. also Ullmann 1962: 171, “Semantic borrowing from a foreign language may [...] give rise to confusion and misunderstanding”), cf. also Dubisz (2013: 126), who treats the semantic loans which have Polish equivalents (e.g. *administracja* in the meaning of ‘government’, *agresywny* in the meaning of ‘intensive, dynamic, success-oriented’) as unjustified innovations, or, to put it more simply, linguistic errors. It should also be added that many semantic loans can be classified as the so-called fashionable words or buzzwords (*wyrazy modne, słowa-zakłęcia*, cf. Majkowska and Satkiewicz 1999: 189–199; for more on this, cf. Ożóg 2000, 2001: 85–91, Markowski 2005: 188–212, Waszakowa 2011a: 5), which should perhaps be assessed negatively due to their excessive and often unnecessary or inappropriate use. Opposite views are also documented, cf. Witalisz (2010), who, despite “small linguistic problems” stresses good sides of their existence in Polish, or Görlach (2003: 96–97), who notes that calques can be seen (from the point of view of purist users of a language⁷⁸) as “excellent alternative to loanwords”⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See also Furiassi (2008), who distinguishes, in connection with Italian, between “extrovert” and “introvert” attitudes.

⁷⁸ For more on language purism and its types, cf. Markowski (2005: 126–132).

⁷⁹ But cf. Haspelmath, who notes (in connection with lexical borrowings, but it relates to calques and semantic borrowings as well) that very frequently it might be “difficult to find

(cf. also Sihler 2000: 128), cf. also Örsi, who states that “calquing is probably the most usual way of nativizing foreign technical vocabulary nowadays” (Örsi 2008: 213). An approving view is also given by Winter-Froemel, who asserts that calques can frequently be understood more easily than lexical borrowings due to their ability to be “put into relation with other TL words or meanings” (Winter-Froemel 2008: 27).⁸⁰

In the group of calques, many are used, as was mentioned before, because of their brevity. This is not always the case, however. Some calques are not shorter than the traditionally used constructions, e.g. *każdego dnia*, on the model of English *every day*, instead of correct *codziennie* (Chłopicki and Świątek 2000: 282), or, frequently heard at conferences, *obiad konferencyjny* (a calque of English *conference dinner*), instead of correct *bankiet* or *uroczysta kolacja*. Such constructions are simply translated too literally and should perhaps be unfavourably assessed; another example of this kind, though from a different semantic field, is *boliwijski maszerujący proszek* (E. *Bolivian marching powder*) for cocaine (Bartłomiejczyk 2006a: 33) or *decyzja jest twoja* (E. *it's your decision*) (Markowski 2005: 146).⁸¹ Examples of too literal translations can also frequently be found in the work by Polish students studying English; for details, cf. Latkowska (2006), who describes such constructions, incorrect from the normative point of view, as e.g. *biały jak kreda* (E. *as white as chalk*), *szare włosy* (E. *gray hair*) or *oko igły* (E. *the eye of the needle*)⁸²; and Krężałek (2007: 393), who discusses, among others, an example of syntactic transfer such as *okazała się być lepsza* (E. *[she] turned out to be better*) instead of correct *okazała się lepsza*, and Obara (1989: 118), who discusses examples from the language of immigrants, e.g. *zrobić dobry postęp* (E. *to make good progress*). Again, such calques should be negatively assessed (cf. also Gottlieb 2005: 168, who uses the label “interfering items”, for “slipshod solutions, including mistranslations”). Another example of a “wrong” construction (from a pragmatic point of view)

evidence for the exact role of speaker attitudes” and there might be a danger of circular reasoning (Haspelmath 2003: 8).

⁸⁰ This may not always necessarily be the case, however: some calques or semantic loans, for example in the sphere of computers and the Internet, may be less known than lexical borrowings. Putting them into relation with other words and meanings in the target language may not be of much help: for example, the form *ciasteczka* (modelled on English *cookies*) is semantically completely opaque (on the other hand, the form has, as is mentioned in Section 5.4, a precise, unambiguous meaning).

⁸¹ Naturally, the phenomenon is not peculiar to Polish; cf. e.g. Carstensen (1979) for instances of wrong renderings in German, e.g. *einmal mehr* used on the model of English *once more* instead of correct *noch einmal*. Interestingly, as the present author's study (Zabawa 2012e) showed, bilinguals, in general, are less able to notice such faulty constructions than the monolingual group.

⁸² See the articles by the present author in which the problem of how to make students more aware of such lexical subtleties between English and Polish is discussed (Zabawa 2007: 99–100; 2010a: 75–77; 2013b: 267–269; for more examples of this type, cf. also Wróblewski 2010).

can be *Droga Pani Doktor* (calquing English *Dear...*) (M. Dąbrowska 2006: 276) and *Drogi Panie* + surname (calquing English *Dear Mr.* + surname) (Kowalski 2006: 296); in both cases, the form *szanowny* should rather be used.

In general, it can thus be stated that there exist two contrasting views: calques and semantic loans can either be seen as (1) a more sophisticated and useful way of enriching a given language (in comparison with lexical borrowings) or as (2) a particularly insidious type of influence, changing the internal structure of language, collocational patterning, preposition use, introducing syntactically foreign constructions, etc.⁸³ (cf. also Görlach 2003: 16).

It seems that both views, albeit having certain truths in them, are nevertheless simplifications, as it is not really possible to assess the phenomenon of semantic borrowings as a whole. Rather, it would be necessary to assess separate instances of semantic borrowing. In the case of some words the process may indeed be treated as undesirable (cf. the description of the construction *mapa drogowa*, Waszakowa 2009: 19, or of the word *tester* in Polish, Zabawa 2013e), as the new meaning may hinder comprehensibility due to its semantic opaqueness and potential ambiguity; in other cases, however, the new meaning does not seem to pose any threat to comprehensibility or the language as such (cf. the new meaning of *bukiet*, referring not only to wine, but to other alcoholic drinks as well, Zabawa 2013e). Semantic loans are also sometimes assessed favourably in certain specialized varieties, e.g. in the language of sport, cf. Tworek (2002: 255), who discusses extended meaning of such words as *konferencja* and *prezydent*. They are, in his view, used mostly to denote concepts characteristic for foreign culture and, consequently, should not be replaced with native terminology, such as *grupa* or *prezes*. In addition, it should be stressed that calques were usually, albeit not always, assessed favourably by language purists, who saw them as better alternatives to loanwords⁸⁴ (Obara 1989: 102–121).

It would seem at first glance that semantic borrowings, in the same way as lexical ones, can be divided into necessary and unnecessary borrowings, also described as necessity borrowings and luxury borrowings, respectively (cf. Grzega 2003: 23, Winter-Froemel 2008: 17). The former group includes constructions which do not have native equivalents; the constructions in the

⁸³ For more on linguists' attitudes towards calques and a general assessment of calques in Polish (on the basis of syntactic calques), cf. Rudnicka (2010a). She discusses, among others, certain criteria which might be used in assessing calques normatively, including sufficiency criterion (*kryterium wystarczalności*), economicality criterion (*kryterium ekonomiczności*), systemic criterion (*kryterium systemowe*), functionality criterion (*kryterium funkcjonalności*), the criterion of use (*kryterium uzualne*), aesthetic criterion (*kryterium estetyczne*), and the criterion of linguistic authority (*kryterium autorytetu językowego*). As the aim of the present book is mostly descriptive, and its purpose is not the normative assessment of calques, they will not be discussed in greater detail here.

⁸⁴ In the case of lexical and phrasal calques; morphological and syntactic calques are usually seen as detrimental to a given language.

latter, by contrast, do have already existing indigenous counterparts.⁸⁵ This distinction is now largely criticized, cf. Winter-Froemel (2008: 17), who, while discussing loanwords, takes into account individual speaker's perspective: he or she may actually consider a given borrowing necessary "for his [or her] communicative purposes" or there might be "an affective need for borrowing" (Winter-Froemel 2008: 17, after Deroy). Thus it can be stated, as Winter-Froemel (2008: 17) rightly asserts, that the necessity or unnecessary of a given borrowing is, at least to some extent, a subjective thing. The same can be said, albeit possibly to a lesser degree, about semantic loans and loan translations (provided that a speaker or writer makes conscious linguistic decisions here).

It would thus seem, as was mentioned before, that each semantic loan or a loan translation should be assessed individually, with the main criterion being not the existence or non-existence of a native counterpart, but rather semantic transparency and unproblematic comprehension of a given construction (cf. Section 5.4).

2.8 English semantic loans and loan translations in Polish

2.8.1 General observations

Both semantic borrowings and loan translations are not new phenomena. However, most of the semantic loans and calques existing before the 1990s were of German or Russian origin, with occasional French influence (cf. the discussion in Buttler, Kurkowska and Satkiewicz 1973: 421–431, Rybicka 1976: 98–105, Buttler 1978, Tyszka 2012: 82), cf. e.g. the new meaning of *zamek* (under the influence of German) or *cienki* (under the influence of Russian) or the existence of such calques as e.g. *wodoodporny* from German (Tyszka 2012: 81). Other examples of calques modelled on German, Russian, or French were provided by Markowski (2005: 164; 2012: 135) and Dubisz (2004: 9), cf. *jak by nie było, pod rząd, za wyjątkiem, służyć dowodem* (Russian), *najwyższy czas* (German), *punkt widzenia, mąż stanu* (French). For a discussion of the history of calques in Polish, with numerous examples, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 108–113).

⁸⁵ See Witaszek-Samborska (2006: 37), who assesses unfavourably many of the semantic extensions (triggered by English) in the semantic area of food and cooking, on the basis of the existence of native counterparts, e.g. *drink* or *koktajl* (used in the extended meanings, instead of *napój* and *salatka/mus*, respectively).

It is generally assumed, as was mentioned before, that English semantic loans and calques in Polish are far less numerous than lexical borrowings,⁸⁶ cf. e.g. the study by Wieluniecka (2010: 271), who observes, in connection with the press language (on the basis of *Wprost*, *PC World*, and *Dziewczyna*), that the number of calques and semantic borrowings is low in comparison with lexical borrowings, particularly assimilated ones. A similar view is expressed by Sękowska (2007), Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (2008b: 55), Witaszek-Samborska (2006: 37) or Mańczak-Wohlfeld, who notes, “due to the fact that Poland and English-speaking countries are not in close geographic contact there are very few calques” (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2002: 225).⁸⁷ This was most probably true in the past; now, however, the number of both semantic loans and loan translations in Polish is growing rapidly (Walczak 2001: 149, Grybosiova 2005: 31, Waszakowa 2009: 15, Markowski 2012: 71, Zabawa 2012a). It is not possible, however, to provide any concrete numbers, partly due to the fact that new semantic loans and loan translations appear all the time and partly due to identification problems (cf. Section 2.4).

The vast majority of recently-coined multi-word calques and semantic loans in Polish are of English origin.⁸⁸ Calques from other languages are rare.⁸⁹ The examples of English calques include e.g. *brudna bomba* (dirty bomb), *kwaśny deszcz* (acid rain), *globalna wioska* (global village) (Markowski 2005, 2012, Witalisz 2015); examples of English semantic loans include *ikona* (in the sense of ‘a small picture on a computer screen’) or *mysz* (in the sense of ‘a computer device’).

⁸⁶ The same is true for other European languages, e.g. German (Busse and Görlach 2002: 31) or Croatian (Filipović 2002: 239). However, the opposite situation, i.e. calques being more frequent than lexical loans, is also documented, e.g. in Icelandic (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2002: 99), French (Picone 1996: 34), and Spanish (Rodríguez González 2002: 143). In addition, many authors only state that calques from English appear frequently in a given language but do not provide a direct comparison with lexical loans, e.g. Norwegian (Graedler 2002: 73), French (Humbley 2002: 118, 123), Italian (Pulcini 2002: 161).

⁸⁷ For the opposite view, albeit not connected with English calques, but calques in general, cf. Dunaj, “Kalkowanie obcych struktur jest zjawiskiem częstym” [the calquing of foreign structures is a frequent phenomenon] (Dunaj 2000b: 37), or Schwyzer (quoted in Obara 1989: 32), who notes that lexical calques and semantic loans are, in general, as frequent as lexical borrowings.

⁸⁸ It must be underlined here that certain semantic and phrasal novelties may seem relatively new, whereas in fact they are already quite rooted in language as they were described in the late 1970s, cf. Wesołowska (1978: 49–50), who discusses new meanings of *rodzina* or *generacja* (*rodzina komputerów*, *generacja pralek automatycznych*) or *szczyt* (*konferencja na szczycie*, *szczyt arabski*) as well as certain calques, such as *pranie mózgu* or *podróż kosmiczna*.

⁸⁹ An example is provided by Sobina (2008: 151), who mentions the phrase *zespół pracy*, used on the model of French *group de travail*, instead of traditional Polish *zespół roboczy*. Interestingly enough, she does not use the term calque, but describes it as a very specific instance of the influence of language and culture.

The situation looks different, however, when it comes to single-word calques: Markowski (2012) asserts that most of the calques of this type are of Russian (e.g. *brakoróbstwo*, *rozwarstwienie*), German (e.g. *korkociąg*, *czasopismo*) or French (e.g. *przedpokój*, *półświatek*) origin. It appears that the calques of this type modelled on English are rare; the most frequently given example is *nastolatek* (E. *teenager*). In general, it seems that the calques of this type, in contrast to multi-word calques, are not very frequent nowadays, cf. also Witalisz (2015), who among her list of 528 calques, provides only a handful of examples, such as *bezstratny* (E. *lossless*), *bezprowadowy* (E. *wireless*) or *jajogłowy* (E. *egghead*). In the present study, similar results have been obtained (cf. Chapters 4 and 5).

It is interesting to note that, as Ullmann (1962: 166–167) and Görlach (2002) rightly notice, many semantic borrowings “have wide international currency” (using Ullmann’s words), e.g. *mysz* (Polish), *Maus* (German), *mús* (Icelandic), *ratón* (Spanish), *souris* (French), *miš* (Croatian), *mishka* (Bulgarian), *egér* (Hungarian), *podiki* (Greek); all of them appeared most probably under the influence of English *mouse* (cf. also Markowski 2004, who discusses this under the heading of the internalization of meanings). The same is true of loan translations and loan renditions modelled on English, present in many European languages, e.g. (the English model is given) *skyscraper* (according to McMahon 1994: 207, the most famous example of a calque from English, found in many languages, either as a loan translation or rendition), *brainwashing*, *brainstorming*, *semi-conductor*, *iron curtain*, *cold war*, *blood bank*, *Big Brother*, *hard disk*, *cyberspace*, *birth control*, *black box*, *language laboratory*, *human rights*, *first lady*, *flying saucer*, *homepage*, *self-service*, *workaholic*, *shopping centre*, *soap opera*, *Bloody Mary*, *ice hockey*, *UFO*, *round table*, cf. the studies in the volume *English in Europe* (collected and edited by Görlach). Naturally, the degree of exactness is not identical here: a given English phrase may be rendered as a loan translation in one language and a loan rendition in the other; this, however, does not change the conclusion that many calques, as well as semantic loans, can be said to be to a large extent international.

2.8.2 English semantic loans and loan translations in Polish:

Literature review

At the beginning of the section, classic works should be mentioned: Wesołowska’s monograph (1978) on semantic novelties in Polish and Obara’s work on calques and semantic loans (1989). Both works provide detailed historical background, discussion on terminology, various classifications, numerous examples, etc.

Obara noted in 1989 that the amount of research done in the field of calques and semantic loans is still far from satisfactory (Obara 1989: 3; cf. also Dunaj

(2000b) or Piotrowicz and Witaszek-Samborska (2013: 64), who also underline the lack of thorough research in the field). Today the literature on the subject is already quite rich; as was noted in one of the articles by the present author (Zabawa 2015d), however, semantic loans and calques still do not attract as much linguists' attention as lexical loans (cf. also the introduction to the present book). This is, among others, due to various methodological problems associated with the identification and analysis of semantic borrowings and loan translations (cf. Section 2.4).

In general, the publications dealing with English semantic loans and loan translations can be subdivided into several main groups⁹⁰:

- discussing the internationalization of meanings and word-formation processes: Mieczkowska (2006), Markowski (2012), Waszakowa (2005), Zabawa (2015b);
- discussing contemporary Polish in general, thus mentioning semantic borrowings and loan translations as one of its many characteristic features⁹¹: Dubisz (2013), Dunaj (2000a), Nowowiejski (2010), Walczak (2001), Waszakowa (1995, 2011a);
- discussing methodological problems associated with the identification and analysis of semantic loans and loan translations: Obara (1989), Witalisz (2007a, 2012a, 2015), Zabawa (2015c);
- discussing semantic loans connected with a given semantic field: food and cooking (Witaszek-Samborska 2005, 2006, Nowakowska 2013a), music (Zgółkowska 1994, Sawaniewska-Moch and Moch 2000: 177), paragliding (Pędzich 2010, 2012), rock-climbing (Niepytalska 2010), economy, business, marketing and logistics (A. Dąbrowska 2000, Chłopicki 2005, Korcz and Matulewski 2006), biotechnology (Kłós et al. 2006), cosmetology (Najdecka 2013), politics (Witalisz 2004, 2007c), work and names of professions (Brzozowska 2006, Ociepa 2001, Paszko 2007, Zabawa 2012d), medicine (Górnicz 2000), architecture and construction industry (Ilieva-Cygan 2011, Świdzińska 2011), computing and modern technology (Cudak and Tambor 1995, Dzikiewicz and Miodek 1991, Ogorodnikowa and Pawelec 2008, Tomczak 2002, Wach 2013, 2014, Weber 2006, Urniaż 2007, Wiśniewska-Białas 2011, Zabawa 2014e, 2015e);
- discussing semantic loans and/or loan translations in a given variety of language, e.g. in sociolects, professional varieties or other specialized varieties of Polish: in the language of advertising (Chłopicki 2000, Chłopicki and Świątek 2000), the language of the media (Herman 2008, Janus 2008, Jezierska 2011, Markowski 2000), the language of EU documents (Jaworska-Biskup

⁹⁰ In addition, there are numerous studies devoted to native semantic innovations in Polish; these, however, will not be listed here as they fall outside the scope of the present book. Additionally, studies on loan translations and semantic loans (1) in the immigrant societies and (2) among Polish learners of English are also excluded.

⁹¹ This subgroup is very rich in publications; only a small selection is given.

- 2012), the language of blogs (Wiśniewska-Białas 2011), the language of shop assistants (Obara 2008), the language of seamen (Kołodziejek 1994), the language of cyclists and bike lovers (Wiertelwski 2005, 2006), the language of drug users (Bartłomiejczyk 2006a, 2006b, Giemza-Piórkowska 2013), the prison slang (Oryńska 1991); studies based on extremely specialized varieties also exist, cf. the language of anime protagonists (Trysińska 2008);
- discussing individual instances of semantic borrowings and/or loan translations used in general Polish⁹²: Biesaga (2013), Bojałkowska (2011), Bralczyk (1999), Buttler, Kurkowska and Satkiewicz (1987), Chłopicki (2005), Chojnacka (2008), M. Dąbrowska (2006), Dubisz (2013), Dunaj (2000b, 2001), Dunaj, Przybylska and Sikora (1999), Grybosiowa (1994), Kołodziejek (2012), Libura (2006), Maćkiewicz (2012), Majkowska and Satkiewicz (1999), Małyska (2013), Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1994, 1995, 2006, 2013b), Markowski (1992, 2004, 2005, 2012), Miodek (2013b), Mosiołek-Kłosińska (2000), Nowowiejski (2010), Ożóg (2000, 2001, 2002, 2009), Pacuła (2009), Podhajecka (2006), Rudnicka (2009, 2010a, 2011a, 2012a), Satkiewicz (1994), Senderska (2009), Sękowska (1993, 2007), Waszakowa (2001a, 2001b, 2005, 2009, 2011b), Wieluniecka (2010, 2013), Wyrwas (2004a), Żmigrodzki (2012a, 2012c) and the present author (Zabawa 2004b, 2007, 2008a, 2009a, 2009b, 2010b, 2010c, 2011a, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013a, 2013e, 2013f, 2014a, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e, 2015a, 2015b, 2015e);
 - discussing loan translations connected with a given common element, e.g. *super* (Przybylska 1995), *mega* (Mycawka 2000), *cyber* (Ochmann 2000), *szybki* and *powolny* (Nowakowska 2013b), *bank* (Pacuła 2009), *miękki* and *twardy* (Waszakowa 2009), the preposition *dla* (Kołodziejek 2013);
 - discussing semantic borrowings and/or loan translations on the basis of individually-created corpora: Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (1997, 2000, 2006), Wiśniewska-Białas (2011), Zabawa (2012a).

Due to the shortage of space, it is not possible to discuss in detail all the studies listed above; instead, several selected studies will be discussed at some length. All of them present extensive lists of English semantic loans and/or loan translations used in contemporary Polish (i.e. after 1990). The lists of semantic loans will be presented first, followed by the discussion of loan translation lists.

One of the first lists was created by Markowski (2000), who listed 97 semantic loans used in the Polish media. He added that the number of semantic loans used in Polish general media approximated 100. The source language is not explicitly mentioned, but virtually all of his examples are words whose new meaning has been modelled on English.

⁹² Some authors discuss them not as semantic loans or loan translations, but as (1) fashionable and/or overused words or constructions in Polish, as (2) native semantic or phrasal innovations, or as (3) instances of the influence of the English culture.

One of the most comprehensive lists was prepared by Witalisz (2007a), who collected around 220 semantic loans, mostly taken from the media (television, the press, the Internet) and presented them in the form of a dictionary. Some of the loans listed there are connected with the semantic field of computers and appear in the present study as well, e.g. *aplikacja*, *domena*, *menedżer*, *robak*, or *wirtualny*.

There are also two studies on semantic loans in spoken Polish (Otwinowska-Kasztelanica 2000, Zabawa 2012a), both of which are based on specially prepared corpora. It turned out, however, that semantic loans do not appear very frequently in the aforementioned variety: Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000) lists 13 semantic borrowings and a few calques while the work by the present author (Zabawa 2012a) lists 44 semantic loans. Some of the semantic loans discussed by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (e.g. *konto*, *poczta*, or *strona*) and by the present author (e.g. *cyfrowy*, *konsola*, or *transfer*) appear in the present book as well.

As for loan translations, the study by Witalisz (2006) should first be mentioned. She lists around 50 calques, arranged into semantic areas, e.g. new occupations, food, modern technology, popular culture and others. Some of the calques listed by her are, however, doubtful, cf. e.g. *deska snowboardowa*, created on the model of English *snowboard*. This is not really a calque (a calque would be something like *deska śnieżna*), but rather a kind of a loanblend. A further example is *wszystko po 4 zł*, seen, rather strangely, as a calque of English *one dollar tree*; the emergence of the phrase *wszystko po 4 zł* (a type of a shop selling various things for a fixed price of 4 zlotys) may well be the result of cultural and economic influence of English, but it cannot really be treated as a linguistic calque; it should rather be classified as a loan creation, not treated in the present study as a borrowing (cf. Section 2.4.7). Thus, as one can see, it is not always easy to exactly pinpoint the phenomenon of calquing and show its borders.

The already mentioned study (Witalisz 2007a) concentrates on semantic loans, but the list of English calques is also given (containing around 240 items), some of which are connected with the sphere of computers, e.g. *adres elektroniczny* (E. *electronic address*), *baza danych* (E. *database*), *czas rzeczywisty* (E. *real time*).

In the follow-up study (Witalisz 2007b), about 75 calques are listed, again divided into semantic areas. The presentation of calques from the semantic area of computers is, however, very limited, as only three such constructions are given: *poczta elektroniczna* (E. *electronic mail*), *strona internetowa* (E. *web page*), and *tożsamość sieciowa* (E. *web identity*).

The next monograph (Witalisz 2015) concentrates on loan translations. The book lists around 530 calques and loan renditions, the vast majority of which are multi-word (there are only a few examples of single-word calques); some of the examples, however, seem to be rarely used in the real language (an observation made on the basis of NKJP), e.g. *suchy jak kość* (E. *dry as a bone*). Again, there are a few examples of calques from the area of computers and the Internet, but

they are not very numerous (around 55 instances); they include, among others, *baza danych*, *bezstratny*, *język skryptowy*, *karta graficzna*, *niebieski ekran śmierci*, *oprogramowanie szpiegujące*, or *poczta elektroniczna*, most of which appear in the present study as well.

Both monographs (2007a, 2015) are of great importance as they present probably the most complete lists of English semantic loans and loan translations used in general Polish. Besides, they provide a thorough theoretical background. However, strictly speaking, her studies are not based on a corpus⁹³; rather, the calques and semantic loans are collected mostly from the media (primarily the press and the Internet). As a result, the studies, while being very useful in presenting newest semantic loans and calques, cannot provide any information on the frequency of such items in Polish.

The lists of semantic and phrasal innovations can also be found in the series of dictionaries devoted to presenting new lexical items in Polish (NSP 1988–1989, NSP 1998–1999, NSP 2004–2006). The lists of new vocabulary are based on the non-specialist press. However, the majority of entries concentrate on presenting lexical neologisms (frequently English lexical borrowings); semantic and phrasal innovations are much rarer. In the case of semantic innovations, definitions from older Polish dictionaries are usually also given in order to show the older meanings of the word.

The dictionaries, albeit very useful in tracing new meanings and their presence or absence in older dictionaries of Polish, cannot be treated as complete lists of new words and meanings. First, as the authors admit themselves, they comprise only a part of new Polish lexis⁹⁴ (NSP 2004: 6). Second, the entries are based on general, i.e. non-specialist, press. As a result, the dictionaries, while presenting a number of entries coming, for example, from the semantic field of computers, cannot be seen as a reliable list of novelties in computer terminology.

Another monograph worth mentioning is the one by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011); she discusses examples of semantic loans and calques found in the language of Polish blogs. Only the constructions not included in four selected dictionaries of Polish are taken into consideration. Most of them, but by no means all, are connected with the semantic field of computers and the Internet. She discusses 25 instances of semantic loans (excluding derivatives, e.g. *komentarz* and *komentować* are counted as one loan), e.g. *forum*, *archiwum*, *zainfekowany*, or *status*. As for calques, she discusses 37 instances (only the constructions not included in certain dictionaries of Polish are taken into account), e.g. *księga gości*, *użytkownik końcowy*, *karta sieciowa*, *mobilność użytkownika* (E. *guestbook*, *end user*, *net card*, *user mobility*). The examples of semantic loans from outside

⁹³ Only some of the examples of use are taken from NKJP.

⁹⁴ This, naturally, is not a criticism of the dictionaries in question; it is obvious that providing a complete list of new words and meanings is impossible, as the entire system is very dynamic and new items appear all the time.

the domain of computers and the Internet include e.g. *pozytywny*, *klimatyczny*, *niszowy* used in new meanings under the influence of English *positive*, *climatic*, *niche*; the calques include *żywe instrumenty*, *wojna asymetryczna*, *sentymentalne różyczki*, *program śniadaniowy*, *pozytywna osoba* (E. *live instruments*, *asymmetric war*, *sentimental roses*, *breakfast programme*, *positive person*). She also discusses certain prepositional calques, classified as morpho-syntactic borrowings, e.g. *na komórce* (E. *on a mobile phone*), *na necie* (E. *on the Internet*). The study is a very important list of the newest semantic loans and calques; it must be stressed, however, that some of the examples are doubtful, e.g. *księga gości*, discussed as a calque (the form is not new in Polish and should rather be counted as multi-word semantic loan, cf. Section 4.5.4 → *księga gości*) or the word *klimatyczny*, discussed as a semantic loan (the word *climatic* is noted in English dictionaries with reference to climate only, cf. OED, ODE, OALD; thus, the form appears to be rather an example of a native semantic innovation).

Finally, there are some semantic loans and loan translations in the sphere of computers discussed in some of the previous articles by the present author (Zabawa 2004b, 2008a, 2008b, 2010b, 2012b, 2013d, 2014c, 2014d, 2015b), including such semantic loans as *biblioteka*, *certyfikat*, or *narzędzie* and certain calques, such as *pamięć wirtualna*, *kod źródłowy*, *menedżer dysku*, *pasywne chłodzenie*, or *użytkownik końcowy*, most of which appear in the present study as well.

Despite all the publications listed above, there is still a need to study English semantic loans and loan translations, as new constructions, not described or analyzed before, appear all the time. This is especially evident in the case of specialized semantic fields, such as the one of computer science, cf. Cabré, who notes, in connection with specialized subject fields, that “the emergence of new concepts entails constant neological activity” (Cabré 1999: 204). The semantic field of computers is very changeable; this is both due to the lack of strong social bonds between people using it (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.6) and the quick changes in the computers themselves; as a result, there is a need for the constant research in the field. Besides, most of the publications listed above concentrate on the general variety of Polish; as was mentioned in the introduction, the current book, to the present author’s knowledge, is the most thorough and most detailed description of semantic loans and loan translations used in the semantic field of computers in its informal variety.

The present study is to a certain extent similar to the ones by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000), Wiśniewska-Białas (2011) and Zabawa (2012a), as all of them are based on specially-designed corpora. The present analysis, however, unlike the ones by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000) and Zabawa (2012a), is not based on general spoken Polish, but the informal Polish that is located between the standard and professional variety and can be said to be relatively specialized (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.6). Besides, both monographs focus on lexical

and semantic borrowings (the study by Otwinowska-Kasztelanic lists also a few examples of calques, but they are not very numerous), while the present study does not focus on lexical loans; instead, it concentrates on semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions. It is also much more detailed than the study by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011), not least because the number of analyzed constructions is far greater (204 types of semantic loans, 529 types of calques and renditions).

The present study is also different from Witalisz's monographs (2007a, 2015), as it is based on clearly defined corpus; as a result, it is not only the existence of a given loan that can be documented, but its frequency as well. Additionally, the present research, unlike the studies by Witalisz (2007a, 2015), does not present the loans belonging to general Polish; rather, it concentrates solely on the semantic field of computers and the Internet. The loans can, as a result, be presented in great detail as much attention is devoted to each individual loan.

2.9 English semantic loans and loan translations in the Polish language of computer science

2.9.1 Introductory remarks

The aim of the current section is to provide general information on English semantic loans and loan translations appearing in the Polish language of computer science. First, however, some discussion on innovations (mostly of metaphorical nature) in the English language is offered; this seems necessary, since the constructions used in Polish (as a result of semantic borrowing and calquing) often mimic the metaphors used in English.

2.9.2 Metaphorical innovations in the English language of computer science

Many of the source English forms that gave rise to innovations in Polish (e.g. *window*, *icon*, *mouse*) were implemented in English with the view of being "as pedagogical as possible" (Stålhammar 2001: 117) and appeared as a result of metaphorical transfers (and thus can be seen as intralingual borrowings). As numerous linguists assert (cf. Kołodziejek 2003: 148, Wierzbicka 2012: 433, Mamet 2012: 175), a metaphor is a basic, universal linguistic device used very frequently not only in the expressive varieties of language, but in the scientific,

professional and social ones as well, cf. also Ullmann (1962: 210), “the speed of scientific and technological progress in our time is making increasingly heavy demands on linguistic resources, and the possibilities of metaphor and other types of semantic change are being fully exploited.” Gozzi rightly notices that electronic media (and new technology in general) require metaphors to describe them (“metaphor becomes necessary when a new technology appears”; cf. also Dobrzyńska 1994: 79); what is even more important, metaphors used in the domain of computers “play an important role in most people’s understanding” of them (Gozzi 1999: 4–5). In fact, Gozzi (1999) and Ogorodnikowa (2008b) assert that it would be virtually impossible to discuss computers and the Internet without the use of metaphors.

Stålhammar (2001: 116) differentiates between two main types of metaphors used in computer terminology: based on external or functional likeness.⁹⁵ The former (also described as perceptual) “takes their point of departure in some perceptible feature which may be more or less evident,” e.g. *keyboard* (first of a piano, then of a typewriter, and finally of a computer), while the latter (also described as deductive) is “based on some aspect of a process” and “may often require an understanding of the entire process and the role of the particular function in it.” Stålhammar also adds that metaphors based on functional likeness “are part of and deduced from underlying mental models which may be more or less clearly discernible.” For instance, Stålhammar mentions here (*computer*) *virus*, whose actions (i.e. multiplying and infecting another organism) can be seen as parallel to those of biological virus; at the same time, however, Stålhammar stresses that metaphorical uses typically share only some features with the original use; as for computer viruses, they can multiply and spread much like biological viruses, but, contrary to computers, a living organism can develop, at least against certain type of viruses, some internal defence mechanisms.

It is very frequently the case that one metaphor, described by Gozzi (1999: 179) as a master metaphor, gives rise to other, related constructions, described by Gozzi as mini-metaphors (cf. also Gozzi 1999: 70, “metaphors often come in clusters”). For instance, cf. (*computer*) *virus*, which gave rise to a whole set of related parallel concepts used metaphorically, e.g. *infected*, *virulent*, *highly contagious*, *isolate*, *quarantine*, *sterilize*, *vaccine*, *inoculate* (Gozzi 1999: 179).

An example of a basic metaphor would be seeing the Internet as a print medium, cf. *mail/email*, *browser*, *bookmark*, *page*, *document*, etc. (for more

⁹⁵ These kinds of metaphor are, naturally, not restricted to the field of computers, cf. e.g. Bartłomiejczyk (2006b), who describes similar types of metaphors in drug-related slang. Additional categories can be found in Wesołowska (1978: 75; her classification is partly based on Grodziński), who describes metaphors based on the similarity of shape, colour, internal structure, function, analogy of processes involved, analogy of location, analogy of usage in certain pragmatic contexts and the existence of common non-material features (for numerous examples, cf. Wesołowska 1978: 93–105; for additional examples, cf. also Grabias 2003: 227–229).

examples of this kind, cf. Gozzi 1999: 166, Likomanowa 2007: 105). On the other hand, it can also be seen as an oral medium, cf. e.g. the existence of *chats* (Gozzi 1999: 167; on the position of Internet texts on the written-oral continuum, cf. the discussion in Section 1.3).

Another class of metaphors results from the computers being personified; such anthropomorphization of computers is very common: they are described as having intelligence, being able to read and write, having their own languages, communicating with other computers or peripheral devices, attacking other computers, behaving in a given way, catching viruses, having brain and memory, etc. In addition, a computer can be described as being dumb, intelligent, healthy, sick etc. (for more examples of this kind, cf. Stålhammar 2001: 120).⁹⁶

In some cases, the origin of a given metaphor might be less clear: for example, there exists a whole set of metaphorical expressions relating to water (Goban-Klas 2002, cf. also Libura 2002, Ogorodnikowa 2008b: 103, Chodowiec 2012: 79). One of the earliest of them, or perhaps the earliest, is the one connected with television and radio: *channel*, relating to rivers, which were the oldest channels of transporting goods and information, and (*radio*) *waves*, relating to waves at river or sea (Goban-Klas 2002: 42). Now the entire set of such water metaphors has emerged; other examples of metaphors referring to the domain of water include, among others, *flow of information*, *source of information*, *pirates*, *surf*, *sail*,⁹⁷ *navigate*, etc. (Goban-Klas 2002: 42–44).⁹⁸ Metaphors connected with the net and fishing are also present (Libura 2002). Other metaphors include those centred around a journey and buildings, cf. *windows*, *chat rooms*, *web portals*, *gates*, *keys*, etc. (Libura 2002, Aitchison 2003: 45, Likomanowa 2007: 105).

⁹⁶ This kind of metaphor (i.e. having its source in the human body) is among the most common and is by no means restricted to computers, cf. Aitchison (2003: 41), “[...] the body is a universal source of metaphor presumably from the origin of language,” “the human body is an ideal source domain, since, for us, it is clearly delineated and (we believe) we know it well” (Kövecses 2010: 18). As for other fields, anthropomorphization is frequent in the language of advertising, where various machines and appliances, such as e.g. cars, television sets, washing machines, etc., are personified (for more on this, cf. Chłopicki 2000: 191, Chłopicki and Świątek 2000: 521–530). For more examples of anthropomorphic metaphors (albeit outside the domain of computers), cf. Pajdzińska (1992). The reverse direction, i.e. HUMAN BRAIN IS A COMPUTER also exists and is quite frequent in neurology and psychology (Zawisławska 2010: 347–349; for other examples, cf. Miodek 2013c), cf. also Goatly (2007: 103–104) who describes numerous examples of a more general metaphor, viz. HUMAN IS MACHINE, cf. e.g. *robot* ‘a person who acts like a machine’, *dynamo* ‘an energetic person’.

⁹⁷ In Goban-Klas’s (2002: 43–44) view, surfing and sailing the net are not the same activities: surfing is visiting the Internet mostly for pleasure, without any specified aim, while sailing implies some aim, the desire to reach new web pages and discover new information (as the sailor may discover new lands that he/she has not seen before).

⁹⁸ The so-called watery metaphors are by no means restricted to computing, but they are common in other spheres as well, e.g. in banking (Mamet 2012).

Most of the metaphors described in the present section can be accounted for with the help of the cognitive metaphor theory, cf. Suchostawska, who summarizes Lakoff and Johnson's theory with the assertion that "metaphor is the result of the fact that people conceptualize abstract experience (emotional, mental, cultural) in terms of physical experience. [...] the pairing of the source and target domains and the details of the mapping are motivated by correlations in human experience" (Suchostawska 2004: 173). Thus the metaphors can be described along such formulas as COMPUTERS ARE HUMANS, COMPUTERS ARE BUILDINGS, THE INTERNET IS AN OCEAN, etc.

Many of such metaphors that originated in English were borrowed into Polish (cf. Section 2.9.3).

2.9.3 Brief discussion on English semantic loans and loan translations in the Polish language of computer science

It appears that the semantic area of computers and modern technology⁹⁹ is one of the richest in terms of English semantic loans and loan translations. This is generally in line with the findings of Witalisz (2007a: 186–191), who also enumerates computer science as one of the fields particularly rich in semantic loans (the other being politics, business and economy, journalism, cosmetology, and sport).¹⁰⁰

One of the main reasons for introducing semantic loans and loan translations in the discussed semantic area, connected with nominative necessities, is the tendency to produce Polish versions of software, particularly the operating system Microsoft Windows in all its versions and office programs, particularly Microsoft Word. This is especially visible in the case of older (i.e. appearing at least 10–15 years ago) semantic borrowings, such as *ikona* or *okno*. They were

⁹⁹ It is often not easy to make a clear-cut distinction between the semantic field of computers and modern technology in general: for example, such terms as *DVD* are not connected with computers per se; a *DVD* can be, however, and is, used in connection with computers (e.g. computer files can be recorded on *DVD* discs with the help of *DVD* recorders and read with *DVD* drives). Additionally, the semantic area of computers should be clearly distinguished from Internet language, with the latter being a much wider phenomenon: it refers to texts published on the Internet; these may, naturally, be connected with various themes.

¹⁰⁰ This, naturally, applies not only to Polish, but to other languages as well; examples from other European languages include e.g. Spanish calques *el correo electrónico* (on the model of E. *electronic mail*), *buzón de voz* (E. *voice mail*), *hiperenlace* (E. *hyperlink*), *proveedor de acceso a Internet* (E. *Internet Service Provider*), *(teléfono) celular* (E. *cell phone*), *página web* (E. *web page*), *sitio web* (E. *website*) (Munday 2005: 62–64), Norwegian *e-post* (E. *email*) (Johansson and Graedler 2005: 197) or the use of *katalog* in the sense of 'file directory' (Johansson and Graedler 2005: 197).

not coined spontaneously by Internet users, as is the case with many newest semantic borrowings, such as e.g. *czysty* or *pokój* (both analyzed in Section 4.5.4); rather, they were in a way imposed by the translators, whose task was to prepare Polish versions of English terms used in operating systems and other programs. The procedure of preparing Polish versions of such software made it necessary to invent terminology absent in Polish (or existing to a very limited extent); the easiest way to invent such terminology in Polish was by literally translating English words and phrases. As a result, various semantic borrowings and loan translations appeared in Polish, such as *okno* or *ikona*. What is especially telling here is the fact that they do not really have variant forms (with the exception of diminutives *okienko* and *ikonka*); the forms were then repeated during the process of preparation of the Polish versions of next-generation software. This is due to the fact that, as Jabłoński rightly asserts, a translator working with computer software must take into account the fact that a computer user is accustomed to certain constructions and he/she should be “capable of intuitively moving around the interface due to the presence of well-known commands” (Jabłoński 2010: 98). The once invented terminology, such as *ikona* or *okno*, is then repeated and is unlikely to appear in any variant forms.

The situation is different in the case of many newer innovations, introduced not by professional translators, but by Internet users. They are used not only because of nominative necessities (as in the case of official innovations, such as *okno* or *ikona*), but for various other purposes as well; they may be used, among other reasons, to sound humorous, unconventional, ironic, to express a certain attitude, emotion, etc. They may also be used for group identification (for more on this, cf. Warchał 2004). In such cases, variant forms appear with a high frequency, cf. pairs of two semantic borrowings (*pokój/kanał*) or pairs of a semantic and a lexical borrowing (*ciasteczka/cookies*, *silnik/engine*; cf. also Zabawa 2012b: 234–235). To make the entire picture even more complicated, it is not infrequently the case that a given English borrowing has more than one Polish equivalent, e.g. *link* – *łącze/odnośnik*, *slot* – *gniazdo/szczelina* (Wach 2013: 164). In addition, the same form, e.g. *czysty*, may and does appear in at least a few new meanings, all of which are related to computers (cf. Section 4.5.4 → *czysty*).¹⁰¹ The sources of such variation can be seen, among others, in the growing number of bilingual, Polish-English in the case here, Poles (cf. Nowowiejski 2001: 70). Naturally, such bilingualism exists to a varying degree among individuals, and this, combined with a varying degree of lexical and morphological competence in the native language, i.e. Polish, may result in different individual translations done by individual users. In the majority of cases the translation is done with

¹⁰¹ In addition, various kinds of morpho-syntactic variation appear as well, cf. *pokoje czatu / czata*; cf. also Dubisz (2001: 51), who asserts that the existence of inflectional variants will be among important features of Polish in the future.

the use of the closest equivalent, a primary counterpart (cf. Section 2.5) and the outcome can be said to be relatively universal, but in some cases there may exist more than one term for the same concept.

It is frequently the case, as in English (cf. Section 2.9.2), that a given concept may give rise to a set of related concepts, cf. *wirus* (in the sense of a computer virus, under the influence of E. *virus*), which gave rise to such constructions (used in the new meanings related to computers) as *leczyć*, *szczepionka*, *chory*, etc. Calques, in much the same way, are frequently formed on the basis of analogy to other, already existing, constructions, cf. the emergence of a whole set of expressions centred around *karta* (Wach 2014: 241–242). The first constructions of this type were most probably *karta dźwiękowa* and *karta graficzna*, calquing English *sound card* and *graphics card*; now a whole set of constructions is used (the majority of which are also calqued from English), e.g. *karta sieciowa*, *karta wifi*, *karta rozszerzeń*. Thus, it seems that two processes are in operation here simultaneously: a construction is formed on the basis of English and its emergence is facilitated by similar constructions existing already in Polish.

The metaphorical constructions present in English (cf. Section 2.9.2) are frequently more or less literally translated into Polish, cf. metaphors connected with the print medium (*przeglądarka*, *poczta*, *zakładka* modelled on English *browser*, *mail*, *bookmark*), buildings (*okno*, *brama*, *klucz* modelled on English *window*, *gate*, *key*), water (*kanal*, *przepływ informacji*, *pirat*, *surfować*, *żeglować*, *nawigować* modelled on English *channel*, *flow of information*, *pirate*, *surf*, *sail*, *navigate*; Goban-Klas 2002: 42–44, Libura 2002, Likomanowa 2007: 105; for other examples, cf. Ogorodnikowa 2008b). Thus, English semantic loans and loan translations in Polish can frequently at the same time be described as borrowed metaphors.¹⁰²

One of the signs of the overwhelming presence of metaphors is, paradoxically, de-metaphorization of certain concepts; they become so commonly used that are no longer felt as metaphorical: *sieć* (to denote ‘the Internet’), for example, is no longer regarded as metaphorical but is seen as a standard term (Chodowiec 2012: 78).

Most of the semantic neologisms in the field of computers and the Internet have a relatively high chance of becoming a part of the lexis, since many of them are created out of nominative reasons; in addition, all of them, by definition, belong to the same semantic field, and this, in turn, may make them easier to understand (cf. R. Fischer’s (1998: 4–5) remarks on semantic priming which facilitates word recognition).

¹⁰² It should be added here that the metaphorical extensions that originated in English are copied not only into Polish, but are used in other languages as well, e.g. Italian or Bulgarian (Sosnowski 2000, Likomanowa 2007, Ogorodnikowa 2008a, 2008b; cf. also Ullmann 1962: 225 and his notion of “parallel metaphors”).

Naturally, native semantic extensions or native phrasal innovations appear in the semantic area of computers as well. It can be stated, on the basis of the present corpus, that they are not as frequent as those modelled on English; examples include e.g. *małpa*, i.e. ‘monkey’ or ‘ape’ (for @ sign used in email addresses). The constructions of this type are not taken into account in the present study.

As was mentioned before, loan translations and semantic loans frequently coexist side-by-side with lexical borrowings and/or native semantic innovations or lexical neologisms. Such coexistence seems particularly frequent in the semantic domain of computers and the Internet and appears not only in Polish (as in e.g. *sprzęt/hardware*, *silnik/engine*, *ciasteczka/cookies*, *sterownik/driver*; more examples can be found in Libura 2006: 50 and Wach 2013: 164¹⁰³), but in many other European languages as well, e.g. Bulgarian (Alexieva 2002: 256–257, Likomanowa 2007), Romanian (Constantinescu, Popovici and Ștefănescu 2002: 190), Russian (Maximova 2002: 209), Croatian (Filipović 2002: 238), Hungarian (Farkas and Kniezsa 2002: 288–289), Greek (Stathi 2002: 325–326), German (Busse and Görlach 2002: 30–31), Norwegian (Graedler 2002: 78–79), Spanish (Rodríguez González 2002: 147), Italian (Sosnowski 2000, Pulcini 2002: 164), or French (Picone 1996: 100, Humbley 2002: 122–123).

It should also be stressed that the very phenomenon of the coexistence of such “competing forms” is far from new, cf. Cudak and Tambor (1995). It is not very easy to decide which forms are generally preferred. Likomanowa and Sosnowski claim that Polish resorts more frequently to semantic borrowings (in comparison to other languages, e.g. Bulgarian)¹⁰⁴; cf. also Ogorodnikowa (2008b), who claims that the number of semantic innovations and English translations in Polish (in the sphere of the computers and the Internet) is higher than that of English lexical borrowings (this is not, however, substantiated in any way in her paper).¹⁰⁵ Wach (2013: 164–166) argues that the use of calques

¹⁰³ Some of the examples provided by Wach are, however, not entirely convincing, e.g. *aplikacja-program użytkowy*: *aplikacja* is nowadays (cf. Section 4.5.4) used in a much wider variety of contexts than *program użytkowy*; for example, the word may refer to computer games as well.

¹⁰⁴ In one of the present author’s earlier studies, a similar hypothesis is formulated, viz. Polish resorts more frequently to semantic borrowings, in contrast to German, which appears to use more lexical borrowings (Zabawa 2015b: 376–377).

¹⁰⁵ As for other languages, cf. Picone (1996: 34), who claims (in connection with French) that calques (he uses the term also with reference to semantic borrowings) are “probably far more numerous” than, as he puts it, integral (i.e. lexical) borrowings. He also adds, though this seems an exaggeration, that “the list of examples of semantic calques could be made to go on almost endlessly” (Picone 1996: 101). Görlach (2003: 98) gives further examples of languages that tend to calque rather than borrow (albeit in the general sense, i.e. not with specific reference to the semantic area of computers): Icelandic, Russian, Greek and French. He adds, however, that even those languages recently tend to borrow more and more frequently. The languages that, by contrast, tend to absorb more lexical than semantic borrowings include Bulgarian, Italian, and Spanish (Rodríguez González 2002: 143, Likomanowa 2007, Sosnowski 2000).

(in his understanding, the term includes also semantic loans) predominates in the official variety of the language (e.g. in specialized journals and manuals); lexical loans, by contrast, are more frequent in the unofficial variety, e.g. in the language of computer fans or popular computer magazines (cf. also Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir (2002: 99), who make a similar observation for Icelandic). However, it is important to note that this seems to be a casual observation only, as Wach does not provide any concrete numbers to support the hypothesis, with the exception of just one very short fragment taken from a computer centre's homepage and a message board.

2.10 Concluding remarks

The aim of the present chapter was to present various understandings of the notions of a semantic loan and a loan translation as well as to discuss certain problems connected with their identification in the text. The next chapter will be devoted to the description of the corpus, upon which the study is based, together with the research questions.

CHAPTER 3

THE CORPUS OF INFORMAL POLISH OF COMPUTER USERS: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the current chapter is to provide a description of the corpus upon which the present study is based. The corpus is comprised of the entries taken from selected Internet forums devoted to computers. The organization of the chapter is the following one: Section 3.2 is on Internet medium; the aim of this section is to provide reasons as to why Internet forums were chosen, rather than e.g. press articles, as a base for the present research. The subsequent section (3.3) is meant as a general introduction to corpus studies; it presents, among others, the classification of corpora, with special emphasis on Internet-based corpora.

The next subchapter (3.4) is devoted to the present corpus; first, general description of the corpus is provided (Section 3.4.1), followed by the discussion of the process of corpus compilation (3.4.2). The next sections are concerned with corpus size (3.4.3), corpus structure (3.4.4), and the respondents (3.4.5). Section 3.4.6 deals with the status of the language of the corpus (whether it can be seen as a social or professional variety), followed by the discussion on the level of formality of corpus texts (Section 3.4.7).

In addition, the present chapter also discusses research questions (Section 3.5).

3.2 Priority of Internet texts

The process of compiling a list of new vocabulary items, whether neologisms, lexical borrowings, semantic loans, or loan translations, must be based on a certain source. The sources may be of various kinds; it is often claimed that one of the best sources, if not the best, is the press. Many linguists advocate using newspapers and magazines in order to prepare the lists of contemporary neologisms, cf. Smólkowa:

Wybór prasy jako źródła nowego słownictwa nie jest przypadkowy. Teksty prasowe pozwalają na szybkie pozyskiwanie neologizmów. [...] Prasa jest czytana przez bardzo wiele osób, co, wobec systematycznie malejącego czytelnictwa książek, powoduje, że artykuły prasowe mogą być jedynymi tekstami pisanymi, z jakimi najczęściej stykają się niektórzy użytkownicy języka. Prasa, obok radia i telewizji, jest częścią mass mediów mających ogromny i ciągle rosnący wpływ na współczesnych Polaków (Smólkowa 2001: 6).

[The choice of the press as a source of new words is not accidental. The press texts allow for a fast retrieval of neologisms. [...] The press has a wide readership, which means that, considering the fact that the readership of books falls systematically, the press articles may be the only written text type with which some users of a language have contact. The press, as well as the radio and television, is a part of the mass media that have enormous and continuously growing influence on contemporary Poles].

The same view was also expressed in another paper by Smólkowa (2000: 67), “Dla językoznawcy najlepszym źródłem pozyskiwania nowych wyrazów jest prasa” [for a linguist, the best source for new words is the press],¹ Majkowska and Satkiewicz (1999: 189), “Masowe media są głównym dostarczycielem neologizmów i okazjonalizmów tak leksykalnych, jak i frazeologicznych” [the mass media are the main source for neologisms and occasional neologisms, both lexical and phrasal], Krok (2011: 44), “The linguistic innovations that the speakers introduce to be able to express their thoughts verbally are most quickly reflected in the language of the press, especially popular press addressed to the general public,” and, in connection with semantic neologisms, Wesołowska (1978: 54). The press is also recommended as the primary source for the description of new lexical borrowings and other novelties, cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1994: 13; 1995: 40): “[...] teksty prasowe cechuje różnorodność tematyczna i stylistyczna.

¹ For more information on the press as the source of neologisms, cf. another paper by Smólkowa (2010); for a different opinion, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 144), who forms an interesting opinion that, in the case of semantic innovations, new meanings appear usually first in the spoken language. She does not provide, however, any kind of further elaboration on that.

Ponadto są one źródłem najżywiej reagującym na wszelkie zmiany i najlepiej odzwierciedlającym nowości” [the press texts are characterized by the variety of themes and styles. What is more, they best reflect all kinds of changes and novelties].

Quite a different approach is presented by Algeo, who also claims that newspapers and magazines are often favoured as sources of new words, but not because they are better linguistically in any way but because of the ease and convenience of extraction:

Because printed evidence is easy to gather, most of the new words are attested from newspapers, magazines, and books. However, speech and other forms of writing are equally valid sources of evidence. The dominance of printed citations is a matter of convenience, not intended to privilege the published word over the spoken or handwritten. Oral and manuscript citations are used when they are available (Algeo 1993: 3).

Other practical reasons are also mentioned, cf. Deignan’s remarks: “[...] newspapers are one of the most readily available sources of texts and are very cheap to collect in machine readable form” (Deignan 2005: 91).

Nowadays, however, the above quotations do not seem to present the entire picture. Indeed, as Smółkowa mentions, book readership in Poland remains at a fairly low level (for details, cf. Badora 2011). Now, however, also the press readership is slowly, yet systematically diminishing. As described by Związek Kontroli Dystrybucji Prasy (an organization of press publishers and advertisers whose aim is to collect and verify the numbers concerning circulation of the press published in Poland), the sale of newspapers and magazines has fallen by 17% in the period between 1997 and 2000.² Naturally, the numbers connected with selling and circulation of the press are not equivalent to its readership, but the two numbers are undoubtedly closely interrelated.

As a consequence, it seems that nowadays, when a list of neologisms, whether native novelties, lexical borrowings, semantic borrowings, or calques, is to be compiled, the Internet seems the best source for a number of reasons. Most importantly, as was mentioned above, it is not only the readership of books that is falling, but the one of the press as well. Consequently, it seems the Internet is now becoming the primary medium for the young generation.³

² Data from: http://czytelnia.onet.pl/0,838260,0,0,0,spada_czytelnictwo_prasy,wiadomosci.html (access: 15 October 2010).

³ This seems a global process; cf. Gozzi, who also writes about “the age of declining literacy,” and asserts that “newspapers and magazines see their readership getting older and older” (Gozzi 1999: 97), concluding that the second half of the 20th century can be described as “the age of electronic media.” The changes continue to take place: in 1999, Gozzi asserted that the television

The changes are very fast: in 2002, Filas asserted that “Obecnie w naszym kraju korzystanie z Internetu ma wciąż charakter elitarny” [nowadays the use of the Internet in Poland is still of elite character] (Filas 2002: 251). Now the picture is completely different: the research (conducted by CBOS between 14 and 20 May 2015 on a random representative group of 1,048 adult Poles, Feliksiak 2015; cf. also Zabawa 2012b: 227; 2014b: 223)⁴ shows that the Internet is used by as many as 97% of the respondents between the age 18 and 24. The report does not provide data about the younger people (i.e. below the age of 18), but it seems safe to assume that the percentage of the people under 18 using the Internet is not lower than the one related to 18–24 year-olds. The same report also claims that the rate of Internet users among the group of university and high school students reaches 99%. As might be expected, the rate of Internet users is reversely proportionate to the age. Still, it remains to be relatively common among other age groups as well. In the group of 25–34-year-olds, the Internet is used by 95%, in the group of 35–44-year-olds by 86% and 45–54-year-olds by 60%. The only two age groups with a relatively low proportion of Internet users are the people of the age between 55 and 64 (39%) and the people older than 65 (15%). All in all, however, the Internet in Poland is becoming increasingly common: altogether, 64% of the respondents declared that they use the Internet at least once a week, as opposed to 60% in 2013, 56% in 2012, 51% in 2010, 48% in 2009, 28% in 2005, and only 17% in 2002.⁵

Thus, as was mentioned above, for young Poles the Internet seems to have replaced not only the press, but the television as well, cf. Waszakowa (2011a: 6), who also asserts that the wide use of the Internet contributes to the diminishing role and readership of the printed press and books. The growing role of the Internet is also underlined by Warchala and Skudrzyk (2010: 111), who give numerous examples of the labels used to describe the new generation of (usually young) people fluent in using the Internet, but at the same time accustomed to getting information from pictures or very short texts: *pokolenie @*, *dzieci sieci*, *globalne nastolatki*, *pokolenie SMS-ów*, *cyfrowe pokolenie*, *cyfrowi tubylcy*, *dzieci*

was the primary medium for the young generation. Now, as was mentioned before, its role has been taken over by the Internet.

⁴ The respondents were asked the question: “Czy korzysta Pan(i) z Internetu (stron internetowych, poczty e-mail, komunikatora internetowego itp.) przynajmniej raz w tygodniu?” [Do you use the Internet (websites, e-mail, instant messengers, etc.) at least once a week?].

⁵ The numbers for other countries are, in general, similar, cf. the summary in Taylor et al. (2011): in the United States, as of 2006, 73% of adults (approximately 147 million people) use the Internet. Naturally, the percentages are higher in the case of a younger generation: 87% of people between 12 and 17 years of age use the Internet; in the 18–29 group, the percentage is 88% (Taylor et al. 2011: 308). No exact information is provided, however, about the frequency of the use of the Internet. The context suggests, albeit this is not overtly stated, that the percentages refer to daily use.

neostrady (many of those terms are in fact calques from English, cf. e.g. *digital natives*).⁶

Nowadays, a growing number of linguists advocate the use of the Internet for linguistic research and the Internet communication is attracting more and more attention.⁷ It is often stressed that the Internet is the largest available collection of texts; as a consequence, the newest layer of vocabulary can be most conveniently and quickly detected in Internet texts (Andrzejczuk and Czupryniak 2008: 190), cf. also Podhajecka:

[...] nowe tendencje językowe można łatwiej zaobserwować na podstawie tekstów internetowych niż tekstów publikowanych drukiem [...]

[new tendencies in a language can be more easily observed in the Internet texts, rather than in the printed texts] (Podhajecka 2006: 340)

[...] teksty internetowe warto poddawać analizie, gdyż na ich podstawie można określić nowe tendencje w języku szybciej [...] i bardziej wiarygodnie [...] niż na podstawie tekstów drukowanych czy tradycyjnych korpusów językowych, tworzonych częściowo w oparciu o teksty drukowane [...]

[Internet texts are worth analyzing as it is easier and more reliable to study new tendencies in a language on the basis of them, rather than on the basis of printed texts or traditional linguistic corpora, compiled partly on the basis of printed texts] (Podhajecka 2006: 347).

Crystal (2011: 14), in much the same vein, makes a general statement that “The Internet offers linguists unprecedented opportunities for original research.”

Consequently, when a list of semantic loans and loan translations is to be compiled, the Internet seems to be the best source for a number of reasons. Internet texts have wide readership among the young generation; besides, any Internet user can become the author of texts published on the Internet (cf. Section 1.3.2); thus, Internet texts are very diversified (in terms of both their authors and types) and censorship-free; they, unlike the language of professional journalists, reflect an every-day, real language use (cf. also R. Fischer 1998: 171, who notes in connection with English, “[...] the language used in the newspapers is not representative for the English language as a whole”). What is more, Internet texts are easy to gather; the entire process is relatively quick and inexpensive,

⁶ The entire situation, with the gap between younger and older generation connected with the ability of using the Internet and products of modern technology in general, is described by Warchala and Skudrzyk (2010: 112) as “pokoleniowy rozłam cyfrowy” [generational digital gap].

⁷ As Szymański (2011: 179) asserts, the year 1995 (the date of the publication of the first issue of *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*) can be seen as the symbolic beginning of the systematic research on Internet communication (for more on this, cf. also Beisswenger and Storrer 2008: 292–293).

since the texts exist already in the electronic form and do not need to be scanned or keyboarded. It is also relatively easy (at least from the technical point of view) to build a relatively large corpus composed of such texts.⁸

It also seems that the Internet is a medium which reacts most quickly to the changing extralinguistic reality; it is very probable that many new semantic loans and loan translations appear first in Internet texts, particularly less formal ones (cf. Markowski 2000: 105, Golus 2004: 37, and Libura 2006: 54, who claim that the people who use computers and the Internet frequently introduce many new constructions, including semantic loans and loan translations, into Polish⁹; cf. also Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 322, who claim that the Internet seems to be a better choice, in comparison with traditional corpora, for the study of rare or new lexical items). What is equally important, is the fact that Internet texts make it possible to analyze the language of younger generations; such people (i.e. of 18–40 years of age) will have the greatest influence on Polish in the coming years.

Thus it was decided to base the present study on informal Internet texts taken from Internet forums. It must be added here that the use of the Internet for linguistic research does have a number of drawbacks. Most of them, however, relate to the situation when the entire Internet is used as a corpus (Web as Corpus): it is claimed that, for example, Internet texts, in contrast to many corpora, are not morphosyntactically marked and Internet search engines, such as Google, are less universal and offer less options than corpus search engines. Additionally, as Baker (2010: 13) notices, certain words may have unusually high frequency due to the fact that they are artificially placed in the texts to enhance the position of a given website in search engines.

Most of the above-mentioned drawbacks, however, do not apply here, as the present author decided not to use the entire Web as Corpus, but rather to create one's own corpus; for more on this and detailed description of the corpus upon which the present study is based, cf. the next section.

⁸ For more on the priority of Internet texts over traditional corpora and vice versa, cf. Andrzejczuk and Czupryniak (2008) and Baker (2010).

⁹ Cf. Libura (2006: 54), "Z pewnością polszczyzna internetowa będzie miała coraz większy wpływ na język ogólny, ponieważ nie ma ona charakteru marginesowego socjolektu, lecz posługuje się nią ogromna i coraz liczniejsza, dynamiczna grupa młodej inteligencji, której zwykle przypisuje się rolę kulturotwórczą" [It is certain that the Internet Polish will have a growing influence on general language, since it does not have the character of a marginal sociolect; rather, it is used by a large and continuously growing group of young and well-educated Poles who are vocal on the Internet and act as so-called trendsetters and/or opinion leaders].

3.3 Definition and types of corpora¹⁰

A corpus can be defined as

a collection of linguistic data, either written texts or a transcription of recorded speech, which can be used as a starting-point of linguistic description or as a means of verifying hypotheses about a language [...] (Crystal 2008: 117) [capitals used for cross-referencing have been replaced with lower case letters].

Nowadays, as Świdziński and Rudolf (2006: 31) assert, practically all corpora are accessed with the help of computers and they are no longer analyzed manually, primarily because of their size. Sometimes this computer component is present in the very definition of the notion of a corpus, cf. Kuratczyk: “Przez korpus należałoby w moim przekonaniu rozumieć elektroniczny zbiór tekstów wyposażony w wyszukiwarkę do automatycznego pozyskiwania zawartych w nim informacji” [A corpus should be understood, in my opinion, as an electronic collection of texts equipped with a search engine for automatic retrieval of information] (Kuratczyk 2006: 70).

There exist numerous classifications of corpora, which take into account various criteria for classification. Due to shortage of space, they will not be discussed in detail; instead, only a small selection, important from the point of view of the present study, will be presented.

Kuratczyk (2006: 70–71) distinguishes between three main types of electronic corpora (i.e. existing as computer files rather than in the printed form):

– Linguistic corpus (*korpus językowy* or *lingwistyczny*), which aims at being representative (texts to be included are chosen on the basis of their type, genre, time of creation, etc.)¹¹ for a given variety of language, usually the standard one. Such corpora are usually finite in size (as opposed to monitor corpora) and usually annotated. It is important to note that full versions of texts that compose the corpus are usually not accessible.¹² The results of the search are usually displayed in the form of concordances, i.e. lists of contexts in which a given construction appears. Concordances can be usually filtered with the

¹⁰ The aim of this section is not to provide detailed information on corpora, their types, etc., but rather to serve as introduction to the description of the present corpus (Section 3.4). For more on corpora in general, including definitions, classification, etc., cf. Myrczek (2000), Deignan (2005), and Baker (2010). For more on the history and development of corpus linguistics in Polish, cf. Świdziński (2006).

¹¹ Issues of representativeness are crucial in corpus design (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 246); but cf. also Mukherjee (quoted in Kida 2013: 140), who states that it is not possible to attain absolute representativeness in any corpus.

¹² Exceptions, however, do exist, cf. Corpus of Contemporary American English, whose authors actually enable users to buy full versions of the texts.

- use of various criteria, such as the date of the creation of a text, text genre, etc. Examples include *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (NKJP), Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), or British National Corpus (BNC).
- Text corpus (*korpus tekstowy*); this, in fact, is more a mere collection of texts (usually literary ones) than a corpus in the strict sense of the word. They enable users to access full versions of texts. Examples include *Polska Biblioteka Internetowa*.
 - Web as Corpus (*korpus sieciowy*), which is composed of texts published on the Internet and accessed via standard online browsers, such as Google.¹³ It is very large (such a corpus is always incomparably larger than any linguistic corpora, cf. also such labels as supercorpus, corpus colossal, Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 310); its other advantages include its being up-to-date, with new texts constantly added (their inclusion is automatic and therefore not restricted in any way, as is the case with the previous two corpora types); it is also freely available and “maximally broad in topicality, diversity and domain coverage” (Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 311). This means that the new constructions, collocations, etc., are likely to be detected first in this type of a corpus (linguistic corpora are usually slightly outdated, as the addition of texts is usually finished at a certain point).

Each type has its own weak points. In the case of linguistic corpora, they include, according to Kuratczyk (2006: 74–75), finite size (as a result, the lack of a given form in a corpus does not necessarily entail its lack in a language) and the very structure of the corpus: general corpora, such as NKJP, despite their aim of being as representative as possible, are usually under-representative for certain types of texts (e.g. oral and/or highly informal). This is particularly unfortunate in the case when a linguist’s aim is to describe new words and/or meanings (as in the case of the present book), which frequently appear first in informal texts.

The second type, as was mentioned above, is not really a corpus *sensu stricto*. It is not annotated in any way and does not offer the possibility to search for concordances or collocations.

The weak points of the third-type corpus are of a different nature. The Web as Corpus is accidental, i.e. completely non-representative (of “anarchic character,” Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 311). In other words, the Internet is not a balanced corpus; this is a result of the fact that the Internet has not been designed for linguistic analysis (Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 325). Its other weak points include the unreliable information on frequency: it is often claimed that Internet search engines, particularly Google, have a tendency towards overstating the number of pages found (cf. Crystal 2011: 58, who asserts that, since search engines are

¹³ See also Bergh and Zanchetta (2008: 315), who distinguish between two related phenomena: Web for Corpus and Web as Corpus. The present study is based on the first approach (Web for Corpus), i.e. a selection of texts from the Internet is collected and forms the corpus, which can then be analyzed with dedicated corpus software (cf. Section 3.4.2).

not devised as tools for linguists, they provide “linguistically untrustworthy approximations”). Its other non-desirable features include non-lemmatization (as a result, all word-forms of a given lexeme must be searched for independently, which lengthens the entire process), the lack of part-of-speech (POS) annotation and other metalinguistic information and the lack of sociolinguistic background concerning the authors of the texts. Additionally, not much is known about the exact structure of texts; it is also not constant: a given text may disappear at any moment. Finally, its sheer size, which may be seen as an advantage, can also be treated as a weak point (cf. Koester 2010: 66), as a vast number of instances of the use of a given form may make it difficult, or even impossible, to study it in detail (cf. also Bowker and Pearson 2002: 45, who note that a bigger corpus is not necessarily better).

The sheer size and the unreliability of the numbers provided by Internet search engines were among the most important reasons for the present author to devise one’s own corpus. Even more importantly, to find instances of semantic loans and loan translations it was necessary to be able to read entire texts (which are not normally available in the case of ready-made corpora). The ready-made linguistic corpora are most practical when one’s aim is to look for constructions whose form is known. When, as in the present case, one’s aim is to find expressions whose shape is unknown, careful analysis of entire texts (possibly supplemented with the search in the net corpus) is a necessity.

Another classification, especially relevant from the point of view of the present book, takes into account types of texts included in the corpus: the corpora can thus be classified into general and specialized (Deignan 2005: 76, Baker 2010: 12). General, or non-specialized, corpora (also referred to as reference corpora) contain texts of various modes, types and genres and aim at being representative for the standard variety of a language. They are usually large in size (mega-corpora, Handford 2010: 256). Specialized corpora, also described as corpora of specialized genres (Handford 2010: 255), by contrast, are composed of texts “from a specified register or genre” (Deignan 2005: 76) or “based on texts in narrowly defined media or highly specific domains” (Myrczek 2000: 56). The aim of the corpus of this type is described by Baker, Hardie and McEnery (2006: 147): it is the corpus “which has been designed for a particular research project [...] or to study particular specialist genres of language,” cf. also Koester (2010: 71), who notes that such corpora are designed “to answer specific research questions,” and can, even if they are small, “have certain advantages over large corpora” (Koester 2010: 77). Flowerdew (quoted in Koester 2010: 68) notes that there are different parameters according to which a corpus can be specialized, e.g. a genre, types of text, subject matter or a variety of language, among others.

A related distinction is made by Beisswenger and Storrer (2008: 294), who distinguish between project-related corpora (usually of “manageable size”) and corpora for general use. Research of computer-mediated communication, as

Beisswenger and Storrer (2008: 294–295) note, is mostly done with the use of project-related corpora. This is understandable, as “CMC genres currently are not at all or only marginally represented in large balanced corpora” (Beisswenger and Storrer 2008: 294–295). This is true in the case of general corpora, even large ones, e.g. COCA, and was one of the main reasons to compile one’s own corpus for the present study.

Another classification, of obvious character, is the one between small and large corpora. Naturally, it is difficult to make an exact borderline between them, but cf. Flowerdew (quoted in Koester 2010: 67), who states that “there is general agreement that small corpora contain up to 250,000 words” (for a different view, cf. Handford 2010: 258: “a specialized corpus can be defined as large [...] if it contains a million words”; cf. also Biber, Conrad and Reppen 2006 [1998]: 248–249, who rightly observe that the notion of corpus size should not be restricted to the number of words of the corpus, but should include such data as e.g. the number of samples from each text or the number of words in each sample).

The largest corpus of Polish available nowadays, in terms of the total number of words, is NKJP. The corpus aims at being representative for general Polish. However, it has been decided not to use NKJP as the base for the present research for a number of reasons:

- NKJP does not allow its users to read entire texts that compose the corpus. This is essential when one aims at studying new semantic loans and loan translations: as was mentioned before, in order to find instances of such loans it is necessary to first read entire texts (cf. also Jadacka (2001b: 19), who also notes that the PWN Corpus (one of the predecessors of NKJP) is not a very useful tool in analyzing neologisms). An interesting point was also raised by Gajek (2006: 312), who notes that small, specially prepared corpora (compiled by the author of a given study) are particularly useful for the study of the most recent phenomena in a language; they may not be fully representative, but the analysis on the basis of such corpora may provide evidence on a given use not accessible in any other way.
- It is the corpus of general Polish and hence not very practical from the point of view of analyzing one single specific variety, such as the language of the semantic field of computers and the Internet. For instance, the word *menedżer* appears as many as 28,654 times, i.e. far too many to be manageable.¹⁴
- It does not contain a large number of texts connected with the semantic area of computers and the Internet. Admittedly, it does contain excerpts from certain Internet forums (mostly *Forumowisko*) and some discussion lists (*Usenet*). Still, there is a lack of a larger number of forums taken into account and, in

¹⁴ Cf. also a general remark by Biber, Connor and Upton (2007: 8), who state that ready-made corpora “are often designed for general use rather than a specific study” adding that “researchers sometimes choose to use a corpus just because it is publicly available, with little consideration of whether that corpus actually represents the target population being investigated.”

general, a lack of up-to-date texts connected thematically with computers (cf. also the remark by Handford (2010: 256), “general corpora do not tend to be suitable for studying specialized language”).

As a result, it appeared that the best solution was to create one’s own corpus; its detailed description will be presented in the next section.

3.4 The description of the present corpus

3.4.1 General information

To ensure the reliability and homogeneity of the corpus, it was decided that only informal language will be included: this excludes e.g. articles in magazines, printed or online, on computers and the Internet. It is believed, as was mentioned in the introduction, that this is a better choice than a corpus compiled on the basis of Polish computer magazines (such a corpus would be much less diversified, with much fewer authors taken into consideration). What is more, the articles in Polish computer magazines are not infrequently adaptations of the texts written previously in English; consequently, they may, and most probably will, contain an unusually high proportion of semantic loans and loan translations, which does not necessarily reflect their actual usage in the language of a non-specialist.

Thus, it was decided to compile the corpus on the basis of entries taken from Internet forums.¹⁵ This was done for a number of reasons: among others, there are numerous forums devoted to computers and the Internet, with most of them being very popular (as they have a high number of entries and registered users) and easily available. The corpus is thus an example of Web for Corpus (rather than Web as Corpus).

Naturally, there might be certain disadvantages of choosing Internet texts as the base for the study. For instance, such texts may and often do contain various kinds of errors (cf. Section 1.3.3; most commonly, there are frequent spelling mistakes, usually resulting from haste or carelessness¹⁶); on the other hand, such texts are fully authentic, not changed or corrected in any way (unlike e.g. press texts, which are, as Gajek (2006: 315) rightly observes, edited, corrected, etc., usually by a different person than the author of a given text).

¹⁵ Naturally, as the study focuses on the semantic field of computers, only the forums on computers and the Internet were taken into consideration.

¹⁶ For more on the solution here, cf. Section 4.3.

The corpus is an example of do-it-yourself corpus (Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 317), based on samples (extracts) rather than complete texts (for more on sampling in general, cf. Sinclair 1991: 23–24). The corpus is unannotated (plain), but at the same time it is not a corpus of raw Internet data, in which “the data [...] have been left in the condition in which they were originally acquired from the Internet” (Beisswenger and Storrer 2008: 294). The raw data were edited, e.g. quotes (i.e. repeating previous posts) have been deleted (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.2). Otherwise, naturally, the number of types and tokens would be falsely amplified. Also quotations from other websites have been deleted.

The lack of annotation (e.g. POS annotation) should not be seen as a drawback; the corpus was not compiled with a general user in mind; instead, it was collected for one particular project.¹⁷ The present author has read and analyzed carefully all the texts composing the corpus (in their entirety); as a result, the knowledge of a broader context and background information makes detailed annotation unnecessary. Thus, there is a close link between the corpus and the context (the corpus compiler is also the analyst), which, as Koester (2010: 67) notes, is one of the advantages of smaller, specialized corpora; cf. also Handford (2010: 259), according to whom such corpora, i.e. created and analyzed by the same person, “allow for not only description, but also interpretation and explanation of the data.”

To sum up, the corpus, upon which the present book is based, can be described as the corpus of informal and semi-formal (or, to be more precise, located between informal and semi-formal variety, cf. Section 3.4.7) written Polish of a specific semantic field, created by the “re-use of existing electronic texts” (Myrczek 2000: 48), meant for personal research only (rather than being generally available).

It can also be described as (1) synchronic rather than diachronic (all the entries included in the corpus were written after the year 2000, with the majority of the texts written between the years 2010 and 2014), (2) closed or static, i.e. of finite size,¹⁸ (3) representative for the informal language used by computer users (since a high number of samples, and thus authors, is included), (4) computer-readable (rather than printed as a book), and (5) specialized (domain-specific) rather than general. The corpus is restricted at four levels: text genre (Internet forums), type of language (informal Polish of the young generation), type of texts (forum entries, i.e. short texts), and subject matter (computer-related language). As for its size, it can be described as relatively large (cf. Section 3.4.3).

¹⁷ The author does intend, however, to use the corpus for possible future projects, such as the use of lexical borrowings or the use of greetings in Internet texts.

¹⁸ In the future the corpus will be most probably enlarged for further projects (cf. fn. 17); for the present study, however, it should be seen as static.

3.4.2 Corpus compilation

The procedure of constructing the corpus was as follows: the phrase *forum komputerowe* (and related constructions, such as *forum o komputerach*, *forum komputerowców*, etc.) was typed into Google; as a result, the list of forums on broadly understood computers was displayed. Out of the list, 32 forums were chosen (including one discussion group; for details, cf. Section 3.4.4), primarily on the basis of their size (i.e. a relatively high number of posts and registered users). Once a decision was made to include a given forum into the corpus, an arbitrary choice was made about the subforum or subforums (depending on their size) from which the posts were to be taken (e.g. the subforum on hardware in general, on printers, mainboards, on software in general, on Microsoft Windows 7, OpenOffice, etc.). The main aim was to make the thematic coverage as broad as possible: thus, various topics are included (for details, cf. Section 3.4.4). When a given subforum was selected for inclusion in the corpus, the entries of some newest threads (from around 10 up to several dozen, depending on their size) were copied into a .docx file using Microsoft Word. Altogether, a sample of between 20,000 and 60,000 running words was copied from each forum (for details, cf. Section 3.4.4). The corpus was thus gathered by the process of manual copying (i.e. with copy-paste function), rather than by an automatic extraction of texts from websites. Afterwards, the data was processed. Most importantly, all kinds of personal information, such as private email addresses, instant messenger numbers, links to private Facebook profiles, etc., were deleted; thus, the entries have been fully anonymized. In addition, the following elements were also erased: quotations of other users' entries, quotations from other websites (e.g. press articles, reviews taken from magazines, etc.) and English quotations (e.g. various kinds of messages displayed by an operating system or other software¹⁹). In other words, only the genuine users' texts were taken into account and included in the corpus. In the next step, the data was analyzed linguistically; this was done with the help of a special software designed for text analysis TextSTAT, version 2, developed by Matthias Hüning from the Department of Dutch Linguistics at Freie Universität Berlin.²⁰ TextSTAT was chosen for a number of reasons: among others, it can read many different file formats (most importantly, it can read .doc and .docx files), is easy to use and

¹⁹ Instances of code-switching resulting from providing the name of the product (e.g. *Czym czyścić podkładkę Roccat Taito Shiny black gaming mousepad? / Próbowałam, ale po pierwsze nie mam nigdzie tego microsoft uua bus driver... bo przy instalacji tego wyskakuje mi komunikat że mój service pack ma już nowszą wersję tego... a potem gdy chcę dodać nowy sprzęt to nie wykrywa mi tego pci device*) are retained.

²⁰ TextSTAT can be downloaded free of charge at <http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/en/textstat/> (the new version 3 is now available; access: 20 April 2016).

freely available. The information on the linguistic analysis of the corpus will be provided in Section 4.2.

3.4.3 The size

The entire corpus consists of 1,541,449 words (understood orthographically as sequences of letters separated by spaces; all hyphenated forms, website addresses, etc., were counted as one word). It may not seem very large when compared with general corpora, such as NKJP or COCA. However, it can still be described as relatively large (cf. the criteria in Section 3.3). Besides, specialized corpora, as Koester (2010: 68) notes, “do not need to be as large as more general corpora to yield reliable results,” cf. also Lee, quoted in Handford (2010: 258), “it seems plausible that the more specialized the genre, the smaller the corpus can be,” and Tribble, quoted in Handford (2010: 258), “they [i.e. specialized corpora] can be markedly smaller and still validly claim to be representative to some degree”; cf. also Gajek (2006: 312), Baker (2010: 13–14), and Pezik (2013: 46).

Thus, it seems that the present corpus is large enough for the present study. It can also safely be described as representative of informal Polish of computer users due to a large number of forums (and thus authors and topics) taken into account (for more on this, cf. Sections 3.4.4, 3.4.5, and Appendix 1) and the very language of the corpus (for more on this, cf. Sections 3.4.6 and 3.4.7). As for the size of the corpus, after a close analysis of the texts, it seems that the corpus is already lexically saturated (for more on lexical saturation of corpora, cf. Pezik 2013: 47–50). The saturation for a given linguistic feature of a variety of language means “that the feature appears to be finite or is subject to very limited variation beyond a certain point” (McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006: 16). In the present case, corpus saturation means that adding new texts would not give the researcher many new examples of semantic loans and loan translations; rather, mostly additional instances of the use of already found structures would be found. Therefore, it was not really necessary to further enlarge the corpus with additional texts.

3.4.4 The structure of the corpus

Only the texts published on large forums (i.e. with at least a few hundred registered users and a few thousand entries) were taken into consideration. Thus, such forums as e.g. the one available at <http://www.programiaki.fora.pl> (as of April 2016, the forum has 29 registered users and 64 entries) were not

included in the present study. Altogether, the corpus comprises 32 forums, including one discussion group (*pl.comp.bazy-danych*). Naturally, only a sample of each forum (between 20,000 and 60,000 running words) was taken into account; most frequently, the size of the sample is between 45,000 and 55,000 words. Consequently, with a relatively large number of forums and a relatively large sample of each forum, a high number of authors is included; therefore, the observations concerning the frequency and range of a given form are made on solid bases.²¹ The corpus can thus safely be assumed to be representative of informal language of computer users.

The samples are varied thematically; to make the corpus as representative as possible, there are entries on various topics, including (1) hardware, e.g. computers and laptops in general, parts of computers (mainboards, central processing units, graphics and sound cards, etc.) and input, output, and peripheral devices (mouse devices, keyboards, printers, scanners, etc.), (2) software, e.g. operating systems (Microsoft Windows, Linux, Unix, etc.), office software (Microsoft Word, Excel, OpenOffice, etc.), and computer games, (3) the Internet, e.g. Internet providers, website creation and maintenance, and (4) borderline between software and the Internet, e.g. Internet browsers, malware (computer viruses, keyloggers, etc.), or antivirus software (anti-keyloggers, firewalls, etc.). Details about the forums included in the corpus are presented in Appendix 1.

3.4.5 The respondents

López Rúa (2007: 137–138) distinguishes between three classes of users of modern technology and electronic communication, including Internet forums: (1) occasional users, (2) amateurs or average users, and (3) adepts and specialists. It can be said, on the basis of careful analysis of the texts included in the present corpus, that the forums that comprise the corpus are, in general, visited primarily by non-specialist users, with most of the users belonging to the first and second group. Naturally, users belonging to the third group also appear, but their number is remarkably smaller.

Thus, most of the respondents (the authors of entries) can be classified as non-advanced; consequently, most of the discussions that the corpus is comprised of can be described as having a non-specialist character. In fact, many of the respondents underline the fact that they are not computer specialists, cf. the

²¹ See Guz (2010: 63), who notes that, in general, “corpus compilers, for reasons of representativeness, prefer to include more texts of shorter length and representing more speakers and writers than to include fewer texts of extensive length but representing fewer language users.”

following excerpts taken from the corpus (original punctuation and spelling, including the lack of Polish diacritics, is retained):

Próbowałem wejść w te programy domyślne ale nie mogę się na tym wyznąć ;([2]²²

Nie ukrywam że całkowicie się na tym nie znam a jednak na co dzień muszę używać komputera [2]

Jestem w takich sprawach trochę zielony więc proszę operować "prostym" językiem [3]

Jeśli chodzi oto to jestem totalnie zielony więc proszę o wyrozumiałość [15]

Proszę o pomoc I jakieś wskazówki ponieważ jestem totalnym laikiem jeśli chodzi o tego typu programy, tym bardziej trudno jest mi je porównać [17].

3.4.6 The status of the language of the corpus

One of the most important questions relates to the status of the language of the corpus: whether it should be seen as a social variety (sociolect) in the same way as e.g. the language of paragliders (cf. Pędzich 2012).

The language of computer users is often treated as a sociolect (cf. Cudak and Tambor 1995, Taras 2004, Jóźwikiewicz 2013: 107). Żydek-Bednarczuk (2004: 15–16) describes some of the features of the Internet language as “a specific sociolect.” Weber (2006: 140) uses the notion of “the sociolect of information technology.”

It seems, however, that the language of Internet forums used in the present study cannot be seen as a typical example of a social variety (cf. also Zabawa 2014e: 398–399). At first, the computers were seen as aids in complicated mathematical operations (Tomczak 2002: 131) and were rarely used outside scientific laboratories. Soon, however, they became the tools used both in a work and as a hobby.²³ The situation began to change even more rapidly after the emergence of the Internet. Nowadays, computers (including various hand-held devices, such as tablets, smartphones, etc.) are widely used, both by specialists and non-specialists, in numerous situations. Thus, the use of computers has revolutionized many spheres of human life (cf. Waszakowa (2011a: 6), who describes it as the “internetization” of the society) and the constructions once used in a specialized variety connected with computers are penetrating now into the general variety and appear also in the language of the people who use computers only occasionally; such a tendency was noticed by many scholars

²² The numbers in square brackets indicate the source, i.e. the forum from which a given fragment is taken (for a list of forums, cf. Appendix 1).

²³ The growing role of computers is also seen when one analyzes the coverage of computer-related terms in general dictionaries; for more on this, cf. Zabawa (2013c).

working in the field, cf. Bowker and Pearson (2002: 26), who use, after Meyer and Mackintosh, the term de-terminologization,²⁴ cf. also Tomczak (2002: 132), López Rúa (2007: 138), and Ogorodnikowa (2008a: 173); for more general observations, connected with specialist and technical varieties, cf. Handke (2007: 43). Weber (2006: 143) writes about “the process of emancipation of scientific and technical terminology,”²⁵ and Wach asserts that

there is a need to be familiar with the fundamental concepts of the Internet, like installing software and setting up an Internet connection. As a result of this, Internet and computer terms are becoming part of common knowledge (Wach 2013: 161–162).

Therefore, as was stated before, a computer is no longer a machine used by a restricted group of people; on the contrary, it is most probably used, at least occasionally, by the majority of people in Poland. Many of such computer users visit a given Internet forum devoted to computers with the intention of receiving advice on e.g. a problem they encountered while using a computer. Thus, there are no special social bonds between such people as they do not have a common profession or hobby (as opposed to professional dialects which often unite people for the entire life, Grabias 2003: 134).

Naturally, there exist many features typical for sociolects that can be detected in the language of the present corpus,²⁶ e.g. the use of neologisms, semantic innovations, new collocations, untypical metaphors, and the use of many synonyms denoting some kind of “basic object” (cf. Wiertelwski 2005: 243, who lists a great variety of forms used to denote a bicycle in the language of bike fans; in the same way, there are many different constructions used to denote computers found in the present corpus). Other features typical for sociolects, e.g. the use of various types of expressive forms (such as diminutive and augmentative forms), do appear in the corpus as well, but are rather infrequent. Consequently, the language of the corpus can possibly be described as being on the borderline between a sociolect and a general variety, but it cannot really be

²⁴ The term is also used in Polish: Wesółowska (1978: 62, after Jedlička) and Smółkowa (1992: 171–172; 2001: 54, 66, 119–120) label the phenomena of this type as *determinologizacja*.

²⁵ Cf. also Waszakowa (2011a: 15; 2011b: 6), who gives examples of constructions which, once restricted to certain sociolects, now appear in a general language as well, e.g. *haker*, *ikona*, *klikać*, *notebook*, *serwer*, *skaner*, *skanować*, *skonfigurować*, *surfer*, and *zalogować*. The process may also be facilitated by the media (Satkiewicz 1994: 124; Waszakowa 2009: 25).

²⁶ The problem here is also connected with the fact that it is frequently not easy to decide whether a given feature should be classified as typical for a given variety of language or rather a language in general. For instance, the frequent use of acronyms and abbreviations is sometimes seen as a characteristic feature of the language of computer users (Stålhammar 2001: 116), but it can also be seen as a feature which becomes characteristic for English in general (Krzemień-Ojak 2001: 16–17).

labelled a typical example of a sociolect.²⁷ For the same reasons, it cannot be seen as a typical example of a professional register.

The language of the corpus can, however, be seen as a specialized variety. The question remains as to the degree to which it can be regarded as specialized. Gotti defines specialized discourse as

the specialist use of language in contexts which are typical of a specialized community stretching across the academic, the professional, the technical and the occupational areas of knowledge and practice (Gotti 2008: 24).

Its most typical lexical features include, according to Gotti (2008: 33–40), monoreferentiality (i.e. only one meaning is allowed in a given context), lack of emotion, precision, transparency and conciseness (although, as he himself admits, exceptions in certain fields do exist). It is apparent, however, that not all of the features are attested in the language of the present corpus, e.g. some words are ambiguous in certain contexts, markers of emotion can be found (albeit not very frequently), the language often cannot really be labelled as concise, etc.

In connection with specialized discourse, it is also important to mention the distinction between semi- or sub-technical vocabulary on the one hand and technical on the other (this distinction mostly relates to LSP, cf. Dudley-Evans and St John 1998: 21, 80–83). The former is understood as general vocabulary that “has a higher frequency in a specific field” (the meaning, however, remains unchanged), e.g. *factor* or *relevant* in the academic language; the latter, by contrast, is understood, among other applications, as general words that have a different meaning in a certain field, e.g. *bug* in computer science (Dudley-Evans and St John 1998: 83). Semantic loans and calqued constructions discussed in the present study belong, in general, to the second group, i.e. technical vocabulary. Consequently, the language of the corpus texts can be described as relatively specialized, but at the same time informal (for more on this, cf. Section 3.4.7).

3.4.7 The level of formality of the texts

It must be noted at the beginning of the section that it is not easy to describe the language of the present corpus as formal or informal, as the level of formality

²⁷ Naturally, the situation might be different in the case of e.g. highly specialized forums for programming specialists, where jargon, understood as “occupational or professional slang” (Green 2003 [1998]: v), may be used, an example of which is the slang of hackers and computer programmers (cf. also Józwickiewicz 2013 on official and informal computing terminology). This is not, however, the case of the language of the present corpus, as no forums of this type were taken into account.

varies from one author to the next. In general, it can be stated that the vast majority of the entries can be described as very informal, informal, or semi-formal (formal language appears very rarely), cf. the following excerpts (original punctuation and spelling, including the lack of Polish diacritics, is retained):

Chce się dowiedzieć czy da rade wykryć IP kogoś kto gra w Padventures bo mnie dzisiaj schakowano i che znac jego ip i wykryc gdzie mieszka i go prezstraszczyć ze pojedzie do niego jezeli mi nie odda [4]

Po kolei i eeeasyyyy... A czy bios w ogole widzi dysk ? ok powoli... 1.Uruchamiam komputer. 2.Przestawiam w biosie botowanie, na 1 miejscu jest nagrywarka. 3.Wkladam plytke z windowsem do napędu. 4.Po chwili wyskakuje okienko z wyborem jezykow i takich tam. [2]

Witam Za ponad tydzień chcę sobie sprawić nowy komputer pc do 2800 łącznie z systemem a chcę win 7 ale jestem zupełnie zielony w tym temacie dlatego proszę was o pomoc ps: chciałbym dysk 1,5 tb i pamięć 16 gb. pomocyyyyyy [23]

eeee sorry chłopie ale może trochę info... Jakie to spolszczenie podaj źródło... jaka masz wersję gry.... czy to są jakieś pliki do folderu gry czy może instalacja? zresztą dziś fallout'a w wersji kinowej po polsku możesz kupić za 10 zł eh... az się łezka w oku zakręciła BTW Spróbuj tego [11]

Komp ma chyba ze sto lat XP... Ojeeesssooooouuuuuu... [23]

On the other hand, relatively formal entries also appear, cf. the following excerpts:

Wyczyścić płytę główną z kurzu, pamięci ram, zasilacz, sprawdzić podłączenie z tyłu wszystkich przewodów. Odłączyć zasilanie z kontaktu, wyjąć baterię bios-u na 30-60 sek dla pewności. [23]

Nie zwlekaj! Zarejestruj się już teraz i bierz czynny udział w rozwoju forum! www .Games-Zone.xaa.PL W przyszłości wraz z rozwojem forum, planujemy zmienić domenę na .PL! Proszę dostosować się do regulaminu tego działu który znajduje się tutaj [...] [26]

Match It RGB to prosta gra Arcade. Zadaniem gracza jest łapanie kolorowych cząsteczek pamiętając by dopasować kolor portalu do koloru cząsteczek. Może nie wydaje się to być ciekawe, jednak gra wraz z czasem zwiększa poziom trudności (większa szybkość cząsteczek i ich ilość). [31]

The entries written in the formal style are, however, clearly a minority.²⁸ Consequently, the language of the present corpus can generally be described as

²⁸ This is generally in line with Żmigrodzki (2012b), who argues that Internet discussions can be treated as written with the use of colloquial language.

located somewhere between the informal and semi-formal variety, with most of the posts written in the informal style. Thus it was decided to include the component of *informality* in the title of the present book.

3.5 Research questions

This subsection presents the research questions, to which answers will hopefully be provided by the study.

A. Questions connected with semantic loans:

1. How many semantic borrowings (in terms of types) are used in the informal language of computer users?
2. What are the semantic borrowings used in the informal language of computer users? It can safely be assumed that certain well-known semantic loans will appear (such as *ikona* in the sense of 'a small picture on a computer screen' or *mysz* in the sense of 'a device used to control the movement of a cursor on the screen'); the situation is much less clear, however, about other, much less frequently used forms, not described so far in the literature on the subject.
3. How frequent are the semantic loans (in terms of tokens)? Which loans are the most frequent?
4. How many instances of specialization, generalization, and transfer of meaning are used in the language of computer users? Which one (out of the three types of meaning change) is the most frequent?
5. Are the semantic loans used primarily in the new meanings or do they appear frequently in the traditional meanings as well?
6. To what extent are the new, computer-related senses included in general dictionaries of Polish?

B. Questions connected with loan translations and loan renditions:

1. How many loan translations and loan renditions (in terms of types) are used in the informal language of computer users?
2. What are the loan translations and loan renditions used in the informal language of computer users? Quite a few of such constructions (circa 55) were provided by Witalisz (2015). It can be assumed, however, that their number is probably much higher.
3. How frequent are the loan translations and loan renditions (in terms of tokens)? Are loan translations more frequent than loan renditions or vice versa? Which loan translations and loan renditions are the most frequent?

C. A question connected with both semantic loans and loan translations/renditions:

1. To what extent are semantic loans and loan translations interdependent on each other? How frequent are semantic loans appearing without the simultaneous appearance of related loan translations? How frequent are loan translations appearing without the simultaneous appearance of a related semantic loan?

In addition, the study aims at discussing certain theoretical problems, especially connected with distinguishing between semantic loans, loan translations, and related notions.

3.6 Concluding comments

The aim of the present chapter was to provide a detailed description of the present corpus as well as to state the research questions. The next chapter will be concerned with an analysis of semantic loans and loan translations/renditions found in the corpus.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC LOANS AND LOAN TRANSLATIONS FOUND IN THE CORPUS

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter contains a detailed description of English semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions (together with certain examples of semi-calques) used in the informal Polish of computer users. The chapter is organized as follows: first, some points on the methodology of finding and describing English-induced words and constructions are clarified (Section 4.2), followed by a description of certain methodological problems connected with corpus analysis (Section 4.3) and the information on the format of data description (Section 4.4). Finally, Section 4.5 is devoted to the description of semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions.

4.2 The methodology

The methodology used for identifying and analyzing semantic loans and loan translations/renditions was as follows. The first step was to read all the texts composing the corpus in their entirety. The aim, while reading, was to look for all types of untypical uses of words, words used in new, unheard-of before contexts or untypical collocations. They were treated as potential constructions modelled on English. The contexts in which a given word appeared in the corpus were carefully analyzed with the help of concordancing software TextSTAT (cf.

Section 3.4.2); thus, the meaning (or meanings) in which the word appeared in the corpus was established.¹

Next, the hypothesis of its English provenance was verified with the help of the criteria described in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.4). Most importantly, the lexicographic criterion was used: it was checked whether a given meaning of the word (or a given construction) appeared in the dictionaries of Polish (SJPDor, SJPszym, ISJP, USJP, SJPSob²; the primary dictionary that was used here as a starting point was SJPDor, together with the supplement³); next, the same was done for the English counterpart in the dictionaries of English (OALD, ODE, OED). OED was of particular importance here as it notes the dates of the first attestation of a given word in a given meaning. Additionally, particularly in the case of potential loan translations and loan renditions, general and specialized bilingual (Polish-English and English-Polish) dictionaries were consulted, such as WSAP/WSPA, SFK, DTC, DAI, SIAP/SIPA, STKI; other sources, particularly English and Polish versions of Wikipedia (which can, to a certain extent, be used as a bilingual dictionary, as there is interlingual cross-referencing) were also used. Finally, English monolingual specialized dictionaries were also consulted (ODC, DCIT).

Next, the corpus criterion was used, and the word or the construction was checked, for comparative purposes, in general corpora of Polish (NKJP) and English (COCA). Google search (Web as Corpus) was also performed (special attention was paid to the frequency of a given form and the types of websites in which the form appeared, e.g. whether it appeared as a term in Wikipedia). Additionally, the semantic criterion (i.e. the proximity of the new meaning to the traditional one and, in the case of loan translations, the degree of idiomaticity of a given construction) and the criterion of analogy (i.e. it was checked whether there are many serial changes of meaning of the same type in Polish or there exist many constructions created according to the same model) were used.

In some cases, however, even taking into account all the criteria could not provide fully conclusive answers as to whether a given form is modelled on English or rather created in Polish (for more on the problems with using the aforementioned criteria, cf. Zabawa 2015c). Thus, in some cases, the assignment of a given form to the group of semantic loans or loan translations is a hypothesis, rather than a final conclusion.

¹ In some cases it was not easy, or even not possible, to determine the exact meaning on the basis of the context. Such situations were, however, rare. When this was the case, only the general meaning was established.

² *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* (<http://www.wsjp.pl>) was not taken into account, as this dictionary is still being constructed and is not yet finished.

³ In the present study, the words are treated as semantic neologisms when a given meaning is not listed in SJPDor (with some rare exceptions, such as →*pamięć*, cf. Section 4.5.4).

Once it has been established that a given form is a semantic borrowing or a loan translation/rendition, the new, computer-related senses in which the word appeared in the corpus are given, together with some examples taken from the corpus. Next, the frequency of the word (in general and in connection with new senses) is provided on the basis of the corpus and TextSTAT software. It is important to note that instances of the use of a given form in proper names, website addresses, descriptions of paths (indicating the location of a given file), etc., are not included in the total count, e.g. *phpmyadmin*, *admin.net.pl* or *C:\Documents and Settings\ADMIN\Menu Start\Programy\Autostart* (not included in the total count of the form *admin*).

It was frequently the case that a given construction (induced by English) appeared in two variants, with the word order either retained or reversed. In such cases, only the more frequent construction is given, but with the summarized frequency. For example, cf. the forms *zdalny pulpit* (6 tokens) and *pulpit zdalny* (3 tokens) (a rendition of English *remote desktop*); for the reasons of clarity, only the form *zdalny pulpit* is given, with the frequency of 9 tokens.⁴

Some loan translations described in the book are fairly weak collocations, e.g. *aplikacje antywirusowe*. The constructions of this type are included, as their possible English models (*antivirus applications*, *antivirus apps*), are very frequent on the Internet and it seems likely that the form was not created “on the Polish soil” but some inspiration from English was in operation. In addition, the construction *aplikacja antywirusowa* is a relatively new form, the traditional construction being *program antywirusowy* (an observation on the basis of NKJP). For these reasons, constructions such as *aplikacja antywirusowa* are included and counted as calques.

4.3 Problems connected with corpus analysis

The most important problem is connected with the difficulties associated with the identification of semantic loans and loan translations/renditions. The criteria listed in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.4) provide sometimes contradictory evidence, cf. new computer-related senses of such words as \rightarrow *leczyć* or \rightarrow *lekki* (hereinafter the arrow symbol \rightarrow shall refer to particular entries in Section 4.5.4): on the one hand, the English forms *heal* or *light* are frequently used in connection with computers and may have triggered the emergence of the new senses in Polish; on the other hand, the new meanings may have appeared

⁴ In the rare cases where both constructions appear with the same frequency, e.g. *adres zewnętrzny* and *zewnętrzny adres* (both appear 3 times; cf. English *external address*), the construction N+Adj is given.

already in Polish, without the influence of English, by analogy to such forms as *wirus* (in the case of *leczyć*) or such constructions as *lekki jogurt*, *lekka przekąska* (in the case of *lekki*). Both processes (English influence and analogy to already existing constructions) may, naturally, have happened simultaneously.

A related problem appears in the case of sets of related expressions with one element used in the extended sense, cf. the case of the word →*konfiguracja*. The word appears in the new sense in a set of constructions, such as *konfiguracja przeglądarki*, *konfiguracja dysku*, *konfiguracja laptopa*, *konfiguracja strony*, *konfiguracja routera*, *konfiguracja pamięci*, etc. In the cases of this type, it is very difficult to establish whether such constructions should be seen as calques: on the one hand, they imitate equivalent English constructions (cf. *browser configuration*, *disk configuration*, *laptop configuration*, *website configuration*, *router configuration*, *memory configuration*); on the other hand, however, it is unlikely that all the constructions were directly translated from English. Rather, they were most probably created serially in Polish by means of analogy to earlier constructions of this type. Similar problems can be noticed in the case of such words as *aktywny* or *lokalny*. In general, such constructions are not counted as calques due to the lack of adequate evidence.

The problem of distinguishing between English-induced structures and those created already in Polish is particularly evident in the case of potential loan renditions, where there is, by definition, a deviation from the foreign model. For example, the construction *edytor plików* can reasonably be seen as a calque of English *file editor*; it is much less clear, however, in the case of the construction *edytor do plików*. It is possible to see it as a loan rendition; in the present book, however, it is not treated as such since it seems more probable that the form has been created already in Polish, by analogy to such constructions as *edytor do obróbki filmów*, *edytor do montażu*, *edytor do tworzenia stron www*, etc.

Thus, it is not easy to provide exact numbers of calques and semantic loans.⁵ It cannot frequently be conclusively proved that a given construction is modelled on English. Thus in some cases, certain constructions are counted as semantic loans or loan translations/renditions, but it is marked in the appropriate sections that the English origin in those cases is doubtful. The reverse situation is also quite possible: it is likely that, despite every effort and thorough analysis, some of the constructions modelled on English remain unidentified and are not included.

Another problem is connected with the fact that there is often a lack of one-to-one correspondence between Polish constructions (most likely induced by English) and their possible English source constructions. As a result, a given English construction may often be rendered into Polish in more than one way, cf.

⁵ This, naturally, is a problem not only associated with English-Polish context, cf. e.g. Busse and Görlach, who make a similar observation connected with German: “[...] it is almost impossible to compare figures [connected with calques and loanwords] in any statistically relevant sense” (Busse and Görlach 2002: 31).

(1) *event log*, rendered as *dziennik zdarzeń*, *rejestr zdarzeń* or *dziennik akcji* or (2) *language packs*, rendered as *paczki językowe* or *pakiety językowe*. In such cases, all the constructions are counted separately. The opposite situation, i.e. the existence of more than one possible source construction, is also not infrequent. For example, the form *dynamicznie dołączana biblioteka* is most probably a rendition of an English construction. It is actually not easy to determine it, as there are various variant structures, e.g. *dynamically added library*, *dynamically attached library*, *dynamically loaded library*, etc. (plus many other structures invented by Internet users, who are usually non-specialists in the field of computers). In such cases, structures that appear in specialized dictionaries, Wikipedia or other sources of this type, are given priority and are treated as possible source constructions. The frequency of the English forms on the basis of Google search is also established. The more frequent the form, the more likely it functions as a source construction for Polish structures.

In some rare cases, it is difficult to establish whether the computer-related meaning appeared as a primary or a secondary sense. This is, for example, the case of the word *kompatybilny*, not noted in SJPDor or SJPSzym. In the case of USJP, the word is noted in two meanings, a general one and a computer-related one; it is thus not easy to state which sense appeared earlier.⁶ Consequently, the word *kompatybilny* is not taken into consideration and is not counted as a semantic borrowing.

In addition, there are certain forms with a very limited occurrence in the corpus; in such cases, it was not possible to formulate fully conclusive comments regarding their meaning and use. In addition, in some instances of semantic loans, it was not always easy to precisely distinguish between a traditional and a new meaning or between new meanings (in the case when a given word was used in more than one new sense), as the context did not always make it completely clear. Therefore, in some rare cases, despite the present author's best efforts, the numbers provided, such as the exact number of uses of a given word in the new senses, should be treated as a close approximation.

Another difficulty is connected with the relatively high frequency of occurrence of erroneous forms (which can be described as "noise," cf. Bergh and Zanchetta 2008: 321), such as e.g. *memedżer* or *menedżer* instead of *menedżer*, *widnows* instead of *windows* or *wogóle* instead of *w ogóle*, *przegądarkę* instead of *przeglądarkę* or *odświerzam* instead of *odświeżam*. In general, since the analysis does not focus on linguistic features of the Internet language (such as e.g. punctuation conventions, the use of small and capital letters, spelling errors, etc.; cf. Section 1.3.3), a combined search for variant forms was performed: for example, for *przeglądarka* (and inflected variants), two queries were used:

⁶ According to NKJP, the computer-related meaning appeared first (only three occurrences of the word before 1992, all of which refer to the computer-related sense).

*przełqadar** and *przełqadar**; this was done so as to include the forms written without Polish diacritics (*przełqadarka, przełqadarki, przełqadarek*, etc.). In much the same way, incorrectly spelled forms, such as *skrótow klawaitury* were not excluded. This was done in order to make the statistical calculations (e.g. the number of tokens of a given semantic loan) as valid as possible.

Another problem, though of a completely different nature, is connected with the difficulty in drawing clear borders of the semantic field of computers.⁷ The difficulty is particularly prominent in the case of forms used in the semantic area of computers, but not inherently belonging to it, e.g. *łamac* used in connection with software (e.g. *łamac hasło; →łamac*). Among the group of loan translations or renditions, one could quote such examples as *analiza heurystyczna* (E. *heuristic analysis*). In general, such forms were included so as to make the list of semantic loans and loan translations as comprehensive as possible.

Finally, it should be added that in some cases the analyses were rather time-consuming due to the high number of occurrences of certain forms in the corpus, e.g. *strona* (3,496 tokens). All the instances were analyzed (to establish the number of tokens used in the new sense). This is not really problematic per se, but, together with the problems outlined above, adds to the complexity of the analysis.

4.4 The format of the description

In the section on one-word loan translations and loan translations with no accompanying semantic borrowing, the constructions are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, which provide information on the constructions, their possible English source forms, the number of occurrences in the corpus, and a brief explanation of the meaning or meanings in which they appear in the corpus.

In the section on semantic loans (accompanied by loan translations or not), the format of the description is more detailed: first, the traditional meanings of a given word are listed. These are provided on the basis of SJPDor. It is important to note that the definitions from SJPDor are usually not translated literally, as they are often unnecessarily complicated and/or detailed (cf. e.g. the definition of the word →*bank*, sense 1); rather, they are paraphrased (often formed with the help of or partly quoted from English monolingual dictionaries, primarily ODE and OALD) or English counterparts are provided (often with the help of

⁷ Cf. Kleszczowa (2002: 207), “Ktokolwiek usiłował opisać jakieś pole semantyczne, wie, jak trudno określić jego granice, jak trudno zgromadzić klasę elementów należących w sposób bezdyskusyjny do tego pola” [anyone who tried to describe some semantic field knows how difficult it is to define its borders and to gather the elements belonging, without any doubt, to this semantic field].

WSPA and SFK). The arrangement of meanings, provided by SJPDor, together with labels (translated into English), is retained. In the case when a given word does not appear at all in SJPDor, definitions from other dictionaries (SJPSzym, USJP, or SZA) are used as a starting point.

Second, the new meanings in which the word appeared in the corpus are described in great detail (the definitions of the new senses are, in some cases, based on or partially quoted from general or specialized English dictionaries, such as OED or DCIT; the Internet encyclopaedia Wikipedia was also used, though very occasionally). It was often the case that the word appeared in several new senses, only some of which were computer-related; in such situations, only the computer-related new senses were taken into consideration and described in detail. For instance, this was the case of such words as →*rezydent* or →*sesja*, among others.

Third, the possible English source word or construction is given, usually with the date of its first attestation in the new sense in English (on the basis of OED).⁸ Then, the information about the frequency of the word in the corpus is given, both (1) general, i.e. irrespective of the meaning, and (2) used in the new sense.

Next, the list of loan translations, loan renditions and semi-calques that contain the word described in a given section is given. For clarity reasons, they are usually presented in tables. Due to space limitations, the meanings of loan translations and renditions are, in general, not explained in detail, as they can easily be deduced from the description of the meaning of a related semantic loan. The only exception is Section 4.5.3, where loan translations or renditions not connected with any semantic loan are discussed.

A given calque is presented only once, e.g. the construction *konto administratora* is given in the section on the word →*konto* rather than →*administrator*, the construction *administrator strony* is described in the section on the word →*administrator* rather than →*strona*, etc.

The study does not include the following types of constructions found in the corpus:

- English lexical borrowings or instances of code-switching, e.g. *hard reset*; this includes also lexical borrowings homonymous to already existing words, e.g. *post* (in the sense of ‘an entry on an Internet forum’, from English *post*);
- constructions in which all elements are of English origin, e.g. *laptop gamingowy* (E. *gaming laptop*);
- formations based on English lexical loans, homonymous to already existing native forms, e.g. *kompas* (from *komputer*), *piecyk* (from *PC*), *baton* (an assimilated and possibly jocular form of *button*), *cep* (‘a processor’, on the basis of *CPU*);

⁸ In some cases, the word in the new sense was not noted in OED; in such cases, other dictionaries, either general (ODE, OALD) or specialized (DCIT, ODC) were used. The Internet search with the help of Google also proved useful in some cases.

- semantic loans outside the area of computers, e.g. *generacja* (E. *generation*), *przyjazny* (E. *friendly*), *budżetowy* (E. *budget*), *flagowy* (E. *flagship*), or not primarily connected with the semantic field of computers, e.g. *matryca* (E. *matrix*), used in digital photography and electronics; in the case when a given word is used in new meanings, both outside and inside the area of computers (as in the case of *konsola*), only the meanings connected with computers are discussed;
- semantic loans which function as proper names of computer programs, e.g. *Notatnik* (E. *Notepad*), *Detonator* (a graphic driver for NVidia graphics cards), or names of certain functions, folders, options, tools, etc., e.g. *kosz* (in the sense of 'a temporary storage for files meant to be deleted'; E. *trash* or *bin*), *linijka* (in the sense of 'a tool in a word processor, used to set margins, tabs, indentations, etc. '; E. *ruler*);
- instances of serial polysemy, where no real change in meaning appears, but rather a range of contexts in which a given word is used (the change is usually of the type AN OBJECT OR A CONCEPT -> A SIMILAR OBJECT OR A CONCEPT ACCESSED VIA OR CONNECTED WITH THE INTERNET), e.g. *aktualności* (on an Internet website; traditionally on television, radio, or in the press, cf. USJP), *formularz* (accessed via Internet in an electronic form; traditionally: a piece of paper to be filled in, cf. USJP), *gadżet* (in the sense of 'a small computer application'; traditionally: a small object or a device);
- distorted versions of proper names homonymous to already existing forms, e.g. *winda* (from *Windows*);
- native semantic innovations, e.g. *nośnik* (in the sense of 'computer data storage'), *suwak* (in the sense of 'a scrollbar'); this group includes also (a) figurative uses of words, e.g. *moloch* (in the sense of 'a very complicated piece of software, with numerous options'), *szuflada* (in the sense of 'a tray of a CD/DVD drive'), *kameleon* (in the sense of 'a computer virus that can pretend to be a harmless program'), (b) most instances of personification, e.g. *bezczelny* (about a computer virus), *kandydat* (used to refer to a product that one is intending to buy), (c) metonymic changes, e.g. *tusz* (in the sense of 'a container with ink for an ink printer'), *drukarka* (in the sense of 'a printer driver'), as well as (d) meanings assigned to words for humorous purposes, e.g. *gryzoń*, *szczurek* (in the sense of 'a computer mouse') or *archeolog*, used humorously to denote (1) an Internet forum user, who refreshes old, usually outdated, threads by writing new posts in them or (2) a person who uses an outdated, old computer or laptop;
- innovations based on the names or logos of companies, e.g. *pingwinek* (Linux), *pomarańczka* (Orange), *lisek* (Firefox);
- native neologisms (many of which can be labelled as single-word loan creations), e.g. *sterownik* (in the sense of 'a driver'), *komunikator* (in the sense of 'instant messaging software');

- constructions based on structural derivation, homonymous to already existing forms (whether native or borrowed), e.g. *kosmetyka* (in the sense of ‘small changes applied e.g. to a new version of a computer program’, from *kosmetyczne zmiany/poprawki*), *doki* (referring to a type of headphones, from *sluchawki dokanałowe*), *laser* (in the sense of ‘a laser printer’, from *drukarka laserowa*), *leżak* (about a product that is in the shop for a long time and no one buys it, from *leżący na półce*), *lokal* (in the sense of ‘a local area network’, from *sieć lokalna*), *sieciówka* (in the sense of ‘a game playable via the Internet’, from *gra sieciowa*), *twardziel* (in the sense of ‘a hard disk’, from *dysk twardy*), *używka* (in the sense of ‘a second-hand piece of hardware, etc.’, from *używany*);
- loan translations or renditions outside the area of computers or not primarily connected with the computer spheres, e.g. *nieumarli* (E. *undead*), *anioł biznesu* (E. *business angel*), *czarny piątek* (E. *Black Friday*), *klient końcowy* (E. *end customer*), *użytkownik końcowy* (E. *end user*), *polityka prywatności* (E. *privacy policy*), *przyjazny użytkownikowi* (E. *user-friendly*), *reklamy kontekstowe* (E. *contextual advertising*), *wrażliwe dane* (E. *sensitive data*), *drugi najlepszy* (E. *second best*), *z drugiej ręki* (E. *second-hand*);
- constructions with English abbreviations, acronyms and/or proper names⁹, most of which can be treated as semi-calques, e.g. *adres IP* (E. *IP address*), *akcelerator 3D* (E. *3D accelerator*), *architektura ARM* (E. *ARM architecture*), *archiwum zip* (E. *zip archive*), *archiwum rar* (E. *rar archive*), *arkusz Excela* (E. *Excel worksheet*), *biblioteki windowsowe* (E. *Windows libraries*), *biblioteki directX* (E. *DirectX libraries*), *dynamiczne IP* (E. *dynamic IP*), *eksplorator Windows* (E. *Windows Explorer*), *narzędzia Java* (E. *Java tools*), *protokół HTTP* (E. *HTTP protocol*), *protokół Jabbera* (E. *Jabber protocol*), *panel LCD* (E. *LCD panel*), *port USB* (E. *USB port*);
- semi-calques or other hybrid constructions,¹⁰ e.g. *aplikacje webowe* (E. *web applications*, *webapps*), *backup systemowy* (E. *system backup*), *engine gry* (E. *game engine*), *full wersja* (E. *full version*), *gra browserowa* (E. *browser game*), *konto hostingowe* (E. *hosting account*), *link aktywacyjny* (E. *activation link*), *mysz gamingowa* (E. *gaming mouse*), *debugowanie skryptu* (E. *script debugging*), *platforma bloggerska* (E. *blogging platform*), *poboczne questy* (E. *side quests*), *twardy reset* (E. *hard reset*);
- semi-renditions¹¹, e.g. *domyślny player* (E. *default player*);

⁹ With the exception of assimilated forms, e.g. *środowisko dosowe* (English *DOS environment*).

¹⁰ Semi-calques are included when a lexically foreign element is either (1) at the same time a semantic loan, e.g. *menedżer zadań* (with the word *menedżer* being a semantic loan) or (2) an assimilated borrowing noted in USJP and/or SJPSob, e.g. *wirtualny serwer* (with the lexical borrowing *serwer*).

¹¹ Semi-renditions are included in the same situations as semi-calques (cf. fn. 10).

- calques with foreign prefixes, e.g. *autorozmieszczanie* (E. *auto arranging*), *hiperłącze* (E. *hyperlink*), *makrowirus* (E. *macro virus*), *makrokomenda* (E. *macro instruction*), *metaplik* (E. *metafile*), *multikonto* (E. *multi account*);
- phrases which are direct and often mechanical translations (e.g. prepared during the process of official translation of commands, messages, options, etc.), e.g. *zawsze na górze* (E. *always on top*), *uruchom jako administrator* (E. *run as administrator*), *zapisz jako* (E. *save as*), *narzędzie linijka* (E. *ruler tool*), *narzędzie zaznaczania* (E. *selection tool*);
- forms which are more likely to have been created already in Polish, without the influence of English (albeit the equivalent English constructions do exist), by means of analogy to existing constructions of a similar type, e.g. *oficjalna strona* (E. *official (web)site*) or *czytnik 10-calowy* (E. *10-inch e-reader*), created probably by analogy to such constructions as *oficjalna wizyta*, *oficjalny komunikat*, *telewizor 32-calowy*, etc.; this category includes also serial constructions created around a given element, e.g. *konfiguracja sieci*, *konfiguracja komputera*, *konfiguracja laptopa*, *konfiguracja karty dźwiękowej*, etc. (cf. →**konfiguracja**);
- calques created for humorous purposes, e.g. *międzymordzie* (E. *interface*), *nie karmić trolla* (E. *do not feed the troll*).

4.5 The analysis of semantic loans and loan translations

4.5.1 Introductory remarks

The first part of the present section (subsection 4.5.2) is devoted to single-word loan translations and loan renditions, followed by the list of the calques not connected with a simultaneous semantic loan (Section 4.5.3). The subsequent Section 4.5.4 (entries from →**administrator** to →**zwiastun**) deals with the discussion of semantic loans, together with loan translations and loan renditions that contain a given semantic borrowing (if such calques are present).

Most of the semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions discussed in the present chapter have not been noted so far in the literature on the subject. As for the dictionaries of Polish, virtually none of the new senses of the semantic loans are included in SJPDor. The majority of the new senses are not included in USJP, either.

Some of the semantic borrowings were mentioned by other authors (for details, cf. Section 2.8.2) or included in USJP. Such words are discussed in the chapter as well for three reasons: first, to provide a complete picture of English influence upon the meanings of Polish words in the sphere of computers (in

its informal variety); second, to discuss possible calques in which a given form appears. Third, certain words have more than one new meaning while not all of them are included in USJP or other sources; for instance, cf. the word →*administrator*, described by Witalisz (2012a) as having one new meaning. In the present corpus, the word was used in two new meanings. Other examples of this type include →*adres*, →*analogowy*, or →*architektura*.

The examples of the use of loan translations/renditions and semantic loans in context (taken from the corpus) can be found in Appendix 2.

4.5.2 Single-word loan translations and loan renditions

The present section provides the list of single-word loan translations and loan renditions (including also one semi-calque and one semi-rendition). They are provided in Table 4.1; their meaning is not explained in detail, since the words appear in the same sense as their English models, also given in the table.

Table 4.1. Single-word loan translations and loan renditions found in the corpus

Loan translation or loan rendition	n	Possible English model	Type ^a
bezprowodowy	227	wireless	LT
bezzratny ^b	3	lossless	LT
dwuklik	16	double-click	SR
fotorealistyczny	2	photorealistic	LT
grywalność/grywalny ^c	39 (20/19)	playability/playable	LT
klikalność	3	clickability	SC
konwertowalny	1	convertible	LT
niskoprofilowy	5	low-profile	LT
odsubskrybowanie ^d	1	unsubscribe	LT
pełnoekranowy ^e	6	fullscreen	LT
podsieć	16	subnetwork	LT
podstrona	23	subpage	LT
przeglądarka	903	(web) browser	LR
szerokopasmowy	15	broadband	LT
wykonywalny ^f	23	executable	LT
wyszukiwarka	148	search engine	LR

^a The following symbols are used throughout the entire chapter: LT – loan translation, LR – loan rendition, SC – semi-calque, SR – semi-rendition.

^b Including one token of the adverb *bezzratnie*.

^c Used in two main senses: (1) '(about a computer game) enjoyable, interesting, etc.' and (2) '(about an early version of a computer game) already possible to play'. The form *grywalność*, by contrast, is used only in the sense of 'the quality of being enjoyable, interesting, etc.'

^d The form is a derivative of *odsubskrybować*.

^e Including one instance of the form *niepełnoekranowy*.

^f Outside the area of computers, the form *wykonalny* is normally used.

As one can see, the group of single-word calques is far from numerous: only 16 types were detected (1,431 tokens).

4.5.3 Loan translations and loan renditions not connected with a semantic loan

The present section is devoted to calques or renditions in the case of which there is no simultaneous semantic borrowing existing in the corpus. They are thus constructions in the case of which either (1) all the components are used in their traditional meanings and it is only their connection that is new, e.g. *blokada regionalna* (E. *regional lockout*), or (2) one of the components is used in the new sense but it does not appear in the new sense outside a given construction, e.g. *lustro strony* (the word *lustro* appears in a new sense here, i.e. 'an exact copy', but it does not appear in the new sense outside the construction *lustro strony*). The constructions are presented in Table 4.2; the description of their meanings in which they appear in the corpus is also provided.

Table 4.2. Loan translations and loan renditions not connected with a simultaneous semantic loan

Loan translation or loan rendition	n	Meaning ^a	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
1	2	3	4	5
atak słownikowy	1	a technique used to crack one's password by trying thousands of combinations (e.g. variants of words taken from a dictionary, hence the name)	dictionary attack	LT
baza danych	239	a set of data stored on a computer	database	LT
biała lista ^b	1	a list of trusted websites or email addresses (in antivirus software, etc.)	whitelist	LT
blokada regionalna	4	digital restrictions on the use of a given piece of software or hardware in certain regions of the world	regional lockout	LR
blokada rodzicielska	3	a special software (or a function of antivirus software) used to block access to certain websites or disk content	parental lock	LR
chłodzenie pasywne ^c	17	the process of cooling a piece of hardware through limiting the speed of the work of that component	passive cooling	LT

1	2	3	4	5
czas rzeczywisty	27	(1) the actual time (during which e.g. a given event occurs) (2) connected with a system, a piece of software, etc., in which data is processed very quickly	real time	LT
drukarka atramentowa	17	a printer that prints by spraying ink onto paper	inkjet printer	LR
drukarka laserowa	31	a printer that uses a laser to produce images on the photosensitive cylinder	laser printer	SC
dysk logiczny	12	a partition of a physical hard disk handled separately	logical disk	LT
dysk optyczny	25	a data storage disc (e.g. CD, DVD)	optical disk	LT
dysk twardy	358	a piece of hardware used to store data	hard disk (drive)	LT
edycja kolekcjonerska	16	an edition of a computer game with some additions, e.g. soundtrack, artwork, additional levels in the game, etc.	collector's edition	LT
ekran dotykowy	7	a display which allows a user to operate a computer, a device, etc., by touching certain areas	touch screen	LT
głębina koloru/ kolorów	5	(1) the number of bits used to indicate the colour (of a given pixel) (2) the number and quality of colours displayed by a given graphics card	colour depth	LT
gra komputerowa	25	a computer game	computer game	SC
gra platformowa	1	a computer game involving jumping onto platforms, avoiding obstacles, etc.	platform game	LT
gra przeglądarkowa	12	a computer game that can be played with the use of an Internet browser (i.e. without installation process)	browser game	LT
gra tekstowa	1	a computer game based on the text (rather than typical graphics)	text-based game	LR
grafika wektorowa	1	a type of computer graphics in which the image is represented by means of polygons	vector graphics	LT
grupa dyskusyjna	4	a group of people discussing a given topic on a specially designed website; also a website (similar to an Internet forum) where people can write posts on a given topic	discussion group	LT

Table 4.2 continued

Loan translation or loan rendition	n	Meaning ^a	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
1	2	3	4	5
interfejs użytkownika	15	the way a given piece of software or hardware communicates with a user (e.g. graphical interface, text-based interface)	user interface	SC
internetowy kiosk	2	a computer that provides public Internet access (found e.g. in airports, hotels, waiting rooms, etc.)	Internet kiosk	SC
jednostka centralna	15	(1) main components of a computer (a processor, mainboard, graphics card, etc.) as opposed to peripheral devices, a monitor, etc. (2) a processor ^d	central processing unit (CPU)	LR
klawiatura wyspowa ^e	1	a computer keyboard with gaps between the keys	island-style keyboard	LR
klawisze funkcyjne	5	keys on a computer keyboard (usually marked as F1, F2, F3, etc.) that are used to perform various functions in a given piece of software	function keys	LT
kod dostępu	3	password (in the form of a word or a numeric code) needed to e.g. play a game	access code	LT
kod źródłowy	15	(1) a set of computer instructions, a computer program written in a programming language (2) a HTML code of a given website	source code	LT
kompatybilny wstecz / wsteczna kompatybilność	6	used to describe a piece of software or hardware that can work with older versions of software (especially an operating system)	backward compatible/compatibility	LT
kopiuuj i wklej	2	an act of transferring data from one location to another	copy and paste	LT
lustro strony	1	a website that has the same content as another website, usually created as a backup	mirror site	LR
martwy piksel	5	a pixel that is permanently black	dead pixel	SC
masowe urządzenie magazynujące	2	a device that can store a large amount of data	mass storage device	LT
nagrywarka dwuwarstwowa	2	a burner that can record data on dual-layer discs	dual-layer DVD burner	LR

1	2	3	4	5
napęd optyczny / napęd dysków optycznych	33 22	a device that can read data from CD-ROMs (or write data on such disks) with the use of a laser	optical disc drive	LR LT
niebieski ekran śmierci ^f	3	an error screen displayed on a monitor	blue screen of death	LT
niskie detale średnie detale wysokie detale	10 11 9	a low/medium/high amount of details displayed by a computer game	low details medium details high details	LT LT LT
otwarta licencja / otwartoźródłowa licencja	1 1	a licence (e.g. of computer software) that enables its user to copy and/or modify the content of a software	open source licence	LR LT
pakiety językowe paczki językowe	3 2	small add-ons for a given piece of software that add various language versions	language packs	LR LT
pasek zadań	47	a graphical element on the bottom of the screen showing (in Windows systems) running programs, etc.	taskbar	LR
pełny ekran	5	a way of displaying computer graphics, text, etc. on the entire screen (rather than in a window)	full screen	LT
pierwszoosobowa strzelanina/strzelanka	6	a computer game with the first-person perspective (i.e. the point of view of the player's character) where a gamer's task is to shoot monsters, enemies, etc.	first-person shooter	LR
plan zasilania	2	system settings connected with managing the energy (especially connected with laptop batteries)	power plan	LT
plik binarny	1	a computer file with any content (but not a text file)	binary file	LT
plik tekstowy	28	a computer file structured as lines of electronic text	text file	LT
plik wsadowy	8	a file consisting of a series of instructions executed by a computer without user's intervention	batch file	LR
portfel haseł	1	a piece of software used for managing user's passwords for various websites	password wallet	LT
procesor graficzny	45	an element of a graphics card used to perform calculations connected with the display of graphics	graphics processing unit ^s	SR

Table 4.2 continued

Loan translation or loan rendition	n	Meaning ^a	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
1	2	3	4	5
procesor jednordzeniowy	3	a processor with a given number of processing units (cores)	single-core processor	LT
procesor dwurdzeniowy	19		dual-core processor	LT
wielordzeniowy	1		multi-core processor	LT
procesor				
procesor logiczny	1	a processing unit that can execute its own operation (a term usually used in opposition to a physical processor)	logical processor	LT
przeciągnij i upuść	3	a method of moving an object by dragging it to a different location with the use of the mouse	drag and drop	LT
przetwarzanie wsadowe	4	the process of executing a series of instructions by a computer (without the intervention of a user)	batch processing	LT
sektor rozruchowy	12	a sector of hard or floppy disk which contains a code initializing the loading of e.g. an operating system	boot sector	LR
serwer bazodanowy	1	a piece of software that provides database services to other programs	database server	SC
serwer plikowy/ plików	2	a server that provides access to certain files (to computers attached to the same network)	file server	SC
stacja dokująca	8	a device used to connect e.g. a laptop, palmtop, mp3 player, etc. to peripheral devices	docking station	SC
strategia czasu rzeczywistego	2	a computer strategy game not based on turns (gamers can do whatever they want in any time)	real-time strategy	LT
strategia turowa ^h	3	a computer strategy game in which gamers take turns while playing	turn-based strategy	LR
system operacyjny	347	a set of programs that control other programs, the way a computer works, etc.	operating system	LT
sztuczna inteligencja	16	the use of computers to simulate human thinking	artificial intelligence	LT
twarda spacja	8	a space character that does not allow an automatic line break; a non-breaking space	hard space	LT

1	2	3	4	5
wejście liniowe	10	a jack in a sound card, thanks to which a user can connect an external audio device to the sound card	line in	LR
wersja kandydująca	1	a beta version of a program, usually an operating system, that is virtually ready to be released (unless significant bugs are found)	release candidate	LR
wersja kolekcjonerska	6	an edition of a computer game with some additions, e.g. soundtrack, artwork, additional levels in the game, etc.	collector's edition	LR
wskaź i kliknij	1	a type of computer adventure game	point and click	SC
wygaszacz ekranu	2	an application that displays moving images on the monitor screen when a computer is not used	screensaver	LR
wyjście liniowe	2	a jack in a sound card, thanks to which a user can connect headphones, loudspeakers, etc. to the sound card	line out	LR
urządzenie wejściowe	11	a peripheral device that provides input data to a computer system (e.g. a keyboard or a mouse)	input device	LT
urządzenie wyjściowe	2	a peripheral device that presents the results of data processing performed by a computer (e.g. a monitor or a printer)	output device	LT
zasobnik systemowy	4	a set of small icons located at the bottom right corner of Windows system, which enables the user to quickly access options concerning e.g. the printer, antivirus software, system volume, etc.	system tray	LR

^a Definitions are formed with the help of (or, in some cases, partially quoted from) English monolingual general dictionaries (OED, ODE, OALD), English technical dictionaries (DCIT, ODC) and Wikipedia.

^b The antonym *czarna lista* also appears in the corpus, but, since this is not a new construction (it is noted in SJP Dor, albeit in a general sense, not connected with computers), it is not listed.

^c The form may also undergo ellipsis, cf. *grać na pasywie*, i.e. 'to play a game with the use of a graphics card with passive cooling'.

^d The English construction is normally used only in the sense 2, i.e. 'a processor'. Sense 1 developed most probably already in Polish, as a metonymical extension of sense 2 (without the influence of English).

^e In addition, the construction *klawiatura niewypowa* is used twice in the corpus.

^f The form is frequently shortened to *niebieski ekran*; other constructions, such as *niebieski ekran błędu*, are also used.

^g The form *graphics processor unit* is also used, but slightly less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

^h Also shortened to *turówka*.

The group of multi-word loan translations and loan renditions that appear without a simultaneous semantic loan is much bigger than the group of one-word calques, in terms of both types and tokens (77 types, 1,588 tokens).

4.5.4 Semantic loans with or without simultaneous loan translations and renditions

Introductory comments

The present section is devoted to the description of individual semantic loans and related loan translations, i.e. the ones that contain a given semantic loan. The list of semantic loans described in the present section, together with the probable English models,¹² is given at the end of the book (cf. Appendix 3).

Administrator. Traditionally, the word *administrator* is used in the general sense of ‘a person managing something’ (SJP Dor; cf. also SJPSzym, USJP). In computer-related spheres, the word is used in restricted, more specialized senses, viz. (A) ‘a person responsible for a given network of computers’¹³ (e.g. *administrator sieci*, *administrator serwera*) and (B) ‘a person who is in charge of an Internet message board, chat room, etc.’ (e.g. *administrator forum*, *administrator grupy*). In its second new sense, the word is similar to →*moderator*. On some forums, the tasks of a moderator and administrator are virtually the same, but it is more usually the case that administrators, unlike moderators, have access to more advanced technical functions organizing the forum.

The change in meaning can be classified as an example of specialization, most probably triggered by English *administrator* (cf. OED; the word appeared first in the new meaning in 1965).

In the corpus, the word *administrator*, together with its related forms, such as *administrować*, *administracja* (used in a collective sense, i.e. the group of administrators of a given forum), *administracyjny*, *admin*,¹⁴ *adminować*,

¹² In some cases, it is unclear whether the new sense appeared in Polish under the influence of English; the English words provided in the Appendix 3, nevertheless, probably played at least an intensifying role (for details, cf. the entries on individual semantic loans).

¹³ Additionally, the word may also refer to a person responsible for a single computer, in the case where there are many system accounts on a given computer. An administrator will then be a person with the right to install new software, delete files, etc.

¹⁴ It should be added that the status of the form *admin* is not entirely clear, as it may also be treated as a lexical borrowing from English *admin* (thus borrowed independently of the existing word *administrator*). In the present study, it is seen as a derivative of *administrator* used in the new meaning and included in the analysis.

adminowanie, appears 610 times, out of which 3 are used in the traditional, i.e. general meaning; the remaining 607 occurrences are used in one of the two new senses.

In some cases, it is difficult, if not impossible, to precisely distinguish between the two new senses. Some of the collocations clearly indicate the meaning in which the word *administrator* is used, e.g. *administrator sieci* (sense 1) or *admin forum* (sense 2). In many cases, however, such a precise distinction is not possible, cf. the form *panel administracyjny*, which may be used in connection with both senses and the context does not always play the disambiguating function.

The word appears also in frequent constructions of a type *do something as administrator*, e.g. *uruchom jako administrator*, *instalować jako administrator*, and *otwórz jako admin*. They are most probably mechanical translations from English, cf. *run as administrator*, *install as administrator*, or *open as administrator*.

The antonym for the word *administrator* in the new senses is the word *użytkownik* (cf. E. *user*).

The new specific meanings of *administrator* have not been included in SJP Szym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. One of its new senses was, by contrast, mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 219) and Zabawa (2014e: 400).

Adres. According to SJP Dor, the word *adres* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘the place of residence of a given person or the location of an institution; the description of such place’, (2) (dated) ‘a collective letter, sent to authorities or famous, outstanding people’, (3) (old use) ‘cleverness, dexterity’.

In computer-related areas, the word is used nowadays in a number of new, closely-related meanings: (A) ‘the number (expressed by means of numbers separated by dots) that identifies a given computer or a piece of hardware, such as router, connected to the Internet; an IP address’ (e.g. *adres IP*, *adres zewnętrzny*, *adres serwera*), (B) ‘a series of symbols (letters, numbers, and other signs) identifying a given website; a domain address’ (e.g. *adres strony*, *adres witryny*), (C) ‘the address of an electronic mail; e-mail address’ (e.g. *adres e-mail*, *adres mailowy*), (D) ‘the number (in the form of numbers and letters separated by hyphens) of a network card; a MAC address’ (e.g. *adres sprzętowy*, *adres karty sieciowej*), (E) ‘the number that identifies a given website’¹⁵ (e.g. *adres DNS*), (F) ‘a symbol (in the form of digits) identifying a given location in a computer memory’ (e.g. *adres pamięci*), (G) ‘the description of the location of a given file, etc., given e.g. as a hard disk path, a website address, etc.’ (e.g. *adres obrazka*), (H) ‘the description of the location of a hard disk sector, etc.’ (e.g. *adres ID*), (I) (in plural) ‘details (given collectively) of how to reach a given computer user, i.e.

¹⁵ This meaning is similar to sense B; a website address can be noted in “conveniently readable form” (DCIT), e.g. *onet.pl* (sense B) or as a sequence of numbers (as in the present sense).

an e-mail address, an instant messaging software number, etc.’ The change of meaning, of metaphorical character (similarity in function), is most probably the result of the influence of English *address* (cf. definitions in OED and DCIT; the first attestation of the computer-related use of *address* dates back to 1946; OED).

Altogether, the word *adres* (including related forms, such as *adresowy*, *adresacja*, *adresowanie*, *zaadresować*, etc., and the diminutive form *adresik*) appears 817 times, 32 of which refer to the traditional meaning (most frequently in the sense of ‘the details where somebody lives’). The rest, i.e. 785 tokens, appear in one of the new senses. At the same time, the form appears as a part of English-induced calques; details are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. The use of the word *adres* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>adres</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>adres</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	292	adres sieciowy	8	network address	LT
(B)	281	adres domenowy	5	domain address	LT
(C)	111	adres email /e-mail, e mail, mail, mailowy	58	e-mail address	SC
(D)	50	adres karty (sieciowej)	8	network card address	LT
		adres fizyczny	7	physical address	LT
		adres sieciowy	2	network address	LT
		adres sprzętowy	1	hardware address	LT
(E)	19	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(F)	13	adres pamięci	1	memory address	LT
(G)	13	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(H)	5	znacznik adresu	1	address marker	LT
(I)	1	[no English calques]	–	–	–

As can be seen, some constructions are potentially ambiguous, e.g. *adres sieciowy*, which may be used both in the meaning of ‘an IP address’ and ‘a MAC address’, and is therefore included twice (in such cases, a given calque is counted as one type).

One of the new meanings (F) of *adres* has been included in SJPSzym. Some of its new meanings have been included in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (meanings B/C, A/F, and B/C/E, respectively). In addition, USJP lists the term *adres internetowy* (with the definition corresponding to meanings B and E). As one can see, none of the dictionaries list all of the new meanings.

Some of the new senses of the word *adres* were discussed by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000: 96–97) and by the present author (Zabawa 2008b: 161; 2011a: 210; 2012a: 108–110).

Agresywny. The word *agresywny*, traditionally used in the senses of ‘violent, hostile, full of aggression, truculent, etc.’ (cf. SJPDor), can now also be used, most probably under the influence of English *aggressive*, with the more approving flavour (‘intensive, dynamic, success-oriented’, etc.; cf. Witalisz 2007a: 220).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in three new senses: (A) ‘efficient, but possibly sometimes uncomfortable for a user’ (e.g. *agresywny filtr spamu*), (B) ‘quick’ (e.g. *agresywny RPM*), (C) ‘interfering much in the code, changing the program to a great extent’ (as a result, the program is working faster) (e.g. *agresywna optymalizacja*), most probably under the influence of English *aggressive* (cf. such constructions as *aggressive spam filter*, *aggressive optimization*).

In the corpus, the form appears 10 times, 5 out of which are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 5 tokens appear in one of the new senses (twice in sense A, once in sense B, and once in sense C); in addition, the construction *agresywny marketing* was also attested (1 token).

The new, computer-related meanings have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.¹⁶

Akcelerator, akceleracja. According to SJPDor, the word *akcelerator* is used in the following senses: (a) (physics) ‘a device for accelerating charged particles’, (b) ‘a gas pedal (in a vehicle)’.

In computer-related spheres, the word *akcelerator* is used in new meanings, most probably triggered by English *accelerator* (cf. the definition in DCIT; cf. also OED, which includes the construction *accelerator card*, first attested in 1982): (A) ‘a card with special circuits that can perform graphics operations quicker; a graphics accelerator’ (e.g. *akcelerator grafiki*, *akcelerator 3D*) and (B) ‘a computer program designed to accelerate downloading (and sometimes uploading) of files; software download accelerator’ (*akcelerator pobierania*).

The new meaning can thus be seen as a metaphorical change. In much the same way, *akceleracja* is used to denote the process or the state of accelerating (by means of a piece of hardware or software) a given operation.

In the corpus, the forms *akcelerator* and *akceleracja* are used 23 times altogether; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. Most of them are used to denote hardware acceleration, most commonly graphics acceleration. The use referring to software acceleration is, by contrast, rare. The form appears frequently as a part of various calques; details are presented in Table 4.4.

¹⁶ USJP and SJPSob, unlike SJPDor, SJPSzym, and ISJP, list the approving meaning of *agresywny* (‘intensive, dynamic’).

Table 4.4. The use of the word *akceleracja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>akcelerator</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>akcelerator</i> and <i>akceleracja</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	22	sprzętowa akceleracja	4	hardware acceleration	LT
		akcelerator grafiki	1	graphics accelerator	LT
(B)	1	akcelerator pobierania	1	download accelerator ^a	LT

^a The form *download manager* is also used and is more common (on the basis of Google search).

The new meanings of *akcelerator* have not been included in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Aktywacja, aktywator. Traditionally, the word *aktywacja* is used, mostly in scientific and technical spheres (physics and chemistry), in the sense of ‘to stimulate some kind of action’ (SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word *aktywacja* is used in two new senses: (A) ‘the process of activating a piece of software, an email, Facebook, etc. account, usually by entering a special code, clicking activation link, etc.’¹⁷, (e.g. *aktywacja konta, aktywacja produktu, aktywacja licencji*), (B) ‘the process of activating the router (or other device thanks to which a computer is connected to the Internet)’ (e.g. *aktywacja usługi*), most probably under the influence of English *activate* (cf. definitions in DCIT). The verb *aktywować* has undergone similar changes. The change in meaning can be seen as a metaphorical extension (similarity in function).

In the corpus, the forms *aktywacja* and *aktywować* (together with their derivatives, such as *aktywowanie, aktywowany, aktywacyjny*) are used 170 times, all of which are used in one of the new senses. Two senses (‘the process of activating a mobile phone’ and ‘the process of activating a debit card’; used twice altogether) will not be discussed since they fall outside the domain of computers. Details about the meanings of the remaining 168 tokens, together with English-induced calques, are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. The use of the word *aktywacja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>aktywacja</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>aktywacja</i> (and its derivatives)	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	157	aktywowanie produktu	4	product activation	LT
		kod aktywacyjny	3	activation code	LT
(B)	11	[no English calques]	–	–	–

¹⁷ The activation can also be done automatically by the software via the Internet connection. The aim of activation process is, in general, an attempt to reduce software piracy or identity theft.

In much the same way, the meaning of *aktywator* (traditionally used in the semantic field of chemistry to denote ‘a substance stimulating the activity of a catalyst’; SJPDor) has undergone metaphorical changes. In the area of computers, the form is used in the sense of ‘an application that is used to activate the full version of given software, e.g. an operating system’. The word appears 4 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense.

The new senses of *aktywacja* have not been included in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.¹⁸

Aktywny. According to SJPDor, the word *aktywny* is used in the sense of (1) ‘able to act, taking part in something’ and (2) (chemistry) ‘having the adsorption capabilities’.

In connection with computers, the form is used in the sense of ‘open; working; used at a given moment’ (cf. one of the terms given in USJP: *aktywne okno*, defined as ‘the window to which user’s commands relate at a given moment’; examples from the corpus include *aktywny arkusz*, *aktywna zakładka*, *aktywne sesje*). In some cases, however, the meaning is idiomatic, as in *aktywna partycja* ‘hard disk partition on which a system loader is present’, *aktywne chłodzenie* ‘the process of cooling a piece of hardware through the use of fans, water cooling, etc.’. The extension, of a metaphorical nature, is most probably modelled on English constructions containing the form *active* (cf. *active partition*, *active options*, *active window*, *active session*, *active bookmark*, *active link*, *active process*, etc.).

In the corpus, the form is used 165 times (including the forms *aktywność* and *aktywnie*), out of which 40 are used in traditional contexts, either referring to people or in such contexts as e.g. *aktywne działanie*. The remaining 124 occurrences are used in the extended sense.¹⁹ The form appears in two English calques, cf. Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. The use of the word *aktywny* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>aktywny</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>partycja aktywna</i>	6	active partition	SC
<i>chłodzenie aktywne</i>	6	active cooling	LT

It is worth noting that, as a result of the meaning extension, certain forms may be potentially vague, cf. e.g. *aktywny użytkownik (forum)*, which may either denote a user that writes many posts on a given forum, takes part in discussions,

¹⁸ ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob list the meaning ‘the process of making a mobile phone active by connecting it to the network’; the second new meaning (‘the process of activating the router’) can thus be seen as a related meaning.

¹⁹ Additionally, there is one occurrence of *aktywny* in the sense of *aktywowany*, viz. *aktywny Win7*.

etc. or a user who has an active forum account but is not necessarily writing anything.

The antonymous form, i.e. *nieaktywny*, has also undergone analogous extension and is also attested in the corpus.

The new meaning of *aktywny* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, or SJPSob. As was noted above, the new sense of *aktywny* appears in USJP, but only in the term *aktywne okno*.

Some of the new uses of the word *aktywny* were discussed by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 122–124) and Witalisz (2007a: 222).

Alfa, alpha. Traditionally, the form *alfa* was used in Polish in the senses of (1) ‘the name of the first letter of the Greek alphabet’ and (2) (construction industry) ‘a type of airbrick used for external walls’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word *alfa* is used in a completely new sense; it denotes (A) ‘a very early version of a piece of software, a website, etc.’ (*wersja alfa*). The change, of metaphorical character, is most probably based on the English form *alpha* (cf. OED, according to which the first occurrence of the construction *alpha version* dates back to 1983). Additionally, the form is used in some specialist senses, in the meaning (B) related to the transparency of displayed graphics, such as in the construction *kanał alfa* (a calque of English *alpha channel*), i.e. ‘(in paint programs) a channel that defines the transparency of displayed graphics’ (cf. DCIT).

The form in question is used 13 times in the corpus (8 tokens of *alfa* and 5 of *alpha*), out of which 2 are used in the traditional meaning. The remaining 11 tokens are used in the new meanings; these, together with the calques containing the form in question, are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. The use of the word *alfa* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>alfa/alpha</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>alfa/alpha</i>	n	English constructions (source constructions)	Type
(A)	9	wersja alfa/alpha	7	alpha version	LT
		zamknięta alfa ^a	1	closed alpha	LT
(B)	2	kanał alpha	1	alpha channel	LT
		przezroczystość alfa	1	alpha transparency	LT

^a For the explanation of the term *zamknięta alfa*, cf. Table 4.18, where the meaning of *zamknięta beta* is explained.

The new meaning of *alfa* has not been included in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Analogowy. The form is defined in SJPDor as an adjective of *analog*, defined, in turn, as (1) ‘something analogous; a counterpart’, (2) ‘a specialist in analogue machines’. Additionally, the term *maszyna analogowa* is listed (also in SJPSzym).

In the language related to computers, the form is used in new collocations, in the sense of ‘describing a signal or information represented by a continuously variable physical quantity such as e.g. voltage; also describing a device or a system of transmission that uses such signals’ (cf. ODE; examples from the corpus include *modem analogowy*, *wejście analogowe*, *wyjście analogowe*, *telewizja analogowa*). The extension has probably its roots in *analog* and *analogue*, used in a wide variety of contexts (first attested in the computer-related sense in 1941; OED).

In the corpus, the form in question appears 25 times, all of which appear in the new sense; an English-induced calque was also detected, viz. *sygnał analogowy* (4 tokens), cf. English *analog/analogue signal*.

The form is an antonym of \rightarrow *cyfrowy*, also used in the present corpus.

The new meaning of *analogowy* has been noted in SJPSob, albeit in a very general way; the new sense has also been included in ISJP and USJP, but only as part of certain terms, such as *urządzenie analogowe* (ISJP) or *sygnał analogowy*, *technika analogowa*, and *urządzenie analogowe* (USJP).

Aplikacja. Traditionally, the word *aplikacja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an ornament made of a fabric, leather, etc., fastened onto another piece of fabric, etc.’, (2) (dated) ‘practice in an office, court, etc.’, (3) (old use) (a) ‘diligence’, (b) ‘the act of using something’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related sphere, the form is used in a completely new sense; it denotes ‘a computer program used to perform certain functions or tasks’ (e.g. *aplikacja komunikacyjna*, *aplikacja narzędziowa*, *aplikacja obciążeniowa*, *aplikacje szpiegujące*, *aplikacja kliencka*, *aplikacje biurowe*). The change in meaning can most probably be attributed to English *application* (the form *applications program* dates back to 1961; OED).

The word in question appears 813 times in the corpus; all the instances are used in the new sense. The word is used in various English calques, cf. Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. The use of the word *aplikacja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>analogowy</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>aplikacja desktopowa</i>	7	desktop application	SC
<i>aplikacje mobilne</i>	6	mobile applications/apps	LT
<i>aplikacja antywirusowa</i>	3	antivirus application	LT
<i>aplikacja konsolowa</i>	3	console application	LT

The new meaning of *aplikacja* has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob. It was also discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 225–226) and in the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008b: 161; 2013d: 146).

Architektura. Traditionally, the word *architektura* is used in the sense of (1) ‘the art of designing, erecting, and artistically shaping various types of buildings’, (2) ‘a composition, arrangement, construction of a given building’ (SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the form is used in a completely new sense, to denote ‘the structure of a computer, computer system or a piece of hardware; the combination of elements in a computer or computer system’ (e.g. *architektura chipa graficznego, architektura aplikacji, architektura systemowa*), most probably under the influence of English *architecture* (the first occurrence of the phrase *computer architecture* dates back to 1962; OED).

In the corpus, the form *architektura* appears 24 times; all instances are used in the new sense. It is important to note that the word may refer not only to computers or computer systems, but also to software applications (cf. the phrase *architektura aplikacji*). Interestingly, there is also one token of the form *architekt*, used in a completely new meaning; it denotes ‘a computer programmer’.

The form appears in various English calques; these are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. The use of the word *architektura* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>architektura</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
architektura procesora	1	processor architecture, CPU architecture	SC
architektura jądra	1	kernel architecture	LT
architektura klient-serwer	1	client-server architecture ^a	SC
architektura kontrolera pamięci	1	memory controller architecture	LT

^a Also frequently spelt as *client/server architecture*.

The new meaning of *architektura* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. It has been noted in USJP and SJPSob, but only with respect to computers or computer system, whereas in the corpus the form refers also to software applications. Thus, the meaning of the word is still being extended.

Archiwum, archiwalny. According to SJPDor, the word *archiwum* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a collection of documents, files, etc.’, (2) ‘an institution whose task is to collect and store such documents’. *Archiwalny*, in turn, is defined as ‘belonging to, stored in or connected with the archives’.

In computer-related discourse, the form *archiwum* is used in two new senses, to denote (A) ‘a computer file containing the compressed contents of other files’ (cf. DCIT; examples from the corpus include *archiwum zip, wypakować archiwum, dekompresja archiwum*) and (B) ‘inactive content of an Internet discussion group; outdated content of websites, etc.’ (e.g. *archiwum groups.google.com*). In connection with the meaning (A), the related forms are also used in the new sense, cf. *archiwizacja* (i.e. the process of copying and compressing computer

files) and *archiwizator* or *archiwizer* (both constructions denote a computer program used for copying and compressing computer files). The new senses are most probably modelled on English *archive* (cf. DCIT); the constructions such as *archiwum zip*, *archiwum rar*, or *archiwum google groups* are mechanical translations of English *zip archive*, *rar archive*, and *Google groups archives*.

In addition, the form *archiwum* can also appear in a new subsense, related to the traditional sense. It can be used to denote (C) 'a private collection of instant messaging conversations in the form of text, usually kept in a special folder' (e.g. *archiwum gg*, *archiwum rozmów*, *archiwum komunikatora*). This meaning can be regarded as an extension of sense 1 provided by SJP Dor (cf. above). This usage, in general, does not seem to be influenced by English; rather, it was created already in Polish (the term *archiwum* was used by Gadu-Gadu, once the most popular instant messaging program in Poland).

The word *archiwalny* also appears in new senses; these are, however, unrelated to the ones connected with *archiwum*. *Archiwalny* can be used to denote (A1) 'a file attribute, signalling that a given file was modified since the last backup' (e.g. *atrybut archiwalny*), (B1) '(with a somehow negative flavour) old, traditional, not modern'. Sense (A1) appears to be modelled on English *archive* (cf. e.g. *archive file attribute*). The word in sense (B1) appears only once in the corpus and can therefore be regarded as idiolectal. It does not appear to be modelled on English.

Altogether, the forms *archiwum*, *archiwalny*, and the related forms, including neologisms (*archiwizacja*, *archiwizujący*, *archiwizator*, *archiwizer*), are used 212 times, out of which 11 are used in the traditional meaning, usually in the sense of home archives, i.e. a collection of family photographs, documents, etc.

Table 4.10. The use of the word *archiwum* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>archiwum</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>archiwum</i>	n	English constructions (source constructions)	Type
(A)	103	rozpakować archiwum	10	extract archives ^a	LR
		wypakować archiwum	5		LR
		samorozpakowujące się archiwum	1	self-extracting archive ^b	LR
		dekompresja archiwum	1	archive decompression	LT
(B)	17	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a Other constructions, such as *unzip* or *unpack* (compressed files, archives, etc.) also exist, but appear less frequently than *extract* (on the basis of Google search).

^b *Self-unpacking archive* is also used, but less commonly (on the basis of Google search).

Thus the forms in question are used 201 times in one of the new senses, out of which 146 appeared to be modelled on English²⁰: 120 tokens of *archiwum*, 8 tokens of *archiwalny* (cf. Tables 4.10 and 4.11) and 18 tokens of related forms,

²⁰ The remaining 55 tokens are used in one of the new meanings that do not have its roots in English, cf. above.

viz. *archiwizacja* (14 occurrences), used in the sense of ‘the process of compressing and/or copying files’²¹ (e.g. *program do archiwizacji*), *archiwizator*, and *archiwizer* (3 tokens altogether), used in the corpus in the sense of ‘a program used for compressing and/or copying files’ as well as *archiwizujący* (1 token), used in the sense of ‘used for compressing and/or copying files’ (*program archiwizujący*).

Table 4.11. The use of the word *archiwalny* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meaning of the word <i>archiwalny</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>archiwalny</i>	n	English constructions (source constructions)	Type
(A1)	8	atrybut archiwalny	2	archive attribute	LT

The new meanings of *archiwum* and *archiwalny* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. Some of their new uses were, however, discussed in the literature on the subject (Wiśniewska-Białaś 2011: 118–120).

Arkusz. Traditionally, according to SJPDor, the word *arkusz* is used in the sense of ‘a thin piece of some material, e.g. paper’.

In the semantic area of computers, the word is used, frequently in the construction *arkusz kalkulacyjny*, in the sense of (A) ‘a computer program, in which data are arranged in rows and columns, used for calculations, statistical analyses, etc.’ (cf. ODE). Moreover, the form is also used metonymically in the sense of (B) ‘a single page (in electronic form) containing data arranged in rows and columns; also a file containing such data’ (e.g. *arkusz Excela*). The changes are most probably modelled on English *spreadsheet* and *worksheet* (both of which appeared first in 1982, OED). Additionally, the form may be used (in a completely different meaning) in the construction *arkusz stylów*, to denote (C) ‘a file that defines the general layout, fonts, etc., of a given website or a document’ (cf. DCIT).

The form *arkusz* appears 58 times in the corpus, out of which 8 appear in the traditional meaning (e.g. *arkusz papieru*) and/or in traditional constructions, e.g. *arkusz ocen*, *arkusz egzaminacyjny*. The remaining 50 tokens are used in the new senses; for details, cf. Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. The use of the word *arkusz* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of <i>arkusz</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>arkusz</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(B)	32	arkusz danych	2	datasheet	LT
(A)	16	arkusz kalkulacyjny	12	spreadsheet	LR
(C)	2	arkusz stylów	2	style sheet	LT

²¹ The use of the word is, however, far from entirely clear, as it sometimes refers to the process of copying only (without the process of compression).

The new meaning of *arkusz* has not been included in SJPSzym. It is included, in the phrase *arkusz kalkulacyjny*, in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (only in the sense of a computer program).

Artefakt. Traditionally, the word *artefakt* is used in specialized senses: (1) (biology) ‘a special structure of a cell or tissue prepared for microscopic research, not existing in any living organisms’ and (2) (psychology) ‘an artificial, rather than really existing, outcome of a research method’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the word is used, usually in plural, in two completely new meanings: (A) ‘errors in processing graphics, resulting in e.g. distorted images or unintended dots, lines, shapes, etc. displayed on a screen’ and (B) ‘(in computer games) special objects (typically rare and difficult to find) that can be found in a game, e.g. a special type of a weapon, armour, etc.’ Both meanings appear to be modelled on English *artefact/artifact*. The first meaning is not noted in OED, but it does appear in specialized dictionaries (e.g. DCIT). The second meaning, according to OED, dates back to 1978.

The word appears 33 times in the corpus, including two tokens of the adjective *artefaktyczny*, which should be treated as a neologism in Polish. All the instances are used in new senses: 26 times in sense (A) and 7 in (B). One instance of a calque (connected with the new sense A) was detected: *artefakty graficzne* (1 token; English *graphic artifacts* or *graphics artifacts*²²).

The new meanings of the word *artefakt* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP (where the word is not included at all), USJP, or SJPSob.

Atrybut. According to SJPDor, the word *atrybut* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a feature of something’, (2) ‘an inherent feature of a given object, without which it could not exist’, (3) ‘a symbol’.

In computer-related language, the word in question is used in a few new meanings, most of which can be regarded as cases of specialization of meaning, as the basic meaning (‘a feature of something’) is retained; the list of new senses is as follows: (A) ‘the property of a file, folder, etc., such as e.g. read-only’ (e.g. *atrybut pliku*, *atrybut folderu*), (B) ‘a feature of a fragment of a given programming code, indicating e.g. its position in computer’s memory’, (C) ‘the feature of an element in certain languages, such as XML’ (e.g. *atrybut znacznika*), (D) ‘a number showing or describing something (e.g. in a program used for hard disk tests)’, (E) ‘the feature of a field in a database, indicating that e.g. it is filled with a given colour’, (F) ‘the feature of a font, e.g. underlined, bold, etc.’, (G) ‘the feature of a given website, e.g. that it cannot be optimized for search engines’. The new senses appeared under the influence of English *attribute* (cf. ODE, DCIT).

²² Other constructions, such as *visual artifacts* or (more general) *digital artifacts*, are also used.

Altogether, the form *atrybut* appears 66 times in the corpus, out of which 6 are used in the traditional meaning (sense 1), usually with relation to protagonists or objects in a computer game (e.g. *atrybuty bohaterów*, *atrybuty panczerzy*). The rest, i.e. 60 occurrences, are used in one of the new subsenses; details are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13. The use of the word *atrybut* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of <i>atrybut</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>atrybut</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	22	atrybut tylko do odczytu	4	read-only attribute	LT
		atrybut pliku	2	file attribute	LT
(B)	13 ^a	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C)	11	atrybut znacznika	1	tag attribute	LT
(D)	7	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(E)	3	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(F)	2	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(G)	2	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a The relatively high number of occurrences here is the result of the fact that a table with error codes (of a programming language) and their descriptions was discussed (each code was preceded with the word *atrybut*).

The new meaning of the word *atrybut* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. USJP and SJPSob, by contrast, list the term *atrybut pliku*; thus one of the new meanings is included.

Autoryzacja. Traditionally, the word *autoryzacja* is used in Polish in the following senses: (a) ‘author’s permission to publish, translate, adapt or remake his/her work’, (b) (old use) ‘permission; recommendation’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the form is used in the new sense of ‘confirmation (e.g. via the usage of a password, special code, etc.) that a given computer user has the right to use a given piece of software, access a given website, use a given device, etc.’ (e.g. *autoryzacja użytkownika*, *autoryzacja komputera*). The emergence of the new sense is, most probably, the result of the influence of English *authorize* and *authorization* (cf. OED, according to which the term *authorization code* was first attested in 1961).

In the corpus, the form *autoryzacja* (including also *autoryzować*, *autoryzowany*, *nieautoryzowany*, and the neologism *nieautoryzowaniec*²³) appears 23 times in the corpus, in all cases in the new sense.

The forms appear in the corpus in a few English calques, cf. Table 4.14.

²³ Used in the sense of ‘an act of playing a computer game with the use of unauthorized access to somebody else’s account’.

Table 4.14. The use of the word *autoryzacja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>autoryzacja</i> (and related forms)	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
nieautoryzowany dostęp	2	unauthorized access	LT
nieautoryzowana instalacja	1	unauthorized installation	LT
nieautoryzowany kod	1	unauthorized code	LT
nieautoryzowani użytkownicy	1	unauthorized users	LT
autoryzacja użytkownika	1	user authorization	LT

The new meaning of the word *autoryzacja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Awatar, avatar. The form *awatar* was traditionally used in Polish as the feminine noun (*awatara*), in the sense of ‘(in Hinduism) manifestation of God in the form of a human, animal or a hybrid of the two’ (WSWO; the word, either in the form *awatar* or *awatara*, does not appear in SJPDor, SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob).

In the computer-related discourse, the form is used as a masculine form (*awatar*) and denotes ‘a symbol (in the form of a picture) of a given user of an Internet message board, a chat, online game, etc.’ (e.g. *wgrywanie awatarów, awatary na liście kontaktów, domyślny awatar*). The new meaning appeared most probably under the influence of English *avatar*, in which case the new sense dates back to 1986 (OED).

In the corpus, the form *awatar/avatar* was used 34 times altogether. Interestingly and perhaps surprisingly, the form *avatar* (including the diminutive form *avatarek*) was used more frequently than *awatar* (21 and 13 tokens, respectively). Most of the occurrences (32) are used in the new sense. The remaining two occurrences are either a proper noun (*Avatar*, a movie title) or part of a proper noun (*Avatar Toy Armory*). The form does not appear in the corpus in any constructions calqued from English.

The new sense of the word *awatar* was mentioned in some of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2010b: 81–82; 2012b: 230–231; 2015b: 367–368).

Balans. Traditionally, the word *balans* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘shaking, wobbling, etc., with equilibrium retained’, (2a) (sport) ‘a kind of a pole used by an acrobat to help him/her retain equilibrium’, (2b) ‘a balance beam’, (3) (technical) ‘part of a machine, used in steam engines’, (4) (watchmaking) ‘part of a watch; balance wheel’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in two entirely new meanings: (A) ‘a situation where various elements are equal or in correct proportions; a situation in which various elements are harmoniously set and work well as a whole’ (e.g. *balans postaci, balans między postaciami, zbalansowana klasa*) and (B) ‘relative volume of sound coming from various sources, e.g. individual

loudspeakers²⁴ (e.g. *lewy balans, zbalansowanie głośności*). The new meanings are most probably the result of the semantic influence of English *balance* (the two senses date back to 1733 and 1929, respectively; OED).

In the corpus, the form *balans*, together with the neological adjective *zbalansowany*,²⁵ is used 18 times, all of which are used in one of the new meanings. The form appears in various constructions which can be regarded as English calques; details are presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15. The use of the word *balans* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>balans</i>	n	Constructions with the word <i>balans</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	16	<i>zbalansowana klasa</i> ^a	1	balanced class	LT
		<i>balans postaci</i>	1	character balance	LT
(B)	2	<i>zbalansowanie głośności</i>	1	sound balance	LT

^a The construction refers to a protagonist in a computer role-playing game.

The new senses of the word *balans* have not been included in SJPSzym, USJP, or SJPSob. One of the new meanings (sense A) has been noted in ISJP.

Banicja. *Banicja* is a historical word in Polish, used in the sense of ‘an act of expelling somebody from a country as a kind of punishment’ (SJPDor). In computer-related discourse, the form is used in the metaphorical sense of ‘to ban somebody from the use of an Internet message board, discussion list, a chat, etc.’.

It is difficult to decide whether the emergence of the new sense has been triggered by English. Most probably, the form was created on the basis of the English word *ban*; it is thus not a typical semantic borrowing, but rather a change of meaning based on the similarity of form (English *ban* and Polish *banicja*). Most probably, English has played a certain intensifying role here.

In the corpus, the form *banicja* appears twice; both uses appear in the new sense. The word is used in new collocations: *mieć banicję* (existing alongside a more common variant *mieć bana*, possibly a semi-calque of English *to have a ban*) and *banicja użytkowników* (existing alongside a more common variant *ban użytkownika*, possibly a semi-calque of English *user’s ban*).

The new meaning of *banicja* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. It is, however, noted in USJP and SJPSob (in the general sense of ‘an act of excluding somebody from a given group, etc.’).

²⁴ In addition, in image processing (e.g. in graphics software, digital photography, etc.), the form may also be used (in such collocations as *balans kolorów* or *balans bieli*) in the sense of ‘the intensity of individual colours’. This sense, however, does not appear in the corpus.

²⁵ The form was used perhaps due to the confusion between *balans* and *bilans/zbilansowany*. This confusion may have its sources in English, cf. the verb *balance*, which can be rendered in Polish both as *bilansować* and *balansować*, depending on its meaning (SFK).

Bank. Traditionally, the word *bank* is used in Polish in the following senses: (1) ‘a financial institution’, (2) ‘a building in which this institution is located’ (3) (related to card playing) ‘all the money that a winner takes’, (4) (medical) ‘the place in which tissue, blood, bones, etc. are stored and used in need by the hospitals’ (SJPdor).

In computer-related areas, the word is used in the new sense of (A) ‘the slot or slots, located on a computer mainboard, into which memory modules are inserted’ and (B) (in the phrase *bank danych*) ‘a collection of data stored on a computer’. Both senses appeared under the influence of English *bank* (the word was first used in the construction *memory bank* in 1952; OED).

In the corpus, the form *bank* (together with related forms *bankowy*, *bankowo*, *bankowość*, but not *bankomat*, *bankomatowy*, etc.) appears 133 times, out of which the majority (117 tokens) are used in the traditional meaning, either referring to a financial institution or used in idioms, such as *na bank*; the remaining 16 tokens appear in one of the two new senses; details are provided in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16. The use of the word *bank* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>bank</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>bank</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	15	bank pamięci	10	memory bank ^a	LT
(B)	1	bank danych	1	datbank	LT

^a Interestingly enough, the forms *bank pamięci* and *memory bank* are not semantically identical. The English construction may refer either to the unit (partition) of computer memory (which may consist of one or more memory slots) or it may function as a generic term, used to refer to computer memory itself. In Polish, by contrast, the construction *bank pamięci* is used in the sense of ‘a slot for a computer memory’. Thus the form *bank pamięci* is used in a different sense from English *memory bank* (although, most probably, is formally based on it). Most probably, the Polish form was based on English, and then developed as a metonymical change (a unit of computer memory consisting of one or more slots -> the memory slot itself).

The new meanings of the word *bank* have not been noted by SJPSzym. In ISJP and USJP/SJPSob, only certain constructions (*bank informacji* and *bank danych*, respectively) are given. One of the new senses of the word *bank* (as in *bank danych*) was also mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 229).

Belka. According to SJPdor, the word *belka* is used in the sense of ‘a long piece of wood or other material’, (2) (colloquial) ‘a symbol on a uniform, signalling a military rank’.

In the semantic area of computers, the form in question is used, most probably under the influence of the English *bar*, in the metaphorical (similarity in appearance) sense of ‘a long and narrow area of a window displayed on a computer screen, usually providing certain information, e.g. the name of a program or file, or performing certain functions, such as scrolling’ (e.g. *belka tytułowa*).

The form appears 6 times in the corpus, out of which 5 are used in the new sense. The calques in which the form is used are given in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17. The use of the word *belka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>belka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>belka tytułowa</i>	2	title bar	LT
<i>belka przewijania</i>	1	scroll bar	LT

The new meaning of *belka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Beta. Traditionally, the word *beta* was used in Polish in the construction *promienie beta* (a term used in physics) (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the form is used in a completely new sense; it denotes ‘an early version of computer software, meant for final testing before the final corrections are implemented and the program or game is ready for selling’ (e.g. *wersja beta*, *wczesna beta*, *faza bety*, *oficjalna beta*). The form bears certain resemblance to →*alfa*, the difference being that a beta version is more advanced than alpha version. The new meaning of *beta* has most probably been influenced by English *beta test* (dating back to 1978; OED).

In the corpus, the form is used 220 times,²⁶ all of which are used in the new meaning. The form appears in various constructions calqued from English; these are presented in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18. The use of the word *beta* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>beta</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>wersja beta</i>	25	beta version	LT
<i>beta testy / betatesty / beta-testy / beta testowanie</i>	26	beta tests / beta testing ^a	SC
<i>otwarta beta</i> ^b	9	open beta	LT
<i>zamknięta beta</i> ^c	3	closed beta	LT

^a Additionally, such forms as *alpha testing* and *gamma testing* (before and after beta testing, respectively) also exist, but are not calqued into Polish, at least in the present corpus (*alfa testowanie* was found in Google, but is rare; *gamma testowanie*, by contrast, was not found).

^b *Otwarta beta* is used in the sense of ‘a beta version of software open for testing for everyone willing to do so’.

^c *Zamknięta beta* is the opposite of *otwarta beta*, i.e. ‘a beta version of software open for testing for a small, selected group of people’.

²⁶ The number includes one form of unclear meaning (*pri-beta*). Most probably, it is a distorted version of *pre-beta* (pre-beta version is equivalent, or very similar, to alpha version, cf. →*alfa*).

The new meaning of *beta* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Biblioteka. Traditionally, the word *biblioteka* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘the institution that gathers and stores books; the building where this institution is located’, (2) ‘an organized set of books belonging to a given institution or a person’, (3) ‘a type of furniture used for storing books’, and (4) ‘a series of books published by a given publisher’ (SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in several new meanings: (A) ‘a collection of additions for a given program; also a collection of ready-made fragments of code that can be used e.g. in programming, in running other pieces of software, etc.’ (e.g. *biblioteka programistyczna*, *biblioteka skryptu*, *biblioteka dynamiczna*, *skompilowana biblioteka*), (B) ‘a collection of programs, games, games additions, etc., that a given person owns’²⁷ (e.g. *biblioteka gier*), (C) ‘software available for purchasing, but not (yet) owned by a given user’ (e.g. *biblioteka modów*). The new senses have most probably been triggered by English *library* (the use of the word in computer-related contexts dates back to 1950; OED).

The form *biblioteka* is used 136 times in the corpus, out of which 3 refer to the traditional sense (definition 1). The remaining 133 occurrences are used in new meanings, cf. Table 4.19.

Table 4.19. The use of the word *biblioteka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>biblioteka</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>biblioteka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	125	<i>biblioteka dynamiczna</i>	3	dynamic library	LT
		<i>biblioteka ładowana dynamicznie</i>	2	dynamically loaded library	LT
		<i>biblioteka programistyczna</i>	1	programming library	LT
		<i>biblioteka skryptu</i>	1	script library	LT
(B)	5	<i>biblioteka gier</i>	2	game library	LT
(C)	3	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new meanings of *biblioteka* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. Some of the new meanings of the word *biblioteka* were, by contrast, discussed in the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012c: 73–74; 2015b: 367).

²⁷ Importantly, the word used in this sense refers to programs and games in the digital version, i.e. not as physical objects e.g. in the form of a CD/DVD, but as a collection of software assigned to a user’s account on specialized websites, such as Steam.

Bindować. According to USJP, the word *bindować* is used in the sense of ‘to fasten loose sheets of paper’ (the word is not noted in SJPDor, SJPSzym, or ISJP).

In computer-related areas, the word is used, under the influence of English *bind* (cf. English constructions in Table 4.20), in two new senses: (A) ‘to assign a given command, a piece of text, etc. to a given key on the keyboard’, (B) ‘to combine a given file with some harmful software, e.g. a keylogger’.

The word in question, including the adjective *zbindowany*, appears 13 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense; details are presented in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20. The use of the word *bindować* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>bindować</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>bindować</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	10	zbindowany klawisz	1	bound key	LT
(B)	3	zbindowany plik	1	bound file	LT

In addition, the corpus contains neological forms *binder* or *binderek*, used in the sense of ‘a program used to connect two (or more) files into one single file’.

The new senses of the word *bindować* have not been included in USJP or SJPSob; the word is not noted at all in SJPDor or ISJP.

Bilet. Traditionally, the word *bilet* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a piece of paper or cardboard that entitles its holder to a certain service’, (2) (old use) ‘a small piece of paper or a letter with a short message’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word *bilet*, most probably under the influence of English *ticket* (cf. ODE), is used in the sense of ‘a recording of a request, question, etc., sent electronically to a given company via its website’.

The word appears 10 times in the corpus; the new usage is rare (1 token). The new sense of the word *bilet* has not been included in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Blok. According to SJPDor, the word *blok* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a piece, usually a large one, of solid material’, (2) ‘a union of countries, political parties, etc.’, (3) ‘a block of flats’, (4) ‘the smallest administrative unit comprising a group of houses’, (5) ‘a building for prisoners in a concentration camp; also a group of prisoners living in a given building’, (6) ‘a notebook with blank pages; a pad’, (7) (railway) ‘the place where signals are shown (signalling whether the train can proceed); block signals’, (8) (sport) (a, b) (in volleyball and boxing) ‘a block, stop’, (c) ‘a starting block’, (9) (technical) ‘a kind of simple lifting device’, (10) (mathematics, technical) ‘a group of words (i.e. units of data) seen as a whole’, (11) (medicine) ‘a heart block’, (12) ‘a part of the body of a ship’.

In the domain of computers, the word is used in several new meanings, mostly modelled on English *block* (cf. the English constructions in Table 4.21): (A) ‘an element inside a computer used for cooling computer elements inside’ (e.g. *blok wodny*, *dedykowany blok*), (B) ‘section of data on a hard disk’ (e.g. *blok startowy*), (C) ‘a way of presenting subsequent stages of an algorithm (in the form of a diagram that can easily be implemented into a computer program)’ (e.g. *algorytm blokowy*), (D) ‘a way of presenting the structure of a computer, an electronic device, etc.’ (e.g. *schemat blokowy*).

In the corpus, the form *blok*, together with the adjective *blokowy*, appears 151 times, out of which 26 are used in one of the traditional senses. The remaining 125 tokens are used in new senses²⁸; details are presented in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21. The use of the word *blok* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>blok</i>	n	Calques with the form <i>blok</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	96	<i>blok wodny</i>	14	water block	LT
(B)	16	<i>blok startowy</i>	3	boot block	LR
(C)	4	<i>blokowy algorytm</i>	3	block algorithm ^a	LT
(D)	6	<i>schemat blokowy</i>	6	block diagram	LT

^a The general term *flowchart* is also used.

The new meanings of *blok* have not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. In USJP and SJPSob, one sense related to computers is given (‘part of a program treated by a computer as a separate entity’); it is, however, different from the one in which the word appeared in the corpus.

Boss. According to SJPDor, the word *boss*, itself a lexical English borrowing, is used in the sense of ‘a person in charge of a company, institution, etc.; a boss’.

The word is now used in the new sense: it denotes ‘a particularly tough enemy in a computer game, usually encountered by the player at the end of a game or a given level’ (cf. ODE); the word in this sense can be said to be highly informal. The change in the use of the word is most probably a result of the influence of the English form *boss* (cf. ODE).

In the corpus, the form appears 28 times (including neological derivatives, such as *bossiątko* and *bossowaty*), out of which 3 are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 25 occurrences appear in new meanings, out of which 24 in the new sense described above; the remaining one token appears in the

²⁸ Out of which 3 are used in the sense not modelled on English, but rather created in Polish on the basis of *blokada* and *blokować* (‘the crash of a system or a website; the non-functionality of a key in a keyboard’). These are not included in Table 4.21.

borrowed expression *boss button* (i.e. a shortcut key used to hide quickly a given program²⁹; not counted as the use in the new sense). The word appears in one construction which can possibly be seen as a semi-calque, viz. *poboczny boss* (used once), most probably modelled on English *side boss*.

The new meaning of the word *boss* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Brama, bramka. According to SJPDor, the word *brama* is used in the following senses: (1) 'an opening in the fence, wall, etc.', (2) 'a gate that closes such opening', (3) 'a passage leading to the inside of a castle, city, etc.'. The form *bramka*, by contrast, can be defined as (1) 'a small opening in the fence, wall, etc.; also a gate, door, etc.', (2a) (in games such as football, hockey, etc.) 'a frame, usually with a net behind', (2b) 'a point for kicking or putting the ball in the goal', (2c) (in certain sports) 'the place between two posts located at a certain proximity from each other', (2d) (in croquet) 'a wire in the shape of an arch', (3) (cybernetics) 'a circuit producing a logical output depending on the input'.

In computer-related language, the word is used in several new senses: (A) 'a server which acts as an intermediary between a user and a given website; thanks to such servers a user is more anonymous and can hide his/her IP number thanks to which he/she can omit e.g. certain regional restrictions' (e.g. *bramka proxy*), (B) 'an Internet website enabling users to send text messages to mobile phones, usually free of charge (though certain restrictions usually apply)' (e.g. *bramka sms*, *bramka internetowa*), (C) 'a logic gate; a physical device performing a logical operation (such as AND, OR, XOR, etc.) and producing a single logical output' (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Logic_gate)³⁰ (e.g. *bramka logiczna*, *bramka XOR*, *bramka NOT*) and (D) 'a gateway; a machine, e.g. a router, thanks to which computers from a local network communicate with computers from other networks' (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brama_sieciowa; examples from the corpus include *brama domyślna*, *brama VPN*). The new senses, of metaphorical character, are most probably triggered by English *gate* and *gateway* (cf. the constructions in Table 4.22; cf. also other constructions of this type, e.g. *proxy gate*, *VPN Gate*, *XOR gate*, *NOT gate*).

The forms *brama/bramka* appear 61 times in the corpus, out of which 7 are used in one of the traditional senses (most frequently the football goal in a computer game). The remaining 54 occurrences are used in one of the new meanings.

²⁹ See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boss_key (access: 15 May 2016).

³⁰ This meaning is given in the supplement to SJPDor (cf. sense 3), but it does not appear in USJP; hence, it is treated as a semantic loan.

Table 4.22. The use of the word *brama/bramka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>brama/bramka</i>	n [<i>brama</i> + <i>bramka</i>]	Calques with the word <i>brama/bramka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	10 [8 + 2]	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	10 [0 + 10]	<i>bramka sms</i>	4	SMS gateway ^a	SC
(C)	5 [0 + 5]	<i>bramka logiczna</i>	1	logic gate	LT
(D)	29 [22 + 7]	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a The construction *text messaging gateway* also exists, but is much less common (on the basis of Google search).

As Table 4.22 illustrates, there is a clear distinction in meaning between the forms *brama* and *bramka*. *Brama* is mainly used in the sense of ‘an intermediary server’ (a proxy server) and ‘a gateway’; *bramka*, by contrast, is most frequently used in the sense of ‘a portal for sending text messages’ and ‘a logic gate’.

The new meanings of the word *brama/bramka* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Bufor. According to SJPDor, the word *bufor*, an English lexical borrowing itself, is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a bumper, mounted at the beginning and end of a car, a railcar, etc.’, (2) (radio) ‘part of the text of the radio programme that can be omitted in the case of a lack of time’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a memory area where data is temporarily stored while e.g. streaming video or printing’ (cf. ODE; examples from the corpus include *bufor pamięci*, *bufor drukarki*, *bufor dysku*). The change, of metaphorical character, has most probably been based on English, where the first attestation of the use of the word *buffer* (in the sense of ‘buffer memory’) dates back to 1948 (OED).

In the corpus, the form appears 34 times (together with the derivatives *buforowanie* and *buforować*), all of which are used in the above-mentioned new sense.

The form appears in various English-induced calques; details are presented in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23. The use of the word *bufor* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>bufor</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>buforowanie filmu</i>	4	video buffering	SR
<i>bufor pamięci</i>	1	memory buffer	SC
<i>przepełnienie bufora</i>	1	buffer overflow	SC
<i>plik buforowy</i>	1	buffer file	SC
<i>bufor drukarki</i>	1	printer buffer	SC
<i>bufor dysku</i>	1	disk cache ^a	SR

^a The form *disk buffer* is also used, but is much less common (on the basis of Google search).

The new meaning of the word *bufor* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. It has, however, been included in USJP and SJPSob.

Casual. The word *casual* is a relatively new English lexical borrowing. It is not noted in SJPDor, SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob, but cf. SZA, who notes the constructions *casual day* and *casual friday*³¹, defined as ‘a day when employees are allowed to wear informal clothes’. The form has now extended its range and is used generally in the sense of an informal style, usually with reference to clothes, but also behaviour in general, cf. such constructions as *styl casual* (a semi-calque of English *casual style*).

In computer-related language, the form is used in a completely new meaning. It appears 6 times in the corpus: 4 tokens as a noun³², used in the sense of ‘a casual gamer’ (i.e. ‘a person who plays computer games, but not too often and not too much’; such gamers can be contrasted with hardcore gamers, who play every day), most probably under the influence of the English noun *casual*³³, and 2 tokens as an adjective *casualowy*, referring to a computer game (“[Casual games] are typically distinguished by their simple rules and lack of commitment required in contrast to more complex hardcore games”; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casual_game). The form is used once in an English semi-calque (*gry casualowe*, calquing English *casual games*; not counted as a calque, cf. Section 4.4, fn. 10).

Certyfikat. Traditionally, the word *certyfikat* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a written, official document stating or proving something’, (2) (economy) (a) ‘a certificate replacing a state loan bond’, (b) ‘a temporary certificate issued by the former joint-stock companies’, and (3) (commercial) ‘a document informing about the origin of a given product’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is used in two new meanings: (A) ‘a program or file protecting Internet users from fraud, identity theft, etc., by encrypting communication between a browser and a given website’ and (B) ‘a guarantee (usually given by the manufacturer of a given product) that a given product will work under a given operating system, system configuration, etc.’³⁴. The second new meaning can thus be seen as an instance of specialization of the general meaning (sense 1 in SJPDor). The new meanings emerged most probably as a result of the influence of the English form *certificate*, cf. the use of the word in various constructions (Table 4.24).

³¹ Spelt *friday*, not *Friday*.

³² Including two instances of the use in the plural, spelt either as *casuali* or *casual'i*.

³³ The word *casual* used in Polish can also be treated as an example of ellipsis (the lexical borrowing *casual gamer* -> *casual*).

³⁴ It is usually not given in the form of any official document; rather, it is simply stated on the packaging or device itself, often in the form of a sticker with special symbols.

In the corpus, the form was used 41 times, including derivatives, such as *certyfikowany*. As many as 35 occurrences are used in one of the two new meanings³⁵; details are presented in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24. The use of the word *certyfiakat* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>certyfiakat</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>certyfiakat</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	21	certyfiakat bezpieczeństwa	2	safety certificate	LT
		cyfrowy certyfiakat	1	digital certificate	LT
(B)	14	certyfiakat zgodności (sprzętowej)	1	hardware compatibility certificate	LT
		certyfikowany ^a dla (systemu Microsoft Windows 8)	1	certified for (Windows 8)	LT

^a *Certyfikowany* is used here in the sense of 'compatible with and/or tested for a given system or hardware configuration'.

The new meanings of the word *certyfiakat* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. One of the new senses of the word *certyfiakat* was mentioned in an earlier study by the present author (Zabawa 2015b: 368–369).

Chmura. Traditionally, the word *chmura* is used in the following senses: (1) 'a visible mass of water or ice, floating in the atmosphere', (2) 'a cloud of something, e.g. dust, smoke, etc.', (3) 'a large number or amount of something'. In addition, the form is figuratively used in the sense of (a) 'an expression of sadness, anger, etc.', (b) 'an omen of something dangerous, undesirable, etc.' (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word in question is used in a completely new meaning, in the sense of 'a network of remote servers hosted on the Internet and used to store, manage, and process data in place of local servers or personal computers' (cf. ODE; examples from the corpus include *chmura obliczeniowa*, *chmura internetowa*, *praca w chmurze*, *ochrona w chmurze*). A computer user may, thanks to it, store his/her files or perform certain operations on remote servers (accessed through the Internet) rather than on his/her local computer. The change in meaning is most probably based on

³⁵ The six remaining occurrences refer also to a new meaning, used outside the area of computers and different from the ones described above. Two of them are used in the sense of 'an official document confirming a certain skill or a completion of a course, etc.'. The next two are the adjectives *certyfikowany*, used in the sense 'involving the possibility of obtaining a certificate at the end'. The remaining two occurrences are the neological adjectives *certyfikacyjny* (in the collocation *ścieżka certyfikacyjna*, i.e. 'a path to obtain a given certificate'). As these senses do not refer to computers, they will not be discussed in detail.

English *cloud* (cf. OED, according to which the first use of the construction *cloud computing* dates back to 1996; in the field of telecommunication the form *cloud* was first attested in 1989).

In the corpus, the form *chmura* was used 36 times; all of the occurrences appear in the new meaning. A loan rendition was also documented, viz. *chmura obliczeniowa*³⁶ (1 token; cf. English *cloud computing*).

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJP Szym, ISJP, USJP, or SJP Sob.

Ciastko, ciasteczko. The word *ciastko* is defined by SJP Dor as ‘a small piece of sweet cake, of varied shape and flavour, often with cream, fruit, etc.’ *Ciasteczko*, in turn, is defined as a diminutive form of *ciastko*.

In the semantic area of computers, both forms, usually used in plural, appear in a completely new meaning. They denote ‘a small file, stored on a hard disk of a given computer by a web browser’ (e.g. *ciasteczka strony, ciasteczka szpiegowskie, blokowanie ciastek*). They typically contain personal information, such as user’s address details, thanks to which, while e.g. doing shopping in e-shops, a user does not have to fill in address fields, details about payment, etc. Cookies usually enable a user to see the history of actions done at a given website, e.g. a user may check a list of products bought at a given e-shop, check the sum of money spent, etc.

The new meaning has most probably been modelled on English *cookie* (the first use is attested in 1987; OED). In the corpus, the forms *ciastko* and *ciasteczko* are used 53 times altogether (7 and 46 occurrences, respectively), all of which are used in the new meaning (but cf. the further part of the section). The form is virtually always used in the plural; in fact, there are only 2 occurrences of the form in singular (including one in the construction *Pan Ciastek*, the meaning of which is not entirely clear³⁷).

The calqued constructions with the form *ciastko/ciasteczko* are presented in Table 4.25.

³⁶ This term is given by the Polish Wikipedia as the official Polish term. It is, however, used rarely in the corpus (only one occurrence) and is normally shortened to *chmura* as the context of the entire conversation makes the meaning clear. For the same reason, the construction *chmura internetowa* is also rarely used (again one token only).

³⁷ The construction is used as a nickname of a server administrator. It may mean a handsome man (*ciastko/ciacho/ciastek* is also used in the new meaning of ‘a handsome, sexually attractive man’, or, less frequently, ‘a sexually attractive woman’), or, more probably, it is a humorous construction meaning ‘the person who has some power on a given server’ (*Pan Ciastek* might be a Polish rendering of English *Lord of the Cookies*, created by analogy to *Lord of the Rings*). The construction is not included in the total count of 53 tokens.

Table 4.25. The use of the word *ciasteczko* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>ciastka/ciasteczka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>ciasteczka internetowe</i> ^a	1	Internet cookies	SC
<i>ciasteczka strony</i>	1	website cookies	LT
<i>ciasteczka szpiegowskie</i>	1	tracking cookies	LR

^a This construction is rare possibly due to the fact that the meaning of *ciasteczka* is clear from the context and the specifying adjective is not required.

The new sense of the word *ciasteczko* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, however, discussed in the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012b: 232; 2014a: 103–111; 2014e: 400).

Ciężki. Traditionally, the word *ciężki* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘difficult to lift, heavy’, (2) ‘moving with difficulty, slow, tired’, (3) ‘strong, powerful’, (4) ‘requiring a great deal of energy, effort, etc.; difficult; hard to bear, severe, strong’, (5) ‘painful, serious, unpleasant’, (6) (about food) ‘difficult to digest’, (7) (about diseases and other medical conditions) ‘serious, dangerous, life-threatening’, (8) (a word used to intensify a swear word, etc.), (9) (old use) ‘causing trouble’. In addition, the form is used in certain figurative senses: (a) ‘thick, not transparent’, (b) (about a language, style, work of art, etc.) ‘difficult to understand, complicated, not clear’, (c) (about somebody’s sense of humour, intelligence, etc.) ‘with no charm or grace, dull’, (d) (about a building, dress, etc.) ‘too massive, bulky’, (e) (about a human voice or sound) ‘low and loud’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word in question is used in several new senses; they include (A) ‘of a large size (usually expressed in kilobytes, megabytes, etc.)’ (e.g. *ciężkie pliki*, *ciężki profil*, *ciężkie karty*³⁸), (B) ‘containing many additions, options (usually seen as unnecessary) and thus not working efficiently’ (e.g. *ciężki program*, *ciężki skrypt*), (C) ‘slowing down a computer, taking much of computer resources (CPU, memory, etc.)’ (e.g. *ciężki awast*³⁹). As one can see, its new uses, in general, carry unfavourable connotations.

The word, together with its derivative *ciężko* and the noun *ciężar*, appears 308 times in the corpus, out of which 12 occurrences are used in one of the new senses⁴⁰ (6 tokens of sense A, 4 of B and 2 of C). Thus the word is still primarily used in its traditional senses (especially sense 1) and its new use can be regarded as peripheral.

³⁸ Cf. the new senses of →*karta*.

³⁹ *Avast* (here assimilated into *awast*) in the name of antivirus software.

⁴⁰ In addition, the form appears once in the collocation *ciężka muzyka* (i.e. music of a heavy-metal or a hard-rock type). This usage of *ciężki* can also be considered new; however, it will not be discussed in detail since it falls outside the semantic field of computers.

It is not easy to establish whether the new meanings have been triggered by English or rather developed already in Polish. It must be noted that the word *heavy* in English is frequently used in computer-related contexts, in such constructions as *heavy file*, *heavy software*, *heavy antivirus*, etc. It may well be the case that both processes, i.e. the internal development of Polish and the English influence, coexisted side-by-side and English played an intensifying role here. For that reason, the word *ciężki* is included and counted as a semantic loan.

In addition, the word *ociężały* is also used in new collocations; the traditional sense of 'done slowly and not very efficiently' is retained, but the word, together with its derivatives (*ociężale*, *ociężałość*), was used traditionally in connection with humans and animals. In the corpus, the words in question are used in connection with software, hardware, Internet connection⁴¹, etc., cf. such collocations as *ociężała aplikacja*, *połączenie internetowe było ociężałe*, *antywirus jest nieco ociężały*.

The new meanings of the word *ciężki* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Cyfrowy. SJPDor defines the word *cyfrowy* as the adjective derived from *cyfra* (usually in the sense of 'related to digits or numbers'). In addition, the term *maszyna cyfrowa* is given, defined as 'a machine for processing digital information, i.e. information that can be noted down with the use of certain symbols, such as digits or letters'.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in two closely related new meanings: (A) 'using a system of sending and receiving information as a series of numbers (0 and 1), showing that an electronic signal is there or is not there' (cf. OALD) and (B) 'accessed through the Internet; having the form of a computer file'. Both meanings are closely interrelated and, as a result, the constructions discussed in Table 4.26 will not be divided according to the meaning in which the word *cyfrowy* appeared.⁴² The new senses have most probably been triggered by English *digital* (the first occurrence of the word in the sense of 'a digital signal/information' dates back to 1940; OED).

The form appears 102 times in the corpus, out of which 5 are used in the traditional sense (as in e.g. *6-cyfrowy kod*). The remaining 97 tokens are used in the new senses. The form appears in various new collocations, many of which are calques from English; for details, cf. Table 4.26.

⁴¹ The forms are used 8 times altogether, almost all of them (7) are used in new collocations.

⁴² For example, cf. *cyfrowa muzyka*, *cyfrowe zdjęcia*, where both meanings are combined.

Table 4.26. The use of the word *cyfrowy* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>cyfrowy</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
cyfrowa dystrybucja ^a	24	digital distribution	LT
podpis cyfrowy ^b	9	digital signature	LT
dystrybucja cyfrowa	7	digital distribution	LT
telewizja cyfrowa	5	digital television	LT
cyfrowa fotografia	5	digital photography	LT
wersja cyfrowa	4	digital version	LT
cyfrowa edycja	3	digital edition	LT
aparat cyfrowy	3	digital camera	LT
sygnał cyfrowy	2	digital signal	LT
cyfrowy przesył	2	digital transmission	LR
interfejs cyfrowy	1	digital interface	SC
tożsamość cyfrowa	1	digital identity	LT

^a Including one token of *dystrybutor cyfrowy* and one of *cyfrowa dystro*, an informal variant of *dystrybucja*.

^b Including also *podpisany cyfrowo*.

The new meanings of *cyfrowy* have not been noted in SJPSzym (as in SJPDor, only the term *maszyna cyfrowa* is included). One of the new meanings (sense A) has been noted in SJPSob; it has also been noted in ISJP (only in the term *urządzenie cyfrowe*) and USJP (only in *sygnał cyfrowy*, *technika cyfrowa*).

The word *cyfrowy* was discussed in some of the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008a: 32–34; 2012a: 110–113; 2012b: 233).

Czysty, czyścić. The word *czysty* is traditionally used in the following senses: (1) ‘not dirty’, (2) ‘transparent, clear’, (3) ‘resonant, sonorous, not hoarse’, (4) ‘not mixed with anything, free from any distortions’, (5) ‘righteous, fair’, (6) ‘regular; perfect’, (7) ‘not in debt’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the word in question appears in several new meanings: (A) ‘the most basic version of a given software, i.e. with no additional files, patches, software libraries, etc.’ (e.g. *czysty system*, *czysty kod*, *czysty DOS*, *czysty Windows*, *czysta Opera*, *czysty Pascal*), (B) ‘with no viruses, Trojan horses, malware or other malicious software’ (e.g. *czysty komputer*, *czysty plik*, *czysty system*), (C) ‘with no data’ (e.g. *czysty dysk*, *czysta płyta*, *czysta dyskietka*), (D) ‘complete; from the very beginning; involving the deletion of all existing data; with no programs installed beforehand’ (e.g. *czysta instalacja*, *instalacja na czysto*), (E) ‘with no operating system’ (e.g. *czysty komputer*).

The form *czysty* (including also the adverb *czysto*) appears 190 times in the corpus, out of which 85 are used in one of the traditional meanings. The remaining 105 occurrences are used in one of the new meanings (cf. Table 4.27).

Table 4.27. The use of the word *czysty* in new meanings

New senses of the word <i>czysty</i>	n
(A)	34
(B)	32
(C)	22
(D)	15
(E)	2

It is very difficult, if possible at all, to establish whether the new meanings have been triggered by English. In some senses (most notably A, C, and E) the new meaning emerged most probably already in Polish, by means of analogy to existing constructions. For instance, such constructions as *czysty dysk* (sense C) developed most probably by analogy to such collocations as *czysta kartka papieru*, *czysty zeszyt*, etc.

The English language, however, might have played an intensifying role, particularly in the case of the new meanings B and D, as the equivalent constructions (with the words *clean* or *clear*) are frequent in English, cf. e.g. *computer is clean / clean computer*, *clean file*, *clean system*, *clean installation*. As a result, the form *czysty* is included as a semantic loan (only the senses B and D are counted as modelled on English). Naturally, it is also possible that both processes (internal development of Polish and the influence of English) were simultaneously in operation.

The word in question, due to the multiplicity of new meanings may be potentially ambiguous in some contexts, cf. e.g. *czysty komputer*, which may mean either 'a computer that is free from viruses and other harmful software' or 'a computer with no operating system installed' and *czysty system*, which may mean either 'an operating system free from viruses' or 'a basic version of an operating system, with no additional files or patches'.

The word *czyścić*, in turn, is traditionally used in two main senses: (1) 'to make something clean; get rid of dirt, dust, etc.', (2) 'to cause diarrhoea' (SJPDor). In computer-related language, the form is used in a new subsense, similar to sense 1, of 'to get rid of unnecessary files, temporary files, viruses, Trojan horses, malware and other unwanted software or files by means of specially designed software' (cf. also the humorous use of the word *czyściochy* in the sense of 'antivirus programs'⁴³).

The forms *czyścić/wyczyścić/oczyścić/przeczyścić/czyszczenie* appear 621 times in the corpus, out of which 264 occurrences refer to the traditional meaning (sense 1). The remaining 357 occurrences appear in the new meaning. The most common collocations include *czyścić rejestr*, *czyścić komputer*, *czyścić dysk*, *czyścić system*, *czyścić pamięć*, *czyścić ciasteczka*, and *czyścić historię*. The form

⁴³ This, however, is an idiosyncratic use, as it was detected only once in the corpus.

is also used with English lexical borrowings or semi-calques, e.g. *czyścić cache*, *czyścić cookies*, and *czyścić favikony*. Some of the constructions can therefore be seen as ambiguous, e.g. *czyścić komputer* or *czyścić dysk* ('get rid of viruses' or 'clean from dust').⁴⁴

As in the case of *czysty*, the new meaning may have appeared as a result of the internal development of Polish; again, however, the constructions imitate equivalent constructions in English, e.g. *to clean the system*, *clean temporary files*, *clean Windows registry*, *clean/clear history*, *clean/clear cookies*, etc. Thus it is highly probable that English has played an intensifying role here; consequently, the form *czyścić* is included as a semantic loan.

It is worth noting that related forms, such as e.g. *odkurzać*, can also be used in the extended sense (i.e. 'to get rid of unnecessary files'). They are, however, used less frequently than *czyścić*.

The new meanings of the word *czysty* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP (with the exception of sense C), USJP, or SJPSob. The new meaning of the word *czyścić* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

One of the new uses of the word *czyścić* was mentioned in an earlier study by the present author (Zabawa 2015b: 369–370).

Czytnik. Traditionally, the word *czytnik* is used in the sense of 'a device for reading the texts (such as e.g. microfilms)' (cf. SJPDor).

In the computing-related contexts, the word is used in two new meanings: (A) 'a small machine, similar to a tablet, used for reading e-books' (cf. *czytnik e-booków*, *czytnik 10-calowy*) and (B) 'a special software used for reading certain data formats, e.g. PDF files or new entries in given blogs' (e.g. *czytnik pdf*, *czytnik RSS*, *czytnik blogów*, *czytnik Google*). The new senses appeared most probably as a result of the influence of the English forms *reader* and *e-reader*. In addition, the word *czytnik* can be used, outside the area of computers, in the sense of 'a device used for reading encrypted data'.

In the corpus, the form *czytnik* is used 81 times, all of which are used in the new sense. As many as 50 tokens are used in the new sense outside the area of computers (cf. above), in such constructions as *czytnik linii papilarnych* or *czytnik kodów kreskowych*.

Among the remaining 31 occurrences, 19 refer to e-book readers (sense A) and 12 to a special software used for reading certain data formats (sense B), cf. Table 4.28.

⁴⁴ A quotation from the corpus well illustrates the fact that the ambiguity is not only of theoretical character but it does really appear, cf. *A o jakim czyszczeniu mówisz – systemu czy wewnątrz z kurzu?* [1].

Table 4.28. The use of the word *czytnik* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>czytnik</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>czytnik</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	19	czytnik e-booków	4	e-reader ^a	SR
(B)	12	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a The form *e-book reader* is also used, but is much less frequent (according to Google search).

The new meanings of the word *czytnik* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.⁴⁵

Dedykowany. The form is an adjective derived from the verb *dedykować*, used traditionally in Polish, with reference to e.g. a novel, a movie, an artistic performance, etc., in the sense of ‘to dedicate it to a given person’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word *dedykowany* is used in a completely new meaning. It refers to a piece of computer hardware, or, less commonly, a software, an Internet server, etc., meant to be used with a particular type of computer, operating system, mainboard, etc. (e.g. *dedykowana klawiatura*, *serwer dedykowany*, *dedykowana karta graficzna*, *dedykowane programy*, *dedykowane chłodzenie*, *dedykowany sterownik*, *dedykowana pamięć*). The new meaning is most probably modelled on English *dedicated* (cf. constructions in Table 4.29; cf. also OED).

In the corpus, there are 117 tokens of *dedykowany*⁴⁶, all of which are used in the new meaning. English-induced calques were also detected, cf. Table 4.29.

Table 4.29. The use of the word *dedykowany* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>dedykowany</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
serwer dedykowany	38	dedicated server	SC
dedykowana karta graficzna	5	dedicated graphics card	LT
dedykowana karta dźwiękowa	2	dedicated sound card	LT

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, by contrast, mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 232–233).

Definicja. Traditionally, the form *definicja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an explanation of the meaning of a given word’ and (2) (old use) ‘clear description, explanation of something’ (SJPDor).

⁴⁵ This does not apply to the sense ‘a device used for reading encrypted data’, included in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob.

⁴⁶ Including one instance of a clipped form *dedyk*, e.g. *serwer dedyk*, but excluding 10 occurrences of *dedyk* as a noun, functioning as a short form for *router dedykowany* or *serwer dedykowany*, e.g. *czy muszę brać dedyka?* [21].

In computer-related spheres, the word in question, usually used in plural, refers to ‘antivirus update (in the form of a file, usually downloaded from the Internet) containing information about new viruses’.

In the corpus, the form appears 25 times, out of which 18 are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 7 occurrences are used in the new sense, frequently in the collocation *definicje wirusów* (4 times, including the construction *definicje wszystkich znanych wirusów*), a calque of English *virus definitions*.

The new meaning of the word *definicja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Demon. According to SJPDor, the word *demon* is used in the sense of (1) ‘in Greek mythology: a supernatural being, either good or evil’, (2) ‘in Christian religion: evil spirit, Satan’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in a completely new meaning, under the influence of the English form *daemon/demon* (the new meaning was attested in English in 1971; OED); it refers to ‘a computer program that is running in the background, without direct interaction with a user’ (cf. OED).

The form appears 18 times in the corpus, out of which 3 tokens are used in the new sense. The form does not appear in English-induced calques.

The new meaning of the word *demon* has been noted in SJPSob (but not SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP).

Developer, deweloper. The word *developer/deweloper* is defined by USJP (the word does not appear in SJPDor or SJPSzym) as ‘a person or a company that invests money into the construction of houses and flats for sale’.

In the semantic area of computers, the form is used in the sense of a company that develops and sells various kinds of software; the new meaning appeared most probably on the model of English *developer* (cf. one of the examples given by ODE: *software developers*).

In the corpus, the form (*developer* and *deweloper*, but not *development*, *developing*, etc.) is used 72 times,⁴⁷ all of which are used in the new sense: there are 55 tokens referring to computer games, 7 to an operating system, 6 to various other programs or applications, and 4 to web browsers.

The form appears in various new constructions calquing English forms, cf. Table 4.30.

⁴⁷ Constructions such as *web developer* are regarded as English lexical loans and are not included in the total count of 72 tokens.

Table 4.30. The use of the word *developer/deweloper* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>developer/deweloper</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
studio developerskie	4	development studio	SC
deweloper gier	2	game developer	SC
wersja deweloperska	1	developer version	SC
dziennik deweloperski	1	developer diary	SC

The new meaning of the word *developer/deweloper* has not been noted by SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Diagnostyka. Traditionally, the word *diagnostyka* is used in medical contexts, in the sense of ‘a field of science connected with disease recognition on the basis of characteristic symptoms’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the form is frequently used in connection with computer hardware, in the sense of ‘an act of checking the condition of a given component of a computer (with the help of specially designed software)’. The new sense is most probably modelled on English (the first attestations of *diagnostic* and *diagnostics* in connection with computers date back to 1953 and 1963, respectively; OED).

The form, including the derivative *diagnostyczny*, is used 55 times in the corpus; all of the occurrences appear in the new sense (with one token referring to a car and the rest to a piece of hardware). The corpus contains numerous examples of collocations of a type *diagnostyka* + a piece of hardware, such as e.g. *diagnostyka komputera, smartfonów, procka, pamięci, systemu operacyjnego, ramu, dysku twardego*. Other examples include *program diagnostyczny* (previously used mostly in the car industry) or *narzędzie diagnostyczne*.

The new meaning of the word *diagnostyka* has been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob, but not in connection with computers. In fact, in the case of SJPSzym, ISJP, and USJP, the reference is made to cars (‘to check the condition of a given machine, e.g. a car’); SJPSob, by contrast, provides a more general definition with reference to devices and machines.

Diagnoza. Traditionally, the word *diagnoza* is used in the sense of (1) ‘disease recognition, a diagnosis’ and (2) ‘scientific description of the characteristic features of a given species of plants and animals’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is frequently used informally in a figurative meaning, in the sense of ‘the process or the state of assessing a general condition of a computer or its part, deciding if a given piece of hardware needs repairing or replacing’. It is not easy to establish whether the new meaning appeared under the influence of English. It might have emerged

already in Polish, but it is equally possible that it was triggered, or at least intensified, by the influence of the English form *diagnosis* and *to diagnose*, cf. such forms as *to diagnose video card problems*, *to diagnose hardware failure*, etc., used frequently in Internet texts.

The form is used 41 times in the corpus (including related forms, such as *diagnozować*, *diagnozowanie*, *diagnozujący*); virtually all (40) of its occurrences are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The remaining one token is also used in the new sense, albeit different from the one given above: ‘an act of assessing the functionality of a given website’. The form appears in new collocations, mostly in connection with the names of pieces of hardware, e.g. *diagnoza działania dysku twardego*, *zdiagnozować moją kartę graficzną*, *diagnoza mojego komputera*, *programy diagnozujące*.

The new sense of *diagnoza* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob, however, have noted a general new meaning of ‘an assessment of or opinion on something’.

Dinozaur. Traditionally, the word *dinozaur* is used in the sense of ‘a large extinct reptile’ (SJPDor).

In the corpus, the form is used, apart from the traditional meaning, in the new sense, to refer to outdated hardware. It appears three times in the corpus, two out of which are used in the traditional sense (referring to dinosaurs in a computer game). The remaining one occurrence is used in the new sense, referring to a set of cables and sockets to connect a graphics card. The change may have been created “on the Polish soil,” but it is also probable that it was triggered (or at least intensified) by the English form *dinosaur*, also used informally in connection with a piece of hardware or software.

The new use of the word *dinozaur* has been noted in ISJP (but not in SJPSzym); USJP and SJPSob have noted the new sense, but with reference to people (in the case of SJPSob: people and countries) only. The new sense was also briefly mentioned in one of the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2015a: 103–105).

Dokument. Traditionally, the word *dokument* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an official document: (a) confirming something, etc., (b) an ID card, passport, etc.’, (2) ‘a proof of the truth of something’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the form is used in a new meaning: it denotes ‘a computer file with certain data’ (e.g. *dokument tekstowy*, *dokument w Wordzie*). Most commonly, the word in question refers to text documents, created with the use of word-processors (e.g. Microsoft Word), but it may refer to other types of files as well, e.g. Excel documents, PowerPoint presentations, etc. The new meaning appeared most probably as a result of the influence

of the English form *document* (the new meaning in English dates back to 1967; OED).

Additionally, the form appears, usually in plural, in the sense of 'instructions manuals, authenticity certificates, etc., received with a given piece of software or hardware' (e.g. *dokumenty od Nokii, dokumenty od Samsunga*). This, however, is treated as an extension outside the semantic field of computers and will not be discussed in detail.

The word *dokument* appears 272 times in the corpus, out of which 24 appear in the traditional meaning, not connected with computers, e.g. *dokumenty fiskalne, dokumenty finansowe, dokumenty do ZUSu*. The next 4 occurrences are used in the above-mentioned sense of instruction manuals, authenticity certificates, etc. The remaining 244 tokens are used in the new meaning; the word appears in various new collocations, such as *praca w dokumentach/na dokumentach, import dokumentów, or zarządzanie dokumentami*. In addition, one calque was detected: *dokument tekstowy* (8 tokens), calquing English *text document*.

The new meaning of the word *dokument* has been noted in SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or USJP); additionally, it has been mentioned in passing in ISJP. The new sense of the word was also mentioned in two of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008a: 38–39; 2008b: 161).

Domena. According to SJPDor, the word *domena* is used in the sense of (1) 'a field, domain, range' and (2) (old-fashioned) 'a territory owned by a country, a ruler, etc.' (SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the form is used in a new sense: it denotes 'a suffix of the website address, signalling a country, an organization, etc., e.g. *.pl, .edu, .gov, .co.uk, etc.*' (e.g. *rejestracja domeny, domeny regionalne, domeny globalne, domena sieciowa*). The change in meaning is triggered by English *domain* (first attested in the computer-related meaning in 1982; OED).

The form appears 491 times in the corpus, including the adjective *domenowy* and the form *subdomena*.⁴⁸ All of the occurrences are used in the new meaning.

The form appears in various new collocations, calqued from English. Details are presented in Table 4.31.

⁴⁸ The status of the form *subdomena* is somehow unclear, as it is also possible to treat it as an English lexical borrowing (cf. *subdomain*).

Table 4.31. The use of the word *domena* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>domena</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
domeny regionalne	11	regional domains	LT
domena logowania	6	logon domain	SC
domeny funkcjonalne	4	functional domains	LT
parkowanie domeny, zaparkowana domena ^a	3	domain parking	SC
domena drugiego poziomu	1	second-level domain	LT
domena sieciowa	1	network domain	LT

^a The form *parkować* (which can also be regarded as a lexical and semantic loan at the same time) is used to describe the state when a domain name is not yet connected to a website but is registered and stored on a given server.

The new meaning of the word *domena* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP). The new sense of the word was also discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 234–235).

Drzewo. According to SJPDor, the word *drzewo* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a type of plant with a trunk and branches’, (2) ‘wood (as a material)’, (3) ‘wood (as fuel)’, (4) (old use) ‘a type of weapon, a spear’, (5) ‘woodwind instruments’. In addition, the term *drzewo genealogiczne* is given.

In the area of computers, the form appears in a new meaning: it denotes a tree-like structure showing e.g. a system of files within a given directory or describing a development of something (in the form of a tree-like diagram; examples from the corpus include *drzewo kategorii*, *drzewo indeksu*, *drzewko rozwoju*, *drzewko umiejętności*). The extension is most probably the result of the influence of English *tree* (cf. DCIT).

In the corpus, the form *drzewo* appears 29 times, out of which 20 are used in the traditional sense, including the construction *drzewo genealogiczne*, and 9 in the new sense. Additionally, there are 14 tokens of *drzewko*, out of which only one is used in the traditional sense and 13 in the new meaning. Thus, it is the diminutive form in which case the change in meaning is particularly noticeable.⁴⁹ The form does not appear in English-induced loan translations.

Additionally, the form *gałąź* has also extended its meaning (to denote an element or group of elements in a tree-like diagram). The word is used 7 times in the corpus, out of which one is used in the traditional sense; the remaining 6 occurrences are used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word *drzewo* has not been noted in SJPSzym, USJP, or SJPSob; it does appear, by contrast, in ISJP.

⁴⁹ In addition, there are two occurrences of *poddrzewo* and one of *drzewiasty* (not included in the number of tokens given above), all of which are used in the new sense.

Dziennik. Traditionally, the word *dziennik* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a newspaper published daily’, (2) ‘an official book in which certain records are made daily’, (3) ‘a diary’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the contexts connected with computers, the form is used in a metaphorical sense; it denotes ‘a file which contains information on all events and activities of an operating system or a computer in general’ (e.g. *dziennik zdarzeń*, *dziennik akcji*, *dziennik aktywności programu*). The new sense is most probably the result of the influence of English *log* and *logfile*.

The form appears 31 times in the corpus, out of which one is used in the traditional sense; the remaining 30 occurrences appear in the new sense. The word appears in various new constructions, many of which are calques from English; details are presented in Table 4.32.

Table 4.32. The use of the word *dziennik* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>dziennik</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>dziennik zdarzeń</i>	11	event log	LT
<i>dziennik akcji</i>	1		LR
<i>dziennik systemu</i>	3	system log	LT
<i>plik dziennika</i>	2	logfile	LT
<i>dziennik podglądu zdarzeń</i>	1	event viewer log	LT

The new sense of the word *dziennik* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Edytor. Traditionally, the word *edytor* is used in the sense of ‘a publisher’ (SJPDor).

In computer areas, the word is used in two new senses. First, it appears in the sense of (A) ‘a word processor’; *edytor* in this meaning is an ellipsis of the form *edytor tekstu* (a calque of English *text editor*⁵⁰). Second, the meaning of the word has been further extended: the form can now be used not only with reference to a word processor, but (B) ‘any kind of a computer program used to edit or modify another program, a file, graphics, or data in general’ (e.g. *edytor czcionek*, *edytor plików*). The extension is most probably the result of the influence of English *editor* (the new sense dates back to 1959; OED).

The word appears 105 times in the corpus (including diminutives, i.e. *edytorek*), all of which are used in one of the new senses; English-induced calques are also documented, cf. Table 4.33.

⁵⁰ It should be added, however, that in English, unlike in Polish, there is a distinction between a text editor (for editing plain text files) and a word processor (for editing document files). Thus, the meaning of English *text editor* and Polish *edytor tekstu* is not identical.

Table 4.33. The use of the word *edytor* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>edytor</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>edytor</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	41	edytor tekstu/tekstowy	32	text editor	LT
(B)	64	edytor rejestru	15	registry editor	LT
		edytor grafiki/graficzny	6	graphics editor	LT
		edytor kodu	2	code editor	LT
		edytor czcionek	2	font editor	LT
		edytor plików	1	file editor	LT
		edytor szablonów	1	template editor	LT

In addition, the word *edycja* has also extended its meaning. Originally, the form was used with reference to books; now the word is also used in connection with computer games or software in general, cf. *edycja pudełkowa*, *edycja Windowsa* (probably under the influence of English *edition*, cf. *box edition*, *Windows edition*).⁵¹

The new senses of the word *edytor* have not been noted in SJPSzym. One of its new senses (sense A) has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob; in addition, it was mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 237–238). The second new sense (B) has not been noted so far.

Eksplorator. Traditionally, the form *eksplorator* is used in the sense of ‘a prospector’ (SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in a completely new meaning; it denotes ‘a file browser, i.e. a small program that is used to navigate drivers, folders, files, etc.’ (cf. such constructions as *Windows Explorer*, *Internet Explorer*, etc.). The form appears 10 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense. The most frequent collocation is *eksplorator Windows* (5 tokens) / *eksplorator w Windows* (1 token), a semi-calque and semi-rendition, respectively, of English *Windows Explorer* (not included in the total count of calques, cf. Section 4.4, fn. 10).

The related forms *eksploracja* and *eksplorować* are also used in the new sense. They appear 18 times in the corpus, out of which 6 are used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word *eksplorator* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP⁵², USJP, or SJPSob.

⁵¹ In addition, the form *edycja* can also be used in a completely new sense, to denote the process of changing or improving something, e.g. *edycja filmu* (under the influence of English *edit*). The form *edytować* can also be used in this sense, cf. e.g. *edytować stronę www*.

⁵² The word does not appear at all in ISJP.

Eksport. According to SJPDor, the word *eksport* is used in the meaning of (1) ‘the process of sending goods abroad’ and (2) ‘the goods sent abroad’.

In computer-related areas, the form is used in the new sense of ‘the process of transferring files, data, etc., from a given program with the intention to paste them into another program; also the process of saving data, files, etc., in the format different than the default one used by a given program’ (e.g. *eksport kontaktów*, *eksportować ustawienia*). The new meaning appeared most probably under the influence of English *export* (the verb *export* was first used with reference to computer data in 1982; OED).

In the corpus, the form is used 52 times (including related forms, such as *eksportować* and *eksporter*⁵³), all of which are used in the new sense. The form is used in various new constructions calquing English forms, cf. Table 4.34.

Table 4.34. The use of the word *eksport* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>eksport</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>eksportować dane</i>	4	export data	LT
<i>eksport kontaktów</i>	2	export contacts	LT
<i>eksport pliku</i>	1	file export	LT
<i>eksport obiektu</i>	1	object export	LT

The new sense of the word *eksport* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Elektroniczny. Traditionally, the word *elektroniczny* is used as an adjective of the word *elektronika* (SJPDor). USJP defines the word as ‘concerned with electronics; based on electronics’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the completely new sense of ‘connected with the Internet or obtained via the Internet’; the new sense appeared under the influence of English *electronic*, first used in computer-related (but not yet Internet-related) sense in 1953 (OED).

The word *elektroniczny* appears 58 times in the corpus, out of which 19 tokens are used in the traditional sense, e.g. *czujnik elektroniczny*, *sprzęt elektroniczny*, *warsztat elektroniczny*. The remaining 39 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense; the word appears also in English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.35.

⁵³ Sometimes the form is used with unassimilated spelling, as in *exportuj*.

Table 4.35. The use of the word *elektroniczny* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>elektroniczny</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
wersja elektroniczna	12	electronic version	LT
bankowość elektroniczna	4	electronic banking	LT
elektroniczna dystrybucja	4	digital distribution	LR
książka elektroniczna	1	electronic book (e-book)	LT

The new meaning of the word *elektroniczny* has not been noted in SJPszym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (in the last three dictionaries, however, the term *poczta elektroniczna* is included). The new sense of the word was, by contrast, mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 240–241).

Etykieta. Traditionally, the word *etykieta* is used in the sense of (1) ‘etiquette’ and (2) ‘a label, a tag with the price, product name, etc.’ (SJPdor).

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in the sense of ‘a name of something, e.g. a system tool, a hard disk, a CD drive, etc.’ (e.g. *etykieta narzędzi, etykieta systemu operacyjnego*). The change in meaning appeared probably under the influence of English *label*, first attested in a computer-related sense, albeit more restricted than the one used in the corpus, in 1958 (OED).⁵⁴

The form appears 12 times, all of which are used in the new sense.⁵⁵ The form is used twice in the English calque *etykieta woluminu* (English *volume label*).

The new specific meaning of *etykieta* has not been noted in SJPszym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Filtr. According to SJPdor, the word *filtr* is used in the sense of ‘a device used for removing solid particles, radiation, etc.’

In the contexts connected with computers, the form is used in two main senses, to denote (A) ‘a program (or a function in a program) used for selecting and/or rejecting unwanted data, e.g. spam, unwanted files, Internet advertisements, websites with malicious content, etc.’ (e.g. *filtr internetowy, filtr poczty, filtr stron*) and (B) ‘a function in graphics software, computer game, etc., that enables its user to make some changes, e.g. changing colours, adding the effects of blood, etc.’ The new meaning appeared most probably as a result of the influence of English *filter* (the first use in connection with computers (sense A) dates back to 1980; OED).

The form, together with the derivatives *filtrować, filtracja, filtrujący*, etc., is used 101 times in the corpus, out of which 20 are used in the traditional sense; the remaining 81 tokens are used in one of the new senses. English calques are also documented, cf. Table 4.36.

⁵⁴ In certain computer-related senses, the word *tag* is also used (first attested in 1948; OED).

⁵⁵ Additionally, there are three tokens of *netykieta* (a borrowing of English *netiquette*), the meaning of which is completely different.

Table 4.36. The use of the word *filtr* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>filtr</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>filtr</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	74	filtr antyspamowy	6	spam filter	LR
		filtr spamu	1		LT
		algorytm filtrujący/ filtrowania	2	filtering algorithm	LT
		filtr stron	1	Web filter	LR
		filtr rodzinny	1	family filter	LT
(B)	7	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new meanings of the word *filtr* have not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; they have, however, been noted in USJP and SJPSob (as one new sense).

Fizyka. Traditionally, the word *fizyka* is used with reference to a branch of science (SJPDor). In computer-related contexts, the word is used in connection with computer games in the sense of ‘the realism of the game; the degree to which laws of physics have been implemented into the game engine’. The form is most probably a result of the influence of English *game physics*.

The form appears 15 times in the corpus, out of which 4 are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 11 are used in the new sense, in such collocations as e.g. *fizyka jazdy [samochodem]* (twice) or *fizyka rozgrywki*. The form does not appear in any English-induced calques.

The new sense of the word *fizyka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Folder. According to SJPDor, the word *folder* is used in the sense of ‘a printed sheet of paper, usually folded, with information about a city, etc., or about certain goods; a leaflet’.

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in the sense of ‘a directory containing files’, most probably under the influence of English *folder* (cf. DCIT). The form is used 651 times in the corpus, including 7 tokens of *podfolder*, all of which are used in the new sense.

The form appears in various new constructions, some of which are calques from English; details are presented in Table 4.37.

Table 4.37. The use of the word *folder* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>folder</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
folder instalacyjny/instalacji	4	installation folder	LT
folder systemu/systemowy	2	system folder	LT
folder plików tymczasowych	1	temporary folder	LR

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; it appears, however, in USJP and SJPSob.

Format. Traditionally, the word *format* appears in the meaning of ‘size, shape’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word appears in two new senses: (A) ‘the action of formatting hard disk or other storage device’ and (B) ‘the format of a file, i.e. the way in which information is saved’, most probably under the influence of English *format* (the new meaning of *format* (sense B) dates back to 1955; OED). The word *format*, including the verb *formatować* and the adjective *sformatowany*, appears 1,131 times in the corpus, out of which 34 are used in a general, traditional sense (e.g. *format A4*). The remaining 1,097 tokens are used in the new senses; the word also appears in certain calqued constructions, cf. Table 4.38.

Table 4.38. The use of the word *format* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>format</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>format</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	867	formatować dysk, format dysku	49	disk formatting	LT
		głęboki format	1	low-level formatting	LR
(B)	230	format pliku	9	file format	LT

Apart from the constructions given in Table 4.38, there are numerous other constructions which also have English counterparts. As they are serially created in Polish, they are not seen as calques (cf. the principle of analogy, Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.4). Examples include *format dysku*, *format partycji*, or *szybki format*.

The new senses of the word *format* have not been noted in SJPSzym, or ISJP; one of the new meanings (sense B) appears in USJP and SJPSob; it was also mentioned by Witalisz (2007a: 244). Sense A, by contrast, has not been noted in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Forum. Traditionally, the word *forum* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a place in ancient Roman cities where meetings were held’, (2) (old-fashioned) ‘court, tribunal’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the form is used in the sense of ‘an Internet message board’, i.e. a website where users can post messages on a particular topic. The change in meaning results most probably from the influence of the English word *forum* (the use of the word in the area of computers dates back to 1971; OED).

The word *forum* appears 1,400 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new meaning.

Additionally, there are 97 tokens of derivatives, which can be regarded as neologisms, viz. the adjective *forumowy* and the noun *forumowicz*.

The new sense of the word *forum* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; it was, by contrast, discussed by Wiśniewska-Białaś (2011: 113–115).

Galeria. According to SJPDor, the word *galeria* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a type of a long balcony; a gallery’, (2) ‘an underground passage in a mine, etc.’, (3) ‘a room where works of art are displayed; also the collection of works of art’, (4) ‘the highest rows in a theatre; also the people sitting there’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in an extended metaphorical sense: it refers to a website containing photographs, usually thematically arranged.⁵⁶ The photographs may be on any topic, including e.g. movie stills, photographs of a famous person, one’s personal photographs, etc. The new meaning appeared under the influence of English *photo gallery*, cf. the next paragraph.

The form appears 38 times in the corpus, none of which are used in the traditional sense. There are 5 tokens of instances used in the sense of a shopping area; the remaining 33 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The word appears in one construction calquing an English form, viz. *galeria zdjęć/zdjęciowa* (11 tokens), calquing English *photo gallery*.

The new sense of the word *galeria* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Generator. Traditionally, the word *generator* is used in the sense of (a) ‘a machine generating electricity’ and (b) ‘a machine transferring solid fuels into gas’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the domain of computers, the form in question is used in the sense of ‘a computer application used to generate something, e.g. strings of numbers’. The new sense emerged under the influence of English *generator* (the use of the word in the new sense dates back to 1953; OED).

In the corpus, the form appears 19 times, 18 out of which are used in the new sense. The form appears in various collocations, many of which are calques from English, cf. Table 4.39.

Table 4.39. The use of the word *generator* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>generator</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
generator raportu	5	report generator	LT
generator liczb pseudolosowych	2	pseudorandom number generator	LT
generator hasel	1	password generator	LT

⁵⁶ In addition, the word in question is also used in another new sense, i.e. a large indoor shopping area (*galeria handlowa*). It is not further discussed as it falls outside the thematic field of computers.

The new sense of the word has not been included in SJPSzym or ISJP; it does appear (in the term *generator liczb losowych*) in USJP and SJPSob. In addition, SJPSob notes the new sense of 'a computer program that generates other programs used for executing standard operations'; the word does not appear in this sense, however, in the corpus.

Geometria. Traditionally, the word *geometria* is used in the sense of (1) 'a branch of mathematics', (2) 'a geometry textbook', (3) (informal) 'a geometry class', (4) (old use) 'the science of measuring an area of land; surveying' (cf. SJPDor). Additionally, USJP provides the construction *geometria kół* (wheel alignment).

In computer contexts, the form is used in relation to hard disk platters, to denote the number and arrangement of hard disk sectors, heads, cylinders, etc. The form can most probably be seen as triggered by English *geometry*, cf. such phrases as *hard drive geometry*, *disk geometry*, frequently found in Internet texts.

The form is used twice in the corpus; both occurrences are used in the new meaning. There is one token of the construction *geometria talerzy*, most probably a calque of English *platter geometry*.

The new sense of the word does not appear in SJPSzym or USJP; it is included, by contrast, in ISJP and SJPSob (in a more general sense, not connected with computers *sensu stricto*).

Gest. Traditionally, the word *gest* is used in the sense of 'a movement of the body, usually accompanying speaking' (SJPDor).

In the domain of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense, denoting a combination of mouse movements and clicks recognized by a given program (e.g. a web browser, a computer game, etc.) as a certain command or password. The new sense, of metaphorical character, appeared most probably under the influence of English *gesture* (cf. DCIT) and the construction *mouse gesture*.

In the corpus, the form *gest* (usually appearing in plural) is used 18 times, out of which one is used in the traditional sense. The remaining 17 occurrences are used in the new sense; there are 9 tokens of the construction *gest myszy* or *gesty myszy* (a calque of English *mouse gesture*).

The new sense of the word *gest* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Guzik. According to SJPDor, the word *guzik* is used in the sense of (1) 'a round piece of metal, etc., used for e.g. fastening one piece of a garment to another', (2) 'a part of a machine, device, etc., which is pressed to turn the electricity on and/or make the machine work'.

In the field of computers, the word in question is used in three new senses: (A) ‘an area on a computer screen that can be clicked on (with a mouse) to perform a certain action, e.g. to shut the window’, (B) ‘a mouse button’, (C) ‘a key (in a computer keyboard)’. The new senses, of metaphorical character, are most probably the result of the influence of English *button* (the word was first attested in the sense (A) in 1984; OED).

In the corpus, the form is used 29 times, out of which 13 tokens are used in the traditional sense (sense 2; the word appears also in its popular, colloquial sense as ‘nothing’). The remaining 16 occurrences are used in new senses. Details are provided in Table 4.40.

Table 4.40. The use of the word *guzik* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>guzik</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>guzik</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	11	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	3	<i>guzik myszy</i> ^a	1	mouse button	LT
(C)	2	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a Traditionally, the construction *przycisk myszy* is used.

The new senses of the word *guzik* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Heurystyka. Traditionally, the word *heurystyka* is used in the sense of ‘the ability of discovering new facts and truths by formulating hypotheses’ (SJPDor).

In computer contexts, the form is used in the sense of ‘a method of solving problems that involves intelligent trial and error rather than strict rules’ (DCIT, cf. also ODE; examples from the corpus include *moduł heurystyki*, *metoda heurystyczna*, *technika heurystyczna*); the emergence of the new sense (an example of specialization) is probably a result of the influence of the English forms *heuristic* and *heuristics* (the new sense of *heuristic* that refers to computers was first attested in 1958 in the collocation *heuristic programs*; OED). The form is usually used in connection with antivirus software, to denote a method of analysis used in finding new malware, viruses, etc.

The form, together with the adjective *heurystyczny*, is used 9 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. An English-induced calque was also documented, viz. *analiza heurystyczna* (3 tokens), cf. English *heuristic analysis*.

The new specialized sense of the word *heurystyka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP (in the case of ISJP, the word does not appear at all), USJP, or SJPSob.

Hibernacja. Traditionally, the word *hibernacja* is used in the sense of (1) (biology) ‘(connected with some mammals) the time, usually the winter, spent in a dormant, sleep-like state’ and (2) (medicine) ‘the process of putting somebody into sleep-like state, combined with slowing or stopping biological processes’ (SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in the sense of ‘the state when a computer is switched off, but its current state (e.g. open programs, etc.) is saved onto hard disk’. As a result, when a computer is switched on, it is in exactly the same state as before having been switched off. The new sense, of metaphorical character, is a result of the influence of English *hibernation* (cf. DCIT).

In the corpus, the form appears 15 times, all of which are used in the new sense. There is one construction modelled on English, viz. *plik hibernacji* (a calque of English *hibernation file*), used 7 times.

The related forms, such as *spać*, *uśpić*, etc., are also used in the same new sense.

The new sense of the word *hibernacja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Historia. According to SJPDor, the word *historia* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘the process of the development of social life, nature, etc.’, (2) ‘the study of past events; also: a historical work’, (3) ‘a history class’, (4) ‘a story’, (5) ‘an event’, (6) (in plural) ‘unusual ideas, objects, etc.’.

In computer-related areas, the word in question is used in the new sense of ‘the list of something, e.g. of recently visited websites, recent money transfers made with an electronic account, recently received e-mails, products bought in a given e-shop, etc.’ (e.g. *historia akcji*, *historia logowań*, *historia stron internetowych*, *historia rozmowy*, *historia ciasteczek*, *historia wyświetleń*, *historia połączeń*, *historia wyszukiwań Google*). The change appears to have been influenced by English *history* (cf. DCIT, which notes the construction *history folder*).

In the corpus, the word *historia*, including derivatives *historyczny* and *historyk* (but not *prehistoria*⁵⁷, *prehistoryczny*, or the related form *historyjka*) appears 222 times, out of which 111 are used in the traditional sense (often in collocations such as *to już historia*, meaning ‘it is outdated, it is not worth mentioning or dealing with’). Some of them are used in the contexts referring to computers (e.g. *wersja historyczna* ‘a version of a computer program that is no longer used because a newer version was produced’), but the meaning as such remains traditional.

⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the neologism *prehistoryk* is used in the corpus in the sense of ‘an old computer program, now no longer used, with small capabilities, etc.’.

The remaining 111 occurrences are used in the new, above-mentioned sense. English-induced calques were also detected, viz. *historia przeglądania* and *historia przeglądarki* (used 9 and 5 times, respectively), calquing English *browsing history* and *browser history*.

The new sense of the word *historia* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Ikona. Traditionally, the word *ikona* is used in the sense of ‘a painting of Christ or another holy figure, used in Byzantine or other Eastern Churches’ (SJPDor).

In the sphere of computers, the word is used in a metaphorical sense under the influence of English *icon* (in English, the new meaning was first attested in 1982; OED), to denote ‘a small picture on a computer screen that represents a file, a folder, a program, etc.’ (e.g. *ikonka drukarki*, *ikona sieci*, *ikonka głośniczka*, *ikona karty graficznej*).

The word *ikona*, together with the diminutive form *ikonka*, appears 347 times in the corpus, out of which only one use is not connected with computers.⁵⁸ The remaining 346 tokens are used in the new sense. Interestingly, the form in the corpus is occasionally used instead of such forms as *przycisk* or *pole*, cf. *ikona ZAREJESTRUJ SIĘ*.

In addition, there are 14 tokens of the form *favikonka*⁵⁹, a semi-calque of English *favicon* (from *favourite icon*), i.e. ‘an icon associated with a particular website, displayed by a website browser in the address field’ (not counted as a calque; cf. Section 4.4, fn. 10).

The word *ikona* is one of the best-known semantic borrowings in Polish, discussed by numerous authors, e.g. Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000: 97–98), Witalisz (2007a: 248–249), Zabawa (2012a: 119; 2013d: 146). The new sense of the word has also been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym).

Import. According to SJPDor, the word *import* is used in the sense of (1) (a) ‘the process of buying goods abroad’, (b) ‘the goods bought abroad’, and (2) (old use) ‘a payment for the import of goods’.

In computer-related areas, the form is used in the sense of ‘the process of transferring a file, data, etc., from one program to another; also the use of a file, text, data, etc., created in one program, in another’ (e.g. *import archiwum*, *import grafiki*). The new sense, of metaphorical character, has appeared under the influence of English *import* (according to OED, the new meaning of the English word dates back to 1977).

⁵⁸ It is also a new meaning (not noted in SJPDor or USJP), denoting ‘a symbol’. This use is not included in the total count of new uses as it falls outside the domain of computers.

⁵⁹ Including the form *faikona*, used once (most probably a spelling mistake).

The forms *import* and *importować* are used 43 times in the corpus, out of which 2 appear in the traditional meaning. The rest, i.e. 41 occurrences, are used in the new sense. The words appear in new constructions, some of which are calquing equivalent English forms; these are presented in Table 4.41.

Table 4.41. The use of the word *import* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>import</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
import zakładki, importować zakładkę	2	bookmark import	SC
importować plik	1	import the file, file import	SC
import danych	1	data import	SC

Additionally, the form *importer* is also used in the new sense. In the language referring to computers, the word denotes 'a computer program used for importing files'. The form is, however, rare: only one token was found in the corpus (*importer plików*).

The new sense of the word *import* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; it does appear, however, in USJP and SJPSob.

Indeks. Traditionally, the word *indeks* is used in the following senses: (1) 'an alphabetical list of terms, names, etc., located usually at the end of the book', (2) 'an index book (of a student)', (3) 'the number expressing the ratio of one value to another', (4) (old use) (a) 'a hand of the clock', (b) 'the index finger' (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word *indeks* appears in two new senses: first, it is (A) used in a more specialized sense, in connection with computer databases, in various constructions, such as e.g. *indeks klastrowy* and *indeks funkcyjny* (used for sorting the data in a table). Second, the word is used in a more general meaning of (B) 'a number of a given product' (e.g. in an online shop). The verb *indeksować* is also used in new senses; details are presented in Table 4.42. The new senses are modelled on English *index* (cf. OED, which lists three meanings related to computers, dating back to 1962, 1957, and again 1962).

The forms *indeks* (including the spelling *index*), *indeksowanie*, and *indeksować* are used 98 times altogether, out of which 15 are used in the traditional senses (senses 1 and 3 in SJPDor). The remaining 83 tokens are used in the new senses, cf. Table 4.42.

Table 4.42. The use of the word *indeks* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>indeks</i> [A1, A2] and <i>indeksowanie</i> [B1, B2]	n	Constructions with the forms <i>indeks</i> and <i>indeksowanie</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
[A1] 'index in a database, used to sort data'	55	<i>indeks funkcyjny</i>	1	functional index	LT
		<i>indeks klastrowany/ klastrowy</i>	2	clustered index	LT
[A2] 'the identifying number of a given product (e.g. in an on-line shop)'	1	[no English calques]	–	–	–
[B1] 'the process of indexing files'	16	<i>indeksowanie plików</i>	1	file indexing (an indexed file)	LT
[B2] 'the process, done by search engines, of downloading and analyzing data from websites'	11	<i>indeksowanie witryn</i>	1	Web indexing	LR

The new senses of the word *indeks* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Infekcja. The word *infekcja* is traditionally used in Polish in the sense of 'an infection of an organism, caused by certain pathogens' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the word is used in a new sense, to denote 'the state where a computer virus, worm, or other form of malware or malicious code penetrates into a given computer or other electronic device and starts performing certain actions without user's consent or knowledge'.

In the corpus, the form *infekcja*, together with the adjective *zainfekowany* and various forms of the verb and the participle (*infekować*, *zainfekować*, *infekujący*, *zainfekowanie*), appears 168 times. All of the occurrences are used in the new meaning.

It is difficult to establish whether the new meaning of *infekcja* is a result of the influence of English or whether the new sense appeared already in Polish. The English words *infect* and *infection* are noted in the sense related to computers in OED (with the first usage dating back to 1972 and 1984, respectively); it is also possible, however, that the new meaning has emerged by analogy to the extension of the form →*wirus*. It may also well be the case that the two processes (native development and the English influence) were in operation simultaneously and English played an intensifying role, rather than being a direct trigger of the change.

The forms appear mainly in collocations of a type (1) *infekcja*+N_{Gen}, signalling which part of a computer was infected, e.g. *infekcja plików*, *infekcja kompa/komputera*, *infekcja dysku*, *infekcja karty*, *infekcja oprogramowania*, or *infekcja witryny internetowej*, (2) *infekcja/zainfekowany*+N_{Instr}, denoting the infecting agent, e.g. *infekcja wirusem*, *zainfekowany keylogerem*⁶⁰, *zainfekowany*

⁶⁰ The usual spelling is *keylogger* but the form *keyloger* is also documented in the corpus.

koniem trojańskim, or *zainfekowany szkodliwym/złośliwym oprogramowaniem*, (3) other constructions, denoting how the infection developed, e.g. *infekcja pendrivowa*, *infekcja z pendriva*, *infekcja z pamięci przenośnych*, and (4) *infekcja*+Adj denoting the type of an infection, e.g. *infekcja wirusowa*, *infekcja komputerowa*.

The above constructions imitate English forms, cf. *infected files*, *infected computers*, *infected software*, *keylogger infection*, *Trojan horse infection*, *malicious software infection*. Most probably, the Polish constructions are not English calques in the strict sense of the word; rather, most of them are coined spontaneously by users by means of analogy to previously existing constructions (cf. Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.4); however, the English language may, and most probably does, play an intensifying role.⁶¹

The new meaning of the word *infekcja* has not been noted in SJPszym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. The new sense of the word *zainfekowany*, by contrast, was discussed by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 124–125) and Witalisz (2007a: 302).

Instalować. Traditionally, the word *instalować* is used in the sense of ‘to install technical devices or machines’ and (2) (old use) ‘to appoint somebody to a given role’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the form in question is used in the sense of ‘to install a piece of software on a given computer’, most probably under the influence of English *to install* (cf. OALD).

The word appears in the corpus in various derivative forms, cf. *przeinstalować*, *odinstalować*, *doinstalować* ‘install missing files’, *nadinstalować* ‘install a new version of a given software without removing the old one’, and *reinstalować*. In addition, the forms found in the corpus include *instalacja*, *instalator* ‘a small application used for installing a given piece of software’, *preinstalacja*, *preinstalka* (when an operating system is installed on a hard disk by the manufacturer of a computer), *reinstalacja*, *deinstalacja*, *instalka* ‘a program used for installing a given piece of software; also the very process of installing a given piece of software’, *odinstalowanie*, *odinstalator* ‘a program for removing a given piece of software’, *reinstalka* (referring to the process of reinstalling a given piece of software, usually an operating system), *deinstalka* as well as the adjective forms *zainstalowany*, *preinstalowany*, *instalacyjny*, and the neologism *instalnięty* ‘installed’.

The word *instalować*, including the related forms listed above, appears 6,278 times⁶², out of which 13 tokens were used in the traditional sense, i.e. referring to devices or equipment (usually pieces of hardware). The remaining 6,265 tokens

⁶¹ Cf. also the forms *zakażony* and *zarażony* (including related forms, e.g. *zarazić*), also used in the same new sense, and probably intensified by English.

⁶² Forms such as *install* are treated as lexical borrowings or instances of partial code-switching and are not included in the total count of 6,278 tokens.

are used in the new sense. The most frequent collocations include *instalować system*, *instalować program*, *instalować Windows*, and *instalować sterownik*; such constructions are created serially in Polish by analogy to already existing constructions.

The new sense of the word *instalować* has been noted in ISJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym). It appears in USJP as well, but only in the case of the perfective form *zainstalować*. The word was also discussed in the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 160–162).

Izolować. Traditionally, the word *izolować* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to isolate somebody or something’, (2) (physics) ‘to isolate something using a material that does not conduct heat, electricity, etc.’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word *izolować* is used in the more specialized sense of ‘to isolate a computer program from the system; to run a given program in the so-called safe mode, i.e. isolated from the system’. In the safe mode, a given program cannot access the Internet or computer memory, change system settings, etc. The change in meaning has most probably been triggered by English *isolate* and *isolation* (cf. constructions in Table 4.43).

The word in question, together with *wyizolować* and *odizolować* as well as the adjectives *odizolowany* and *wyizolowany*, appears 13 times in the corpus, out of which 4 tokens are used in the traditional sense (definition 2). The remaining 9 tokens are used in the new sense; the word appears in two English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.43.

Table 4.43. The use of the word *izolować* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>izolować</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
izolowane środowisko	3	isolated environment	LT
izolować dane	1	isolate data	LT

The new specialized sense of the word *izolować* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Jądro. Traditionally, the word *jądro* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘the inside of a fruit stone’, (2) ‘the inside of something’, (3) (figurative) ‘the basic, most important part of something’, (4) (anatomy) ‘a male organ producing sperm’, (5) (astronomy) ‘a central inner part of a planet, a star, etc.’, (6) (biology) ‘the basic component of a cell of an animal or plant’, (7) (physics) ‘the central part of an atom’, (8) (technical) ‘part of the mould for shaping inner parts of a cast object’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the word is used in a new sense (similar to sense 3), viz. ‘the basic level (the core) of an operating system or other program’

(cf. ODE; examples from the corpus include *jądro Linuxa*, *jądro Windowsa*, *jądro systemu operacyjnego*). The new sense can be treated as a semantic specialization, triggered by English *kernel* (the first use of the word with reference to an operating system dates back to 1972; OED).

In the corpus, the word appears 28 times; all of the occurrences are used in the new sense. The word appears in new constructions, two of which are most probably calqued from English, cf. Table 4.44.

Table 4.44. The use of the word *jądro* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Constructions with the word <i>jądro</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>jądro systemu (operacyjnego)</i>	5	(operating) system kernel ^a	LT
<i>kompilacja jądra</i>	2	kernel compilation	LT

^a Most frequently, however, the simple form *kernel* is used.

The new specialized sense of the word *jądro* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Język. According to SJPDor, the word *język* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘an organ in the mouth, a tongue’, (2) ‘a system of communication, a language used by (a) a particular nation, (b) the people of a given profession, geographical region, etc., (c) a particular writer, novel, etc.’, (3) ‘an object shaped like a tongue’, (4) (old use) ‘a captive’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the sense of ‘a system of rules and symbols, used to write programs, applications, etc.’ (e.g. *język HTML*, *język PHP*, *język C++*), most probably under the influence of English *language* (according to OED, the usage of the word in this meaning dates back to 1947).

The word, including the adjective *językowy* (but not *wielojęzyczny/wielojęzykowy*, *polskojęzyczny*, *anglojęzyczny*, etc.) appears 424 times, out of which 268 are used in the traditional meaning (cf. definition 2a), albeit often in new, unheard-of before, collocations, e.g. *pasek języka*, *opcje językowe*, *paczki językowe*, *pakiety językowe*, *pliki językowe*, *ustawienia języka/językowe*, etc. The remaining 156 tokens are used in the new sense; English-induced calques are also documented, cf. Table 4.45.

Table 4.45. The use of the word *język* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>język</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>język programowania/programistyczny</i>	20	programming language	LT
<i>język skryptowy</i>	6	scripting/script language	LT

The new sense of the word *język* has been noted in SJPSzym (only in the term *język maszynowy*), USJP and SJPSob (only in terms *język maszynowy* and *język programowania*⁶³), and ISJP.

Kafelki. The word *kafel* and *kafelek* is used traditionally in the sense of ‘a ceramic tile’ (SJPDor⁶⁴). In computer-related contexts, the word is used to describe the graphic interface (used instead of the traditional interface based on windows) of new versions of operating systems, such as Windows 8.

The form appears 8 times in the corpus; all the tokens are used in the new sense. Interestingly, the form appears only as a diminutive and only in plural. The word is a semantic loan modelled on English *tiles*, cf. such constructions as *Windows tiles*; it does not, however, appear in any specific English-induced calques.

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Kalibrować. The word *kalibrować* is used traditionally in the sense of (a) ‘to check, verify the size of something; to sort something according to size’, (b) ‘to check the gradations on a thermometer, etc.’, (c) (in connection with metalwork) ‘to shape objects into the desired size, shape, etc.’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the meaning of ‘to set or fix something; to put something into a given mode or setting’, most probably under the influence of English *calibrate* and *calibration*, cf. DCIT and constructions listed in Table 4.46.

The form *kalibrować*, together with *kalibrowanie* and the neological forms *kalibrator* and *kalibracja*, appear 51 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. The word appears in English calques, cf. Table 4.46.

Table 4.46. The use of the word *kalibracja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the words <i>kalibrować</i> and <i>kalibracja</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
kalibracja obrazu	1	display calibration ^a	LR
kalibrować ekran	1	screen calibration	LT
kalibracja kolorów	1	colour calibration	LT
kalibracja baterii [w laptopie]	1	battery calibration	LT

^a Other constructions, viz. *image calibration* and *picture calibration* also appear, but are less frequent than *display calibration* (on the basis of Google search).

The new usage of the word *kalibrować* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

⁶³ To be more precise, the term *język maszynowy* denotes a specific type of a programming language.

⁶⁴ Additionally, in the case of *kafel*, the sense of ‘the 500zł note’ (referring to the banknote no longer used in Poland) is provided.

Kanał. According to SJPDor, the word *kanał* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a ditch’, (2) ‘a sewer’, (3) ‘a long passage filled with water; a canal’, (4) ‘a narrow strait’, (5) ‘a pipe or hole in a machine, device, etc.’, (6) ‘a duct in the body’, (7) ‘a car repair pit’, (8) (dated) ‘an opening in the barrel of a gun, etc.’, (9) ‘a system that makes it possible to send signals from a sender to a receiver’, (10) (technical) ‘a method used to send signals from a sender to a receiver; a TV channel’, (11) (theatre) ‘a place between the scene and the audience; an orchestra pit’.

In the corpus, the word *kanał* (including the adjective *kanałowy* but not e.g. *dokanałowy*) appears 159 times (including one occurrence of the diminutive form *kanalik*), out of which 31 are used in one of the traditional senses (cf. especially definition 9 and 10). The remaining 128 tokens are used in one of the new senses, triggered by English *channel* (cf. definitions in DCIT). The new senses are presented in Table 4.47. The word does not appear in any English-induced calques.

Table 4.47. The use of the word *kanał* in new meanings

New meanings of the word <i>kanał</i>	n	Examples of constructions with the word <i>kanał</i>
(A) ‘a user account on the website with amateur movies; also such portal as a whole’	43 ^a	utwórz kanał subskrybować kanał kanał na Youtube
(B) ‘a channel in Internet Relay Chat or other similar service’	37	kanał aqq
(C) ‘a separate controller of computer memory; a channel of communication between the memory and a computer’	16	dwukanałowy kontroler pamięci
(D) ‘WiFi channel (on a router)’	14	kanał pracy routera
(E) ‘a format of data used to provide users with an updated content (e.g. kanał RSS)’	11	kanał RSS
(F) ‘sound channel in a sound card’	7	8-kanałowa karta dźwiękowa

^a Including one instance of the diminutive form *kanalik*; the form is used in pejorative sense, denoting an unimportant and uninteresting YouTube channel.

The new senses of the word *kanał* have not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP. One of the new meanings (C) has been noted in USJP and SJPSob.

Karta. Traditionally, the word *karta* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a sheet of paper of various size, colour, etc.; also a form to be filled in or a document’, (2) ‘a part of a notebook, etc.’, (3) ‘the menu at a restaurant’, (4) (usually in plural) ‘playing cards’, (5) (only in plural) ‘a card game’, (6) ‘a written statement giving certain rights to a particular group of people; a charter’, (7) (old use) ‘a map’ (cf. SJPDor).

Nowadays, the word *karta* appears in numerous new meanings; some of them are not connected with the sphere of computers and will not be discussed in detail (irrespective of the fact whether they have been modelled on English or

developed already in Polish): such meanings include (i) 'a credit or debit card' (on the model of English *card*, cf. such calques as *karta kredytowa* on the model of English *credit card*) and (ii) 'a SIM card (inside a mobile phone)' (on the model of English *card*, cf. the semi-calque *karta SIM* on the model of English *SIM card*).

In the area of computers, the word appears in a few new meanings; not all of them are, however, modelled on English. The one modelled on English *card* refers to 'a printed-circuit board, added to a computer to perform certain functions' (cf. DCIT; according to OED, this sense dates back in English to 1964). In addition, the word *karta* can be used in other computer-related meanings: (I) 'a graphical indication of multiple pages, documents, etc., opened simultaneously in the same window or within the same program', (II) 'a website describing a given product in an online shop', (III) (in a computer game) 'a screen describing certain features, e.g. the strength, equipment, etc., of a given protagonist'. These meanings are not taken into consideration as they do not appear to have been modelled on English (for those meanings the word *tab*, rather than *card*, is used in English).

The form *karta*, including the adjective *karciany* and the derivative neological forms *karciocha* and *karcioszka*, is used 3,044 times in the corpus. Additionally, there are 7 tokens of the form *karcianka* (used in the sense of a computerized card game).

Out of 3,044 tokens, 2,926 occurrences refer to the new sense modelled on English, i.e. 'a printed-circuit board, designed to perform certain functions'. The remaining 118 tokens refer to one of the traditional meanings (including idiomatic constructions, e.g. *wyłożyć karty na stół*) or to the new meanings either not connected with computers or not modelled on English (cf. above).

Many of the constructions with the form *karta* (used in the new sense modelled on English *card*) can be reasonably treated as calques from English, cf. Table 4.48.

Table 4.48. The use of the word *karta* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>karta</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>karta graficzna</i> ^a / <i>grafiki</i>	1,210	graphics card ^b	LT
<i>karta dźwiękowa</i> ^c	507	sound card ^d	LT
<i>karta sieciowa</i>	224	network (interface) card	LT
<i>karta muzyczna</i>	45	sound card	LR
<i>karta wideo/video</i>	45	video card	SC
<i>karta pamięci</i>	42	memory card	LT
<i>karta rozszerzeń</i>	9	expansion card	LT
<i>karta telewizyjna</i>	7	TV tuner card	LR
<i>karta TV</i>	2	TV tuner card	SR

^a Including abbreviated forms, e.g. *karta graf.*

^b The construction *video card* is also used, but less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

^c Including abbreviated forms, e.g. *karta dżw.*

^d *Audio card* is also used, but less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

The new sense of the word described in the section (‘a printed-circuit board, added to a computer to perform certain functions’) has been included in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym). Some of its new senses were also discussed in the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 120–121).

Klient. According to SJPDor, the word *klient* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a customer in a shop, restaurant, etc.; also a client that uses certain services, e.g. of a legal office’, (2) (historical) ‘in ancient Rome: a person under the legal protection of a patron’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the sense of ‘a computer or an application that accesses a server in order to obtain a given service’. In the corpus, the form *klient*, together with the derivative *kliencki* and the diminutive form *kliencik* (used in a pejorative sense, to denote a program with very limited functionality), appears 356 times,⁶⁵ out of which 215 tokens are used in the traditional sense (cf. definition 1 in SJPDor).⁶⁶ The remaining 141 occurrences are used in the new sense; many of the constructions are calques from English, cf. Table 4.49.

Table 4.49. The use of the word *klient* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>klient</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>klient poczty/pocztowy</i>	12	e-mail client	LR
<i>klient gry</i>	7	game client	LT
<i>klient sieci</i>	2	network client	LT
<i>klient email/e-mail</i>	2	e-mail client	SC

The new sense of the word *klient* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; it is, by contrast, included in USJP and SJPSob. It was also mentioned in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012b: 234).

Klon. The word *klon* was traditionally used in the sense of (*klon I*) ‘a maple tree’ and (*klon II*) ‘a vegetative offspring of a plant or animal; a clone’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the domain of computers, the word in question is used in several new senses, to denote (A) ‘a computer or a game console designed to simulate exactly the operation of another, usually more expensive model’ (cf. ODE), (B) ‘an exact copy of an operating system or the content of a disk partition’, and (C) ‘a thing similar to or based on another thing, e.g. a computer game based on the same

⁶⁵ The form *client* is also used in the corpus; it is, however, treated as a loanword (or a single-word code-switch) and not discussed here.

⁶⁶ They may also appear in English-induced calques, cf. *klient biznesowy*, *klient końcowy*, calquing English *business customer*, *end customer*. These are not included in Table 4.49 as they fall outside the thematic domain of computers.

engine as another game or a website based on the script of another website'. The new senses appeared under the influence of English *clone* (cf. definitions in DCIT; cf. also OED, which provides an example dating back to 1983). In much the same way (cf. sense B), the form *klonować* is used: it denotes the process of exact copying, where not only the content is identical, but also the structure, arrangement of data, etc.

The form *klon* (together with *klonować* and *klonowanie*) is used 34 times in the corpus, out of which 2 are used in the traditional sense (*klon II* in SJPDor; this usage refers to clones appearing in computer games). The remaining 32 tokens are used in one of the new senses; details are presented in Table 4.50.

Table 4.50. The use of the word *klon* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>klon</i>	n	Constructions with the word <i>klon</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	3	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	5	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C)	23 + 1 ^a	klon strony	3	website cloning	LT

^a An additional token is used humorously (in quotation marks, which signals that the form is somehow untypically used) in the sense of a piece of cloth (used for cleaning computer screens) similar to another, previously owned, piece of cloth: *dostałem do niego taką super zielonkawą szmatkę do czyszczenia. I nigdzie nie mogę kupić jej „klona”* [13].

One of the new meanings of the word *klon* (sense A) has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (with reference to computers only, whereas in the corpus the form is used in connection with game consoles as well), but not SJPSzym.

Klucz. According to SJPDor, the word *klucz* is used in the following senses: (1) 'a tool used for locking and unlocking doors, gates, etc.', (2) 'a system of signs, etc., used for sending messages; a code, cipher', (3) 'a set of answers, clarifying comments, etc., to mathematical problems', (4) 'a principle, upon which the process of solving problems, etc., is based', (5) 'V formation (of birds and airplanes)', (6) (architecture and construction industry) 'a crown; a keystone', (7) (botany, zoology) 'a list of the taxonomy of animals, plants, etc.', (8) (music) 'a clef', (9) (sport) 'a wrestling hold', (10) (technical) (a) 'a spanner', (b) 'a transmitter', (c) 'a clock key; a tool used to activate machinery, etc.', (11) (old-fashioned) 'an estate, a land property, etc.', (12) (old use) 'a hare jump'. Additionally, the word is frequently used nowadays in the figurative sense of (13) 'a method of achieving something' (cf. USJP).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in several new senses: (A) 'a unique string of letters and numbers needed to install a given piece of software (used against software piracy)', (B) 'a unit of Windows registry (used to store certain information about computer configuration)', (C) 'an attribute on the basis of which data is sorted and searched', (D) 'a copy protection device'.

The new meanings appeared under the influence of English *key* (cf. definitions in DCIT and constructions in Table 4.51; cf. also OED, according to which the first occurrence of the word in sense C dates back to 1963).

The word *klucz*, including the diminutive form *kluczyk*, appears 364 times in the corpus, out of which 19 are used in the traditional senses (definitions 1 and 13). The remaining 345 tokens are used in one of the new senses: details are presented in Table 4.51.

Table 4.51. The use of the word *klucz* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>klucz</i>	n	Constructions with the word <i>klucz</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	249	klucz produktu	12	product key	LT
		klucz gry	2	game key	LT
		klucz aktywacyjny	2	activation key	LT
		klucz licencji/licencyjny	2	licence key	LT
		klucz instalacyjny	1	installation key	LT
		klucz seryjny	1	serial key	LT
		klucz weryfikacyjny	1	verification key	LT
(B)	45	klucz rejestru	19	registry key	LT
(C)	48	klucz obcy	8	foreign key	LT
		klucz główny	7	primary key	LT
		klucz sztuczny	3	artificial key	LT
		klucz naturalny	3	natural key	LT
(D)	3	klucz sprzętowy	2	hardware key ^a	LT

^a The word *dongle* is also used in this meaning and is more frequent than *hardware key* (on the basis of Google search).

The new senses of the word *klucz* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. However, some of its new senses were discussed in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2014c: 93–96).

Koligacja. Traditionally, the word *koligacja* is used in the sense of ‘(family) connections, ties’ (SJPDor).

In the computer areas, the word is used in the new sense, to denote ‘the process of assigning a given task to a given processor core (in the case of multi-core processors)’. The extension is most probably based on the model of English *affinity*, cf. such constructions as *processor affinity*, *CPU affinity*, etc.

The form is used three times in the corpus; all the uses appear in the new sense, e.g. *aha i wspomne ze teraz to juz w ogole pisze ze jest tylko 1 rdzen procesora i nie da sie nawet wlaczyc opcji koligacji* [27].

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Kolizja. According to SJPDor, the word *kolizja* is used in the following senses: (1) 'incompatibility between contradictory interests, principles, etc.', (2) (old-fashioned) (a) (rare) 'a conflict, disagreement, quarrel', (b) 'a collision (e.g. between two vehicles)'.

In computer-related spheres, the form *kolizja* is used in a new, metaphorical sense, to denote 'the incompatibility between various pieces of hardware or software'. The change is most probably the result of the influence of English *collision* (noted in OED in connection with computers, but in a more restricted sense).

The form appears 10 times in the corpus, out of which 6 appear in the traditional sense, mostly in connection with car accidents in computer games. The remaining 4 occurrences are used in an extended sense, cf. e.g. *instaluje się z innymi antywirusami w systemie bez kolizji* [15]. The form does not appear in any English induced calques.

The word in its new sense can be regarded as synonymous with →*konflikt*.

The new usage of the word *kolizja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Komenda. According to SJPDor, the word *komenda* is used in the following senses: (1) 'a command (e.g. in the army)', (2) 'control, authority over a group of people', (3) '(of the police, fire brigade, etc.) headquarters', (4) (old-fashioned) 'a group of soldiers; a squad', (5) (old use) 'the administration of the benefice'.

In computer-related contexts, the word appears in a new, metaphorical sense, to denote 'an instruction given to a computer to perform a certain function' (e.g. *wpisać komendę, użyć komendy, wklepać komendę, uruchamiać komendę*). The change results from the influence of English *command* (the new meaning dates back to 1946; OED).

The form appears 184 times in the corpus, out of which 5 are used in one of the traditional senses (usually sense 1). The remaining 179 tokens (including two instances of the form *makrokomenda*) are used in the new sense. The form does not appear in any English calques.

The new meaning of the word *komenda* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP).

Komórka. According to SJPDor, the word *komórka* is used in the following senses: (1) 'a small space or a small, dark room; a cubbyhole', (2) 'a honeycomb cell; also more generally: an enclosed space, a niche', (3) 'a section of an organization, an institution, etc.; a cell', (4) (biology) 'the smallest unit of a living organism'. Nowadays, the form is used very frequently in the sense of 'a mobile phone'.

In computer-related spheres, the form *komórka* is used in two new senses: the word may refer to (A) 'a unit of organization of computer memory, usually identified by its number (address)' and (B) 'a single field (cell) in a database,

spreadsheet, table, etc.' The emergence of the new senses was triggered by English *cell* (the first attestation of the word in new senses dates back to 1950 and 1923, respectively; OED).

The form, together with its derivatives, e.g. *komórkowy*, appears 123 times in the corpus, out of which 86 are used either in one of the traditional senses or (much more frequently) with reference to a mobile phone (where the word appears in various new collocations, e.g. *serwis komórkowy*, *modem komórkowy*, *konto komórkowe*, *Internet komórkowy*). The remaining 37 tokens are used in one of the new senses, cf. Table 4.52.

Table 4.52. The use of the word *komórka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>komórka</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>komórka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	3	komórka pamięci	3	memory cell	LT
(B)	34	wartość komórki	2	cell value	LT

One of the new senses of the word (meaning A) has been noted in SJPSzym and USJP (only in the term *komórka pamięci*); in ISJP, there is a general definition ('an element of something') and the example *komórka pamięci komputera* is given; similarly, SJPSob lists the general sense of 'an element of a device'. The second new sense (B) has not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Kompilować, kompilator. The word *kompilować* is defined by SJPDor as 'to make a compilation'; *kompilacja*, in turn, is defined as 'a book, etc., compiled from the fragments of other books, works, etc.'

In the semantic area of computers, the form *kompilować* is used in the new sense of 'to translate a computer program from a high-level programming language into the machine code that can be executed by a given computer or a system' (cf. OED, ODE). The new sense appeared under the influence of English *compile* (cf. DCIT, ODE; the first attestation of the word in computer-related sense dates back to 1952; OED).

The form *kompilować*, together with the adjective *skompilowany* and the noun *kompilacja*, appears 62 times in the corpus⁶⁷, all of which are used in the new sense.

Additionally, there are 25 tokens of the form *kompilator*, all of which are used in the related sense, viz. 'a computer application used to compile another program.'

The forms appear in various English calques, cf. Table 4.53.

⁶⁷ Additionally, there are 2 tokens of the form *przekompilować* and one of *prekompilowany* (most probably modelled on English *precompiled*); these are included in the total count of 62 tokens.

Table 4.53. The use of the word *kompilacja/skompilowany* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>kompilacja/skompilowany</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
skompilowany plik	2	compiled file	LT
skompilowany kod	1	compiled code	LT
skompilowane oprogramowanie	1	compiled software	LT
skompilowana biblioteka	1	compiled library	LT

The new sense of the words *kompilować* and *kompilator* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP).

Kompresja, kompresor. The word *kompresja* is traditionally used in Polish in the sense of ‘the process of compressing air or other gases’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the field of computers, the word in question is used in the sense of ‘the process of changing the form of computer files so that they occupy less space on a disk, memory stick, etc.’ (e.g. *kompresja zdjęć*, *kompresja muzyki*). The new sense appeared as a result of the influence of English *compression*, first noted in the new sense in 1957 (OED).

In the corpus, the form *kompresja*, together with the word *dekompresja*, the verb *kompresować* (including also *skompresować* and *dekompresować*) and the adjective *skompresowany*, appears 110 times; all the instances are used in the new sense.

In addition, the form *kompresor* is used 8 times in the corpus, out of which 3 are used in the traditional sense, i.e. ‘a machine for compressing air or other gases’; the remaining 5 occurrences are used in the new sense of ‘a computer program used for compressing files’.

The form *kompresja* appears in various new constructions, many of which can be seen as calques from English, cf. Table 4.54.

Table 4.54. The use of the word *kompresja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>kompresja</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>kompresja danych</i>	3	data compression	LT
<i>algorytm kompresujący/kompresji</i>	2	compression algorithm	LT
<i>kompresja pliku</i>	1	file compression	LT
<i>kompresja dysku</i>	1	disk compression	LT
<i>kompresja grafiki</i>	1	image compression	LR
<i>dekompresja archiwum</i>	1	archive decompression	LT
<i>kompresja woluminów</i>	1	volume compression	LT
<i>bomba dekompresyjna</i> ^a	1	decompression bomb	LT

^a Used in the sense of ‘a malicious zip file intended to crash the system’.

The new sense of the word *kompresja* has been noted in USJP (but not SJPSzym; in ISJP, there is a general definition and one of the examples relates to computers: *programy do kompresji danych*; similarly, a general definition is given in SJPSob). The new meaning of the word *kompresor* has not, by contrast, been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Komunikacja. According to SJPDor, the word *komunikacja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘transport between two or more places, cities, etc.; also the roads, means of transport, etc., thanks to which such transport is possible’ and (2) ‘communication between people’.

In computer-related areas, the word is used in a new, metaphorical sense to denote ‘an exchange of information, data, etc. between two devices or pieces of hardware’ (e.g. *komunikacja sieciowa*, *komunikacja z procesorem*, *komunikacja z kartą graficzną*, *komunikacja z pamięcią RAM*, *komunikacja aplikacji z systemem*, *komunikacja między ramem a kartą graficzną*). The new sense appeared most probably under the influence of English *communication* (cf. such constructions as *communication port* or *communication(s) protocol*).

In the corpus, the form *komunikacja*, together with *komunikacyjny*, appears 109 times, out of which 37 are used in the traditional sense, i.e. to denote communication between humans (sense 2). It should be added that the word in the traditional meaning may appear in new collocations or traditional collocations with new meanings, e.g. *komunikacja głosowa* (possibly a calque of English *voice communication*), used in a rather special sense of ‘a conversation with a microphone and headphones (rather than text-typing) and special software, such as Skype’⁶⁸. In addition, the word in question is used to denote an act of communication between a computer user and a computer or a piece of hardware (6 tokens, included in the total count of 37 traditional uses), e.g. *komunikacja serwer-użytkownik*. It is treated as the traditional use, as it involves humans.

The remaining 72 occurrences are used in the new sense (cf. above); there are also two English-induced calques, viz. *port komunikacyjny* and *protokół komunikacyjny*; these are presented under the sections →*port* and →*protokół*, respectively.

The new usage of the word has been noted in SJPSob (but not in SJPSzym or USJP); in ISJP, the new sense appears within one of the examples (*sieć komputerowa zapewnia szybką komunikację między komputerami*).

Konferencja. According to SJPDor, the word *konferencja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘the meeting of people belonging to certain scientific, social, political, etc., organizations’, (2) (dated) ‘a talk, a lecture, a speech’.

⁶⁸ The opposite is *komunikacja tekstowa*, also appearing in the corpus.

In the corpus, the form *konferencja* appears 50 times (including 4 tokens of the form *wideokonferencja*), out of which 37 are used in the traditional sense. Many instances of the traditional use, however, refer not to scientific, political, or social organizations or institutions, but rather to companies producing computer games (cf. *konferencja Microsoftu*, *konferencja Sony*, *konferencja Electronic Arts*); it can thus be stated that the traditional meaning has also somehow been extended.

The remaining 13 occurrences are used in the new sense of ‘a way of communicating with several people simultaneously (using a special software, such as Skype)’. The form is used in new, unheard-of before, constructions, cf. e.g. *w konferencji jest 15 osób, zapisać konferencję*. The new meaning is most probably the result of the influence of the English form *conference* (cf. ODE; cf. also OED, which lists the new meaning in connection with telephones and provides the date of the first attestation, viz. 1934).

The new meaning of the word *konferencja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, however, discussed by Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 120).

Konfiguracja. Traditionally, the word *konfiguracja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a configuration, especially of the surface of the land’ and (2) ‘the configuration of planets, etc., in relation to the sun’ (SJPDor).

In the contexts connected with computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘the process of setting parameters of a given piece of software or hardware; also the choice and arrangement of parts of a given piece of hardware’, under the influence of English *configuration* (first attested in computer-related sense in 1962; OED), e.g. *konfiguracja przeglądarki*, *konfiguracja dysku*, *konfiguracja laptopa*, *konfiguracja strony*, *konfiguracja cookie*, *konfiguracja routera*, *konfiguracja połączenia*, *konfiguracja pamięci*, *konfiguracja monitora* (such constructions are created serially in Polish by analogy to previously existing constructions).

The word *konfiguracja*, together with the abbreviated form *konfig* (but not *config*) and the verb *konfigurować*, appears 821 times in the corpus; all the instances are used in the new meaning. One English-induced calque was detected: *plik konfiguracyjny* (used 14 times), a calque of English *configuration file*.⁶⁹

Additionally, there are 4 instances of the neologism *konfigurator*, used either in the sense of (A) ‘an application on the website of an online store selling computers and peripheral devices’⁷⁰ (3 tokens) or (B) ‘a small application used for configuring a given piece of software or hardware’ (one token).

⁶⁹ The construction *config file* is also very frequent.

⁷⁰ The aim of the application in question is to help the customer design a computer from separate pieces of hardware.

The new sense of the word *konfiguracja* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym; in ISJP, there is a general definition with one of the examples connected with computers: *konfiguracja komputera*). The form *konfigurator* has not been noted in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Konflikt. According to SJPDor, the word *konflikt* is used in the sense of ‘disagreement, argument, conflict’.

In computer-related spheres, the word in question is used in a more specialized sense, to refer to the incompatibility of various pieces of hardware or software. The change is most probably the result of the influence of English *conflict*, which can, in general, be used in a wider variety of contexts than Polish *konflikt* (cf. constructions in Table 4.55).

The word *konflikt* appears 44 times in the corpus, out of which 14 are used in the traditional sense, referring to people. The remaining 29 occurrences⁷¹ are used in the extended sense, appearing in various new collocations, four of which can be seen as calques of English; details are presented in Table 4.55.

Table 4.55. The use of the word *konflikt* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>konflikt</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
konflikt adresów (IP)	3	(IP) address conflict	LT
konflikt sterowników	3	driver conflict	LT
konflikt sprzętowy	2	hardware conflict	LT
konflikt zasobów	1	resource conflict	LT

The new use of the word *konflikt* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, however, briefly mentioned in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2014: 400).

Konsola. Traditionally, the word *konsola* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a console table’ and (2) (architecture) ‘a corbel, a console supporting something’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in two completely new meanings: (A) ‘a machine for playing video games’ and (B) ‘an application thanks to which a user communicates with a computer by writing certain commands; a console user interface; a command-line user interface.’⁷² The extension, particularly in the case of the first new sense, results from the influence of

⁷¹ Additionally, there is one occurrence of the word *konflikt* referring to the state of mind (cf. English *inner conflict*). This usage can also be considered to have been modelled on English; it will not, however, be described in detail as it refers to the area beyond computers.

⁷² The construction *wiersz poleceń* is also used in this sense.

English *console* (the first attestation of the word in the sense of ‘a games console’ dates back to 1976; OED).

The word *konsola*, including derivatives, such as *konsolowy* and the diminutive form *konsolka*⁷³, is used 438 times in the corpus.⁷⁴ There are no uses of the word in any of the traditional meanings.

The word, in both of its new senses, appears in various collocations calquing English constructions, cf. Table 4.56.

Table 4.56. The use of the word *konsola* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>konsola</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>konsola</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	279	gra konsolowa	4	console game	LT
(B)	159	konsola odzyskiwania	28	recovery console	LT
		konsola błędów	4	error console	LT
		konsola zarządzania dyskami	3	disk management console	LT

The new senses of the word *konsola* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP (the last two dictionaries note a computer-related meaning, but different from the ones in which the word appears in the corpus). One of its new senses (meaning A) has been noted in SJPSob; it was also discussed in some of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008a: 30–32; 2012a: 125–126; 2013d: 147).

Konto. According to SJPDor, the word *konto* is used in the sense of ‘a written record (in an accounting book) connected with finances.’ Additionally, the construction *konto bankowe* ‘a bank account’ is given.

The form *konto* appears 1,094 times in the corpus, out of which 24 appear in the traditional meaning, either in the sense of a bank account (where it appears in various new collocations, such as *konto internetowe* or *konto studenckie*) or in the figurative sense (e.g. *to idzie na czyjeś konto*). Additionally, the form is used twice in connection with pre-paid mobile phones, where it indicates the sum of money that is available and can be used for calls, text messages, etc.

The remaining 1,068 tokens are used in the new sense of ‘an arrangement by which a user is given personalized access to a computer, website, or application, typically by entering a username and password’ (ODE). The new sense has been

⁷³ As for untypical derivatives, there is a single occurrence of *konsolówka*, used in the sense of ‘a game for a console, as opposed to a game for a computer’ (not included in the total count of 438 tokens).

⁷⁴ Including two instances of the form *consola*.

triggered by English *account* (first attested in the new meaning in 1971; OED). Many of the constructions can be seen as calques from English, cf. Table 4.57.

Table 4.57. The use of the word *konto* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>konto</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
konto użytkownika	49	user account	LT
konto administratora/admina/ administracyjne	40	administrator account	LT
konto pocztowe	26	e-mail account	LR
konto e-mail ^a /e-mailowe/mailowe	24	e-mail account	SC
konto gościa	4	guest account	LT
konto lokalne	2	local account	LT

^a Also spelt as *email* or *e mail*.

In addition, there are frequent constructions with the name of a concrete piece of software, a website etc., e.g. *konto Google*, *konto Steam*, *konto gmail*, *konto gg*, most of which are also based on English, cf. *Google account*, *Steam account*, *Gmail account*. There are also numerous new collocations, not used with the word *konto* in the traditional sense, e.g. *zalogować się na konto*, *sprzedam konto*, *zbanowane konto*.

The new sense of the word *konto* has been noted in SJPSob (but not SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP). It was also discussed by various scholars working in the field, cf. Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000: 94) and Zabawa (2012a: 126–127).

Kontroler. Traditionally, the word *kontroler* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a person inspecting something’ and (2) ‘a device that controls an engine, a machine, etc.’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the computer area, the form *kontroler* is used in a more specialized sense, to denote ‘a chip or a device whose task is to manage the access of a computer to a given piece of hardware or a peripheral device’; thus, for example, *kontroler pamięci* (E. *memory controller*) is a chip whose task is to establish and maintain communication between a processor and RAM memory. The specialization in meaning is most probably due to the influence of English *controller* (the first attestation of the word in the new sense in English dates back to 1970; OED).

In the corpus, the form *kontroler* is used 229 times; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. The word appears in various English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.58.

Table 4.58. The use of the word *kontroler* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>kontroler</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
kontroler dźwięku	19	audio controller	LR
kontroler wideo/video	9	video controller	SC
kontroler pamięci	7	memory controller	LT
kontroler multimedii/ultimedii	7	multimedia controller	LT
kontroler dysku	6	disk controller	LT
kontroler magistrali	6	bus controller	LT
kontroler sieci	5	network controller	LT

The new specialized usage of the word *kontroler* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Konwersja. According to SJPDor, the word *konwersja* is used in the following senses: (1) (chemistry) ‘a chemical reaction involving the change of carbon monoxide into carbon dioxide’, (2) (economics) ‘the change of conditions connected with a bank, etc., loan’, (3) (philosophy) ‘in logic: the change of a subject into predicate and vice versa’, (4) (old use) ‘religious conversion; the fact of changing one’s religion’, (5) (cybernetics) ‘a conversion from an external language into the internal language of a computer’.

In the semantic area of computers, the word *konwersja* is used in a new sense, to denote ‘the change of the format of a file into another format (usually with the use of specially designed software)’, most probably under the influence of English *conversion* (cf. the entry *conversion program* in DCIT).

The form *konwersja*, together with the verb *konwertować* (including prefixed forms, e.g. *przekonwertować*, *skonwertować*), the noun *konwerter* (used in the sense of ‘a computer program used for converting something’) is used 187 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. The word appears in three English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.59.

Table 4.59. The use of the word *konwersja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>konwersja</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
konwersja plików	2	file conversion	LT
konwersja audio	2	audio conversion	LT
konwersja dźwięku	1	audio conversion	LR

The new usage of the word has been noted in ISJP (in the phrase *konwersja danych*), USJP, and SJPSob.

Koń trojański. According to SJPDor, the construction *koń trojański* is used in the sense of ‘(mythology) a wooden statue of a horse used by the Greeks to enter Troy’.

In the computer area, the construction is used in the sense of ‘a computer program designed to destroy data, change system settings, install harmful software, etc., while pretending to perform some useful function’. The new meaning appeared under the influence of English *Trojan horse* (one of the first attestations of the word in connection with computers dates back to 1974; OED).

The form appears 11 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense. The use of the construction in the new meaning gave rise to the elliptical construction *trojan* (also spelt as *Trojan*).⁷⁵ This form is far more frequent in the corpus than *koń trojański*, as it was used 140 times.⁷⁶

The form *trojan* appears in two calques modelled on English, cf. Table 4.60.

Table 4.60. The use of the word *trojan* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>trojan</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
trojan bankowy	2	banking trojan	LT
trojan śledzący	1	tracking trojan	LT

The new meaning of the construction *koń trojański* has been noted in USJP, but not SJPSzym, ISJP, or SJPSob.⁷⁷

Kredyt. Traditionally, the word *kredyt* is used in the sense of (1) (economics) ‘a loan’, (2) ‘a section in an accounting book’ and (3) (colloquial) ‘an act of buying or selling goods without immediate payment’, (4) (old use) ‘trust, faith’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related areas, the form *kredyt* is used, usually in plural, in the sense of (A) ‘virtual items bought via the Internet (for real money) and used e.g. to get extra features in a given computer game, program, etc.’, or (B) ‘virtual, non-real money, existing only in a computer game’. The extension is most probably a result of the influence of English *credit*, cf. one of the definitions in OED: “in various informal or fictional contexts: a unit of currency. Later also: a unit used as a measure of a person’s entitlement to use of a particular resource,

⁷⁵ However, *Trojan* is also used in English in the same sense; thus, it is also possible to treat *trojan* in Polish as a pure lexical borrowing.

⁷⁶ The form appears also frequently as part of names of Trojan horses, files or users’ nicknames, e.g. *Trojan.Agent*, *trojan.generic*, *Trojan.MSIL*, *Trojan23*, etc. These uses are not included in the total count of 140 tokens. Additionally, the form *trojan-killer/trojankiller* is used 4 times in the corpus. This, however, can be treated as a lexical borrowing and is not included in the total count of 140 occurrences.

⁷⁷ The construction does not appear in SJPSob at all.

service, product, etc.” (first attested, not yet in connection with computers, in 1893; OED).

The word *kredyt*, including related forms *kredytowy*, *kredytowanie*, etc., is used 34 times in the corpus, out of which 26 are used in the traditional meaning (often, however, in relatively new collocations, not noted in SJPDor, such as *karta kredytowa*). The remaining 8 occurrences are used in one of the new senses.

The new senses of the word *kredyt* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Krytyczny. According to SJPDor, the word *krytyczny* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘based on the analysis of strong and weak points of something’, (2) ‘connected with the critical analysis of literary works’, (3) ‘important, crucial, critical; hard, difficult’.

In the semantic field of computers, the form in question is used in new senses; the exact meaning depends on a phrase in which it appears; details can be found in Table 4.61.

In the corpus, the word *krytyczny* appears 27 times (excluding such forms as e.g. *bezkrytyczny*), out of which 11 tokens are used in one of the traditional meanings, even though the word is frequently used in computer contexts, cf. *krytyczna temperatura procesora* or *krytyczne obrażenie [w grze komputerowej]* (sense 3 in SJPDor). The remaining 16 occurrences are used in new senses, cf. Table 4.61.

Table 4.61. The use of the word *krytyczny* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>krytyczny</i>	n	Constructions with the word <i>krytyczny</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A) ‘resulting in a computer crash’	8	błąd krytyczny	8	critical error	LT
(B) ‘a set of connected activities required to complete a given project ^a ’	4	ścieżka krytyczna	4	critical path (method)	LT
(C) ‘most vulnerable to damage or infection by malware (referring to computer memory or a piece of hardware)’	2	obszary krytyczne	2	critical areas	LT
(D) ‘that must not be deleted or must be installed’	2	plik krytyczny	1	critical file	LT

^a This is the meaning of the entire phrase *ścieżka krytyczna*.

The new uses of the word *krytyczny* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Księga gości. Traditionally, the construction *księga gości* refers to a book, where guests or visitors can write their names, comments, wishes, etc. (especially at weddings).

In Internet contexts, the form is used to denote a facility of a given website, which enables its users to put comments, questions, requests, etc., about the website. The construction *księga gości* is used twice in the corpus, with both of its uses connected with the Internet. The extension is most probably the result of the influence of English *guestbook* (its new meaning dates back to 1992, cf. OED).

The form has given rise to new constructions, such as *księga pozdrowień*, i.e. the facility of a given website which enables its users to greet somebody, send one's regards, etc.

The construction *księga gości* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Kwarantanna. The word *kwarantanna* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) 'the state of placing people, animals, goods, etc., in isolated conditions (because of the suspicion of carrying infectious pathogens); quarantine', (2) 'the place, building, etc., where quarantine takes place' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in a new sense. It denotes a function of antivirus software: a file that is suspected of being infected with a computer virus or other malware can be put into quarantine (rather than deleted), i.e. transferred onto an isolated area of hard disk where it is not capable of infecting other files. The extension is modelled on English *quarantine*, in which case the new meaning dates back to 1988 (OED).

In the corpus, the form appears 49 times, all of which are used in the new meaning; one calque was also detected: *kwarantanna plików* (used once in the corpus), probably on the model of English *file quarantine / quarantined files*.

The new meaning of the word *kwarantanna* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Layout. Traditionally, the word *layout*, itself a lexical borrowing from English, is used with reference to books, newspapers and magazines, in the sense of 'an arrangement of text, photographs, pictures, etc. on a given page' (cf. SZA; the word is not noted in SJPDor, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob).

In computer-related areas, the form is used in the sense of 'an arrangement of elements of a given website; also the use of colours, fonts, special effects, etc.', most probably under the influence of English *layout*, used in a much wider variety of contexts.

The form *layout* is used 19 times in the corpus, 18 of which refer to the design of a website. The construction is either used with N_{Gen} , e.g. *layout sklepu*, or with the preposition *dla*, e.g. *layout dla forum o tematyce gamingowej*, *layout dla stacji radiowej*.

The remaining one occurrence (*polski layout*) is somehow unclear (*z gory sorry za brak PL znakow, ale w pracy nie mam polskiego layoutu* [21]). Most probably, the construction *nie mam polskiego layoutu* refers either to the keyboard which does not enable its user to use Polish diacritics (*ą, ę*, etc.) or to software, such as the word processor which does not include the fonts with Polish diacritics.

Leczyć. Traditionally, the word *leczyć* is used in the sense of ‘to treat somebody who is ill, has a medical condition, etc.; to cure somebody’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the form is used in the new sense of ‘to remove computer viruses and other malware by the use of specially designed antivirus software’.

In the corpus, there are 60 occurrences of *leczyć* and its derivatives (*leczenie, wyleczenie, wyleczony, niewyleczalny, leczniczy*, etc.), out of which 34 are used in the traditional meaning; the word in the traditional meaning appears frequently in new collocations, usually connected with computer games, cf. *leczenie czarami, czar masowego leczenia, skróty klawiszowe lecznicze*. The number of tokens of the traditional use includes also the instances of figurative uses, such as *wyleczyć się z tego pomysłu, leczenie problemu*, etc.

The remaining 26 occurrences are used in the new sense. There are no English-induced calques with the word *leczyć* in the corpus.

It is difficult to establish whether the new sense has been modelled on English or not. On the one hand, the English form *heal* is frequently used in connection with computers (e.g. *heal infected files*) and may have triggered the extension in Polish; on the other hand, it may have happened already in Polish, by analogy to such forms as *wirus* used in the computer-related sense. Both processes may, naturally, have happened simultaneously. Most probably, English has played an intensifying role here; consequently, the word is included as a semantic loan.

The new use of the word *leczyć* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Lekki. According to SJPDor, the word *lekki* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘of little weight, not heavy’, (2) ‘thin, delicate, fine; agile, nimble’, (3) ‘of low intensity, weak; small, barely noticeable’, (4) ‘easy, not requiring great effort or energy’, (5) ‘not serious, rash, reckless; dissolute’.

In computer-related discourse, the word in question is used in several new closely-related senses, all of which describe computer software, e.g. antivirus programs: (A) ‘not taking much of computer resources, not slowing a computer down’ (e.g. *lekki soft, lekkie środowisko, lekki system*), (B) ‘without unnecessary options, pictures, graphics, advertisements, etc.’ (e.g. *lekki interfejs*), (C) ‘containing only basic options, without advanced options’ (cf. *lekki pakiet*

Internet Security), (D) ‘of little size (expressed as kilobytes, megabytes, etc.)’. The new uses, in general, carry positive connotations.

The form *lekki*, together with its derivatives (the adverb *lekko* and the noun *lekkość*) appear 202 times in the corpus, out of which 175 occurrences appear in one of the traditional meanings (usually sense 1 or in various figurative or idiomatic uses, such as *to jest z lekka dziwne*). The remaining 27 occurrences are used in one of the new senses; details are presented in Table 4.62.

It is not easy to decide whether the new senses appear under the influence of English or not. The English forms *light* and *lightweight* are frequently used in connection with computer spheres, cf. *light antivirus* or *lightweight antivirus*, and may have triggered the emergence of the new senses in Polish; they may, however, have developed already in Polish, for example by analogy to an earlier extension related to food and drink, where the word *lekki* is used in the sense of ‘containing low amount of sugar, fat, salt, etc.’ (e.g. *lekki jogurt, lekki serek*). It is naturally also possible that the two processes happened concurrently and English, while not being the primary cause of change here, may have played an intensifying function.

Table 4.62. The use of the word *lekki* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>lekki</i>	n
(A)	23
(B)	2
(C)	1
(D)	1

The new meanings of the word *lekki* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. One of the new senses of the word was, however, mentioned in the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012b: 233; 2015b: 370–371).

Liniowy, liniowość. The words *liniowy* and *liniowość* are defined by SJPDor as, respectively, an adjective and noun derived from *linia*.

In computer-related contexts, the words appear in a new sense: they describe a story of a computer game, or a way of presenting some data (e.g. with the help of slides), where no variation is possible and the story develops in one, pre-programmed order (e.g. *liniowa prezentacja, nielineiowa fabuła*). Such a feature of a computer game is usually seen as undesirable. The change is most probably based on English *linear* and *linearity* (cf. the phrase *linear/nonlinear gameplay*).

In the corpus, the forms in question appear 31 times, out of which 12 are used in the traditional sense (e.g. *wykres liniowy*); the next 12 occurrences are used in the idiomatic constructions *wejście/wyjście liniowe* (described in

Table 4.2). The remaining 7 occurrences are used in the above-mentioned new sense.

In general, the new sense of the word *liniowy* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; however, a more general sense of ‘a direction of developing something’ is actually taken into account (e.g. *rozwój liniowy, liniowy tok nauczania*).

Lokalny. The word *lokalny* is defined by SJPDor as ‘local, restricted to a particular area’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word *lokalny* is used in the more specialized sense of ‘connected with a given user’s computer; stored at a given user’s computer, e.g. in the memory or on the hard disk; also accessible without the Internet or not connected to the Internet’. The restriction is based on English *local* (cf. definitions in ODE; cf. also OED, according to which the first attestation of the word in the new sense dates back to 1962).

The form, together with the adverb *lokalnie*, appears 143 times in the corpus, out of which 27 are used in the traditional sense, usually with reference to local Internet providers (e.g. *lokalny dostawca Internetu*). The remaining 116 occurrences are used in the new sense; in addition, some of them appear in English-induced calques, most notably in the construction *użytkownik lokalny* (3 tokens, cf. E. *local user*). Other calques with the word *lokalny* are presented in the respective subchapters, e.g. *konto lokalne* is at →*konto*. In addition, the word appears in various other constructions, such as *dysk lokalny, plik lokalny, serwer lokalny, drukarka lokalna, lokalny komputer*. The equivalent English constructions do exist (cf. *local disk, local file, local server, local printer, local computer*); most probably, however, the constructions in Polish are already created “on the Polish soil,” by means of analogy to other constructions of the same type; hence, they are not treated as calques.⁷⁸

The new specialized sense of the word *lokalny* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Ładować. The word *ładować* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘to load something’, (2) (rare) ‘to be a load’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘to transfer data from e.g. a CD, memory stick, the Internet, etc., to computer memory, hard disk, website server, etc.; to load data’, most probably under the influence of English *to load* (first attested in computer-related meaning in 1953; OED).

⁷⁸ The constructions *konto lokalne* and *użytkownik lokalny* are treated as calques due to their semi-idiomatic meaning. *Sieć lokalna* is also seen as a calque due to a very frequently occurring source construction *local area network (LAN)*.

The form *ładować* (together with the noun *ładowanie* but not prefixed forms *naładować*, *doładować*, *wyładować*, *podładować*, *władować*, etc.) appears 142 times, out of which 27 are used in one of the traditional senses. The remaining 115 occurrences are used in the new sense; the word appears also in an English-induced rendition, viz. *pasek ładowania*, i.e. ‘a graphical representation of the process of loading a piece of software, etc.’ (3 tokens, cf. E. *loading bar*).

The word appears in numerous new collocations; most frequent include *ładowanie systemu*, *ładowanie strony*, *ładowanie danych*, *ładowanie pliku*, *ładowanie programu*, *ładowanie sterownika*, and *ładowanie pulpitu*.

The new sense of the word *ładować* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, however, discussed in some of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 128–129; 2013d: 146).

Łamać. Traditionally, the word *łamać* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to break, to fracture something’, (figurative) (a) ‘to bend’, (b) ‘to break down something, to overcome something’, (c) ‘to break, violate the law, a promise, etc.; to fail to observe a given law’, (d) ‘to damage, destroy something’, (2) (hunting) (a) (about birds of prey) ‘to hunt’, (b) (about deer and elk) ‘to wander in the forest while a female is in oestrus’, (3) (printing) ‘to make up (a book or a newspaper)’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the sense of ‘to break the password, code, anti-piracy protection, etc., in order to get unauthorized access to somebody’s e-mails, computer game code, etc.’. The new sense appeared most probably under the influence of English *break* (the new sense, at the beginning not related to computers, dates back to 1928; OED).

The word *łamać*, including the form *łamanie/złamanie* and the adjective *złamany* (but not prefixed verb or other adjectival forms, such as *włamać*, *ułamać*, *połamać*, *ułamany*, *połamany*, etc.) appears 78 times in the corpus, out of which 40 are used in the traditional senses (e.g. *złamać prawo*, *regulamin*, *licencję*, etc.).

The next 37 occurrences are used in the new sense, mostly with the reference to a password (*złamać hasło*, 20 tokens⁷⁹). The last remaining token is used in the collocation *łamanie się obrazu*, to describe some abnormalities displayed by a graphics card on a computer screen (not treated as a semantic loan).

The new sense of the word *łamać* has not been noted in SJPSzym, USJP, or SJPSob; it is, by contrast, noted in ISJP (in the collocation *łamać szyfr* and *łamać kod*).

⁷⁹ In addition, there is one occurrence of the construction *łamacz hasel* (‘a software used to crack passwords’), most probably a rendition of English *password cracker*.

Łata. Traditionally, the word *łata* is used in the sense of (1) 'a piece of fabric, leather, or other material used to cover a hole, a damaged part, etc.' and (2) 'an area of different colour, especially on animal's skin or fur' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word *łata* is used in the new, metaphorical meaning of 'a small file used to upgrade, add new functions and/or correct some faults in a given computer program, game, etc.', most probably under the influence of the English form *patch*, whose new sense dates back to 1954 (OED).

In the corpus, the word *łata* (including the diminutive form *łatka* and other related forms, e.g. the verb *łatać*) appears 50 times; all of its occurrences are used in the new sense. The form appears chiefly as a diminutive *łatka* (44 tokens⁸⁰); its use probably underlines the small size of the patch file.

The word in question appears in new collocations, such as *zainstalować łatkę*, *ściągnąć łatkę*, and *łatać dziurki/dziury (w Windowsie)*⁸¹. In addition, an English-induced calque was detected: *łatka bezpieczeństwa* (3 tokens), cf. English *security patch*.

The new meaning of the word *łata* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Maska. The word *maska* is traditionally used to denote (1) 'a mask (covering the face)', (figurative) (a) 'a facade, a veneer', (b) 'about a distorted or motionless face that looks like a mask', (2) 'a person in a mask', (3) 'a likeness of a person's face made from plaster or other substance', (4) 'a representation of a person's face or animal head used as embellishment', (5) 'an actor's face made up for a given role', (6) 'a protective mask worn by (a) members of certain profession, e.g. welders, (b) medical doctors, nurses, etc., (c) certain sportsmen; a face guard', (7) 'an oxygen mask', (8) (of a car or other vehicle) 'a bonnet; an engine cover', (9) 'the front part of a hard palate', (10) (photography) 'a mask, used to cover a part of the image', (11) (historical) 'a front movable part of a helmet', (12) (military) 'a mask, screen', (13) (zoology) 'a lower labium of a dragonfly larva' (cf. SJPDor).

In the computer-related contexts, the word *maska* is used in several new senses, two out of which are most probably modelled on English *mask*: (A) 'a number used in connection with IP (to distinguish certain elements)', (B) 'in graphic programs: an area of the drawing, photograph, etc., protected from e.g. being accidentally coloured'.

In addition, the word may appear in other two new senses related, albeit loosely, to computers. These are most probably created already in Polish, without the influence of English: (I) used in the phrase *pod maską*, i.e. inside a computer (the construction *pod maską* was originally used with reference to a car) and (II)

⁸⁰ Included in the total count of 50 tokens.

⁸¹ The word *dziura/dziurka* is an example of another semantic innovation, created probably without a direct influence of English. The word is used to denote 'a fault in computer program, especially connected with security issues'.

used in the general sense of ‘an act or process of hiding something, e.g. one’s presence in the Internet’.

The word *maska* (but not *maskować*, *maskownica*, *maskujący*, etc.) appears 43 times in the corpus, out of which 2 are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 41 tokens are used in the new senses, cf. Table 4.63.

Table 4.63. The use of the word *maska* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>maska</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>maska</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	34	maska podsieci	8	subnet mask	LT
		maska statyczna	2	static mask	LT
(B)	4	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(I) [not based on English]	2	–	–	–	–
(II) [not based on English]	1	–	–	–	–

The new senses of the word *maska* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Mechanika. Traditionally, the word *mechanika* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a branch of science dealing with motion’, (2) ‘the study of machinery; also the construction of machines’, (3) (old-fashioned) ‘mechanism’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the corpus, the word is used 33 times, out of which 1 is used in the traditional sense (*mechanika samochodowa*). The remaining 32 tokens are used in two new senses, viz. (A) ‘the rules according to which a computer game is played’ and (B) ‘the way in which a hard disk works’, probably under the influence of English *mechanics* (cf. constructions in Table 4.64). The word appears in two English-induced calques; details are presented in Table 4.64.

Table 4.64. The use of the word *mechanika* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>mechanika</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>mechanika</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	28	mechanika gry	12	game mechanics	LT
(B)	4	mechanika dysku	1	(hard) disk mechanics	LT

One of the new senses (meaning B) has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (albeit a general definition, not connected with a hard disk, is provided); the second new sense (A), by contrast, has not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Menedżer. Traditionally, the word *menedżer* (a lexical borrowing from English *manager*) is used in the sense of (1) ‘a person responsible for the organization and management of a business’ and (2) ‘a person who is responsible for professional and business activities of a performer, sports player, group of artists’ (USJP; in SJPDor, the form *menażer* is given, with similar definitions).

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in a new meaning; it denotes ‘a computer program that helps a user to organize and manage other programs and devices.’ The change in meaning has been triggered by English *manager* (cf. ODE).

Altogether, the word in all its spelling variants, i.e. *menedżer*, *manadżer*, *manager*, *meneger*, is used 600 times in the corpus (including one occurrence of the adjective *menedżerski*), out of which 42 refer to the traditional meaning, i.e. denoting a person managing something, usually with reference to computer football games.

The remaining 558 tokens are used in the new sense; the word appears in various new collocations calquing English constructions, cf. Table 4.65.

Table 4.65. The use of the word *menedżer* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>menedżer</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
menedżer urzędzeń	229	device manager	SC
menedżer zadań	101 ^a	task manager	SC
menedżer plików	13	file manager	SC
menedżer dźwięku	8	sound manager	SC
menedżer pakietów	7	package manager	SC
menedżer pobierania	6	download manager	SC
menedżer haseł	6	password manager	SC
menedżer zakładek	5	bookmark manager	SC
menedżer dysków	4	(hard) disk manager	SC
menedżer rozruchu	3	boot manager	SC
menedżer sprzętu	3	device manager	SR
menedżer aplikacji	2	application manager	SC
menedżer aktualizacji	1	update manager	SC
menedżer procesów	1	process manager	SC
menedżer profili	1	profile manager	SC
menedżer ściągania	1	downloading manager	SC
menedżer zabezpieczenia kont	1	Security Account Manager	SC

^a Including one occurrence of the construction *menedżer zadań/procesów*, calquing English *task/process manager*.

The new meaning of the word *menedżer* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; it has been noted, by contrast, by Witalisz (2007a: 265), albeit in a restricted sense, connected only with computer files.

Menu. Traditionally, the word *menu* is used in the sense of ‘a menu in a restaurant; also the list of food that forms a given meal’ (SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word in question is used in the new sense, to denote ‘a list of options (of a given piece of software or hardware) that can be chosen by a user’. The new meaning is based on the model of English *menu*, in which case the new sense was first attested in 1967 (OED).

The form *menu* appears 355 times in the corpus⁸²; all the uses appear in the new sense. The word appears also in two English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.66.

Table 4.66. The use of the word *menu* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Constructions with the word <i>menu</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
menu kontekstowe	13	context menu ^a	LT
menu startowe	4 ^b	start menu	SC

^a The construction *contextual menu* is also used, but much less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

^b Additionally, there are 40 tokens of the construction *menu start*.

The new sense of the word *menu* has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym); it was also discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 267).

Migracja. Traditionally, the word *migracja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘the movement of people from one place to another’, (2) (biology) ‘the movement of an organism or a species from one habitat to another’, (3) ‘the change in the distribution of a given species of a plant’, (4) (old use) ‘emigration’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense, to denote ‘an act of changing a computer, an operating system or a hosting server to a new one; also: an act of transferring data between different systems or formats’. The new meaning has most probably been triggered by English *migration*, whose use in the new sense dates back to 1980 (OED).

The word appears 11 times in the corpus (including neological forms *migrowany* and *zmigrowanie*), all of which are used in the new sense. An English-induced calque was also detected: *migracja danych* (1 token; cf. English *data migration*).

The new meaning of the word *migracja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Mnożnik. Traditionally, the word *mnożnik* is used in the sense of ‘a multiplier; a number by which another number is multiplied’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the more specialized, technical sense of ‘the number that indicates the ratio of an internal CPU clock rate to the externally supplied clock’ (cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CPU_

⁸² Additionally, there are 3 tokens of *podmenu* and 2 of *submenu*.

multiplier; access: 17 May 2016), under the influence of the English construction *CPU multiplier*.

The form *mnożnik* is used 58 times in the corpus; all the tokens are used in the new sense. The word appears in one English semi-calque, viz. *mnożnik procesora*, used 5 times (cf. English *CPU multiplier*).

The new specific sense of the word *mnożnik* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Moderator. Traditionally, the word *moderator* is used in the sense of (1) (chemistry) (a) 'a substance used in chemical reactions to regulate their speed', (b) 'a buffer solution', (2) (music) 'a device for turning down the volume of a given musical instrument', (3) (technical) 'a device regulating the work of a given machine' (cf. SJPDor). In USJP and SJPSob, the word is additionally explained as 'a person who soothes tensions and does not allow for extremes' and 'a person who moderates a discussion, especially in the media', respectively.

In computer-related discourse, the word, frequently shortened to *mod*, is used in the new meaning of 'a person who is in charge of an Internet forum, a chat, etc.'. The task of a moderator is thus similar to that of an administrator (cf. →*administrator*), but moderators typically do not have access to technical options connected with a forum. The new meaning appeared most probably under the influence of English *moderator*, in which case the first attestation in computer-related sense dates back to 1981 (OED).

The forms *moderator* and *mod* (including derivatives, such as *moderowany*, *moderatorski*, *moderować*, *modowanie*, *moderacja*, etc.) are used 201 times in the corpus, out of which 77 are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The word appears in numerous new collocations, e.g. *moderator forum*, *moderator działu*, *otrzymać moderatora*, *mieć moderatora* (created most probably by analogy to such constructions, used colloquially, as *mieć magistra*, *dostać magistra*, etc.). The word does not appear in any English-induced calques.

The remaining 124 tokens are also used in the new sense, completely different from the one described above. The word denotes 'a modification', either (I) of software, especially a computer game (*mod* can then be defined as 'a small program introducing certain changes to a game, e.g. introducing new weapons, new types of enemies, new language versions, etc.') or (II) of hardware, especially computer housing (*mod* can then be defined as 'a modification, usually of computer housing, whose aim is to make a given thing look more attractive, e.g. by installing LED lights, etc.'). The second type of modification has a group of fans who see it as a type of art. The derivative forms are also used in the corpus: *modowanie*, *moddować* (used in senses I and II) and *modding/moding* (used in sense II). These usages of *mod* can be treated as either (1) lexical borrowings of English *mod*, homonymous to *mod* used in the sense of 'a moderator' or (2) clippings of the form *modyfikacja*. In any case, they cannot be counted as semantic borrowings.

The new sense of the word *moderator* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP (the word is not noted in ISJP at all). In USJP and SJPSob, as was mentioned above, the new sense is included, but not in connection with computers. In addition, the new meaning of the word was briefly mentioned in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2014e: 400).

Monitor. According to SJPDor, the word *monitor* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a journal, especially an official one; a gazette’, (2) (mining) ‘a device used for quarrying’, (3) (nautical) ‘a warship’, (4) (radio engineering) ‘a device used for controlling’, (5) (old use) ‘a mentor’, (6) ‘a school pupil teaching other pupils’.

In computer-related contexts, the word in question is used in two new senses, i.e. (A) ‘a computer screen; a monitor’ and (B) ‘a computer program that supervises something’, under the influence of English *monitor* (the first use of the word in the new senses dates back to, respectively, 1976 and 1962; OED).

The form *monitor* (including the diminutive form *monitorek*, but not such forms as *monitorować* or *monitoring*) appears 675 times in the corpus, all of which appear in one of the new senses, cf. Table 4.67.

Table 4.67. The use of the word *monitor* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>monitor</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>monitor</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	634	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	41	monitor zasobów	9	resource monitor	LT
		monitor serwerów	4	server monitor	SC
		monitor wydruku	2	print monitor	LT
		monitor sieci	1	network monitor	LT

One of the new senses of the word *monitor* (meaning A) has been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob; the second new sense (B) has, by contrast, not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Most. Traditionally, the word *most* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a bridge; a structure built over a river, etc.’, (2) (dentistry) ‘a bridge; a partial denture’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a chip on the chipset of the motherboard’, under the influence of English *northbridge* and *southbridge*. The word in this sense usually appears as the diminutive form *mostek*.

The forms *most* and *mostek* appear 36 times in the corpus,⁸³ out of which 9 are used in the traditional sense, often in figurative uses (e.g. *mówić prosto*

⁸³ The form *most* appears also in the phrase *most wanted* (a part of the title of a computer game) or *most powerful*. These homonymic uses are not included in the total count of 36 uses.

z *mostu*; this includes also the sense of ‘something that connects people, ideas, things, etc.’). One token appears in the new construction, calqued from English (*most dźwięku*, E. *sound bridge*).⁸⁴ The remaining 26 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense, cf. Table 4.68.

Table 4.68. The use of the word *most* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>most</i> in a diminutive form	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
mostek północny	12	northbridge	LT
mostek południowy	7	southbridge	LT

Additionally, there are 2 tokens of the neological form *zmostkowanie*, used in the sense of ‘the process of connecting something’: *zmostkowanie dwóch kart* and *zmostkowanie dwóch wentylatorów*.

The new sense of the word *most/mostek* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. The last two dictionaries do include a computer-related sense (‘a device that enables data exchange between two local computer networks’); the word in this sense, however, does not appear in the corpus.

Mysz. According to SJPDor, the word *mysz* is used in the sense of ‘a small rodent’. In the semantic field of computers, the word *mysz* is used in the new sense, to denote ‘a hand-controlled device (attached to a computer) used to control the movement of the cursor on the screen’; the new sense appeared under the influence of English *mouse*, in which case the first attestation dates back to 1965 (OED).

The form *mysz*, together with the derivatives *myszka*, *mysza*, *mycha*, and *myszak*⁸⁵, appears 873 times in the corpus; all uses appear in the new sense.

The word occurs in various constructions modelled on English; these are discussed under respective subchapters, e.g. *gesty myszy* is discussed under →*gest*. Other types of English-induced calques are given in Table 4.69.

Table 4.69. The use of the word *mysz* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>mysz</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>mysz/myszka bezprzewodowa</i>	25	wireless mouse	LT
<i>mysz/myszka optyczna</i>	8	optical mouse	LT
<i>mysz laserowa</i>	4	laser mouse	SC

⁸⁴ This is not counted as the new sense since the construction *most dźwięku* is used outside the semantic field of computers.

⁸⁵ The form *myszak* is used only once; it may also be a spelling mistake (*myszak* → *myszka*).

The word *mysz* is among the best-known semantic loans in the sphere of computers; its new sense was discussed by numerous authors, e.g. Witalisz (2007a: 268). It has also been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym).

Narzędzie. The word *narzędzie* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a technical device used to perform some work or action’, (2) ‘a person who is a passive executioner of somebody’s plans, orders, etc.’, (3) (old use) ‘a tool, an instrument used to perform simple functions; also about dishes or musical instruments’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in the sense of ‘a computer program or a function of a computer program that enables the user to achieve some aim, perform some action, etc.’, most probably under the influence of English *tool*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1956 (OED).

The word in question (including derivatives, such as the adjective *narzędziowy*), appears 446 times in the corpus, out of which 8 instances appear in the traditional meaning. The remaining 438 tokens are used in the new sense. The word is also used in many English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.70.

Table 4.70. The use of the word *narzędzie* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>narzędzie</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
narzędzia administracyjne	19	administrative tools	LT
narzędzia systemowe	12	system tools	LT
pasek narzędziowy/narzędzi	9	toolbar	LR
narzędzia moderskie	6	modding tools	LT
narzędzia odzyskiwania (systemu)	3	system recovery tools	LT
narzędzia naprawy/naprawiania systemu	2	system repair tools	LT
narzędzia sieciowe	1	network tools	LT

The new specialized sense of the word *narzędzie* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. It was, by contrast, mentioned in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2015b: 369).

Nawigacja. According to SJPDor, the word *nawigacja* is used in the sense of (1) ‘navigational science’ and (2) ‘the movement of ships or aircraft’.

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in the metaphorical sense of ‘the action of moving around the Internet, a given website or a given piece of software; the action of finding a website containing certain information, finding certain content on a given website, etc.’ (e.g. *nawigacja na stronach*, *nawigowanie pomiędzy kartami*, *nawigacja po słowach wyszukiwanych*), under the influence of English *navigation*, whose new meaning dates back to 1984 (OED).

In the corpus, the forms *nawigacja* and *nawigować* (including also *nawigowanie*) appear 40 times, out of which 16 are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The remaining 24 tokens appear also in the new sense, but not connected with the area of computers, viz. ‘car navigation, based on GPS’.

The new sense of the word *nawigacja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Obiekt. According to SJPDor, the word *obiekt* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a thing, an object; also an object, a subject of a study, etc.’, (2) ‘a public or industrial building or a complex’, (3) (linguistics) (old-fashioned) ‘object’, (4) (old use) ‘subject (at school, university, etc.)’.

In the semantic area of computers, the word in question is used in the technical sense of ‘a data item with certain properties and methods associated with it’ (cf. DCIT), under the influence of English *object*, in which case the first attestation of the use of the word in computer-related sense dates back to 1973 (OED).

The word *obiekt*, together with the neological forms *obiektowy*, *obiektowo*, and *obiektowość*, appear 91 times in the corpus, out of which 3 are used in the traditional, general sense of ‘a thing’. The remaining 88 tokens are used in the new sense, cf. Table 4.71.

Table 4.71. The use of the word *obiekt* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>obiekt</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
programowanie obiekto	2	object-oriented programming	LR
plik obiekto	1	object file	LT
moduł obiekto	1	object module	LT

The new specific use of the word *obiekt* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Obraz. Traditionally, the word *obraz* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a painting’, (2) ‘a sight, a scene; also an image, a mental picture’, (3) ‘things forming a certain whole; also a description of something, a picture, a view’, (4) ‘a scene; a short act in a theatrical play; also (rarely) the entire play in one act’, (5) ‘an image on the screen; also: the movie’, (6) (physics, photography) ‘an image of something made by reflected or refracted rays; also: an image on a photograph’, (7) (historical) ‘a kind of tax’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in three new senses: (A) ‘a file containing the contents and structure of a hard disk, CD-ROM, etc.; an exact copy of a CD content, a hard disk, etc.’ (usually as *obraz*), (B) ‘a graphics (image) file stored in a computer memory, a hard disk, etc., read by a graphics editor’ (usually as *obrazek*), and (C) ‘a computer icon’. The first two senses (A and B)

have most probably been triggered by English *image* (the first attestation of the use of the word in sense A dates back to 1982⁸⁶; OED).

The word *obraz*, together with the diminutive form *obrazek* (but not *obrazowy*, *obrazowo*, *obrazować*, *wyobrazić*, etc.), appears 826 times in the corpus, out of which 647 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses, usually ‘a picture displayed by a computer screen.’ The remaining 179 tokens are used in one of the new senses. The word appears in three English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.72.

Table 4.72. The use of the word *obraz* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>obraz</i>	N	Calques with the word <i>obraz</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	95	obraz płyty	20	CD image	LT
		obraz dysku	11	disk image	LT
		obraz systemu	6	system image	LT
(B)	81	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C) [not based on English]	3	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new senses of the word *obraz* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. Some of its new senses were discussed, by contrast, in the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 129–130).

Obudzić. According to SJPDor, the word *obudzić* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to wake somebody up’, (2) ‘to awake an emotion.’

In connection with computers, the word is used in the sense of ‘to make the computer work again after the period of hibernation or sleep (e.g. by pressing a specific key combination)’.

The forms *obudzić* and *wybudzić* (including derivatives, such as *obudzenie*, *wybudzenie*, but not *rozbudzić*, *rozbudzenie*) appear 19 times in the corpus, out of which 14 are used in the traditional sense, including figurative uses, e.g. *zastrzeżenia budzi [...]*. The remaining 5 occurrences are used in the new sense.

It is difficult to state conclusively whether the new meaning of the word *obudzić* is a result of the influence of English or not. The English word *wake (up)* is frequently used in connection with computers, e.g. *How can I wake my computer from sleep or hibernation?*⁸⁷; it is also possible, however, that the new meaning has emerged by analogy to the extension of the form

⁸⁶ Sense B is included in another definition given by OED: “a physical or digital representation of something, originally captured using a camera from visible light, and typically reproduced on paper, displayed on a screen, or stored as a computer file” [emphasis mine].

⁸⁷ <http://windows.microsoft.com/en-us/windows7/sleep-and-hibernation-frequently-asked-questions> (access: 17 May 2016).

→*hibernacja*. Both processes may have also coexisted; it seems probable, in general, that English has played an intensifying role here, hence the word is included as a semantic loan.

The new sense of the word *obudzić* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Odświeżyć. Traditionally, the word *odświeżyć* is used in the sense of (1) 'to freshen something up', (2) 'to refresh somebody', (3) 'to revive something, to renew something; also to update something' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related areas, the word is used in several new senses: (A) 'to reload the contents of a website (or desktop, etc.) in order to see the latest data' (e.g. *odświeżyć stronę*), (B) (as *odświeżanie*) 'refresh rate; the number of displays per second' (e.g. *odświeżanie monitora*), (C) 'to add a new post to a (usually) old and inactive thread' (e.g. *odświeżyć temat*, *odświeżyć wątek*), (D) 'to reset something, e.g. router settings' (e.g. *odświeżyć połączenie*), (E) 'to reload the system' (e.g. *odświeżyć Windows*). Some of the senses, viz. A and B, have most probably been triggered by English *refresh*, in which case the first attestation of the word, in connection with computer spheres, dates back to 1957 (OED).

The word *odświeżyć* (including also the form *odświeżanie*) appears 142 times in the corpus, out of which 19 are used in the traditional senses, including figurative uses (e.g. *odświeżyć pamięć*). The next 6 tokens are used in connection with computers, but in the traditional sense ('to update something, to add new elements to something'), e.g. *odświeżyć komputer*. The remaining 117 tokens are used in one of the new senses; details are presented in Table 4.73.

Table 4.73. The use of the word *odświeżyć* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>odświeżyć</i> and <i>odświeżanie</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>odświeżyć</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	55	<i>odświeżyć stronę</i>	13	to refresh the website	LT
(B)	26	<i>częstotliwość odświeżania monitora</i>	2	monitor refresh rate	LT
(C) [probably not based on English]	20	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(D) [probably not based on English]	11	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(E) [probably not based on English]	5	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new senses of the word *odświeżyć* triggered by English (meanings A and B) have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Okno. According to SJPDor, the word *okno* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an opening in the wall of a building’, (2) ‘a windowpane’, (3) ‘a hole, an opening in something’, (4) ‘a pane in a frame for raising plants’, (5) (rare) ‘a counter’, (6) (mining) ‘an opening in the wall of coal’, (7) (hunting) ‘an opening in a burrow’, (8) (technical) ‘an opening in an engine cylinder’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a frame on a computer screen’. The new sense has been triggered by English *window*; according to OED, its new sense dates back to 1974.

The word *okno*, together with the diminutive form *okienko* and the adjective *okienkowy*, appears 795 times in the corpus, out of which 29 are used in the traditional sense (usually in the sense of a hole in computer casing; cf. sense 3). The remaining 766 tokens are used in the new sense. An instance of a loan rendition was also detected, viz. *okno dialogowe* (used 2 times), on the model of English *dialog box*.

The word *okno* appears to be one of the best-known semantic loans in the sphere of computers. Its new sense was discussed, among others, by Witalisz (2007a: 271–272) and in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008b: 161). It has also been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym).

Otworzyć. Traditionally, the word *otworzyć* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to open something’, (2) ‘to unlock something; to unscrew something’, (3) ‘to get to the inside of something; to take something out of something’, (4) ‘to open a mouth, etc.’, (5) ‘to spread something out’, (6) ‘to start a business’, (7) ‘to start a meeting, open a discussion, etc.’, (8) ‘to cut open, to open up (in a medical sense)’, (9) to show something, to make something appear’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘to click on a folder, email subject line, document, etc., to see its contents; also: to run a computer program, to play a music file, to display a graphics file, to access one’s email account, etc.’⁸⁸ (e.g. *otwierać plik, otwierać program, otwierać aplikację, otwierać stronę, otwierać filmik, otwierać e-mail, otwierać karty, otwierać dysk, or otwierać zdjęcie*).

The form *otworzyć* appears 809 times in the corpus, out of which 32 are used in the traditional sense, usually with reference to computer housing. The remaining 777 tokens are used in the new sense.

It is difficult to establish whether the new sense appeared under the influence of the English form *to open* (its first occurrence in the sense related to computers

⁸⁸ In addition, the word appears in other computer-related senses, e.g. ‘to unlock a thread on an Internet forum, previously blocked by an administrator’ (cf. *otworzyć temat*); such uses are, however, treated as belonging to the traditional meaning of the word.

dates back to 1960; OED); most probably, English acted here at least as an intensifying force.

The new sense of the word *otworzyć* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Pająk. The word *pająk* is used in Polish to denote (1) 'a small animal that can spin a web, a spider', (2) 'a large, ornamented chandelier in the shape of a spider', and (3) 'an ornament made from straw' (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in a completely different meaning, to refer to 'a program that searches through the Internet sites and gathers information about the sites that have been deleted, changed or updated'. The information gathered in this way is then implemented in search engines to facilitate searching process. The new sense is modelled on English *spider*, in which case the first occurrence dates back to 1993 (OED).

In the corpus, the word *pająk* and the diminutive form *pajaczek* are used 8 times altogether, out of which 6 refer to the traditional meaning of an animal (usually with a reference to spiders that must be killed in a computer game). The remaining two occurrences, in the form of *pajaczek*, are used in the new meaning, cf. one of the examples of use: *Nasz katalog jest szybki i łatwy w obsłudze, przyjazny dla użytkownika i "pajaczków"* [21]. The form was used in quotation marks, which suggests that the author felt it to be somehow unnatural or inappropriate in a given context. The entire phrase is most probably modelled on English *user and spider-friendly*.⁸⁹

The new meaning of the word *pająk* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Pamięć. According to SJPDor, the word *pamięć* is used in the sense of (1) 'the ability to remember things; a memory', (2) 'a memory of somebody or something; a remembrance', (3) (old use) 'consciousness, awareness', (4) (cybernetics) 'a unit in a computer to store data'.

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in several new senses; all of them are closely-related: (A) 'a piece of hardware where data is stored (of a computer or another piece of hardware, e.g. a printer, graphics card, etc.)', (B) 'a portable device for storing data, e.g. a memory stick, a CD, etc.', (C) 'a cache memory of an Internet browser or other piece of software', (D) 'a size of a file, picture, etc.'⁹⁰. Sense (A) is an old semantic borrowing, as it was included in SJPDor. The senses (A) and (C) are modelled on English *memory* (its first use

⁸⁹ In addition, the phrase contains another example of a semantic loan, namely *przyjazny*. The form was traditionally used with reference to people and animals; now it is commonly used in relation to e.g. cars, computers, and other machines (cf. Witalisz 2007a: 285).

⁹⁰ This can be seen as a very untypical use of *pamięć*.

connected with machines dates back to 1945; OED). Sense (B) is modelled on *memory* and *storage*.

The word *pamięć*, together with the adjective *pamięciowy*, appears 1,492 times in the corpus, out of which 8 are used in the traditional sense (cf. sense 1 in SJPDor). The remaining 1,484 tokens are used in one of the new senses; details, together with English-induced calques, are provided in Table 4.74.

Table 4.74. The use of the word *pamięć* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>pamięć</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>pamięć</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	1,418	<i>pamięć podręczna</i> ^a	31	cache (memory)	LR
		<i>pamięć operacyjna</i>	29	internal memory ^b	LR
		<i>pamięć fizyczna</i>	28	physical memory	LT
		<i>kość/kostka pamięci</i>	26	memory chip	LR
		<i>pamięć wirtualna</i>	16	virtual memory	LT
		<i>pamięć niskoprofilowa</i>	1	low-profile memory	LT
(B)	53	<i>pamięć przenośna</i>	6	(portable) memory stick	LR
		<i>pamięć masowa</i>	2	mass storage	LR
		<i>pamięć zewnętrzna</i>	2	external memory	LT
(C)	11	<i>pamięć podręczna</i>	9	cache (memory)	LR
(D) [not based on English]	2	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a The construction *pamięć podręczna* can be used in two senses (A and C) and is therefore included twice in the table.

^b Other constructions, such as *main memory* or *primary storage* are also used, but less frequently than *internal memory* (on the basis of Google search).

One of the new senses of the word *pamięć* (meaning A) has been noted in SJPDor, SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob; it was also discussed in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2012b: 234). The other new meanings have not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Panel. The word *panel*, itself a lexical borrowing from English, is used in the following senses: (1) (formal) ‘a panel discussion’, (2) (psychology, sociology) ‘a panel survey’, (3) (technical) (a) ‘a replaceable container with some elements of a device, etc.’, (b) ‘a floor or wall panel’, (c) ‘a control panel in a car radio’ (USJP; the word is not noted in SJPDor or SJPSzym).

In the area of computers, the word is used in several new senses: (A) ‘a control panel with controls for operating a given piece of hardware’, (B) ‘an application or a set of applications thanks to which a user can change various settings, connected with hardware and/or software’, (C) ‘a piece of metal forming part of a computer casing, incorporating all the ports for peripheral devices’, and (D) ‘LCD panel; a flat-panel display’. The new senses appeared under the

influence of English *panel* and the construction *control panel* (the first use of *control panel* in the sense of 'a board on which controls (used for operating a given machine) are fixed' dates back to 1902; OED).

In the corpus, the word *panel* appears 539 times, out of which one token is used in the traditional meaning (sense 3b). The remaining 538 tokens are used in the new senses, cf. Table 4.75.

Table 4.75. The use of the word *panel* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>panel</i>	n	Calques with the form <i>panel</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	10	panel kontrolny	5	control panel	LT
(B)	432	panel sterowania	212	control panel	LR
		panel administracyjny	19	administration panel	LT
		panel użytkownika	4	user control panel	LR
		panel ustawień	3	settings panel	LT
		panel konfiguracyjny	2	configuration panel	LT
(C)	91	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(D)	5	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new senses of the word have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP. One of the new meanings (sense A) has been noted in SJPSob (without reference to computers, but with a general reference to any device).

Personalizacja. Traditionally, the word *personalizacja* is used in the sense of 'stressing the role of an individual person; stressing the special role of a human being' (USJP; the word does not appear in SJPDor, SJPSzym, or ISJP).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the sense of 'setting options in a piece of software or hardware to meet one's individual requirements'. The extension is most probably the result of the influence of English *personalization* (cf. one of the meanings in OED, 'the action of making something personal', dating back to 1903).

The forms *personalizacja* and *personalizować* appear 17 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word has not been noted in USJP or SJPSob.

Pętla. According to SJPDor, the word *pętla* is used in the sense of (1) 'a piece of string, rope, etc., in the shape of a circle, a loop; also used as a fastening (in clothes)', (2) 'a sharp curve', (3) 'a loop line; a tram terminus', (4) (aviation) 'a loop (of an aircraft)', (5) (hunting) (a) 'a noose; a snare', (b) 'a shape of a hare's leg in the ground; also an act of removing such traces', (6) (nautical) 'a rope knot'.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense, to denote 'a sequence of a computer program that is executed repeatedly, usually

until a certain condition is fulfilled, under the influence of English *loop* (first attested in computer-related sense in 1947; OED).

The word *pętla*, together with *zapętląć*, appears 33 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *pętla* has not been included in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Piaskownica. The word *piaskownica* is traditionally used in the following senses: (1) 'a sandbox (for children to play in)', (2) (botany) 'marram grass', (3) (sport) 'a place filled with sand, used in certain sports, such as long jumping', (4) (technical) 'a container for sand' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word in question is used in the sense of 'a protective environment where a new program or application can be tested without any changes to computer memory, hard disk, system, etc.' (e.g. *program uruchomiony w piaskownicy*). The new sense is the result of the semantic influence of the English form *sandbox*, cf. definitions in ODE and DCIT.

The form in question appears 16 times in the corpus, out of which one is used in the traditional sense (sense 1), the remaining 15 tokens being used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word *piaskownica* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Pirat. Traditionally, the word *pirat* is used in the sense of (1) 'a person who robs ships at sea; a pirate', (2) (rare) 'a pirate ship' (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in two new senses: (A) 'a person that makes illegal copies of computer software, especially computer games, and sells them' and (B) 'a pirated piece of software'. The new senses appeared under the influence of English *pirate* (the first use in connection with a person selling unauthorized or plagiarized copies, e.g. of books, dates back to 1668; OED).

The word *pirat*, together with the related forms *piracki*, *piracenie*, *piracić*, *spiracony*, and *spiratowany*, appears 195 times in the corpus, out of which 13 are used in the traditional sense, mostly in connection with a computer game titled *Piraci z Karaibów*. The remaining 182 tokens are used in the new sense.

One of the new senses of the word *pirat* (meaning A) has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym); meaning B, by contrast, has not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries. Both new senses were discussed in the literature on the subject, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 276–277), Zabawa (2008b: 161; 2012a: 135–138; 2013d: 146).

Platforma. According to SJPDor, the word *platforma* is used in the sense of (1) 'a lorry, a platform truck; a flatcar (in a train)', (2) 'a platform (in a tram or railway wagon)', (3) 'a flat surface of something', (4) (geology) 'a flat area of the

earth's crust', (5) (old use) (a) 'a platform at a railway station', (b) 'a support for a cannon, gun, etc.; a mount'.

In the area of computers, the word appears in the new sense of 'a piece of hardware, software, a web portal, a website template, an Internet server or a computer which serves as a base for something', under the influence of English *platform* (the word was first noted in computer-related sense in 1987; OED).

The form appears 229 times in the corpus, out of which 14 are used in a traditional sense (usually in connection with a type of a computer game, where the characters jump from one flat surface to another⁹¹). One occurrence is used in a new sense, but outside the area of computers: it refers to a system of digital television (*platforma cyfrowa*). The remaining 214 tokens are used in the new sense; they appear in four English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.76.

Table 4.76. The use of the word *platforma* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>platforma</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
platforma sprzętowa	8	hardware platform	LT
platforma systemowa	2	system platform	LT
platforma dystrybucji cyfrowej	1	digital distribution platform	LT
platforma domowa	1	home platform	LT

The new use of the word *platforma* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (in the last three, there is a general new sense of 'a common ground; a diplomatic, political, etc., platform').

Poczta. Traditionally, the word *poczta* is used in the sense of (1) 'a national organization for the transport and delivery of letters, parcels, etc.; also a building of such an organization, a post office', (2) 'the letters and packages; post, mail', (3) (historical) 'an organization dealing with the transportation of mail and people; also the vehicle of such an organization or the station where it stopped', (4) (old use) (a) 'a distance between stops of a postal vehicle', (b) 'an official delivering letters and packages', (c) (figurative) 'a position; an outpost' (cf. SJPDor).

In the language related to computers, the word is used in three new, closely-related senses: (A) 'the system of electronic mail', (B) 'an electronic inbox, where e-mails are stored', (C) 'e-mail messages'. The new senses appeared under the influence of English *mail*, *electronic mail* and *e-mail* (with the first attestations dating back to 1972, 1975, and 1979, respectively; OED). As they are closely related, they are treated as a single new sense in the further part of the section.

⁹¹ Referred to in Polish as *gra platformowa* or *platformówka* (cf. Table 4.2).

The form *poczta* appears 287 times in the corpus, out of which there are 5 instances of the usage in the traditional senses. The remaining 282 tokens are used in the new senses; they also appear in English calques, cf. Table 4.77.

Table 4.77. The use of the word *poczta* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>poczta</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
serwer poczty/pocztowy	14	mail server	LT
poczta elektroniczna	7	electronic mail	LT

There are also constructions which are not new formally, but they appear in the new sense: these include e.g. *skrzynka (pocztowa)* in the sense of ‘an electronic inbox’.

The forms *poczta e-mail* or *poczta e-mailowa/mailowa* are also relatively common; such constructions can, however, be seen as redundant, as they use the same component of meaning twice (once as a semantic and once as a lexical borrowing) in the same phrase.

Some of the new meanings of the word *poczta* (senses A and C) have been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob, but only in the phrase *poczta elektroniczna*; the new senses were also described in Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2000: 97) and Zabawa (2012a: 138–140).

Pokój. According to SJPDor, the word *pokój* is used in the sense of (1) ‘the opposite of war; peace’, (2) ‘peace agreement’, (3) ‘peace (of mind)’, (4) ‘part of a flat; a room’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a type of an Internet forum where users can communicate (by means of text) in real time; a chat room’. The new sense appeared most probably under the influence of English *chat room* (first used in 1989; OED).

The form *pokój* appears 72 times in the corpus, out of which 58 are used in the traditional sense (usually in sense 4). The remaining 14 occurrences appear in the new meaning. The most frequent collocation is *pokój do rozmów* (8 tokens), most probably a rendition of English *chat room*.

The new sense of the word *pokój* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; it was, however, mentioned in some of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2010b: 83–84; 2012b: 232–233).

Polecenie. Traditionally, the word *polecenie* is used in the sense of (1) a noun form of the verb *polecić* ‘to order; to recommend’, (2) ‘an order, a command’, (3) (rare) ‘a letter of recommendation’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the restricted sense of ‘an instruction for a computer’, most probably under the influence of the English form *command*, first attested in the new sense in 1946 (OED).

The form appears 123 times in the corpus, out of which 10 are used in one of the traditional senses (meaning 1 or 2). The remaining 113 tokens are used in the new sense. The word appears in one English rendition, namely *wiersz polecień* ‘a line where a user can type commands for a computer or a piece of software’ (50 tokens; cf. English *command-line interface*).

The new sense of the word *polecenie* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Port. According to SJPDor, the word *port* is used in the sense of ‘a harbour; also a city with a harbour; a port’, (figurative) ‘a safe place; a haven’.

In computer-related areas, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a socket in a computer or a peripheral device into which another device can be plugged; also the number that identifies the type of connection requested by a remote computer (connected to the Internet)’ (cf. DCIT). The new meaning appeared under the influence of the English form *port*; the word was first attested in computer-related contexts in 1970 (OED).

The word in question appears 439 times in the corpus, out of which 10 are used in the traditional sense of a harbour (usually in connection with a port depicted in a computer game). The remaining 429 tokens are used in the new sense. In addition, the form appears in English calques; details are provided in Table 4.78.

Table 4.78. The use of the word *port* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>port</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
port komunikacyjny	37	communication(s) port	LT
port szeregowy	4	serial port	LT
port wychodzący	2	outgoing port	LT
port wyjściowy	1	output port	LT
port równoległy	1	parallel port	LT

The new sense of the word *port* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP).

Portal. The word *portal* is traditionally used in the semantic field of architecture in the sense of ‘an ornament with low reliefs, etc., around the entrance to a church, palace, etc.; also an entrance, a gate with such an ornament; a portal’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a website, typically a large one, usually containing links to other sites’, under the influence of English *portal*, used first in computer-related sense in 1990 (OED).⁹²

The form in question appears 219 times in the corpus, of which 10 tokens are used in the traditional sense (as a part of a game title); the remaining 209 occurrences are used in the new sense. The word is frequently used with qualifying adjectives, e.g. *portal aukcyjny* or *portal warezowy*. A loan rendition from English was also detected: *portal społecznościowy* (28 tokens), cf. English *social networking site*.

The new sense of the word *portal* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP).

Powłoka. According to SJPDor, the word *powłoka* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an outside layer of something; a coating’, (2) ‘a covering (used to protect or store a given thing)’, (3) ‘a pillowcase’, (4) (hunting) ‘an act of dragging a piece of carcass as a bait’, (5) (medicine) ‘the lining of an internal organ’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense, to denote ‘a program or an interface that enables a user to access operating system functions’ (thus, it acts as an intermediary between an operating system or an application and a user). The new sense appeared most probably as a semi-rendition of English *Windows shell* (rendered into Polish as *powłoka Windows*). The word *shell* was first used in the new sense in 1974 (OED).

In the corpus, the word *powłoka* is used 11 times, 4 of which are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 7 tokens are used in the new sense; an English rendition was also documented: *powłoka graficzna* (1 token), cf. English *graphical shell*.

The new use of the word *powłoka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Procedura. Traditionally, the word *procedura* is used in the sense of ‘an official way of doing something; a procedure; also: judicial proceedings’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word in question is used in the sense of ‘a single set of instructions within a given computer program’, under the influence of English *procedure*, first attested in the new sense in 1946 (OED).

The word *procedura*, including derivatives, such as the adjective *proceduralny*, is used 83 times in the corpus, out of which 24 are used in the general sense, not connected with computers.⁹³ The remaining 59 occurrences are used in the

⁹² Originally in a more general sense of ‘a server or website that provides Internet access’ (OED).

⁹³ It must be noted, though, that the form, albeit used in the traditional sense, may and does appear in new collocations, cf. e.g. *pomarańczowa procedura* (i.e. connected with the procedure of complaint handling in Orange company).

above-mentioned new sense; for details, including English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.79.

Table 4.79. The use of the word *procedura* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>procedura</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
procedura składowana	4	stored procedure	LT
procedura wejścia	4	input procedure/routine	LT
programowanie proceduralne ^a	2	procedural programming	LT
procedura zdarzeń	1	event procedure	LT

^a The construction appears as *programowanie zdarzeniowe i proceduralne*.

The new sense of the word *procedura* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob, but not SJPSzym or ISJP.

Proces. The word *proces* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a series of stages in the development of something; a process’, (2) (biology, chemistry) ‘a chemical or biological process’, (3) (law) ‘a lawsuit; a trial’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the more specialized sense of ‘a series of instructions (a program) executed by a computer in a multitasking operating system’ (cf. DCIT), under the influence of English *process*, first attested in the new sense in 1966 (OED).

The form *proces* appears 332 times in the corpus, out of which 51 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses (45 times in the general sense of ‘a series of actions, steps, etc.’ and 6 times in the sense of ‘a lawsuit’). The remaining 281 tokens are used in the new sense; the word frequently appears in new collocations, not used with the word *proces* in the traditional senses, e.g. *znaleźć proces, wyłączyć proces, usunąć proces*.

The new specialized sense of the word *proces* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Profil. The word *profil* is traditionally used in the following senses: (1) ‘a profile (of a person’s face)’, (2) ‘an outline of something’, (figurative) ‘the scope of something’, (3) (architecture) ‘a moulding’, (4) (geology) ‘a profile (of part of the earth’s surface)’, (5) (technical) (a) ‘a cross-section of something’, (b) (in plural) ‘rolled or pressed products of various shapes’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in two new senses: (A) ‘a home page of a given user on a social networking site (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Nasza klasa), instant messenger (e.g. GaduGadu, Skype), game portal (e.g. Steam), etc., containing photos, basic biographical details, etc.’ and (B) ‘a folder or a file that contains specific settings fixed by a given user, connected with e.g. web browser preferences, monitor settings, fan speed, battery settings, Windows settings, etc.’ The new senses appeared under the influence of English *profile* (cf. DCIT and ODE).

The word *profil*, together with the adjectives *profilowy* and *profilowany*, appears 222 times in the corpus, out of which 16 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses (referring usually to a school class type or to a physical shape of some computer devices, e.g. *klawiatura niskoprofilowa / niskoprofilówka*). The remaining 206 tokens are used in the new senses; they also appear in four English calques, cf. Table 4.80.

Table 4.80. The use of the word *profil* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>profil</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>profil</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	183	profil użytkownika	12	user profile	LT
		hasło profilowe	2	profile password	LT
(B)	23	profil zasilania	1	power profile	LT
		profil kolorów	1	colour profile	LT

The new meanings of the word *profil* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Protokół. Traditionally, the word *protokół* is used in the sense of (1) ‘transcription of speeches, proposals and resolutions of a meeting; a written report of a meeting’, (2) ‘a written report made by an official, providing the description of facts and his/her actions’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is used, most probably under the influence of English *protocol*, in the sense of ‘a set of parameters which govern or control the exchange of information between various computers, devices or programs’. The new sense of the English word *protocol* was first documented in 1966 (OED).

The form *protokół* appears 87 times in the corpus, out of which one token refers to the traditional meaning (sense 1). The remaining 86 tokens are used in the new sense. The form appears in various English calques; these are summarized in Table 4.81.

Table 4.81. The use of the word *protokół* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>protokół</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
protokół internetowy	5	Internet Protocol	SC
protokół pasywny	3	passive protocol	LT
protokół transportowy/transportu	2	transport protocol	LT
protokół warstwy transportowej	1	transport layer protocol	LT
protokół cebulkowy	1	onion routing protocol	LR
protokół komunikacyjny	1	communications protocol	LT
protokół pocztowy	1	Post Office Protocol, E-mail protocol	LT
protokół transmisyjny	1	transmission protocol	LT

Other new constructions include, among others, various constructions with verbs, e.g. *skonfigurować protokoły, czyszczenie protokołów, instalować protokół, obsługiwać protokół, wyłączyć protokół*.

The new sense of the word *protokół* has been noted in SJPSob (but not SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP).

Przeszczepić. The word *przeszczepić* is traditionally used in the following senses: (1) (medical) ‘to transplant (a living tissue or an organ) into a different or the same organism’, (2) (gardening) ‘to improve a plant by transplanting a part of another plant into it’ (cf. SJPDor). In addition, the word can be used figuratively in the sense of ‘to transfer something, e.g. some customs, rules, etc. into a new environment’ (cf. USJP).

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in the new meaning of ‘to transfer a part of hardware, such as e.g. a sound card, from one computer into another’. The extension may have been triggered by English as the verb *transplant* is generally used in English in a broader sense, cf. one of the definitions of *transplant* in ODE: “move or transfer (someone or something) to another place or situation”, cf. also such constructions as e.g. *graphics card transplant*⁹⁴, common on the Internet.

The form *przeszczepić* was used twice in the corpus; both occurrences are used in new sense (used in connection with a sound card).

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPDor, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Przyklejony. The word *przyklejony* is traditionally used in the sense of ‘fastened with glue’ (cf. *przykleić* in SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense of ‘(about a thread on an Internet forum) having a fixed position on the top of the forum’. Such a thread remains at the top even if it is not updated (normally the top threads are those that are most recently updated with new posts). The new sense is most probably the result of the influence of the English word *sticky*, cf. ODE.⁹⁵

The word *przyklejony*, including also the verb *przykleić*, is used 32 times in the corpus. Thirteen tokens are used in the traditional sense; the remaining 19 occurrences are used in the new meaning. The form appears in new collocations, such as *przyklejony wątek* or *przykleić temat*.

⁹⁴ Cf. <http://www.moparscape.org/smf/index.php?topic=397156.0;wap> (access: 20 May 2016).

⁹⁵ Interestingly, ODE provides also another meaning of *sticky* related to computers: ‘(of a website or its content) attracting a long visit or repeat visits from users’. The word *przyklejony* does not appear in this sense, at least in the present corpus.

The new sense of the word *przyklejony* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (on the basis of the word *przykleić*; the form *przyklejony* is not included).

Pulpit. Traditionally, the word *pulpit* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a music stand; a music rest’, (2) ‘the working surface of a desk, table, etc.; a desktop; also a small table for writing, a writing desk’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘the working area on a computer screen’, under the influence of English *desktop*, first attested in the new sense in 1982 (OED).

The form *pulpit* appears 304 times in the corpus; all the tokens are used in the new sense. The form appears in new collocations, such as e.g. *załadować pulpit*; an English-induced rendition was also detected, viz. *zdalny pulpit* (LR; used in 9 tokens), cf. English *remote desktop*.

The new sense of the word *pulpit* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Rejestr. According to SJPDor, the word *rejestr* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a register, a record, a list (usually arranged alphabetically)’, (2) (historical) ‘the number of something’, (3) (music) (a) ‘a particular part of the range of a voice or an instrument; a register’, (b) ‘an organ stop’, (4) (zootechny) ‘dark-coloured dents on the surface of incisors of horses or cattle’, (5) (old use) ‘a bill’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in two new senses: (A) ‘a database containing configuration information connected with software and hardware working under a given Windows system’ and (B) ‘a file that contains recorded information about the events (actions) that occurred in the system’. The new senses appeared most probably under the influence of English *registry* (first used in computer-related sense in 1992; OED) and *log*.

The word *rejestr* appears 338 times in the corpus, out of which two occurrences are used in the traditional sense (in the phrase *Krajowy Rejestr Długów*). The rest, i.e. 336 occurrences, are used in two new senses, cf. Table 4.82.

Table 4.82. The use of the word *rejestr* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>rejestr</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>rejestr</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	330	rejestr systemowy/systemu	17	system registry	LT
		wpis rejestru/rejestrowy	9	registry entry	LT
(B)	6	rejestr zdarzeń	6	event log	LT

The new senses of the word *rejestr* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (in SJPSzym, USJP, and SJPSob there is a definition related to computers, but different from the senses in which the word appears in the corpus).

Rekord. Traditionally, the word *rekord* is used in the sense of ‘the best result, performance, etc., especially in sport; a record’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word appears in three new senses: (A) ‘a part of a database; a piece of information treated as a single unit’, (B) ‘a region of a hard disk (or other storage device), performing a specific function’, (C) ‘an element of the domain name system (DNS)’. The new senses appeared under the influence of English *record*, cf. the English constructions in Table 4.83. In addition, sense B is included in OED (the word *record* was first attested in this sense in 1957).

The form *rekord*, together with the adjective *rekordowy*, appears 113 times in the corpus; the form is used 18 times in the traditional meaning. The remaining 95 tokens are used in one of the new meanings; the word appears also in English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.83.

Table 4.83. The use of the word *rekord* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>rekord</i>	n	Constructions with the word <i>rekord</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	90	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	3	główny rekord rozruchowy	1	master boot record	LT
		główny rekord ładujący	1	master boot record	LT
(C)	2	rekord zasobów	2	resource record	LT

One of the new meanings of the word *rekord* (sense A) has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym). The other new meanings (B and C) have not been included in the aforementioned dictionaries.

Reputacja. According to SJPDor, the word *reputacja* is used in the sense of ‘the opinion (generally held) about somebody, a reputation; also: fame’.

The word is defined in a similar way in USJP. As the examples given there show, the word is used mostly with reference to humans. In computer-related spheres, the word in question has extended its range and can also be used in connection with websites, programs or files. Thus a website that is described as having a bad or low reputation (*zła reputacja*, *niska reputacja*) can e.g. contain viruses or other dangerous malware. A file described as having a good reputation, in turn, would indicate that many people use it and do not experience any problems and the file is therefore safe.

The extension in meaning appeared most probably under the influence of English *reputation*. According to English dictionaries (cf. OED, ODE), the word *reputation* can refer both to people and inanimate objects. In addition, the form in question appears frequently in antivirus software (in such collocations as e.g. *file reputation*).

In the corpus, the form appears 21 times, out of which 17 are used more traditionally, referring to people or companies (e.g. *reputacja firmy*). Some of these uses refer to Internet forum users' reputation expressed in points. Thus, new collocations appear, such as *punkty reputacji*, *limit reputacji*, *daj reputację*, *dawać sobie reputację*. Some uses refer to the reputation of computer game protagonists, also usually expressed in points.

The remaining 4 occurrences are used in the extended sense (3 tokens referring to files, 1 token referring to a website).

The new use of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym or USJP (on the basis of the examples provided). In ISJP, the word is described as referring to people as well as companies, shops, clubs, etc., while in SJPSob – to people or things. It can thus be said that the new usage has been noted in the last of the mentioned dictionaries.

Rezydent. The word *rezydent* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) (historical) 'in Poland of the 16th–18th century: a member of the royal council', (2) (historical) 'a government agent in a dependent state', (3) (old-fashioned) 'a poor relative living in a manor' (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense, to denote 'an application, especially part of an antivirus program, that runs in the background on a given computer or system', under the influence of English *resident*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1966 (OED).

The word *rezydent*, including the related form *rezydentny*, appears 5 times in the corpus. All the occurrences are used in the new sense: the word is used 4 times in connection with an antivirus program and once in relation to a computer virus.

The new sense of the word *rezydent* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Robak. According to SJPDor, the word *robak* is used in the sense of (1) 'a worm; also (incorrectly) an insect', (2) (in plural) 'in zoology, according to a former classification: a group of certain organisms, including nematodes or annelids'. In addition, the word is used in the figurative senses of (a) 'something that is the cause of worry; a problem' and (b) (old-fashioned) (used to refer to a child).

In computer-related spheres, the form is used in the sense of 'a computer application that has a detrimental effect'. In non-specialized discourse, the form is frequently used synonymously with the word →*wirus*; in fact, worms are

considered subtypes of viruses: the chief difference is that worms can replicate themselves without the use of an infected host file.⁹⁶ The new meaning is the result of the influence of the English form *worm*, first attested in the new sense in 1975 (OED).

The word *robak*, together with the augmentative form *robal* and the derivative form *robactwo* and the compound *robako-niespodzianka*, is used 35 times in the corpus, out of which 3 are used in the traditional sense; the remaining 32 tokens are used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word *robak* was discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 287–288) and in some of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2004b: 62; 2008b: 162). It has not been noted, however, in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Rozdzielczość. Traditionally, the word *rozdzielczość* is used in the sense of ‘the ability to display or show small details’, usually in connection with television sets, monitors, digital cameras, etc. (USJP; the form does not appear in SJPDor or SJPSzym).

In the area of computers, the word is used in new contexts; for example, it may refer to ‘the ability of a computer mouse to work with a certain degree of speed and accuracy’.

In the corpus, the form appears 338 times, most of which (329 tokens) refer to a computer monitor; the form is often, however, used metonymically to refer to a computer game, movie, etc., that can be displayed at a certain resolution. The remaining 9 tokens are used in the new context, to refer to a computer mouse. The actual constructions used here (e.g. *myszka z dużą rozdzielczością*) are most probably modelled on English *mouse resolution*.

The new use of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym (where the word is not included at all), ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Rozszerzenie. According to SJPDor, the word *rozszerzenie* is used in the sense of (1) a nominal form of the verb *rozszerzyć* ‘to extend, expand, widen something’, (2) (medical) ‘pathological enlargement of a given organ, e.g. a heart’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense, to denote ‘the part of a filename, usually consisting of a few letters after a period, e.g. *.doc*, *.pptx*, *.zip*, etc., which indicates the type of a given file’. The new sense appeared most probably under the influence of English *extension*, cf. ODE.

The form *rozszerzenie* (but not *rozszerzyć*, *rozszerzony*, etc.) appears 282 times in the corpus, out of which 185 are used in the traditional senses (mostly in the meaning of ‘a component added to e.g. a piece of software or hardware’).⁹⁷

⁹⁶ See: https://support.symantec.com/en_US/article.TECH98539.html (access: 25 May 2016).

⁹⁷ Including 9 tokens of *karta rozszerzeń*, a calque of English *expansion card* (included in the section on →*karta*).

The remaining 97 tokens appear in the above-mentioned new sense. The form appears also in an English-induced calque, viz. *rozszerzenie pliku* (14 tokens), cf. English *file(name) extension*.

The new sense of the word has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (on the basis of *rozszerzyć*; the form *rozszerzenie* is not noted at all).

Scenariusz. According to SJPDor, the word *scenariusz* is used in the sense of ‘a written text that provides an outline of a future movie or a theatrical play’. In addition, according to USJP, the word may appear in the more figurative senses of (a) ‘a detailed plan of a meeting, event, etc.’ and (b) ‘an anticipated development of something’.

In computer-related spheres, the form is used in several new, but closely connected, senses, related to computer programs or games. In connection with computer games, the form may denote (A) ‘the plot of a game’ (thus the meaning is very similar to the traditional sense, but the word refers to a game instead of a movie; cf. definition in SJPDor), (B) ‘a single mission in a computer game (as opposed to the entire campaign)’. In connection with computer programs, the word denotes (C) ‘a set of simulated data thanks to which a user can test a given program’. The new meanings (especially in the senses A and B) appeared most probably under the influence of English *scenario*, which, apart from the meaning of a film script, can also be used with reference to computer games; the word was first attested in this sense in 1978 (OED).

The word appears 18 times in the corpus, out of which 5 are used in the traditional meanings, usually in the figurative sense (b). The rest, i.e. 13 occurrences, appear in one of its new senses. Details are presented in Table 4.84.

Table 4.84. The use of the word *scenariusz* in new meanings

New senses of the word <i>scenariusz</i>	n
(B) ‘a single mission in a computer game (as opposed to an entire campaign)’	8
(A) ‘the plot of a computer game’	2
(C) ‘simulated data, thanks to which a user can test a computer program’ [probably not on the basis of English]	3

The word *scenariusz* does not appear in any particular new collocations or English calques. It does appear, however, in idiosyncratic constructions, not appearing with the word in the traditional sense, cf. e.g. *żeby zagrac 1 scenariusz potrzebujesz 2-5 dni* [30], *w kampanii czy w pojedynczym scenariuszu?* [30], *do wyboru będą pojedyncze scenariusze oraz własne mapki* [30].

The new senses of the word *scenariusz* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Semafor. The word *semafor* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a railway semaphore’, (2) (nautical) ‘a signalling apparatus sending messages connected with the direction and force of the wind’, (3) (sailing) ‘a system of sending messages with the use of signal flags’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is used in a technical sense of ‘a variable used for controlling access to certain resources’⁹⁸, under the influence of English *semaphore*, cf. ODC.

The word *semafor* is used 11 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *semafor* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Sesja. The word *sesja* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a meeting, especially of an official body; a session’, (2) ‘a period of time during which a certain body meets regularly’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a period of time during which a particular user uses a given application, visits a given website, etc.’. During such a session, information exchange occurs between a computer (a user) and a given website. The new sense is most probably the result of the influence of the English form *session*, cf. DCIT.

The word *sesja*, together with the diminutive form *sesyjka* and the adjective *sesyjny*, appears 62 times in the corpus, out of which 18 are used either in one of the traditional senses or in new senses (not noted in SJPDor), but outside the area of computers (e.g. *sesja zdjęciowa*, *sesja egzaminacyjna*, *sesja kwalifikacji*, *sesja treningowa*). The remaining 44 tokens are used in the new sense connected with the area of computers. The new constructions in which the word is used include e.g. *sesja wygasła*, *zapamiętać sesję*, *zamykać sesję*, *zarządzać sesją*, *sesja szyfrowana*, and *sesja logowania*. The word appears also in an English-induced semi-calque *sesja logowania* (SC; used 5 times), cf. English *logging session*.

The new sense of the word *sesja* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; it was, however, discussed in the literature on the subject, cf. Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 121).

Sieć. According to SJPDor, the word *sieć* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a net used for catching fish, birds, etc.’, (2) ‘a spider’s web’, (3) ‘a network, a labyrinth (e.g. of roads)’, (4) (anatomy) ‘an omentum’. In addition, the word is used figuratively in the sense of ‘a chain, a network (e.g. of shops, libraries, etc.)’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new, more restricted sense of ‘a network of connected computers (e.g. within a given institution); a network

⁹⁸ Cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semaphore_\(programming\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semaphore_(programming)) (access: 25 May 2016).

of computers using the same program⁹⁹; also: the Internet, under the influence of English *network* and (*the*) *net* (first used in computer-related sense in 1962 and 1970, respectively; OED). The word is also metonymically used in the sense of ‘an Internet provider’.

In addition, the word is used in the sense of a ‘cellular network (for mobile phones)’; this sense, as it is not directly connected with computers, is not taken into consideration.

The word *sieć*, including the adjective *sieciowy* and the adverb *sieciowo* (but not prefixed forms such as *podsieć* or derivatives such as *sieciówka*), appears 1,516 times in the corpus, out of which 35 tokens are used either in the traditional sense (usually denoting ‘electric current’) or in the sense of ‘cellular network’. The remaining 1,481 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense.

The word appears in various constructions modelled on English; these are discussed under respective subchapters, e.g. *karta sieciowa* is given in the section on →*karta*. The remaining calques, i.e. not discussed in other sections, are presented in Table 4.85.

Table 4.85. The use of the word *sieć* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the words <i>sieć</i> and <i>sieciowy</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
sieć bezprzewodowa	37	wireless network	LT
sieć lokalna	15	local (area) network	LT
sieć domowa	13	home (area) network	LT
sieć społecznościowa	4	social network(ing)	LR
ruch sieciowy	4	network traffic	LT
programowanie sieciowe	2	network programming	LT
otoczenie sieciowe	2	network environment	LT
sieć publiczna	2	public network	LT
sieć szkieletowa	1	backbone network	LR

The word *sieć* is, most probably, one of the best-known semantic loans in the sphere of computers; some of its new uses were discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 291–292) and Zabawa (2004b: 61–62; 2008b: 162; 2012a: 134–144; 2012b: 234; 2013d: 147). The new sense of the word has been included in ISJP (only in the examples), USJP and SJPSob (in the case of USJP and SJPSob, the new sense has been noted only in the term *sieć komputerowa*).

Silnik. Traditionally, the word *silnik* is used in the sense of ‘a machine that provides motive power; an engine; a motor’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in a completely new meaning: it denotes (A) ‘the most important part of a programming code, upon which

⁹⁹ Cf. e.g. *sieć GaduGadu*.

a program, a website, a web browser, etc., is based'. In addition, the form can also be used metonymically in the sense of (B) a computer program itself (cf. e.g. *silnik do prezentacji*, used in the sense of a program used for making presentation slides). Sense (A) appeared most probably as the result of the influence of English *engine* (the word was first attested in the computer-related sense in 1984; OED).¹⁰⁰

The word in question, including the derivative form *silnikowy*, appears 163 times in the corpus. Out of 163 tokens, 9 are used in the traditional meaning (mostly referring to computer games featuring car racing, but certain occurrences are used also in connection with computers, e.g. *silnik stacji dysków*). The remaining 154 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new senses: 147 tokens in the sense (A) and 7 in (B). Only the sense (A) is treated as a semantic loan and included in Table 4.86.

Table 4.86. The use of the word *silnik* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the form <i>silnik</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>silnik graficzny</i>	10	graphics engine	LT
<i>silnik gry</i>	7	game engine	LT
<i>silnik forum</i>	5	forum engine	LT
<i>silnik antywirusowy</i>	5	antivirus engine	LT
<i>silnik bazodanowy</i>	1	database engine	LT

The form appears also in numerous collocations of a type *silnik*+N_{Prop}, e.g. *silnik Wintermute*, *silnik Mybb*, which are usually mechanical translations from English (cf. *Wintermute Engine*, *Mybb Engine*).

The new senses of the word *silnik* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; one of them (sense A) was discussed in the previous study by the present author (Zabawa 2012b: 231–232).

Skanować, skaner. The word *skanować*, a lexical borrowing from English itself, is traditionally used in the sense of (1) (computing) 'to convert data into a digital form and introduce it into the computer with the use of a scanner' and (2) (printing) 'to register a picture on a photosensitive material with the use of a scanner' (cf. USJP; the word does not appear in SJPDor or SJPSzym).

In computer-related spheres, the word, apart from sense 1, appears in two new meanings: (A) 'to check a piece of hardware or software if it is free of viruses, malware, damage, etc.'¹⁰¹ and (B) 'to make a screenshot'. Sense (B)

¹⁰⁰ The form appeared first in the construction *search engine*, rendered into Polish as *wyszukiwarka* (cf. Table 4.1).

¹⁰¹ The form *skan* (not noted in USJP) is also used in the same sense, cf. e.g. *skan dysku* (as a process), *skan systemu*, *skan antywirusem*, *skan komputera*, *pełny skan*, etc.

can, however, be regarded as untypical (only one token in the corpus). Sense (A) has most probably been triggered by English *scan*, used in a much wider variety of contexts than its Polish counterpart (cf. OED, which provides, among others, a very general definition of the word: “to examine, consider or discuss minutely”).

The forms *skanować* and *skanowanie* (including also prefixed forms, e.g. *przeskanować*, *zeskanować*, etc., and the adjective *skanujący*) appear 204 times in the corpus, out of which 35 are used in the traditional (albeit also computer-related) meaning (sense 1). The remaining 169 tokens are used in two new senses (168 in sense A, 1 in sense B). The word appears in various new collocations, such as *skanować komputer*, *skanować system*, *skanowanie poczty*, *skanowanie dysku*, *skanowanie pamięci*, or *skanowanie pliku*.

In much the same way, the meaning of the word *skaner* has been metaphorically changed: the word can be used, besides its traditional meaning of ‘a device used to convert a printed page into digital data’, in the sense of ‘an application (often part of antivirus software) used to check e-mails, files, etc., if they are free of viruses or other malware’. The extension has most probably been triggered by English *scanner*, used in a wide variety of contexts (cf. the general definition in OED, “any device for scanning or systematically examining all parts of something”; cf. also such constructions as *e-mail scanner*, used commonly on the Internet).

The word *skaner*, including the diminutive form *skanerek*, appears 143 times in the corpus, out of which there are 84 tokens of the word used in the traditional sense. The remaining 59 tokens are used in the new sense. The word appears also in English calques, cf. Table 4.87.

Table 4.87. The use of the word *skaner* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Constructions with the word <i>skaner</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>skaner antywirusowy</i>	12	antivirus scanner	SC
<i>skaner poczty</i>	3	mail scanner, email scanner	SC
<i>skaner pamięci</i>	2	memory scanner	SC
<i>skaner portów</i>	2	port scanner	SC

The new senses of the word *skanować* and *skaner* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. In the case of SJPSob, there is a new sense of the word *skaner* (used to denote a computer application); the sense is, however, different from the one in which the word appears in the corpus.

Składnia. Traditionally, the word *składnia* is used in the sense of (a) ‘a branch of linguistics dealing with the arrangements of words in sentences and the

relations between sentences,' (b) 'a function of a given word in a sentence; also the structure of a sentence' (cf. SJPDor).¹⁰²

In computer-related language, the word *składnia* is used in the new sense of 'a set of rules specifying how the commands of a given programming language must be structured', under the influence of English *syntax* (cf. OED, according to which the earliest use of *syntax* in the computing sense dates back to 1958).

The form appears 21 times in the corpus, out of which 3 are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 18 tokens are used in the new sense; an English calque was also documented, viz. *składnia etykiety woluminu* (1 token), cf. English *volume label syntax*.

The new use of the word *składnia* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Skórka, skóra. According to SJPDor, the word *skórka* is used in the sense of (1) 'a skin of people or animals,' (2) 'a skin of dead animals used for making shoes, etc.; leather,' (3) 'an outer layer of bread, sausage, etc.,' (4) (botany, gardening) 'an outer layer of tissue covering fruit, leaves, etc.'

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in the new sense of 'graphics, colours, fonts, arrangements of buttons and options, etc., that change the appearance of a given piece of software or a website'¹⁰³, most probably under the influence of the English word *skin* (the use in the new meaning was first attested in 1998; OED).

In the corpus, the word *skórka* appears 56 times, out of which 5 are used in the traditional sense, including figurative uses, e.g. *skórka za wyprawkę*. The remaining 51 tokens refer to the aforementioned new sense. The form is used in various new collocations, cf. *obsługiwać/wgrać/ustawić/zmienić/edytować/modyfikować skórę*.

Interestingly, the form *skóra* underwent a similar change; it is, however, used in the new sense much less frequently than *skórka*. The form is used 8 times in the corpus (excluding derivatives, such as e.g. *skórzany*), out of which 2 are used in the new sense.

The new sense of the word *skórka/skóra* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; it was, however, mentioned in one of the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2014c: 92–93).

Skrót. The word *skrót* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) 'something that was shortened (usually about a book, a text, etc.); an abridgement, an abstract,' (2) 'an act of shortening of something; omitting part of a text in order to make it

¹⁰² In addition, SJPDor provides also an example of an idiosyncratic sense (based on Mickiewicz), not quoted here.

¹⁰³ *Motyw*, another semantic extension, can also be used in the same sense.

shorter', (3) 'a shorter way of getting somewhere; a shortcut', (4) 'an abbreviation or an acronym', (5) (sport) 'a drop shot', (6) (art) 'foreshortening' (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in two new senses: (A) 'an icon that functions as a quick link to a program, document, etc.' and (B) 'a combination of keys that start a given operation'. The new senses have most probably been triggered by English *shortcut*, cf. ODE, DCIT, and a construction *shortcut key*.

The word *skrót* (but not related forms, such as *skrócony*, *skracać*, etc.) appears 223 times in the corpus, out of which 37 are used in the traditional sense (most frequently in the construction *w skrócie*). The remaining 186 tokens are used in one of the two new senses; an English calque was also detected, cf. Table 4.88.

Table 4.88. The use of the word *skrót* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>skrót</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>skrót</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	145	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	41	skrót klawiszowy/ klawiaturowy/klawiszy/ klawiatury	30	keyboard shortcut, shortcut key ^a	LT

^a The construction *hot key* is also used.

The new meanings of the word *skrót* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; some of its new uses were, however, discussed in the literature on the subject, cf. Wiśniewska-Białas (2011: 121–122).

Skrypt. According to SJPDor, the word *skrypt* is used in the sense of (1) 'a set of lectures, usually copied with the use of a mimeograph', (2) (commercial, legal) 'a document issued by a debtor confirming the obligation to repay a loan', (3) (old-fashioned) 'a document; a text; a letter'.

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in the new sense, to denote 'a small application designed to perform a particular task' (e.g. *wykonywać skrypt*, *uruchamiać skrypt*, *aktywować skrypt*), under the influence of English *script*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1978 (OED).

In the corpus, the word *skrypt*, together with the related forms (some of which can be treated as neologisms), such as *skryptowy*, *oskryptowany*, *skryptować*, and the diminutive form *skrypcik*, was used 408 times. The majority of instances (396 tokens) are used in the above-mentioned new meaning. The remaining 12 tokens appear in a related, albeit more specialized sense: they refer to a ready-made skeleton program which can be used to e.g. create one's own online shop (cf. the collocation *skrypt sklepu*; this use is not counted as triggered by English).

The word in question appears in various English-induced calques; most of them are described in respective sections, e.g. *język skryptowy* is given in the

section on →*język*. For the remaining calques, i.e. not given in other sections, cf. Table 4.89.

Table 4.89. The use of the word *skrypt* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>skrypt</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
skrypt powłoki	1	shell script	LR
oskryptowanie serwera	1	server-side scripting	SR
interfejs skryptowy	1	scripting interface	SC

The new sense of the word *skrypt* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP).

Stopka. Traditionally, the word *stopka* is used in the following main senses: (1) ‘a diminutive form of the word *stopa*, i.e. (a) the lowest part of a leg, a foot, (b) the part of a sock; a foot’, (2) ‘a small glass’, (3) ‘an outer metal covering of a rifle butt’, (4) (regional) ‘a fuse’, (5) (botany) ‘the lower part of a grain’, (6) (technical) (a) ‘an element of a sewing machine’, (b) ‘a lower part of a rail (of a railway)’ (cf. SJPDor). In addition, the word is now often used in the sense of ‘a section of a book or a newspaper, usually located at the bottom of the last page, providing information about the editors, contact details, etc.; a publisher’s imprint’ (cf. USJP).

In computer-related contexts, the word is used in three new senses: (A) ‘a separate area at the bottom of the page (e.g. of a printed document), usually containing footnotes’ (on the model of English *footer*, first attested in the new sense in 1975; OED), (B) ‘a section of a website, e.g. an Internet forum, etc., providing information about webmasters, privacy policy, cookies, etc.’ (on the model of English *footer*), and (C) ‘the base of computer cooler’ (probably on the basis of English *foot* [of something]).

The form *stopka* appears 28 times in the corpus. All the occurrences appear in the new senses, cf. Table 4.90.

Table 4.90. The use of the word *stopka* in new meanings

New senses of the word <i>stopka</i>	n
(A)	24
(B)	2
(C)	2

One of the new meanings of the word *stopka* (sense A) has been noted in ISJP (but not SJPSzym, USJP, or SJPSob). The remaining new senses have not been noted in aforementioned dictionaries (in SJPSzym, USJP, and SJPSob, sense C is noted with reference to machines in general; this sense appears, however, only in the case of the word *stopa* rather than *stopka*).

Stos. The word *stos* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a pile of something’, (2) ‘a log pile; also a funeral pyre or a stake (used as a punishment)’, (3) (mining) ‘cribwork’, (4) (old use) ‘a card game’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word *stos* is used in the new sense, to denote ‘a type of data structure, when the element last stored is the first to be retrieved’ (cf. OED), under the influence of English *stack* (first attested in the new sense in 1960; OED).

The form appears 5 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. An English calque was also detected, namely *przepełnienie stosu / stos przepełniony* (2 tokens altogether), a calque of English *stack (buffer) overflow*.

The new sense of the word *stos* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Stres. The word *stres*, a lexical borrowing from English itself, is traditionally used in the sense of (1) (geology) ‘pressure; stress’, (2) (psychology) ‘stress’.

In computer-related contexts, the word *stres* is used in the new sense of ‘(about CPU, a graphics card, etc.) working under a very heavy load, e.g. while playing a game with high hardware requirements’. The new sense appeared under the influence of English *stress*, cf. such constructions as *stress test*.¹⁰⁴

The word *stres*, including also the form *stresować*, appears 56 times in the corpus,¹⁰⁵ out of which 6 tokens are used in the traditional sense. The remaining 50 tokens are used in the new sense, cf. e.g. *w stresie procesor ma ok. 60° [8], zużycie energii w stresie jest ponad półtora razy większe niż w stanie bezczynności [28]*.

The new sense of the word *stres* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Strona. According to SJPDor, the word *strona* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘a side of something’, (2) ‘a page (in a book, newspaper, etc.)’, (3) ‘a side, point, feature, aspect of something’, (4) ‘the point towards which, or from which, someone or something is moving; a direction’, (5) ‘(usually in plural) a country, a town, surroundings, etc.’, (6) ‘a side (in an argument), a party (in a legal argument)’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word appears in the new sense of ‘a web page’¹⁰⁶ (e.g. *oficjalna strona, zachowaj stronę, zapisz stronę, wczytywać stronę, wejść na stronę, ładować stronę*), under the influence of English *web page*, first attested in 1994 (OED).

The word *strona*, including the diminutive form *stronka*, appears 3,496 times in the corpus, out of which 363 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses;

¹⁰⁴ Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stress_testing (access: 30 May 2016).

¹⁰⁵ Additionally, there are 22 tokens of the form *stres*; these are treated as lexical borrowings and are not included in the total count of 56 tokens.

¹⁰⁶ The word *strona* is also often used in the sense of ‘a website’ (*witryna internetowa*).

the remaining 3,133 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The word appears in various English-induced calques; they are listed in the respective sections, e.g. *administrator strony* is given in the section on →*administrator*. The remaining calques are presented in Table 4.91.

Table 4.91. The use of the word *strona* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>strona</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>strona główna</i>	42	main page	LT
<i>strona startowa</i>	19	start page	LT
<i>strona domowa</i>	14	home page	LT

The new sense of the word *strona* has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym); it was also discussed by Otwinowska-Kasztelanica (2000: 92–94) and Zabawa (2011a: 210; 2012a: 146–149; 2013d: 146).

Subskrypcja. Traditionally, the word *subskrypcja* is used in Polish in the sense of ‘a written obligation to pay a certain amount of money; also an obligation to buy a certain publication; also an advance payment’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the construction in question is used in two new senses: (A) (in certain collocations, such as *subskrypcja blogów*) ‘the process of obtaining information about new content in a given blog, YouTube channel, RSS channels, etc.’¹⁰⁷ and (B) ‘payment made to use a given piece of software for a specific amount of time’ (e.g. *subskrypcja Office365*). The new senses developed most probably under the influence of English *subscription* (the word was first attested in computer-related sense (A) in 1981; OED).

In the corpus, there are 31 occurrences of the word in question, including related forms, e.g. *subskrybować*. All of the occurrences are used in one of the two new meanings; English calques appear as well, cf. Table 4.92.

Table 4.92. The use of the word *subskrypcja* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>subskrypcja</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>subskrypcja</i>	n	English constructions (source constructions)	Type
(A)	28	<i>subskrypcja kanału</i>	2	channel subscription	LT
		<i>subskrypcja blogów</i>	1	blog subscription	SC
(B)	3	[no English calques]	–	–	–

The new senses of the word *subskrypcja* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, another form, namely *zaabonować* (from *abonament*) is also used in this meaning in the corpus (cf. *na próbę zaabonowałem nowe wpisy na maila* [7]). Thus the word *abonament* can also be treated as a semantic innovation. The form is, however, rare (used only once in this meaning in the entire corpus).

Surfować. The form *surfować*, a lexical loan from English itself, is traditionally used in the sense of 'to ride on waves on a surfboard; to surf' (cf. *surfing* in SJPSzym; the word does not appear in SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word (sometimes spelt as *serfować*) is used in the new sense of 'to visit websites; to use the Internet', under the influence of English *to surf* (first attested in the new sense in 1992; OED).

The word *surfować/serfować* is used 38 times in the corpus; all the tokens are used in the new meaning.

The new sense of the word *surfować* has been noted in USJP and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym or ISJP, where the form is not included at all¹⁰⁸).

Sygnatura. Traditionally, the word *sygnatura* is used in the following senses: (1a) 'a sign that explains something or functions like a signature', (1b) 'a sign, consisting of numbers and/or letters, on a book or in a catalogue, denoting its location in a library', (2) (printing) (a) 'a serial number located on the lower margin of the first and third page of each printing sheet', (b) 'a groove in the front side of a type character', (c) 'in old books: the first syllable or word of a given page printed at the bottom of the previous page', (3) (art) 'artist's signature or sign on his or her work', (4) (dated) 'a copy of a prescription appended to a medicine', (5) (old use) 'a church tower with the smallest church bell' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word in question (appearing as either *sygnatura* or the diminutive form *sygnaturka*) is used in several new senses: (A) 'a kind of signature, in the form of a text, a picture, etc., used by a given user on an Internet message board, e-mail, chat, discussion list, etc.'¹⁰⁹, (B) 'a characteristic code of a computer virus'¹¹⁰, (C) 'the information about an error (displayed on a screen in the form of letters and/or numbers); an error code' and (D) 'a kind of certificate issued by a trusted website, confirming the existence of a given post, e-mail, etc. at a given date and time'¹¹¹. The new senses appeared most probably under the influence of English *signature*, cf. constructions in Table 4.93; cf. also OED, according to which the word was first attested in the new sense (A) in 1991.

¹⁰⁸ In the case of SJPSzym and ISJP, only the word *surfing* is noted (in the sense related to sea waves).

¹⁰⁹ Such signature may contain various texts: most commonly, especially in connection with e-mail signatures, it contains contact details, such as e.g. address or phone number. In the case of Internet forums and discussion lists, signatures may be composed of various contexts, such as famous quotations, fragments of poetry verses or song lyrics, textual pictures (i.e. build with keyboard signs), etc. In the case of the Internet forums devoted to computers (such as the ones composing the present corpus), signatures frequently contain the specification of one's computer.

¹¹⁰ By looking at a certain characteristic string of letters and/or numbers, antivirus software can decide if a given file is infected by a virus.

¹¹¹ Used usually in the phrase *sygnatura czasowa*; definition formed after *CentrumXP.pl – słownik* (http://www.centrumxp.pl/Slownik/828,sygnatura_czasowa.aspx; access: 30 May 2016).

Altogether, the form appears 60 times in the corpus; all of its occurrences are used in one of the new senses. The word appears also in English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.93.

Table 4.93. The use of the word *sygnatura* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>sygnatura</i>	n	Constructions with the form <i>sygnatura</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	47	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(B)	9	sygnatury ochrony antywirusowej	1	antivirus signatures	LR
		sygnatury wirusów	1	virus signatures	LT
(C)	2	sygnatura błędu	1	error signature	LT
(D)	2	sygnatura czasowa	2	timestamp	LR

The new senses of the word *sygnatura* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. However, all the mentioned dictionaries note a general sense of ‘a sign, word, etc., functioning as a signature’.

Szpieg. Traditionally, the word *szpieg* is used with reference to a person, in the sense of (1) ‘a member of a secret police; also a person observing or tracking somebody’, (2) ‘a person who obtains classified information and passes it secretly to another country’, (3) (old use, usually plural) ‘an act of spying on somebody’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is used in new sense: it denotes computer software known as spyware which, without user’s consent or even awareness, collects the information e.g. about visited websites and other activity on the Internet, and then passes it to the author of spyware or the person who installed it on somebody’s computer. The new meaning developed most probably from English *spyware* (*spy* + *ware*, created by analogy to *software* and first attested in 1983; OED), rendered into Polish as *oprogramowanie szpiegujące/szpiegowskie* or *programy szpiegujące/szpiegowskie*, which were, in turn, shortened to *szpieg*.

In the corpus, the word *szpieg*, including related forms, such as *szpiegowski*, *szpiegujący*, *szpiegować*, is used 69 times, out of which 2 are used in the traditional meaning (definition 2 in SJPDor). The remaining 67 tokens are used in the new sense; English calques are also documented, cf. Table 4.94.

Table 4.94. The use of the word *szpieg* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>szpieg</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
program szpiegowski/szpiegujący	21	spyware	LR
oprogramowanie szpiegujące/szpiegowskie	9	spyware	LR
program antyszpiegowski	1	anti-spyware	LR

In addition, the word appears in such collocations as *szpiegowanie komputera* or *funkcje szpiegujące (w przeglądarce)*.

The new sense of the word *szpieg* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Ścieżka. According to SJPDor, the word *ścieżka* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a way or track for walkers in a park, garden, etc.’, (2) (cybernetics) ‘a part of a moving data carrier’.

In the computer-related language, the word is used in three new senses: (A) ‘a description of the location of a file, document, etc., indicating a disk partition, directory, etc.’, (B) ‘a connection in a printed circuit board’, and (C) ‘an algorithm for planning and executing certain project activities’. The new senses have been developed under the influence of English *path* (cf. constructions in Table 4.95; cf. also OED, according to which the first attestation of the use of the word in sense (A) dates back to 1973).

The form *ścieżka* appears 138 times in the corpus, out of which 22 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses (cf. *ścieżka audio*, *ścieżka dźwiękowa*, *ścieżka fabularna*). The remaining 116 tokens are used in one of the new senses. The word appears also in English calques, cf. Table 4.95.

Table 4.95. The use of the word *ścieżka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New meanings of the word <i>ścieżka</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>ścieżka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	107	<i>ścieżka dostępu</i>	5	access path	LT
		<i>ścieżka sieciowa</i>	2	network path	LT
(B)	6	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C)	3	<i>ścieżka krytyczna</i>	3	critical path (method)	LT

The new senses of the word *ścieżka* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Środowisko. According to SJPDor, the word *środowisko* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a group of people having a similar job or conditions of living’, (2) (biology) ‘external conditions in which a given organism lives’, (3) (chemistry, physics) ‘a set of chemical factors creating certain conditions for a chemical reaction; also a substance in which a given reaction takes place’, (4) ‘a centre of something’.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘the programs (e.g. programming languages, graphics editor, operating system, etc.) that are used by a given person while working on a computer’, under the influence of English *environment*, first attested in the new sense in 1961 (OED).

The word *środowisko*, together with the adjective *środowiskowy*, appears 94 times in the corpus, out of which 4 tokens are used in the traditional sense (sense 1). The remaining 90 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense; the word appears also in certain English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.96.

Table 4.96. The use of the word *środowisko* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>środowisko</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>środowisko graficzne</i>	28	graphical user interface ^a	LR
<i>środowisko programistyczne/ programowania</i>	7	programming environment	LT
<i>środowisko wirtualne</i>	5	virtual environment	LT
<i>zmienna środowiskowa</i>	2	environment variable	LT
<i>środowisko dosowe</i>	1	DOS environment	SC
<i>środowisko tekstowe</i>	1	text environment	LT

^a The construction *graphical environment* is also used, but much less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

The new sense of the word *środowisko* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Tacka. According to SJPDor, the word *tacka* is used in the sense of ‘a flat container for serving food, drinks, etc.; a tray’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in three new senses: (A) ‘a mainboard tray (a flat piece of metal onto which a computer mainboard is fixed)’, (B) ‘a paper tray hold (in a xerox machine, printer, etc.)’ and (C) ‘a CD/DVD drive tray’. The new senses appeared most probably under the influence of English *tray*, used in a much wider variety of contexts in comparison with Polish *tacka*, cf. such constructions as *motherboard tray*, *paper tray hold*, *CD drive tray*, etc.

The form *tacka* (but not *taca*) appears 11 times in the corpus; all the uses appear in one of the new meanings, cf. Table 4.97.

Table 4.97. The use of the word *tacka* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>tacka</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>tacka</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	8	<i>tacka płyty głównej</i>	3	motherboard tray ^a	LT
(B)	2	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C)	1	[no English calques]	–	–	–

^a The construction *mainboard tray* is also used, but much less frequently (on the basis of Google search).

The new meanings of the word *tacka* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Tapeta. The word *tapeta* is traditionally used in the sense of ‘paper, often with a pattern, used for covering the walls of a room; a wallpaper’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense of ‘a picture, photograph, etc., displayed as a background on a computer screen’, under the influence of English *wallpaper*, first attested in the new sense in 1990 (OED).

The word *tapeta*, including the diminutive form *tapetka*, appears 30 times in the corpus, out of which one is used in the traditional sense (in the figurative construction *być na tapecie*; originally, the construction was based on the archaic form *tapet*, later wrongly associated with the lexeme *tapeta*, cf. ISJP). The remaining 29 tokens are used in the new sense; a calque from English was also detected, namely *tapeta pulpitu* (3 tokens), cf. English *desktop wallpaper*. Other constructions include e.g. *animowana tapeta* and *edytować tapetę*.

The new sense of the word *tapeta* was mentioned in one of the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2008a: 39). It has also been noted in SJPSob (but not SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP).

Transfer. According to SJPDor, the word *transfer* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) (commercial) ‘an act of transferring money from one financial institution to another or from one country to another’, (2) (law) ‘an act of transferring the rights to an individual document to another person’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in two new senses: (A) ‘an act of copying data from one source to another, e.g. from a server to a local computer or from a CD to a hard disk’, (B) ‘an act of transferring a domain name (and its content) from one host server to another’, under the influence of English *transfer*, cf. constructions in the Table 4.98.

The word *transfer* appears 241 times. All the instances are used in one of the new senses, cf. Table 4.98.

Table 4.98. The use of the word *transfer* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>transfer</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>transfer</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	238	transfer danych	13	data transfer	LT
		transfer plików	2	file transfer	LT
(B)	3	transfer domen	1	domain transfer	LT

The new meanings of the word *transfer* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, or USJP; in SJPSob, there is a general sense of ‘an act of transferring or moving something from one place to another’. In addition, one of the new senses of the word (meaning A) was discussed in the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 154–155).

Troll. Traditionally, the word *troll* is used in the sense of '(in Germanic and Scandinavian mythologies) a giant or dwarf, living usually in mountain caverns' (SJPDor).

In computer-related discourse, the word in question is used in the completely new sense of 'a user of an Internet forum, chat, etc., who deliberately makes people angry or upset by writing provocative posts'. The new sense appeared under the influence of English *troll*, first attested in the new sense in 1992 (OED).¹¹²

In the corpus, the form *troll* is used 13 times, including two derivatives: *trollica* (a feminine form) and *trollowisko*.¹¹³ Five occurrences appear in the traditional sense (mostly in connection with computer games, where the trolls are usually the enemies to kill). The remaining 8 occurrences, including *trollowisko* (used in the sense of 'an Internet forum where many trolls can be found'), are used in the new sense. The form does not appear in any English-induced calques.

The new meaning of the word *troll* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Tuning. Traditionally, the word *tuning*, a lexical borrowing from English itself, is used in the sense of 'the process of improving performance, look, etc., of a car or other motor vehicle' (cf. SZA; the form is not noted in SJPDor, ISJP, or USJP).

In computer-related spheres, the word in question is used in the metaphorical meaning, with reference to a computer, in the sense of 'an act of replacing some software or hardware elements of a computer' (e.g. installing a new operating system in order to enhance the performance, speed, etc., of a computer). The new sense appeared probably under the influence of English *to tune*, appearing in a much wider variety of contexts (cf. one of the definitions in ODE: "adjust or adapt (something) to a particular purpose or situation"), cf. also such constructions as *tune-up your PC*.¹¹⁴

The form *tuning* appears 5 times in the corpus, out of which two are used in the traditional sense, with reference to cars (in connection with a racing game); the remaining three tokens are used in the new sense quoted above.

The new use of the word *tuning* has not been noted in SJPSob; in the other dictionaries, as was mentioned above, the word does not appear at all.

¹¹² Interestingly, *troll* in English can also refer to a message posted by a troll on the Internet forum. This use has not penetrated into Polish.

¹¹³ Other derivatives can also be found on the Internet (but not in the present corpus), such as *trollowanie* or *trollować*.

¹¹⁴ Cf. <http://www.howtogeek.com/166698/how-to-optimize-and-tune-up-your-pc-without-pa-ying-an-electronics-store/> (access: 30 May 2016).

Uśpienie. Traditionally, the word *uśpienie* is used in the sense of (1) a nominal form of *uśpić* ‘to put somebody to sleep; to put down an animal’, (2) (old-fashioned) ‘sleep’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related areas, the word *uśpienie* is used in the new sense: it refers to the state when a computer is inactive (but unlike in the case of hibernation, not switched off; cf. →*hibernacja*) and uses minimal amounts of energy. Most probably, the new sense developed under the influence of English *sleep*.¹¹⁵

In the corpus, there are 24 occurrences of the forms *uśpienie* or *uśpić*, all of which are used in the above-mentioned new sense. An English-induced calque was also found, viz. *tryb uśpienia* (9 tokens), cf. English *sleep mode*.¹¹⁶

The new use of the word *uśpić* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob (the form *uśpienie* does not appear in the mentioned dictionaries).

Waga. Traditionally, the word *waga* is used in the sense of (1) ‘an instrument for weighing something; scales’, (2) ‘an act of checking the weight of something’, (3) ‘a weight of something’, (4) ‘importance, significance’, (5) ‘any of the weights of a clock’, (6) ‘a part of a horse-drawn vehicle’, 7 (hunting) ‘the place to which animals are attracted’, (8) (sport) (a) ‘an arabesque’, (b) ‘a weight range’, (9) (old use) ‘the right to check the weight of goods for sale’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related language, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a size’, referring to a file, picture, folder, website, etc. It is difficult to establish whether the new sense appeared under the influence of English or not. In the semantic field of computers, constructions such as *file weight* are common; thus, most probably, English has played at least an intensifying role here.

In the corpus, the forms *waga* and *ważyć* (including also the adjective *wagowy* and the adverb *wagowo*, but not the perfective form *zważyć* or the participle *ważenie*) appear 105 times, out of which 49 tokens are used in the traditional senses (including figurative uses, e.g. *przykładać do czegoś dużą wagę*). The remaining 56 tokens are used in the new sense; there is also a relatively frequent construction *waga pliku* (6 tokens), most probably a calque of English *file weight*.

The new use of the word *waga* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

¹¹⁵ The word does not appear in computer-related sense in OED or ODE, but is commonly found on the Internet, cf. e.g. <http://windows.microsoft.com/en-us/windows7/sleep-and-hibernation-frequently-asked-questions> (access: 30 May 2016).

¹¹⁶ The construction *sleep mode* is also used in connection with other electronic devices, such as television sets, hi-fi sets, etc. In such cases, the form *standby-mode* is also used, rendered into Polish as *tryb czuwania*.

Wirtualny. According to USJP (the word does not appear in SJPDor or SJPSzym), the word *wirtualny* is used in the following senses: (1) (formal) ‘created in the human mind, but probably existing in reality; theoretically possible’, (2) (computing) ‘displayed on a computer screen, but so realistic that it appears real’.

In the area of computers, apart from the sense noted in USJP, the word appears in several new senses: (A) ‘not physically existing but emulated by software’ (e.g. *wirtualna pamięć*, *wirtualna klawiatura*), (B) ‘accessed or obtained via the Internet’ (e.g. *wirtualna wersja*), and (C) ‘(about virtual money) a specific type of digital money-like entity, accepted and used among a certain virtual community’ (e.g. *wirtualne pieniądze*, *wirtualna waluta*). In addition, the word appears in the new sense not connected with the field of computers, viz. (i) ‘not real’. The new senses of the word appeared under the influence of English *virtual*, in which case the first attestation of computer-related meaning (sense A) dates back to 1959 (OED).

The word in question appears 137 times in the corpus (forms such as *wirtual* are not included), out of which 23 tokens are used in the more traditional sense, albeit also connected with the area of computers (sense 2 in USJP, e.g. *wirtualny spacer*). The remaining 114 tokens are used in one of the new senses. The word appears also in English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.99.

Table 4.99. The use of the word *wirtualny* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>wirtualny</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>wirtualny</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	86	wirtualna maszyna	25	virtual machine	LT
		serwer wirtualny	10	virtual server	SC
		wirtualny dysk	10	virtual disk	LT
		wirtualna drukarka	2	virtual printer	LT
		klawiatura wirtualna	1	virtual keyboard	LT
(B)	17	[no English calques]	–	–	–
(C)	8	wirtualna waluta	3	virtual currency	LT
		wirtualne pieniądze	1	virtual money	LT
(i) [not connected with the area of computers]	3	–	–	–	–

The new senses of the word *wirtualny* have not been noted in ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; one of the new senses used in the corpus (meaning B) was discussed by Witalisz (2007a: 300–301).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Witalisz provides also other new meanings of the word *wirtualny* which do not, however, appear in the present corpus.

Wirus. According to SJPDor, the word *wirus* is traditionally used in the sense of ‘the smallest pathogen; a virus’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a small computer application that can automatically copy itself and has harmful effects on the computer system’, under the influence of English *virus*, first attested in the new sense in 1972 (OED).

In the corpus, the word *wirus*¹¹⁸, including the adjective *wirusowy* and the diminutive form *wirusek* and *wirusik* (but not such forms as *zawirusowany* or *antywirus*), appears 518 times, out of which one is used in the traditional sense. The remaining 517 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense.

On the one hand, the collocations with *wirus* in the computer-related sense frequently mimic the collocations used with the word in the biological sense, e.g. *infekcja wirusowa/wirusem*, *wykryć wirusy*, *ochrona przed wirusami*, *nosiciel wirusa*, *wykryć wirusy*, *atak wirusów*. On the other hand, there are many collocations which are typical for the word in the new sense, e.g. *pisać wirusy*, *plik wirusa*, *kasować wirusa*. The word also appears in some English-induced calques; these are provided in the respective subchapters, e.g. *definicje wirusów* is at →*definicja*.

The new meaning of *wirus* gave rise to numerous analogous creations, both semantic innovations and lexical neologisms, cf. the word *wirusolog* in the sense of ‘a specialist in computer viruses and antivirus software’, or the neologism *odwirusowany*, i.e. ‘in the state after the viruses have been erased’.

The word *wirus* is one of the best-known semantic loans, discussed by numerous authors, cf. Witalisz (2007a: 301), Zabawa (2008b: 162; 2012a: 158–159). The new sense has also been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (in the case of USJP, the new sense has been noted only in the term *wirus komputerowy*).

Wolumin. Traditionally, the word *wolumin* is used in the sense of ‘a tome; a volume; a book’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word *wolumin* is used in a completely new sense, to denote ‘a storage area’ (e.g. a hard disk partition). The new sense appeared under the influence of English *volume*.¹¹⁹

The form in question appears 33 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense; an English rendition was also detected: *wolumin startowy* (1 token), cf. English *boot volume*.

The new meaning of the word *wolumin* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

¹¹⁸ The word also appears in various distorted forms (not included in the total count of 518 tokens), such as *wir/vir*, *wiruch*, *wirek*, etc.

¹¹⁹ Cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volume_\(computing\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volume_(computing)) (access: 30 May 2016).

Wsparcie. The word *wsparcie* is defined by SJPDor as: (1) a nominal form of *wesprzeć* ‘to support, to hold up; to help somebody’, (2) ‘help given to somebody, especially in the form of money’, (3) ‘a thing that holds something; a support’.

In computer-related spheres, the word *wsparcie* appears in two new meanings. First, the form is used in a new subsense, related, but not identical, to sense 2: the word denotes (A) ‘a kind of technical (not financial) help for buyers of a given piece of software or (rarer) hardware offered by the manufacturer or the seller of a given product’. Such help is usually offered via e-mail or phone and is restricted to giving advice on how to overcome certain problems with the use of a given piece of software or hardware. Second, the word is used in the sense of (B) ‘the fact of making a given piece of software or hardware compatible with a given operating system or a piece of hardware’. *Wspierać* and *wspierany* have also extended their meanings along the same lines.

Both new meanings of the word *wsparcie* appeared under the influence of English *support* (sense A first attested in 1935, with the first computer-related use in 1968; sense B first noted in 1984; OED).

The forms *wsparcie/wspierać/wspierany* appear 161 times in the corpus, out of which 53 appear in the traditional meaning, mainly in the sense of ‘to help to maintain something’, e.g. *nie wspieramy piractwa*. The remaining 108 tokens are used in the new meaning. It must be noted, though, that in some cases it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the two new meanings, e.g. *programy do wirtualizacji nie posiadają wsparcia dla zaawansowanych modeli graficznych* [20]. Here the word *wsparcie* may mean that (i) a manufacturer does not offer any help for advanced graphic models and/or (ii) the program does not have specific functions for advanced graphic models. The context frequently does not make it clear, either. For that reason, it is impossible to provide exact numbers concerning the frequency of the word in the first and second new meanings.

Nevertheless, it can be generally stated that among the two new meanings, it is (B) that is much more common than the first one. The meaning (B) can be detected in 53 while (A) only in 22 cases (the rest comprises unclear or borderline cases).

As for the meaning (A), the word in question appears mainly in the construction *wsparcie techniczne* (12 tokens), calquing English *technical support*. As for the sense (B), *wsparcie* appears most frequently in the construction *dla+N_{Gen}* (18 occurrences), e.g. *wsparcie dla gier z PS2* (calquing English *supported for Windows 8*). In addition, the construction *sprzętowe wsparcie* is used (2 tokens), most probably a calque of English *hardware support*.

The new uses of the word *wsparcie* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; they were discussed, however, in one of the earlier studies by the present author (Zabawa 2014c: 98–99).

Wstrzykiwać. Traditionally, the word *wstrzykiwać* is used in the sense of ‘to inject a liquid or gas into something, usually under pressure; also (in medicine) to inject a medicine with a syringe into a person’s body’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word in question is used in the new sense of ‘to introduce a new, usually malicious, piece of code into a file, a website code, etc.’ The new sense appeared under the influence of English *inject*.¹²⁰

The word *wstrzykiwać*, including the nominal form *wstrzykiwanie*, is used 3 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense. An English-induced calque was also detected, viz. *wstrzykiwanie kodu* (1 token), cf. English *code injection*.

The new use of the word *wstrzykiwać* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Wtyczka. The word *wtyczka* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘an object for making a connection between a piece of equipment and electricity’ and (2) ‘a stool pigeon; a plant’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related area, the form *wtyczka* is used in the new sense, to denote ‘an extra piece of software that can be added to the main piece of software in order to gain new functions’. The new meaning appeared most probably under the influence of English *plug-in*¹²¹, which was probably confused with *plug* and thus rendered as *wtyczka* (instead of e.g. *rozszerzenie*).

In the corpus, the word *wtyczka* is used 290 times, out of which 8 are used in the traditional sense (cf. definition 1 in SJPDor). The next 94 tokens are used in the sense of ‘a connector used to connect a peripheral device to a piece of hardware’ (e.g. loudspeakers to a sound card). The extension of meaning is extremely subtle here; most probably, it happened without the influence of English. The form is used in new collocations, such as *wtyczka 6 pin, 6 pinowa wtyczka, 5 żyłowe wtyczki*, etc.

The remaining 188 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense (‘an extra piece of software’). The word appears in new constructions, e.g. *wtyczka do przeglądarki, zainstalować wtyczkę, wtyczki przeglądarki/przeglądarkowe, wtyczki użytkowe, wtyczki multimedialne*.

The new meaning of the word *wtyczka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Wyciąć. Traditionally, the word *wyciąć* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to cut out something; to make something by cutting’, (2) ‘to cut down something; to take something out; to remove something’, (3) (informal) ‘to kill many people; to

¹²⁰ Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Code_injection (access: 30 May 2016).

¹²¹ Additionally, the constructions *add-in* or *add-on* are also used in this sense.

slaughter somebody', (4) 'to destroy something by cutting, biting, etc.', (5) (old-fashioned) 'to do something with a lot of energy' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word in question is used in the new, more specialized sense of 'to remove something (e.g. a fragment of a text, a picture, etc.), in order to either remove it permanently or paste it in another place', under the influence of English *cut*, first attested in the new sense in 1975 (OED).

The word *wyciąć* (including also the adjective *wycięty*) is used 57 times in the corpus, out of which 27 tokens are used in one of the traditional senses. The remaining 30 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The word appears in one English-induced rendition, viz. *wytnij wklej* 'a method of transferring objects between different locations when an object is erased from its original location' (1 token; cf. English *cut and paste*).

The new specialized sense of the word *wyciąć* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob. In the case of ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob, there is a general sense of 'to remove something from the whole'.

Wydawca. Traditionally, the word *wydawca* is used in Polish in the sense of (1) 'a publisher of books, newspapers, etc.; also the owner of a publishing house', (2) (old use) (a) 'a person spending money on something', (b) 'a person who reveals a secret; also a person who betrays somebody' (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the more specialized sense, to refer to (A) 'a company that produces and sells software, e.g. computer games, antivirus programs, etc.'. Additionally, the word is also used in the sense of (B) 'a proprietor of an Internet portal, website, etc.'. The new senses appeared most probably under the influence of English *publisher*, frequently used in computer-related contexts, cf. such constructions as *video game publisher* or *website publisher*.

The word in question appears 78 times in the corpus, out of which 6 are used in the traditional sense (meaning 1), referring to books, music, and movies.¹²² The next 68 occurrences are used in the new sense (A), to refer to the company issuing computer games (65 tokens) or antivirus software (3 tokens). The remaining 4 occurrences are used in the new sense (B).

The new specialized uses of the word *wydawca* have not been noted in SJPSzym, USJP, or SJPSob. In ISJP, sense (A) is noted (in one of the examples, viz. *wydawca publikacji multimedialnych*).

Wypalić. According to SJPDor, the word *wypalić* is used in the sense of (1) 'to destroy something with fire, high temperature, etc.; to burn something down', (2) 'to use something by burning it', (3a) 'to fire, to bake something (e.g. out of clay)',

¹²² Even this usage, however, can be treated as an extension of meaning, as the form traditionally refers to books and the press.

(3b) 'to torrefy something' (4) 'to burn a sign, a pattern, etc., into something', (5) 'to fire (a weapon), to shoot'.

In the sphere of computers, the word is used in the new sense of 'to record data, files, etc., on a CD/DVD', under the influence of English *to burn*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1982 (OED).

The word *wypalić*, including the nominal form *wypalenie*, is used 76 times in the corpus, out of which 11 are used in the traditional senses (including figurative uses, as in *to nie wypali*). The remaining 65 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense.

The new meaning of the word *wypalić* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zabić. Traditionally, the word *zabić* is used in Polish in the sense of (1) 'to deprive somebody of their life; to kill somebody', (2) 'to become the cause of somebody's death', (3) 'make a loud sound (about a bell, clock, etc.)', (4) 'to put something into something else by hitting it (e.g. to nail something)', (5) 'to close the opening in something', (6) 'to win a trick (in card games); to eliminate the other player's draught, pawn, etc. (in draughts, chess, etc.)' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in the new sense of 'to cause a program or a process to stop working; to remove or switch off a program or a process; also: to damage a piece of hardware', probably under the influence of English *to kill*, cf. ODE.

In the corpus, the word *zabić*, including derivatives, such as *zabity* and *zabicie*, is used 124 times, out of which 111 are used in the traditional meanings (mostly in connection with computer games, in which the player's task is to kill enemies, monsters, etc.; the number of 111 tokens includes also figurative uses, such as *zabić czas*, *zabić ćwieka*, etc.). One token is used in the phrase *ceny tego sprzętu zabijają*; the word *zabić* is used here, most probably under the influence of English *kill*, in the sense of 'to overwhelm (someone) with an emotion' (cf. ODE). This use is not counted as a semantic loan since it is outside the domain of computers.

The remaining 12 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense; an English-induced calque was also detected, namely *zabić process / zabicie procesu* (5 tokens), cf. English *kill the process*. Other constructions include, among others, *zabić program*¹²³.

The new use of the word *zabić* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; USJP and SJPSob, by contrast, include the meaning 'to remove something' (albeit in a general sense, not connected with computers).

¹²³ Interestingly, there is also one occurrence of the phrase *okaleczony program*, where the word *okaleczony* is used in the sense of 'removed, but not completely'.

Zakładka. The word *zakładka* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘a tuck, a fold’, (2) ‘a bookmark’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word is used in the new sense, to denote ‘a recorded address of a website which can be accessed in the future without typing the address; an Internet bookmark’; the new sense appeared under the influence of English *bookmark*, first attested in computer-related sense (used first in the sense of ‘the record of the location of a document’) in 1982 (OED).

The word *zakładka* appears 507 times in the corpus; all the occurrences are used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *zakładka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Załącznik. Traditionally, the word *załącznik* is used in the sense of ‘a document appended to another document; an annex, enclosure’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word in question is used in the sense of ‘a computer file, document, photograph, etc., attached to an e-mail, inserted on a website, etc.’; the new sense is modelled on English *attachment*, first attested in the new sense in 1984 (OED).

The form *załącznik* is used 101 times in the corpus; all the instances of its use appear in the new sense.

The new specialized meaning of the word *załącznik* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zamrozić. The word *zamrozić* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘to freeze something’, (2) (old use) ‘to make somebody feel very cold’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘(about a computer, a piece of software or a process of downloading data) to stop working; to hang’, under the influence of English *freeze* (cf. OALD, ODE; cf. also *freeze up* in DCIT).

The word *zamrozić*, including also the nominal form *zamrożenie*, appears 8 times in the corpus; 5 tokens are used in the traditional sense, including figurative uses (‘to block something’), e.g. *zamrozić ceny, mam zamrożone 30 zł na koncie*. The remaining 3 tokens are used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *zamrozić* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; the last three dictionaries, however, note a related meaning (mostly connected with economics) of ‘to stop something, usually temporarily’.

Zapora. According to SJPDor, the word *zapora* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a barrier; also a dyke, a dam’, (2) (military) ‘an artificial obstacle built in order to stop and/or destroy the enemy’, (3) (old-fashioned) (in a door) ‘a bolt’.

In the area of computers, the word is used in the new sense of ‘a piece of software, usually a part of antivirus software, designed to protect a computer

from Internet attacks'. The new sense of *zapora* appeared as a shortened form of *zapora ogniowa*, a loan rendition of English *firewall*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1971 (OED).¹²⁴

The word *zapora* is used 100 times in the corpus; all the instances of its use appear in the new sense. The word appears in various renditions based on English, cf. Table 4.100.

Table 4.100. The use of the word *zapora* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Constructions with the word <i>zapora</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>zapora systemowa/systemu</i>	16	system firewall	LR
<i>zapora sieciowa</i>	12	network firewall	LR
<i>zapora ogniowa</i>	4	firewall	LR

In addition, there are two tokens of the form *zapora internetowa* (possibly a loan creation; cf. Section 2.4.7).

The new meaning of the word *zapora* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; the last three dictionaries, however, note a general sense of 'something that protects somebody from something'.

Zatoka. Traditionally, the word *zatoka* is used in the sense of (1) 'a gulf, a bay', (2) 'a parking bay', (3) (anatomy, biology) 'an antrum, sinus', (4) (old use) (a) 'a curve', (b) 'a slippery surface' (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related spheres, the word *zatoka* is used in the new sense, to denote 'a frame, usually located inside computer housing, to which a hard disk, or a similar device, is mounted'. The new sense is most probably modelled on English *bay*, cf. DCIT.

The word appears 36 times in the corpus, including one occurrence of a derivative form *zatokowy*. The form appears 3 times in the traditional meaning (as part of a computer game title *Zatoka Piratów*); the remaining 33 tokens are used in the new meaning. The word appears also in new collocations, e.g. *zatoka 5,25 / 5.25 / 5'25"* or *zatoka na dysk*.

The new meaning of the word *zatoka* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zaufany. Traditionally, the word *zaufany* is used in the sense of (1) 'one that can be trusted', (2) (old-fashioned) 'trustful'. The word, now used in sense 1 only, appears with reference to people, cf. *zaufany przyjaciel*, *zaufana osoba* (USJP).

¹²⁴ The construction *ściana ogniowa* (a loan translation of English *firewall*) also exists, but is much rarer than *zapora ogniowa*; there are no occurrences of the form *ściana ogniowa* in the present corpus.

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in connection with Internet websites and software in the more specialized sense of ‘free from viruses and other malware; safe, efficient’. The change has probably its roots in English *trusted* and constructions such as *trusted sites*, *trusted files*, etc.

The form *zaufany* appears 29 times in the corpus¹²⁵, out of which 8 are used in the traditional collocations, i.e. referring to people (e.g. *zaufany sprzedawca*); the rest, i.e. 21 occurrences, are used in the extended sense. New collocations, in which the word is used, include (*nie*)*zaufane strony*, *zaufane aplikacje*, *zaufane pliki*, or *zaufany patch*.

The new specialized use of the word *zaufany* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zawiesić (się). Traditionally, the word *zawiesić* is used in the sense of (1) ‘to hang something’, (2) ‘to cover something with something (e.g. walls with pictures)’, (3) ‘to suspend something; to stop something temporarily’, (4) (chemistry) ‘to suspend something; to disperse something in the fluid or gas’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related areas, the word is used in the new sense of ‘to make a computer stop working, usually involuntarily’; in much the same way, the construction *zawiesić się* is used (‘to stop working and responding to user’s commands’). The new meaning appeared as a result of the influence of English *hang*, first used in computer-related sense in 1975 (OED).

The word *zawiesić*, together with the related forms (e.g. *zawieszony*, *zawieszanie*) and some other semantic innovations based on the word (e.g. *zawieszka*), is used 238 times, out of which 230 are used in the new sense. The form appears in numerous new collocations, such as e.g. *zawieszanie systemu*, *zawiesić przeglądarkę*, *zawiesić aplikację*.

Interestingly, the antonymous form, i.e. *odwiesić* (in the sense of ‘to start working properly again’) is also documented: the form appears 8 times in the corpus, all of which are used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *zawiesić* has not been noted in SJPSzym or ISJP; it does appear, by contrast, in USJP and SJPSob (in which case the construction *zawiesić się* is noted as well). The new sense of the word *zawiesić* was also discussed in the previous book by the present author (Zabawa 2012a: 162–163).

¹²⁵ This does not include the form *zaufanie* (used 28 times in the corpus), as *zaufanie* can be used with reference to inanimate objects as well (cf. *zaufanie do telewizji*, *do prasy*; cf. USJP); as a consequence, the use of *zaufanie* in connection with e.g. software (*zaufanie do programu antywirusowego*) cannot be seen as an instance of an extension of sense. It is worth noting, though, that the word in question appears once in an extended meaning: *zaufanie wyszukiwarki*; it is not a human that trusts somebody or something, but a browser.

Zdarzenie. The word *zdarzenie* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) ‘something that happened’, (2) ‘a very important happening, event, occurrence’, (3) (rare) the nominal form of the verb *zdarzyć* ‘be the cause of something’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic area of computers, the word *zdarzenie* is used in the new, more specialized sense of ‘an occurrence in the system that may be handled by a piece of software, e.g. an operating system’; the new sense appeared most probably under the influence of English *event*¹²⁶, cf. also such constructions as *event-driven*, first attested in the computer-related sense in 1967 (OED).

The form *zdarzenie*, including the neological forms *zdarzeniowy* and *zdarzeniowo*, appears 71 times in the corpus, out of which 8 are used in the traditional sense (frequently in the idiomatic phrase *z prawdziwego zdarzenia*). The remaining 63 tokens are used in the above-mentioned new sense. The word appears in various English-induced calques, most of which are described under specific subsections, e.g. *dziennik zdarzeń* is given in the section on →*dziennik*; the remaining calques are given in Table 4.101.

Table 4.101. The use of the word *zdarzenie* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>zdarzenie</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
podgląd zdarzeń	12	event viewer	LR
programowanie zdarzeniowe	2	event-driven programming	LR

The new specialized sense of the word *zdarzenie* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Ziarno. Traditionally, the word *ziarno* is used in the sense of (1) ‘a seed of wheat, etc.; a grain; also used in the collective sense’, (2) ‘a seed of a plant, also in the collective sense’, (3) ‘a small particle of something, e.g. of sand; a grain’, (4) (old-fashioned) ‘a small piece with a hole through it; a bead’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the computer-related contexts (also in the spheres connected with photography, television, etc.), the word is used in the new sense of ‘small particles seen on a television screen, computer monitor, photograph, etc.’ The new usage appeared most probably on the model of English *grain* (used in the sense of ‘roughness of a surface’, OED).

The form *ziarno* appears twice in the corpus, out of which one is used in the new sense.

The new meaning of the word *ziarno* has been noted in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob (but not SJPSzym).

¹²⁶ Cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Event_\(computing\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Event_(computing)) (access: 30 May 2016).

Złośliwy. According to SJPDor, the word *złośliwy* is used in the following senses: (1) ‘malicious, nasty, unpleasant’, (2) (medical) ‘(of a disease) malignant, virulent, life-threatening’.

In computer-related spheres, the form appears in the new meaning: the word is used with reference to software, computer viruses, etc. in the sense of ‘dangerous for a computer, making the computer work in a slow, inappropriate way, etc.’ The new sense appeared under the influence of English *malicious*, cf. *malicious software* (often shortened to *malware*).

The form is used 80 times altogether, including related forms, such as *złośliwiec* or *złośliwości*. Out of the 80 tokens, the form is used 66 times in the new sense; the form appears also in English-induced calques, cf. Table 4.102.

Table 4.102. The use of the word *złośliwy* in new meanings and English-induced calques

Calques with the word <i>złośliwy</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
<i>złośliwe oprogramowanie</i>	36	malicious software	LT
<i>złośliwa aplikacja</i>	5	malicious application	LT
<i>złośliwy kod</i>	3	malicious code	LT

The new meaning of the word *złośliwy* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob; the last three dictionaries, however, note a general meaning of (about a thing, an object, etc., rather than a person) ‘surprisingly unpleasant’.

Znak wodny. The construction *znak wodny* is traditionally used in the sense of ‘a design on a special paper visible when the paper is held against the light; a watermark’ (cf. SJPDor).

In computer-related contexts, the construction is used in the sense of ‘a digital marker embedded into a digital photograph, video file, etc.’ under the influence of English *watermark*, first attested in the new sense in 1994 (OED).

The form is used 10 times in the corpus, all of which appear in the new sense. An English-induced calque was also documented, viz. *cyfrowy znak wodny* (4 tokens, cf. English *digital watermark*).

The new use of the construction *znak wodny* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zombie/zombi. Traditionally, the word *zombi* (now more frequently spelt as *zombie*, cf. SZA), a lexical borrowing from English itself, is used in the sense of ‘in African religions: a dead body that was made alive again by magic’ (cf. USJP; the word does not appear in SJPDor, SJPSzym, or ISJP).

In computer-related spheres, the form *zombie* is used in the sense of ‘a computer controlled by a hacker (without user’s awareness) and used for e.g.

sending spam, performing Internet attacks, phishing, etc., under the influence of English *zombie*, first attested in computer-related sense in 1999 (OED).

The form *zombie/zombi* (including derivatives, such as the nouns *zombiak*, *zombiszczak* and the adjective *zombiakowy*) is used 84 times in the corpus, out of which 82 tokens are used in the traditional meaning, usually in connection with computer games (including 9 tokens of the use of the word in the title of computer games or in a company name). The remaining two tokens are used in the above-mentioned new meaning.

The new sense of the word has not been noted in USJP or SJPSob; in the remaining dictionaries, as was noted above, the word does not appear at all.

Zrzucać, zrzut. According to SJPDor, the word *zrzucać* is used in the following senses: (1) 'to drop something; to throw something down', (2) 'to take one's piece of clothing off quickly', (3) (informal) 'to vomit', (4) '(in card games) to discard a card (in the colour different than the original card)', (5) (zootechny) '(of female animals) to give birth prematurely', (6) (old use) 'to destroy something, to demolish something'.

In computer-related spheres, the word *zrzucać* is used in the new sense of 'to copy files onto e.g. a hard disk, memory stick, etc.' The new sense emerged most probably on the model of English *dump* (used in the new sense both as a verb and noun), in which case the new meaning was first attested in 1956 (OED).

In the corpus, the word appears 18 times, out of which 9 appear in the new sense. The word appears also in an English calque, viz. *zrzucać do pliku* (one token), cf. English *dump to file*.

The word *zrzut*, in turn, is used in the sense of (1) 'an act of dropping food, weapons, etc., from an aircraft; an airdrop', (2) 'the load dropped in that way', (3) (hunting) (a) (usually in plural) 'an act of casting the antlers by an animal', (b) '(about birds of prey) a discharge from a crop', (4) (old-fashioned) 'an act of getting rid of something' (cf. SJPDor).

In the semantic field of computers, the word is used in two new senses: (A) 'a digital photograph of what is displayed on a computer screen' and (B) 'the state of the memory of a computer program recorded at a given time, usually when the program crashes'.¹²⁷ The new senses appeared as a shortened form of the constructions *zrzut ekranu* (sense A) and *zrzut pamięci* (sense B), respectively. The constructions are, in turn, loan translations of English, cf. Table 4.103.

Altogether, the word *zrzut* appears 114 times in the corpus, 5 tokens of which are used in the traditional senses. The remaining 109 tokens are used in one of the new senses, cf. Table 4.103.

¹²⁷ Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Core_dump (access: 30 May 2016).

Table 4.103. The use of the word *zrzut* in new meanings and English-induced calques

New senses of the word <i>zrzut</i>	n	Calques with the word <i>zrzut</i>	n	English constructions (possible source constructions)	Type
(A)	101	<i>zrzut ekranu/ekranowy</i>	62	screen dump	LT
(B)	8	<i>zrzut pamięci</i>	5	memory dump	LT
		<i>zrzut awaryjny</i>	2	emergency memory dump	LR

The new meanings of the words *zrzucić* and *zrzut* have not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

Zwiastun. The word *zwiastun* is traditionally used in the sense of (1) (formal) (a) ‘a person that announces something; a herald’, (b) ‘a harbinger; an omen’, (2) (film) ‘a series of short scenes (in the form of a short film) that advertises a given movie’, (3) (medical) ‘a symptom’ (cf. SJPDor).

In the computer-related language, the word is used in the extended sense: it refers to short films promoting a computer game or a piece of hardware (rather than movies or television shows). It is not easy to decide whether the extension has its roots in English; most probably, the English form *trailer*, used in a much wider variety of contexts (cf. *book trailer*, *game trailer*, etc.) played an intensifying role here.

The word *zwiastun* appears 51 times in the corpus, out of which 3 tokens are used in the traditional sense, i.e. referring to movies. One occurrence can be classified as general, i.e. the one that could refer both to movies and games and the context does not make the meaning clear. The remaining 47 occurrences are used in the extended sense, out of which 45 refer to computer games and 2 to a piece of hardware (PlayStation 4 game console).

The word appears in a construction that can reasonably be seen as an English calque, namely *zwiastun gry* (3 tokens), cf. English *game trailer*.

The new use of the word *zwiastun* has not been noted in SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, or SJPSob.

4.6 Concluding comments

The aim of the current chapter was to analyze in detail the semantic loans, loan translations and loan renditions that appeared in the corpus of informal Polish of computer users. The next chapter will be concerned with statistical analysis and general conclusions.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to provide some statistical information concerning the semantic loans, loan translations, and loan renditions found in the corpus and discussed in Chapter 4. The organization of the chapter is the following one: Section 5.2 provides statistical information on semantic loans, followed by the section on loan translations and loan renditions (5.3). Final conclusions are presented in Section 5.4.

5.2 Semantic loans found in the corpus: Statistical analysis

Altogether, 204 types of semantic loans were found in the corpus¹ (derivatives and related forms were not counted as separate types, e.g. the forms *akcelerator* and *akceleracja* were counted as belonging to the same type). They appeared 42,638 times in the corpus; thus, they constitute 2.77% of the entire corpus.

It is interesting to compare the results obtained here with one of the previous studies by the present author, based on the corpus of informal spoken Polish (not restricted to any particular semantic field, although conversations on computers and the Internet appeared as well; Zabawa 2012a). Table 5.1 shows the data for the study based on spoken Polish (left column) and the present study (right column). In the case of the former, separate data is given for the conversations on computers, conversations connected with a different semantic field, or a general

¹ The number includes 3 multi-word semantic borrowings: *koń trojański*, *księga gości*, and *znak wodny*.

one (labelled as “no computers”), and the entire corpus as a whole (labelled as “entire corpus”).

Table 5.1. The comparison of the percentage of semantic loans in the study on spoken Polish and the present study

Per cent of semantic loans (tokens)			
spoken Polish (60,564 running words ^a ; Zabawa 2012a)			present study (1,541,449 running words)
entire corpus (60,564 running words)	computers (15,849 running words)	no computers ^c (44,715 running words)	
0.26	0.59 ^b	0.07	2.77

^a Corpus recorded in 2003 and 2004.

^b 0.76% when semantic loans not connected with a semantic field of computers and the Internet are included.

^c A few semantic borrowings connected with computers (e.g. *strona* in the sense of ‘a website’) appeared here as well, as the Internet and/or computers were occasionally briefly mentioned during a given conversation. As it was very brief, such conversations cannot really be said to deal with the topic of computers (Zabawa 2012a: 172). If they are to be included, the per cent would amount to 0.08.

Interestingly but perhaps not surprisingly, the percentage of semantic loans is much higher in the case of the present study (the disproportion is actually greater than one could expect). This can be attributed to two major factors: first, a spoken variety will, almost by definition, contain a lower percentage of semantic loans than a written one due to e.g. frequent repetitions, lower concentration of new information, etc. (cf. the description of the features of a spoken language; Zabawa 2012a: 18–23); second, the number of semantic borrowings in Polish (in the semantic field of computers but possibly in general Polish as well) is constantly on the increase.

It would be very interesting at this point to compare the number of semantic loans with that of lexical borrowings. However, as the present study is not concerned with lexical loans, such data is not available, since the corpus has not been analysed from the point of view of loanwords. However, in one of the previous studies by the present author (Zabawa 2010c, 2011c), a small corpus (5,000 running words) was collected; it consisted of some entries taken from the Internet forum *Forumowisko* (www.forumowisko.pl). The corpus, collected in 2009, comprised posts on computers and modern technology; the aim of the study was to analyze it in terms of English lexical borrowings (both inside and outside the semantic field of computers). It is worth comparing the results obtained in the study in question with the present study, cf. Table 5.2.

Naturally, as the *Forumowisko* corpus is a small one, it is not possible to make far-reaching generalizations, but certain observations can be made: it appears that, in the language of the semantic field of computers, the frequency of the use of semantic borrowings is actually higher than that of lexical borrowings. This seems to be in line with the observation of Ogorodnikowa (2008b), who also asserts (as was mentioned in Section 2.9.3) that the number of semantic

Table 5.2. The comparison of the percentage of semantic loans found in the present study with the percentage of lexical loans (based on the corpus composed of the entries taken from *Forumowisko* forum)

Lexical borrowings (the corpus based on <i>Forumowisko</i> , 5,000 running words; Zabawa 2010c, 2011c)		Semantic borrowings (the present corpus; 1,541,449 running words)	
tokens (loans connected with computers)	per cent of the corpus	tokens (loans connected with computers)	per cent of the corpus
89	1.78 ^a	42,638	2.77

^a The number amounts to 109 tokens (2.18% of the corpus) when all English lexical borrowings are taken into consideration (not necessarily connected with the semantic field of computers and the Internet).

innovations and English translations in Polish in the sphere of computers is higher than that of English lexical borrowings.² It also corroborates the hypothesis formulated earlier by the present author (Zabawa 2015d) that Polish, in the sphere of computers, seems to rely on semantic borrowings to a great extent (unlike e.g. German, which appears to resort more often to lexical borrowings). Wach (2013), by contrast, argues that calques (in his view, this notion includes semantic loans as well) are more frequent in the sphere of computers in its official variety while lexical loans predominate in the more informal varieties. The present study shows, however, that semantic loans also appear with a high frequency in the informal variety.

The next table (5.3) provides information on the type of change (specialization, labelled SPEC, generalization, labelled GEN, or transfer of meaning, labelled TR; cf. Section 2.2.4) involved in each semantic loan described in the present study. In addition, the table presents the frequency of each semantic loan found in the corpus (n and NM), cf. the explanation below:

n – the number of occurrences (tokens) of the form in the corpus (the number includes also related forms, e.g. the number for the word *czysty* includes also the occurrences of *czyścić*).

NM – the number of occurrences (tokens) of the form in the new meaning(s) related to computers and modelled on English (new senses not modelled on English or not connected with the semantic field of computers are not included).

Per cent of NM – the percentage of the uses (tokens) of the word in the new sense(s) (connected with the sphere of computers and modelled on English).

² However, she does not provide any concrete numbers to support her hypothesis.

Table 5.3. The number of semantic loans (tokens) found in the present corpus

Word	Type	n	NM	Per cent of NM
1	2	3	4	5
administrator	SPEC	610	607	99.51
adres	TR	817	785	96.08
agresywny	TR	10	5	50.00
akcelerator	TR	23	23	100.00
aktywacja	TR	174	172	98.85
aktywny	TR	165	124	75.15
alfa	TR	13	11	84.62
analogowy	TR	25	25	100.00
aplikacja	TR	813	813	100.00
architektura	TR	24	24	100.00
archiwum	TR	212	146	68.87
arkusz	TR	58	50	86.21
artefakt	TR	33	33	100.00
atrybut	SPEC	66	60	90.90
autoryzacja	TR	23	23	100.00
awatar	TR	34	32	94.12
balans	TR	18	18	100.00
banicja	TR	2	2	100.00
bank	TR	133	16	12.03
belka	TR	6	5	83.33
beta	TR	220	220	100.00
biblioteka	TR	136	133	97.79
bindować	TR	13	13	100.00
bilet	TR	10	1	10.00
blok	TR	151	125	82.78
boss	TR	28	24	85.71
brama	TR	61	54	88.52
bufor	TR	34	34	100.00
casual	TR	6	6	100.00
certyfikat	TR/SPEC ^a	41	35	85.37
chmura	TR	36	36	100.00
ciastko	TR	53	53	100.00
ciężki	TR	308	12	3.90
cyfrowy	TR	102	97	95.10
czysty	TR	811	404	49.82
czytnik	TR	81	31	38.27
dedykowany	TR	117	117	100.00
definicja	TR	25	7	28.00
demon	TR	18	3	16.67
developer (deweloper)	TR	72	72	100.00
diagnostyka	TR	55	54	98.18

1	2	3	4	5
diagnoza	TR	41	40	97.56
dinozaur	TR	3	1	33.33
dokument	TR	272	244	89.71
domena	TR	491	491	100.00
drzewo	TR	43	22	51.16
dziennik	TR	31	30	96.77
edytor	TR	105	105	100.00
eksplorator	TR	28	16	57.14
eksport	TR	52	52	100.00
elektroniczny	TR	58	39	67.24
etykieta	TR	12	12	100.00
filtr	TR	101	81	80.20
fizyka	TR	15	11	73.33
folder	TR	651	651	100.00
format	TR	1,131	1,097	96.99
forum	TR	1,400	1,400	100.00
galeria	TR	38	33	86.84
generator	TR	19	18	94.74
geometria	TR	2	2	100.00
gest	TR	18	17	94.44
guzik	TR	29	16	55.17
heurystyka	SPEC	9	9	100.00
hibernacja	TR	15	15	100.00
historia	TR	222	111	50.00
ikona	TR	347	346	99.71
import	TR	43	41	95.35
indeks	TR/SPEC	98	83	84.69
infekcja	TR	168	168	100.00
instalować	TR	6,278	6,265	99.79
izolować	SPEC	13	9	69.23
jądro	SPEC	28	28	100.00
język	TR	424	156	36.79
kafelki	TR	8	8	100.00
kalibrować	TR	51	51	100.00
kanał	TR	159	128	80.50
karta	TR	3,044	2,926	96.12
klient	TR	356	141	39.61
klon	TR	34	32	94.12
klucz	TR	364	345	94.78
koligacja	TR	3	3	100.00
kolizja	TR	10	4	40.00
komenda	TR	184	179	97.28
komórka	TR	123	37	30.08

Table 5.3 continued

Word	Type	n	NM	Per cent of NM
1	2	3	4	5
kompilować	TR	87	87	100.00
kompresja	TR	118	115	97.46
komunikacja	TR	109	72	66.06
konferencja	TR	50	13	26.00
konfiguracja	TR	821	821	100.00
konflikt	SPEC	44	29	65.91
konsola	TR	438	438	100.00
konto	TR	1,094	1,068	97.62
kontroler	SPEC	229	229	100.00
konwersja	TR	187	187	100.00
koń trojański	TR	11	11	100.00
kredyt	TR	34	8	23.53
krytyczny	TR/SPEC	27	16	59.26
księga gości	TR	2	2	100.00
kwarantanna	TR	49	49	100.00
layout	SPEC	19	18	94.74
leczyć	TR	60	26	43.33
lekki	TR	202	27	13.37
liniowy	TR	31	7	22.58
lokalny	SPEC	143	116	81.12
ładować	TR	142	115	80.99
łamać	TR	78	37	47.44
łata	TR	50	50	100.00
maska	TR	43	38	88.37
mechanika	TR	33	32	96.97
menedżer	TR	600	558	93.00
menu	TR	355	355	100.00
migracja	TR	11	11	100.00
mnożnik	SPEC	58	58	100.00
moderator	TR	201	77	38.31
monitor	TR	675	675	100.00
most	TR	36	26	72.22
mysz	TR	873	873	100.00
narzędzie	TR	446	438	99.77
nawigacja	TR	40	16	40.00
obiekt	TR	91	88	96.70
obraz	TR/SPEC	826	176	21.31
obudzić	TR	19	5	26.32
odświeżyć	SPEC	142	81	57.04
okno	TR	795	766	96.35
otworzyć	TR	809	777	96.04

1	2	3	4	5
pająk	TR	8	2	25.00
pamięć	TR	1,492	1,482	99.33
panel	TR	539	538	99.81
personalizacja	TR	17	17	100.00
pętla	TR	33	33	100.00
piaskownica	TR	16	15	93.75
pirat	TR	195	182	93.33
platforma	TR	229	214	93.45
poczta	TR	287	282	98.26
pokój	TR	72	14	19.44
polecenie	SPEC	123	113	91.87
port	TR	439	429	97.72
portal	TR	219	209	95.43
powłoka	TR	11	7	63.64
procedura	TR	83	59	71.08
proces	SPEC	332	281	84.64
profil	TR	222	206	92.79
protokół	TR	87	86	98.85
przeszczepić	TR	2	2	100.00
przyklejony	TR	32	19	59.38
pulpit	TR	304	304	100.00
rejestr	TR	338	336	99.41
rekord	TR	113	95	84.07
reputacja	GEN	21	4	19.05
rezydent	TR	5	5	100.00
robak	TR	35	32	91.43
rozdzielczość	GEN	338	9	2.66
rozszerzenie	TR	282	97	34.40
scenariusz	TR/GEN	18	10	55.56
semafor	TR	11	11	100.00
sesja	TR	62	44	70.97
sieć	TR/SPEC	1,516	1,481	97.69
silnik	TR	163	147	90.18
skanować	TR	347	227	65.42
składnia	TR	21	18	85.71
skórka	TR	64	53	82.81
skrót	TR	223	186	83.41
skrypt	TR	408	396	97.06
stopka	TR	28	28	100.00
stos	TR	5	5	100.00
stres	TR	56	50	89.29
strona	TR	3,496	3,133	89.62
subskrypcja	TR/SPEC	31	31	100.00

Table 5.3 continued

Word	Type	n	NM	Per cent of NM
1	2	3	4	5
surfować	TR	38	38	100.00
sygnatura	TR/SPEC	60	60	100.00
szpieg	TR	69	67	97.10
ścieżka	TR	138	116	84.06
środowisko	TR	94	90	95.74
tacka	TR	11	11	100.00
tapeta	TR	30	29	96.67
transfer	TR	241	241	100.00
troll	TR	13	8	61.54
tuning	TR	5	3	60.00
uśpienie	TR	24	24	100.00
waga	TR	105	56	53.33
wirtualny	TR	137	114	83.21
wirus	TR	518	517	99.81
wolumin	TR	33	33	100.00
wsparcie	TR/SPEC	161	108	67.08
wstrzykiwać	TR	3	3	100.00
wtyczka	TR	290	188	64.83
wyciąć	SPEC	57	30	52.63
wydawca	SPEC	78	72	92.31
wypalić	TR	76	65	85.53
zabić	TR	124	12	9.68
zakładka	TR	507	507	100.00
załącznik	TR	101	101	100.00
zamrozić	TR	8	3	37.50
zapora	TR	100	100	100.00
zatoka	TR	36	33	91.67
zaufany	SPEC	29	21	72.41
zawiesić (się)	TR	238	230	96.64
zdarzenie	SPEC	71	63	88.73
ziarno	TR	2	1	50.00
złośliwy	TR	80	66	82.50
znak wodny	TR	10	10	100.00
zombie (zombi)	TR	84	2	2.38
zrzucać	TR	132	118	89.39
zwiastun	GEN	51	47	92.16

^a This means that the word is used in more than one new sense where at least one can be labelled as specialization and at least one as transfer of meaning.

The most frequently used semantic loans include *instalować* (6,265 tokens in the new sense connected with computers and modelled on English), *strona*

(3,133), *karta* (2,926), *pamięć* (1,482), *sieć* (1,481), *forum* (1,400), *format* (1,097), and *konto* (1,068). Some of them (e.g. *pamięć*, *strona*, *karta*), in at least some of their new senses, are included in a general dictionary of Polish (USJP), while the new meanings of others (e.g. *forum*, *instalować*, *konto*) are not included. This seems to show that there is no real correspondence between the frequency of the use of a given word in the new sense and its inclusion or non-inclusion in USJP.

As Table 5.3 shows, the majority of the semantic loans found in the corpus can be classified as belonging to the group of transfers of meaning,³ frequently of metaphorical nature⁴ (metonymic changes are also present in the corpus, but most of them appear to be native innovations), usually based on the functional likeness (i.e. similarity in function, cf. Section 2.9.2; examples from the corpus include *adres*, *bank*, *brama*, *biblioteka*, *czytnik*, *hibernacja*, *import*, *kwarantanna*, *łata*, *powłoka*, *robak*, *silnik*, *tapeta*, *wirus*, *zakładka*, *złącznik*). In some cases, the exact nature of the similarity is difficult to determine, as in the case of the word *troll*; most probably, the word can also be regarded as an instance of functional likeness, though rather a distant one. Metaphorical changes based on external likeness (i.e. the similarity in shape or appearance) exist as well, but they are much less numerous (only 7 types were identified, viz. *belka*, *blok*, *drzewo*, *kafelki*, *mysz*, *stopka*, *tacka*; other 5 can also possibly be included, viz. *awatar*, *folder*, *ikona*, *okno*, *zatoka*). In addition, there are cases of transfers of meaning based on neither functional nor external likeness, e.g. *chmura*, *ciastko*, *demon*.

Instances of specialization are much less numerous (25 cases, e.g. *administrator* or *atrybut*), followed by generalizations (4 cases, e.g. *reputacja* or *rozdzielczość*).⁵ It is not surprising to find that specialization appears much more often than generalization: when a word used in a general language (as in the case of *administrator*) begins to be used in a more specialized variety (under the influence of a foreign model or not), it is usually the case that the precision is on the increase and the word becomes more specialized.

Thus, in most instances, the words are used in completely new meanings (as in *mysz*, *okno*, *pulpit*, *hibernacja*, etc.); the cases where a word is used mainly in new collocations, but a general meaning is preserved (cf. classification in Section

³ It must be noted here that, in the case of transfer of meaning, the proximity of the traditional meaning and the new one may vary: in some cases, e.g. the word *mysz*, the new sense is completely different; in others, e.g. *złącznik*, the new sense is very close to the traditional one, yet it cannot be treated as an instance of specialization or generalization, cf. the dictionary definition of the word: 'a document appended to another document, usually as a supplement' (SJP Dor). In the new sense, the word denotes a file (of any kind) attached not to a document, but an e-mail.

⁴ The metaphorical changes take place in the model language, i.e. English (cf. Section 2.9.2); Polish usually mimics those changes.

⁵ It is important to note that the classification of meaning changes is made on the basis of the comparison of the new sense(s) and the sense(s) provided by SJP Dor. If USJP were used as a base, there would be more cases of both specialization and generalization, e.g. the word *moderator* would be treated as an instance of specialization rather than transfer.

2.2.5) are much less frequent and correspond, in general, to cases of semantic restriction or generalization.

In the majority of cases, the words are used more frequently in the new sense (in comparison to the traditional one); in 146 out of 204 cases (71.57%), the number of tokens of the use of a given word in the new sense(s) modelled on English constitutes at least 75% of all the tokens of this word used in the corpus (in other words, in 146 out of 204 cases, the use of a given word in the traditional meaning or meanings composes 25% or less of all the uses of this word). In such cases, it can be said that the new meaning has gained priority in the semantic field of computers; this is especially striking in the case of such words as *aplikacja*, *hibernacja*, *kwarantanna*, *mysz*, or *pulpit*. Thus, in most cases, the words will be classified to [E] group (cf. Section 2.2.6), i.e. the situation when a traditional meaning is seen as primary in the general language, but the new sense has gained priority in a given social or professional variety.⁶ Such semantic loans can be classified as assimilated, accepted and usually widely used among computer users. In many cases, however, the new sense still appears secondary, even in the area of computers, e.g. *bank*, *ciężki*, or *pokój*; in such cases, a given word will be assigned most probably to [B] group (cf. Section 2.2.6), i.e. the situation where the traditional meaning, in general, predominates. Some semantic loans found in the corpus can possibly be attributed to [A] group (cf. Section 2.2.6), i.e. the words in the case of which their new sense has just emerged and is not (yet) a part of the linguistic system or norm. This may be the case of such words as *bilet* (and possibly *pajak*), where the new senses appear very rarely in the corpus.

Most of the new meanings of semantic loans described in the present book have not been noted in general dictionaries of Polish (SJPDor, SJPSzym, ISJP, USJP, SJPSob). For detailed numbers for ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob, cf. Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. The existence or non-existence of the new senses of semantic loans in ISJP, USJP, and SJPSob

Semantic loans	ISJP	USJP	SJPSob
Included	18 (8.82%)	26 (12.74%)	36 (17.65%)
Borderline ^a	25 (12.26%)	31 (15.20%)	30 (14.70%)
Not included	161 (78.92%)	147 (72.06%)	138 (67.65%)

^a Borderline cases include situations when: (1) a given semantic loan appears in a few new meanings but only some of them (not all) are included in a given dictionary, (2) the new sense is mentioned only in passing, or (3) the new sense is included only in certain terms and not in the definition itself.

⁶ It must be underlined, however, as was explained in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.6), that the present corpus does not represent a typical professional or social variety; rather, it is located somewhere between the general variety and a social/professional variety.

Table 5.4 shows that many of the new senses are still either relatively new or too technical and/or too rare in general Polish to be included in aforementioned dictionaries.

It is very difficult to assess whether there are cases when the new meaning can be described as primary (or at least equal to the traditional sense) in the general variety of Polish (groups [G] or [H]; cf. Section 2.2.6); this would require studying the use of the word in large corpora of contemporary Polish. Thus, on the basis of the present corpus, it is not possible to formulate conclusions of this type. One can only make a speculative hypothesis that it might possibly be the case of such words as *ikonka* (where the new senses of ‘a symbol of something’ and ‘a small picture on a computer screen’ may have actually gained priority over the traditional meaning of ‘a painting used in Orthodox churches’) or *mysz* (where the new sense of ‘a device used to control the movements of a cursor on the screen’ may have gained priority over the traditional sense of ‘an animal’).

It is interesting to note that, in some cases (though not very frequent), the use of a given semantic loan is perceived (by the person who used it) as somehow unnatural or inappropriate, as the forms appear sometimes in quotation marks, e.g.: *system w końcowej wersji jak żaden inny Windows ma być połączony z “chmurą”, dzięki czemu zaspokoi potrzeby użytkowników potrzebujących mobilnego systemu na kilku komputerach* [10]. In addition, it seems that there is sometimes a great deal of uncertainty about the correct usage of a given new construction, cf. frequent variant constructions, e.g. *miejsce w chmurze, dyski w chmurze* but *hosting na chmurze*; other examples include *klikać na ikonkę* and *klikać w ikonkę* (the construction *wcisnąć ikonkę* also appears in the corpus), *ikonka głośności* and *ikonka od głośności*, *ikonka gg* and *ikonka z gg*, *konwertować [something] na [something]* and *konwertować [something] do [something]*.

The majority of the semantic loans found in the corpus exist simultaneously with loan translations containing them (cf. Section 2.4.5), e.g. the semantic loan →*akceleracja* (cf. Section 4.5.4) exists simultaneously with the calque *akcelerator grafiki* (E. *graphics accelerator*). It is usually not easy, or even not possible, to establish which form appeared first. It seems that in the majority of cases the two phenomena are interdependent: the translation of a given construction (a calque) facilitates the emergence of a related semantic loan; the emergence of a semantic loan, in turn, facilitates the emergence of new calques containing a given loan.

Details concerning the interdependent use of semantic loans and loan translations/renditions are presented in Tables 5.5 and 5.6. Table 5.5 shows the number of loan translations or renditions⁷ that contain a given semantic loan. The key to the table is provided below:

⁷ Semi-calques included in the study (for the criteria of inclusion, cf. Section 4.4, fn. 10) are counted together with loan translations; semi-renditions (the same criteria for inclusion apply, cf. Section 4.4, fn. 11) are assigned to the group of loan renditions.

CAL/TP – the number of occurrences (types) of loan translations/renditions that contain a given semantic loan.

CAL/TK – the number of occurrences (tokens) of loan translations/renditions that contain a given semantic loan.

Inside the table, the symbol 0^\wedge indicates that there are calques that contain a given semantic loan, but these have been included in the description of another semantic loan and are not included again so as not to be counted twice; for example, the construction *konto administratora* (E. *administrator account*) is counted within the section on *konto* (it is not counted in connection with the word *administrator*). The word *administrator* is thus marked with 0^\wedge symbol, indicating that there are calques that contain the word, already included in the description of another semantic loan. Another symbol, viz. 0^* , indicates that a given word appears in semi-calques not included in the total count (cf. Section 4.4, fn. 10), e.g. *agresywny RPM*, a semi-calque of English *aggressive RPM*.

Table 5.5. The number of loan translations and loan renditions used with a given semantic loan

Word	CAL/TP	CAL/TK	Word	CAL/TP	CAL/TK
1	2	3	1	2	3
administrator	0^\wedge	—	blok	4	26
adres	8	91	boss	1	1
agresywny	0^*	0	brama	2	5
akcelerator	3	6	bufor	6	9
aktywacja	2	7	casual	1	1
aktywny	2	12	certyfikat	4	5
alfa	4	10	chmura	1	1
analogowy	1	4	ciastko	3	3
aplikacja	4	19	ciężki	0	0
architektura	4	4	cyfrowy	12	66
archiwum	5	19	czysty	0	0
arkusz	3	16	czytnik	1	4
artefakt	1	1	dedykowany	3	45
atrybut	3	7	definicja	1	4
autoryzacja	5	6	demon	0	0
awatar	0	0	developer (deweloper)	4	8
balans	3	3	diagnostyka	0^*	0
banicja	0	0	diagnoza	0	0
bank	2	11	dinozaur	0	0
belka	2	3	dokument	1	8
beta	4	63	domena	6	26
biblioteka	5	9	drzewo	0	0
bindować	2	2	dziennik	5	18
bilet	0	0	edytor	7	59

1	2	3	1	2	3
eksplorator	0*	0	konsola	4	39
eksport	4	8	konto	6	145
elektroniczny	4	21	kontroler	7	59
etykieta	1	2	konwersja	3	5
filtr	5	11	koń trojański	2 ^a	3
fizyka	0	0	kredyt	0	0
folder	3	7	krytyczny	4	15
format	3	59	księga gości	0	0
forum	0	0	kwarantanna	1	1
galeria	1	11	layout	0	0
generator	3	8	leczyć	0	0
geometria	1	1	lekki	0	0
gest	1	9	liniowy	0	0
guzik	1	1	lokalny	1	3
heurystyka	1	3	ładować	1	3
hibernacja	1	7	łamać	1	1
historia	2	14	łata	1	3
ikona	0	0	maska	2	10
import	3	4	mechanika	2	13
indeks	4	5	menedżer	17	392
infekcja	0	0	menu	2	17
instalować	0	0	migracja	1	1
izolować	2	4	mnożnik	1	5
jądro	2	7	moderator	0	0
język	2	26	monitor	4	16
kafelki	0	0	most	2	19
kalibrować	4	4	mysz	3	37
kanal	0*	0	narzędzie	7	52
karta	9	2,091	nawigacja	0	0
klient	4	23	obiekt	3	4
klon	1	3	obraz	3	37
klucz	13	63	obudzić	0	0
koligacja	0	0	odświeżyć	2	15
kolizja	0	0	okno	1	2
komenda	0	0	otworzyć	0	0
komórka	2	5	pająk	1	1
kompilować	4	5	pamięć	9	149
kompresja	8	11	panel	6	245
komunikacja	0 [^]	—	personalizacja	0	0
konferencja	0	0	pętla	0	0
konfiguracja	1	14	piaskownica	0	0
konflikt	4	9	pirat	0	0

Table 5.5. continued

Word	CAL/TP	CAL/TK	Word	CAL/TP	CAL/TK
1	2	3	1	2	3
platforma	4	12	surfować	0	0
poczta	2	21	sygnatura	4	5
pokój	1	8	szpieg	3	31
polecenie	1	50	ścieżka	3	10
port	5	45	środowisko	6	44
portal	1	28	tacka	1	3
powłoka	1	1	tapeta	1	3
procedura	4	11	transfer	3	16
proces	0	0	troll	0	0
profil	4	16	tuning	0	0
protokół	8	15	uśpienie	1	9
przeszczepić	0	0	waga	1	6
przyklejony	0	0	wirtualny	7	52
pulpit	1	9	wirus	0 ^a	-
rejestr	3	32	wolumin	1	1
rekord	3	4	wsparcie	3	32
reputacja	0	0	wstrzykiwać	1	1
rezydent	0	0	wtyczka	0	0
robak	0	0	wyciąć	1	1
rozdzielczość	0	0	wydawca	0	0
rozszerzenie	1	14	wypalić	0	0
scenariusz	0	0	zabić	1	5
semafor	0	0	zakładka	0	0
sesja	1	5	załącznik	0	0
sieć	9	80	zamrozić	0	0
silnik	5	28	zaporą	3	32
skanować	4	19	zatoka	0	0
składnia	1	1	zaufany	0	0
skórka	0	0	zawiesić (się)	0	0
skrót	1	30	zdarzenie	2	14
skrypt	3	3	ziarno	0	0
stopka	0	0	złośliwy	3	44
stos	1	2	znak wodny	1	4
stres	0	0	zombie (zombi)	0	0
strona	3	75	zrzucać	4	70
subskrypcja	2	3	zwiastun	1	3

^a The calques appear with the form *trojan*.

The next table (5.6) presents general numbers concerning the use and frequency (in terms of both types and tokens) of the semantic loans appearing with or without accompanying loan translations or renditions. Semantic loans marked with θ^{\wedge} or θ^* (cf. Table 5.5) are counted as the ones appearing with loan translations or renditions.

Table 5.6. The number of semantic loans appearing with or without simultaneous calques

No. of semantic loans (types) appearing with simultaneous loan translations or loan renditions	No. of semantic loans (types) appearing without simultaneous loan translations or loan renditions
145 (71.08%)	59 (28.92%)

As Table 5.6 illustrates, more than two thirds of the semantic loans appear with simultaneous loan translations and/or loan renditions that contain a given borrowing. This seems to prove the hypothesis that semantic borrowings and calques are closely interrelated and the existence of one depends on the other, and vice versa.

5.3 Loan translations and renditions found in the corpus: Statistical analysis

Altogether, 529 types of calques (8,228 tokens; these numbers include both loan translations and loan renditions; cf. also fn. 7 in Section 5.2) were found in the present corpus.

Loan translations and loan renditions found in the corpus can generally be divided into two main categories: single-word and multi-word calques (cf. Section 2.3.3). Multi-word calques are much more numerous (in terms of types) and frequent (in terms of tokens) than single-word calques,⁸ cf. Table 5.7. In addition, there are 3 cases of prepositional calques (counted as multi-word calques), viz. *certyfikowany dla* (E. *certified for*), e.g. *certyfikowany dla systemu Microsoft Windows 8* (E. *certified for Windows 8*), *wsparcie dla* (E. *support for*), e.g. *wsparcie dla gier z PS2* (E. *support(ed) for PS2 games*), *zrzucić do* (E. *dump to*), e.g. *zrzucić do pliku* (E. *dump to file*).

The distinction between single- and multi-word calques is particularly striking when types are taken into account. In the case of tokens, it is slightly less noticeable due to high frequency of a single-word rendition *przeładowarka* (cf. Section 4.5.2); details are presented in Table 5.7.

⁸ This observation is generally in line with the study by Witalisz, who also reports that single-word calques are much less numerous. In her study, one-word calques constitute 5.3% of all calques (Witalisz 2015: 292).

Table 5.7. The number of single- and multi-word loan translations and renditions found in the corpus

Single-word loan translations and renditions		Multi-word loan translations and renditions	
types	tokens	types	tokens
16 (3.02%)	1,431 (17.39%)	513 (96.98%)	6,797 (82.61%)

The most frequently used loan translations and loan renditions include (A) (in the group of single-word constructions) *przeglądarka* (903 tokens), *bezprzewodowy* (227), and *wyszukiwarka* (148), (B) (in the group of multi-word constructions) *karta graficzna/grafiki* (1,210 tokens), *karta dźwiękowa* (507), *dysk twardy* (358), *system operacyjny* (347), *baza danych* (239), *menedżer urządzeń* (229), *karta sieciowa* (224), and *panel sterowania* (212). Interestingly, most of them (8 out of 11) are included in USJP (*dysk twardy* is included in the definition of *dysk*); this may show that, unlike in the case of semantic loans (cf. Section 5.2), there is a correspondence between the frequency of the use of a given loan translation/rendition and its inclusion in USJP.

The majority of the calques found in the corpus exist simultaneously with semantic loans; details are provided in Table 5.8⁹ (cf. Section 2.3.3). The example provided in Section 5.2 can also be used here: the English-induced calque *akcelerator grafiki* appears in the corpus simultaneously with the semantic loan *akcelerator*. It is usually not possible to determine which form appeared earlier (cf. Section 2.4.5).

Table 5.8. The number of calques appearing with or without simultaneous semantic loans

Multi-word loan translations and renditions appearing with a semantic loan		Multi-word loan translations and renditions appearing without a semantic loan	
types	tokens	types	tokens
436 (84.99%)	5,209 (76.64%)	77 (15.01%)	1,588 (23.36%)

As can be seen, calques or renditions appearing without a simultaneous semantic loan (i.e. calques where either (1) all the components are used in their traditional meanings and it is only their connection that is new or (2) one of the components is used in the new or extended sense but it does not appear in the new sense outside a given calque) are not frequent in the corpus; this further corroborates the theory that semantic loans and loan translations are usually interdependent and the existence of one type facilitates the emergence of another (and vice versa).

Within the group of loan translations and loan renditions, loan translations are clearly in the majority; details can be found in Tables 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12. As was mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.6), a loan rendition is understood as an approximate loan translation, with a lexical deviation from the source construction. Thus, the construction *folder plików tymczasowych* is seen as

⁹ Naturally, single-word calques are excluded from the data presented in the table.

a loan rendition of English *temporary folder* (\rightarrow *folder*, Section 4.5.4); *blok wodny*, by contrast, is seen as a calque of English *water block* (\rightarrow *blok*, Section 4.5.4), although the form in Polish does not correspond syntactically to its English source (English N+N \rightarrow Polish N+Adj). This is connected with, as was mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.6), differences in syntactic and morphological systems of English and Polish; in the aforementioned example, it is not possible to make the calque closer syntactically to English (**woda blok*).

In the case of loan renditions, the deviation from the model is usually connected with the omission of a certain element, e.g. *napęd optyczny* (E. *optical disc drive*), *jednostka centralna* (E. *central processing unit*), *protokół cebulkowy* (E. *onion routing protocol*) or the replacement of one element with another one, e.g. *wersja kandydująca* (E. *release candidate*), *wygaszacz ekranu* (E. *screensaver*). The process of adding a certain element appears as well, but is rare; in fact, only two instances were found, viz. *filtr antyspamowy* (E. *spam filter*) and *sygnatury ochrony antywirusowej* (E. *antivirus signatures*).

Within the group of loan translations, the shape of Polish constructions depends on their English source forms, with occasional syntactic changes resulting from, as was mentioned above, differences in syntactic and morphological systems of English and Polish; details are presented in Table 5.9. The table presents three most frequent English constructions, viz. N+N, Adj+N, and V+N. English N+N is rendered as either N+Adj or N+N_{Gen} (Adj+N is possible, but rare, cf. Table 5.9); English Adj+N is rendered either as N+Adj or Adj+N, while V+N is rendered as V+N.

Table 5.9. Types of calques and renditions found in the corpus

English constructions	Polish renderings	Examples from the corpus
N+N	N+Adj	atak słownikowy (E. dictionary attack) gra przeglądarkowa (E. browser game) kod źródłowy (E. source code)
	Adj+N	blokowy algorytm (E. block algorithm)
	N+N _{Gen}	baza danych (E. data base) interfejs użytkownika (E. user interface) znacznik adresu (E. address marker)
Adj+N	Adj+N	martwy piksel (E. dead pixel) pełny ekran (E. full screen) twarda spacja (E. hard space)
	N+Adj	drukarka laserowa (E. laser printer) dysk logiczny (E. logical disk) partycja aktywna (E. active partition)
V+N	V+N	eksportować dane (E. export data) importować plik (E. import the file) odświeżyć stronę (E. refresh the website)

As was mentioned above, loan translations are clearly in the majority, both in terms of types and tokens, cf. Table 5.10. This is in line with the results obtained by Witalisz; in her study, loan renditions constitute 12.5% (Witalisz 2015: 293); in the present study, loan renditions appear slightly more frequently.

The predominance of loan translations is understandable, as it is in a way “easier” to translate a given construction literally (cf. Section 2.6); besides, it is quite possible that not all loan renditions present in the corpus have been identified as such since, due to lexical deviation from the source, they are by definition less easy to detect (cf. Section 2.4.4).

Table 5.10. The number of loan translations and loan renditions found in the corpus

Loan translations		Loan renditions	
types	tokens	types	tokens
440 (83.18%)	6,207 (75.44%)	89 (16.82%)	2,021 (24.56%)

The next table (5.11) presents the same data, but loan translations and loan renditions are additionally divided into single- and multi-word constructions.

Table 5.11. The number of single- and multi-word loan translations and loan renditions found in the corpus

Single-word				Multi-word			
loan translations		loan renditions		loan translations		loan renditions	
types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens
13 (81.25%)	364 (25.44%)	3 (18.75%)	1,067 (74.56%)	427 (83.24%)	5,843 (85.96%)	86 (16.76%)	954 (14.04%)

As can be seen, loan translations constitute a clear majority in the case of both single- and multi-word constructions in terms of types; the situation looks different, however, in the case of tokens: loan renditions predominate in the group of single-word calques. This is due to the high frequency of the form *przełładarka* (903 tokens; cf. Section 4.5.2).

Finally, Table 5.12 presents related data, but for multi-word constructions only; this time, they are divided into those appearing with or without a simultaneous semantic loan.

Table 5.12. The number of multi-word loan translations and loan renditions (appearing with or without simultaneous semantic loans) found in the corpus

Multi-word (appearing with a semantic loan)				Multi-word (appearing without a semantic loan)			
loan translations		loan renditions		loan translations		loan renditions	
types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens	types	tokens
373 (85.55%)	4,482 (86.04%)	63 (14.45%)	727 (13.96%)	54 (70.13%)	1,361 (85.71%)	23 (29.87%)	227 (14.29%)

As Table 5.12 indicates, loan translations predominate in both groups (with or without semantic loans) in terms of both types and tokens. The number of loan renditions is remarkably higher (in terms of types) in the case of constructions without simultaneous semantic loans. This is understandable, as the lack of a semantic loan results in greater freedom of forming a given construction; English, in such cases, often acts as a hint, rather than an absolute model.

5.4 Concluding comments

The present study has shown that both semantic loans and loan translations/renditions are frequent in the informal language of computer users. The final numbers are provided in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13. The number of semantic loans and loan translations/renditions found in the corpus

Type of borrowing	Types	Tokens
Semantic loans	204	42,638
Loan translations and renditions	529	8,228

It is thus clear that semantic borrowings and loan translations, once seen as minor types of influence of English upon Polish (in comparison to lexical borrowings), should no longer be treated as such; rather, their role is constantly growing and new constructions of this type appear all the time. As illustrated in Table 5.13, within the semantic field of computers, loan translations and renditions are more numerous (in terms of types) than semantic loans (which corroborates Witalisz's data for the general variety; cf. Witalisz 2007a, 2015). The situation looks completely different, however, in the case of tokens. Here the semantic loans are incomparably more frequent; this is understandable when one considers the fact that loan translations frequently undergo partial ellipsis and are often indistinguishable from semantic loans. Thus, for example, the calque *poczta elektroniczna* (E. *electronic mail*) is now often shortened to *poczta*. The word *poczta* can, at the same time, be treated as a semantic borrowing modelled on English *mail*. It is only natural to expect that the form *poczta* (in the new sense) is going to be used much more frequently, particularly in the informal variety, than *poczta elektroniczna*. Besides, there are certain semantic loans which denote basic concepts connected with the use of computers and the Internet, such as *strona*, *sieć*, *mysz*, or *okno*; understandably, such forms appear with a high frequency. Thus a much higher number of tokens of semantic loans cannot really be seen as surprising.

Finally, some normative comments are in order. It is not possible to normatively assess semantic loans and loan translations found in the present

corpus in their totality; rather, each element should be assessed separately, the criterion being not the existence or non-existence of a native counterpart (as is often postulated in the literature in connection with lexical borrowings), but semantic transparency and ease of interpretation. Certain forms actually improve precision and should gain approval, cf. such forms as *awatar*, used instead of *obrazek*, *ikonka*, or *symbol*. Other examples of unproblematic constructions include *dotykowy*, as in the calque *ekran dotykowy* (E. *touch screen*), now giving rise to new constructions, such as *tablet dotykowy*, *panel dotykowy*, *dotykowy wyświetlacz*, *kontrola dotykowa*, *obsługa dotykowa* and even *dotykowa magia systemu* (all of which are attested in the corpus). Such constructions do not hinder comprehensibility; on the contrary, they can increase precision and are, at the same time, more compact and more convenient, particularly in writing. The same can be said about the constructions originally used as medical or biological terms, e.g. *wirus*, *kwarantanna*, *przeszczepić*, *hibernacja*, or *infekcja*. Naturally, less clear instances appear as well, as in the case of *czysty* or *ciężki*. These, however, seem to be a clear minority. The borderline cases can be exemplified by such forms as *chmura* or *ciasteczka*: they are rather semantically opaque and do not seem to be connected with modern technology; yet, simultaneously, they have a precise, unambiguous meaning in the sphere of computers. Thus, the majority of semantic borrowings and loan translations used in the area of computers should not be seen as insidious, as they are sometimes portrayed in the literature.

The semantic field of computers changes very fast; concurrently, it appears to be a very important sphere for research, as computers are used by an ever-growing number of people. Most of them, therefore, at some point come into contact with computer terminology; consequently, a constant research in the field is a necessity. It is hoped that the present study is, to a certain point at least, an answer to such necessity.

APPENDIX 1

INTERNET FORUMS INCLUDED IN THE CORPUS

This appendix provides information about the structure of the corpus, i.e. the list of forums from which the samples have been taken. Table A.1 lists the names of the forums, their website addresses, subforums (i.e. the general description of the theme(s) of the subforum taken into consideration in the case of a given forum¹), topics (i.e. a more detailed description of the themes included in the corpus), compilation time (referring to the time when entries from a given forum were collected and analyzed and not to the dates when the entries were actually written) and the number (n) of running words in each sample taken from a given forum.

Table A.1. General information about Internet forums included in the present corpus

Forum	Forum name and website address	Subforum	Topics	Compilation time	n of words
1	2	3	4	5	6
[1]	<i>ForumBAJT.pl</i> http://forumbajt.pl/forum.php	Various	Problem-solving discussions connected with hardware, software, and the Internet (the majority of threads connected with hardware)	Jan–Feb 2011	57,121
[2]	<i>Forum Komputerowe PL</i> http://forumkomputerowe.pl/	Software	Operating systems (particularly Windows 7)	Nov 2011	22,806
[3]	<i>ForumPC</i> http://www.forumpc.pl/	Hardware	Hard drives, CD drives, memory sticks, ready-made computer sets, computer memory	Feb 2012	42,701

¹ Chosen from hardware, software, and the Internet (or a combination of these).

Table A.1 continued

Forum	Forum name and website address	Subforum	Topics	Compilation time	n of words
1	2	3	4	5	6
[4]	<i>Forum FastPC.pl</i> http://www.fastpc.pl/	Internet and software	Computer viruses, antivirus software	Mar 2012	42,914
[5]	<i>ForumTweaks.pl</i> http://www.forum.tweaks.pl/	Internet and software	Computer viruses, antivirus software, Internet providers, Internet browsers	Jan 2013	44,143
[6]	<i>PCLab.pl</i> http://forum.pclab.pl/	Software	Computer games	Jan 2013	45,285
[7]	<i>PCFoster</i> http://forum.pcfoster.pl/	Software	Website creation and maintenance, computer programming	May 2013	46,305
[8]	<i>Forum portalu PCcom.pl</i> http://pc-com.pl/forum/	Hardware	Laptops and notebooks, mainboards, central processing units, graphics cards, computer monitors	Jun 2013	58,682
[9]	<i>Forum komputerowe HotFix.pl</i> http://forum.hotfix.pl/	Various	Buying and selling (computer hardware), computer graphics, device drivers	Sep 2013	48,022
[10]	<i>PCSH</i> http://www.pcsh.pl/	Various	Software and hardware tutorials, IT news, reviews of software and hardware	Sep 2013	47,373
[11]	<i>Forum dyskusyjne programosy.pl</i> http://forum.programosy.pl/	Software	Polish versions of software (operating systems and games), Windows-related problems	Oct 2013	48,853
[12]	<i>PurePC.pl – Forum Dyskusyjne</i> http://forum.purepc.pl	Software and Internet	Internet browsers (Google Chrome, Firefox, Opera, etc.), instant messaging programs (Miranda, GaduGadu, etc.), Internet providers	Oct 2013	51,367

1	2	3	4	5	6
[13]	<i>Forum Komputerowe PECECIK.com</i> http://pececik.com/forum	Hardware	Printers, scanners, mouse devices, keyboards, sound cards, loudspeakers, headphones	Dec 2013 – Jan 2014	50,297
[14]	<i>ITPC</i> http://forum.itpc.net.pl/	Various	Game consoles, graphics cards, users' tutorials and reviews, computer games	Feb 2014	50,765
[15]	<i>HAKER – Forum Komputerowe</i> http://haker.com.pl/	Software and Internet	Antivirus and antispyware software, keyloggers and anti-keylogger software, firewalls, data backup, privacy protection	Mar 2014	50,657
[16]	<i>PCFormat Forum</i> http://forum.pcformat.pl	Internet	Internet-related problems (software and hardware)	Mar 2014	50,161
[17]	<i>Forum komputerowe Komputer Świat</i> http://forum.komputerswiat.pl/	Software	Office software (Microsoft Word, Excel, OpenOffice, etc.)	Apr–May 2014	49,058
[18]	<i>Pecetowiec.pl</i> http://pecetowiec.pl/index.php	Software	Operating systems (especially Linux), general problems connected with various software	May–Jun 2014	47,308
[19]	<i>Forum benchmark.pl</i> http://forum.benchmark.pl/	Hardware	Case modification (modding), printers, scanners, central processing units, mainboards	Sep 2014	51,069
[20]	<i>PC Forum.eu</i> http://forum.pcforum.eu/	Software	Operating systems (Microsoft Windows, Linux, Unix)	Oct 2014	51,436
[21]	<i>WebElite.pl Forum informatyczne</i> http://www.webelite.pl/	Internet	Website creation and maintenance	Nov 2014	47,964
[22]	<i>Gazeta.pl Forum – Komputer</i> http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/f,34,Komputer.html	Various	Various ^a	Dec 2014	48,272

Table A.1 continued

Forum	Forum name and website address	Subforum	Topics	Compilation time	n of words
1	2	3	4	5	6
[23]	<i>Katalogi.pl – Forum Komputerowe</i> http://katalogi.pl/forum/4-forum-komputerowe/	Various	Problem-solving discussions connected with hardware, software, and the Internet	Dec 2014	51,471
[24]	<i>pl.comp.bazy-danych</i> www.gazeta.pl/usenet^b	Software	Problems connected with databases	Dec 2014	48,272
[25]	<i>PC Centre – Forum Komputerowe</i> http://forum.pccentre.pl	Hardware	Notebooks, palmtops, computer cooling, problems connected with noisy computers	Jan 2015	50,925
[26]	<i>Pomoc – PC</i> http://pomoc-pc.com/	Various	Operating systems, website creation and maintenance, computer games	Jan 2015	47,310
[27]	<i>ForumKomputerowe.com</i> http://www.forumkomputerowe.com/	Hardware	Sound cards, computer loudspeakers, central processing units, RAM memory	Feb 2015	52,336
[28]	<i>PCMod.pl</i> http://www.pcmmod.pl/	Various	Operating systems (Microsoft Windows, Linux), computer games, overclocking, BIOS programming	Feb 2015	49,074
[29]	<i>Forum komputerowe GuruPC.pl</i> http://www.gurupc.pl	Software	Computer games (general discussions and problems)	Mar 2015	55,887
[30]	<i>Forum o grach komputerowych</i> http://www.giermania.fora.pl/	Software	Computer games (users' reviews, downloads, tutorials)	Mar 2015	50,853
[31]	<i>Game 4 Fun</i> http://game4fun.pl/	Software	Computer games (news, tutorials), discussions about the forum	Apr 2015	31,337
[32]	<i>playofgame.pl</i> http://playofgame.pl/forum.php	Software	Computer games (patches, add-ons, game codes, tutorials, Polish language versions)	Apr 2015	51,425

^a There is no distinction into thematic subforums here.

^b The texts can be reached at other addresses as well, e.g. <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/pl.comp.bazy-danych> (access: 11 December 2014).

APPENDIX 2

SEMANTIC LOANS, LOAN TRANSLATIONS, AND LOAN RENDITIONS IN CONTEXT

The aim of this appendix is to provide examples of loan translations, loan renditions, and semantic loans found in the corpus. The first section (A.1) provides examples of single-word loan translations and loan renditions, followed by the section on multi-word loan translations and loan renditions not connected with a semantic loan (A.2); finally, Section A.3 deals with semantic loans (with or without simultaneous loan translations and renditions).

The numbers in square brackets indicate the number of the forum (cf. Appendix 1) from which a given sample has been taken. The letters in round brackets (in Section A.3), used in the case of semantic loans that appear in the corpus in more than one new sense, provide information about the sense in which a given word is used in a given excerpt (for a detailed list of new senses of semantic borrowings, cf. the respective sections in Chapter 4).

All the quotations taken from the corpus are given here in their original spelling and punctuation; therefore, they may contain errors of various types (for more on the features of Internet language, cf. Chapter 1).

A.1 Single-word loan translations and loan renditions

bezprzewodowy

Mam starego laptopa HP omnibook 4150, wgrany windows 98 ktory obsuguje usb i wifi. Wifi mam na porcie pcmcia, mam wgrane sterowniki, wykrywa nawet moja sieć **bezprzewodową**, wpisałam klucz z mojej sieci i nazwe no i dalej nie działa, nie mam pojęcia co zrobic by zadziało, wcześniej był w nim również internet **bezprzewodowy** no i działał. [4]

bezstratny

jaki preferujesz typ muzyki – mp3 czy **bezstratna** muzyka [27]

dwuklik

Czy wypakowywać i instalować poprzez menedżer urządzeń czy po prostu odpalać **dwuklikiem**? [9]

fotorealistyczny

Gdy przyzwyczajmy swój wzrok do tego, że oglądamy **fotorealistyczną** opowieść o świętych rycerzach okrągłego stołu wybijających wilkołaki (ogólnie chodzi o człekokształtne owłosione bestie – nazywane tu Lycans) czar zaczyna przyskać. [30]

grywalność

Nie, Fifa ma obecnie najlepszą **grywalność**, taka jest moja opinia testując dwie z tych gier. [29]

grywalny

Mod już jest **grywalny**, możemy dla testu go uruchomić i spr. czy wszystko działa. [31]

klikalność

Klawiatura którą obecnie posiadam już chyba przeżyła swoje, jej limit **klikalności** zdaje się być bliski wyczerpaniu. [13]

konwertowalny

To zależy, czy w związku ze studiami powinieneś mieć Windowsy i oprogramowanie do niego oraz jak dużo będziesz pisał i ile danych będziesz musiał przechowywać na urządzeniu. Obstawiałbym jakiś **konwertowalny** tablet. [22]

niskoprofilowy

Pamięci **niskoprofilowe** są trochę droższe - właśnie takie moduły stosuje się w notebookach. [25]

odsubskrybowanie

Usunięcie grup dyskusyjnych w panelu powoduje teraz **odsubskrybowanie** listy i usunięcie wiadomości. [12]

pełnoekranowy

U mnie z kolei przestał działać YouTube w trybie **pełnoekranowym** na najnowszej wersji dev dla Mac OS X. [12]

podsieć

Ostatnio mieliśmy spory problem z nieautoryzowanym dostępem do dwóch z trzech **podsieci**. [4]

podstrona

Nie jest to również głupi pomysł, gdyż łatwiej jest wbić **podstronę** YouTube do topu niż nową domenę. [7]

przełładarka

Wszystko przez reklamy które masz oglądać, wciskają się do **przełładarki** i ją zamulają. [22]

szerokopasmowy

Internet mam kablowy, **szerokopasmowy**, od wielu lat ten sam, nigdy nie miałam najmniejszym problemów. [1]

wykonywalny

W końcu to kod **wykonywalny**, nie trzeba uruchamiać maszyny wirtualnej, interpretującej kod. [7]

wyszukiwarka

Wrzuć w **wyszukiwarkę** model baterii swojego lapa i tyle. [22]

A.2 Multi-word loan translations and loan renditions not connected with a semantic loan

atak słownikowy

W tym oknie wybieramy, jak chcemy łamać hasła. Zakładka pierwsza: Opcja “Dictionary Attack” to **atak “słownikowy”**. Polega ona na łamaniu hasła, wpisując po kolei wyrazy ze słownika, do którego ścieżkę podajemy w polu Dictionary File. [5]

baza danych

Pilnie poszukiwany łatwy program do tworzenia **baz danych**. [17]

biała lista

Sprawdź czy przypadkiem nie masz załączonej **“Białej listy”** i filtracji MAC. [16]

blokada regionalna

PlayStation 4 bez **blokad regionalnej** [32]

blokada rodzicielska

Na pewno możesz ten sam efekt osiągnąć z poziomu dowolnego antywirusa z **blokadą rodzicielską** i routera z tą blokadą. [16]

chłodzenie pasywne

Ja raczej nie będę kombinował ze stosowaniem **chłodzenia pasywnego**, choć b. by mi to odpoowiadało (z uwagi na cieszę) [25]

czas rzeczywisty

Ogólnie mówiąc poszukuję programu dzięki którego będę mógł zarządzać dwoma laptopami połączonymi wifii z głównego kompa PC – admina. Aby mógł wysyłać wiadomości na laptopa, sprawdzać odpalone programy i przeglądać dysk twardy w **czasie rzeczywistym** jeżeli jest taka możliwość. [5]

drukarka atramentowa

o tak, ale przy dłuższym nieużywaniu **drukarki atramentowej** zasycha tusz :kwasny: :([13]

drukarka laserowa

Noszę się z zamiarem kupna **drukarki laserowej** do domu, z tym że wiem że będę drukowała znacznie więcej niż 200str miesięcznie. [13]

dysk logiczny

Partycje dla Ubuntu w **dysku logicznym** musiały być oznaczone jako partycje podstawowe, zresztą żadnego problemu nie mam, a więc chyba wszystko jest dobrze na ten moment podzielone [8]

dysk optyczny

Napęd **dysków optycznych** COMPAQ CD-ROM LTN486S (48x CD-ROM) [20]

dysk twardy

Witam, mam zamiar kupić **dysk twardy** do laptopa asus x56t ponieważ stary jest do wyrzucenia, ten dysk musi być akurat do tego modelu czy może być też inny? [3]

edycja kolekcjonerska

Z kolei ci, którzy wysupłają dodatkowy grosz na **Edycję Kolekcjonerską**, dostaną w prezencie mapę świata w formacie A2, album z artami, film dokumentalny „making of”, a wszystko to zapakowane w solidną, drewnianą skrzynię. [30]

ekran dotykowy

Nie jest to oczywiście wysoka półka tabletów, ale możesz spodziewać się już bardzo dobrego **ekranu dotykowego** (co w tanich tabletach jest największą złą, jak i średniej jakości wyświetlacza. [8])

głębia koloru/kolorów

(...) natomiast te bity które ustawiasz w ustawieniach karty graficznej oznaczają **głębokość kolorów** np. jakość kolorów 32bity oznacza że system jest w stanie wyświetlić 2^{32} kolorów [1]

gra komputerowa

Nagroda czeka na twórców pierwszej w Polsce **gry komputerowej**, zaaranżowanej we wnętrzach galerii handlowej. [30]

gra platformowa

Tytuł gry wymawiało się Handerklif, czy coś takiego, nie wiem jak to się pisze, google nic nie mówi. Jest to **gra platformowa**, strzelanka. [6]

gra przeglądarkowa

(...) mozilla za to jest niezastąpiona w **grach przeglądarkowych** gdzie potrzebne jest przełączanie kart za pomocą ctrl+tab. [18]

gra tekstowa

Przy okazji zacząłem pogrywać sobie w grę przeglądarkową – Amorion – swoją drogą ta dalej istnieje. To takie **gry tekstowe** polegające na prowadzeniu sesji fantastycznych. [30]

grafika wektorowa

Vista jest systemem, który posiada jeszcze dużo poważnych błędów, których szybko nie dopracują. Jest systemem jeszcze zbyt rozbudowanym i posiadającym zbyt dużo **grafiki wektorowej** żebyśmy mogli go używać na maszynach dostępnych na naszym rynku. [20]

grupa dyskusyjna

(...) mam też inny problem, w **grupach dyskusyjnych** jak ktos wrzuci jakiegos jpg w treści posta, to zamiast obrazka pokazuje mi jego kod ascii dziwne, prawda? [12]

interfejs użytkownika

Na szczęście udało mi się je odzyskać, ale od tego czasu opera zachowuje się głupio w kwestii niektórych czcionek w **interfejsie użytkownika**. [12]

internetowy kiosk

Cześć, mam do skonfigurowania **internetowy kiosk**, jakie programy polecacie aby użytkownik miał dostęp tylko do nich i przeglądarki internetowej (windows XP) chodzi mi o to by programów było jak najmniej a komputer był w stanie otworzyć jak najwięcej powszechnych formatów. [17]

jednostka centralna

Co jakiś czas w mojej **jednostce centralnej** pojawia się taki krótki dźwięk “pik” taki jak podczas wyłączania komputera. [1]

klawiatura wyspowa

Sam też nie lubię **klawiatury wyspowej**. Fine type Acera też ma spore odstępki pomiędzy klawiszami (tak jak w wyspowej), więc jeśli chodzi o odstępki, to Acer nie będzie zbyt wygodny. [22]

klawisze funkcyjne

Wejść do ustawień BIOS-u (Delete albo któryś z **klawiszy funkcyjnych** na pierwszym ekranie po włączeniu komputera – będzie napisane) i zrób zdjęcie ekranu, gdzie pokazane są dyski twarde. [20]

kod dostępu

(...) ok baterie moge kupic ale jak mis nie jest z polski to czy mis zadziała wogole jak nie mam **kodu dostępu**? [22]

kod źródłowy

3 października 2000 Sun opublikował **kod źródłowy** pakietu (okrojony jedynie o części nie należące do firmy) powołując jednocześnie do życia projekt OpenOffice.org. [26]

kompatybilny wstecz / wsteczna kompatybilność

(...) USB to standard tak samo jak i SATA które jest **kompatybilne wstecz** tzn. urządzenia na usb3.0 będą działać nawet na usb 1.1 (...) [8]

kopiuj i wklej

Musisz najpierw nauczyć się programować w PHP. Nie można skoczyć na głębokie wody, **kopiując i wklejając** to, co ktoś napisze (można, ale na dłuższą metę to rozwiązanie nie jest dobre). [7]

lustro strony

Witam zrobilem **lustro strony** i zrobilem wszystko jak w tym poradniku (...) [15]

martwy piksel

(...) z tego co obserwuję, co roku dają coś nowego fajniejszego, np teraz jest dodatkowa gwarancja “zero **martwych pikseli**” (...) [22]

masowe urządzenie magazynujące

(...) 3G Modem Urządzenie USB HUAWEI Mobile Connect – 3G PC UI Interface (COM5) Urządzenie USB **Masowe urządzenie magazynujące** USB (...) [11]

nagrywarka dwuwarstwowa

(...) **Nagrywarka dwuwarstwowa** DVD DVD-RAM, DVD±RW Karta WiFi A/B/G/N Wewnętrzny Bluetooth 2.1 (...) [25]

napęd optyczny / napęd dysków optycznych

Chciałem zrobić sobie kopię zapasową systemu za pomocą aplikacji systemu, ale jak każdemu wiadome netbooki nie posiadają **napędów optycznych**. [2]

niebieski ekran śmierci

Niebieskie ekrany śmierci charakteryzują się różnymi kodami, postaram się wymienić większość z nich i zrobić małą analizę. [28]

niskie detale / średnie detale / wysokie detale

A próbowałeś pograć (wiadomo, że na **niskich detalach**) na zintegrowanej grafice? [8]

otwarta licencja / otwartoźródłowa licencja

Istnieje również nakładka ClamTK. Jest na wolnej i **otwartoźródłowej licencji**, można używać w domu i firmie. [4]

pakiety językowe / paczki językowe

Folder language – tutaj znajdują się zazwyczaj **paczki językowe** dla różnych języków (english.dcp, italian.dcp, russian.dcp itp.). [11]

pasek zadań

(...) dzis sie zaczelo robic tak ze co jakis czas mi wywala czarny ekran, na **pasku zadan** po zminimalizowaniu sa 2 okna, 1 puste 2 screen saver pisze sobie np posta i tu mi wywala, nie chodzi o bezczynnosc nic takiego nie instalowalem co to moze byc? [18]

pełny ekran

Powiem tak, 25fps to już dla mnie nie pokaz slajdów 10-7fps to już pokaz slajdów a 20-25 lub 15-18 to idzie grać, jeszcze mam jedno pytanie do was jakie jeszcze są rozdzielczości w **pełnym ekranie** 640 na ile? [14]

pierwszoosobowa strzelanina/strzelanka

Killzone Najemnik to kolejna odsłona znanego cyklu **pierwszoosobowych strzelanin**, ale pierwsza przygotowywana wyłącznie z myślą o przenośnej konsoli PlayStation Vita. [32]

plan zasilania

Kurde nie zauważyłem że KPC odpowiedział o tym co już napisałem ale nie chce mi się mazać moich wypocin więc niech już będą więc spróbuj to z **planem zasilania** – przy laptopach daje bardzo dużo nie wiem czy na stacjonarnych też bo ja u siebie nie wyczułem, ale coś powinno. [20]

plik binarny

Skompilowane **pliki binarne** dostępne są dla wielu popularnych dystrybucji: (K)ubuntu, openSUSE, Fedora, Debian, Mandriva Linux, Gentoo, Arch, Ark Linux, Pardus, itd. [26]

plik tekstowy

Pytanie odnośnie Worda. Tak więc, jeśli na komputerze X który uruchomiony jest na profilu Administrator, gdzie w chwili obecnej edytowany jest dany **plik tekstowy**, dajmy na to w Wordzie, to czy na komputerze Y w tej samej sieci(?) można również załogować się na profil Administratora i w tym samym **pliku tekstowym** wprowadzać zmiany? [17]

plik wsadowy

Plik wsadowy wrzuc tak jak jest napisane do folderu z grą czyli np jest to folder “Need For Speed: Most Wanted” i tu go wklejasz poczym włączasz plik, wyświetli się na kilka sekund konsola “czarne okienko” i automatycznie podmieni pliki. [11]

portfel haseł

Zmieniłbym na szyfrowany i zabezpieczony hasłem **portfel haseł** typu Sticky Password lub inne popularne portfele. [15]

procesor graficzny

Od teraz taktowanie Shaderów (1) będzie szło w górę razem z zegarem **procesora graficznego** (2). [10]

procesor jednordzeniowy / procesor dwurdzeniowy / wielordzeniowy procesor

(...) i tak **procesor dwurdzeniowy** przyda Ci się na systemie 32-bitowym - wszystko zależy od czego czy dany program obsługuje dwa rdzenie [25]

procesor logiczny

Informacje o procesorze: Dostawca: GenuineIntel Szybkość: 2793 MHz 4 **procesory logiczne** 4 procesory fizyczne (...) [8]

przeciągnij i upuść

(...) A nie możesz normalnie wstawić obrazka, np. przez metodę **przeciągnij i upuść**, lub np. wchodzisz w Wordzie w Wstawianie a potem klikasz OBRAZ i wybierasz obrazek jaki chcesz i wstawia ci się on normalnie do dokumentu. [17]

przetwarzanie wsadowe

W oknie **przetwarzania wsadowego** odszukaj folder frames, przejdź do niego i aby dodać wszystkie klatki użyj przycisku Dodaj wszystko [9]

sektor rozruchowy

Wszystkie więc wskazuje na to, że to jakiś cholernie złośliwy wirus zapisany w jakimś **sektorze rozruchowym**, bo z tego co czytałem, to linux jest nie czuły na wirusy. [5]

serwer bazodanowy

Po pierwsze wybierz **serwer bazodanowy** do pracy a nie MySQLa, to drugie to akurat trafiłeś jak nic, bo materiałów na temat mysqła jest w sieci od groma i jeszcze trochę (...) [24]

serwer plikowy/plików

(...) ciężko było przekonać w czym lepszy jest jakiś super-hiper serwer za ciężką kapuchę od zwykłego **serwera plikowego** z plikami dbf. [24]

stacja dokująca

aczkolwiek jeśli byś znalazł jakiegos superlaptopa co by ci bardzo podszedł a nie miał wyjścia cyfrowego zawsze warto sprawdzić czy **stacja dokująca** do danego laptopa takowego nie ma ;-) [25]

strategia czasu rzeczywistego

A Game of Thrones: Genesis to połączenie **strategii czasu rzeczywistego** oraz turowki. [32]

strategia turowa

Heros III + dodatki to najlepsza **strategia turowa** w jaką grałem. [30]

system operacyjny

Zmieniłem **system operacyjny** na "7". [2]

sztuczna inteligencja

Zarówno nasi przeciwnicy, jak i przyjaciele zostali wyposażeni w bardzo dobry moduł **sztucznej inteligencji**. [30]

twarda spacja

Po spójniku "i" wstawiasz **twardą spację** i naciskasz klawisz delete - aby przeciągnąć spójnik do kolejnego wiersza - pamiętaj, aby nie dodawać dodatkowych spacji. [17]

wejście liniowe

(...) przy wejściu na słuchawki nie ma czegoś takiego jak **wejście liniowe**, jest tylko opcja "słuchawki". [13]

wersja kandydująca

Ukazała się **wersja kandydująca** Linux Mint 9 Xfce - dystrybucji Linuksa opartej na Ubuntu. [10]

wersja kolekcjonerska

(...) posiadanie **wersji kolekcjonerskiej** z takimi dodatkami jak artbook, making of dvd, karty bohaterów i wiele więcej to nie lada gratka dla fanów ;P [30]

wskaż i kliknij

Jest to dość prosty silnik służący głównie do tworzenia gier przygodowych "**wskaż i kliknij**". [11]

wygaszacz ekranu

Potem sprawdź jeszcze to: PPM na pulpit -> Personalizuj -> **Wygaszacz ekranu** -> Zmień ustawienia zasilania -> zaznaczasz "Wysoka wydajność" i klikasz "Zmień ustawienia" do tego planu. [20]

wyjście liniowe

(...) wierze że twój telewizor posiada wejście audio na cinchach, jack'a wpinasz w **wyjście liniowe** w karcie muzycznej a cinch do telewizora (...) [1]

urządzenie wejściowe / urządzenie wyjściowe

Brak zainstalowanego **urządzenia wyjściowego** audio. Wczoraj podczas oglądania filmu nagle zniknął mi dźwięk i do tej pory już się nie pojawił. [9]

zasobnik systemowy

GG ładnie oddaje zajmowany RAM po kliknięciu na "słoneczko" w **zasobniku systemowym** (z 49 do paru MB). [12]

A.3 Semantic loans with or without simultaneous loan translations and renditions

administrator

Proponuję założenie działu, który będzie widzieć tylko i wyłącznie ekipa forum. Pomoże to w pracy między moderatorom i **administratorom** forum. (B) [31]

adres

Chodzi o to, że na jeden ogólny **adres** mailowy firmy przychodzą zapytania ofertowe i w zależności od wolnego czasu “przechwytuje” je jeden z pracowników. (C) [17]

agresywny

(...) ustawić sobie wyższy RPM wentylatorów w AF lub ustawić **agresywniejszy** RPM w biosie karty. (B) [14]

akcelerator/akceleracja

Korzystam jedynie z **akceleratora** pobierania DAP. (B) [20]

aktywacja / aktywator

Myślę, że można ryzykować, ale upewnij się, czy nie kupujesz wersji niemieckiej – przy **aktywacji** klucza wyświetli się coś typu “Orange Box (DE)”. (A) [6]

aktywny

Dane wypisuje w **aktywnym** arkuszu (ActiveSheet), ale to zawsze można łatwo przerobić, tak jak wiersz i kolumnę (.Cells(i, 1)) w której ma te nazwy wypisywać. [4]

alfa/alpha

Witam zrobiłem właśnie moją stronę internetową “Welcome to my Website” jest na hostingu cba.pl jest to wersja **alfa** więc kieruje się do was czy mam coś jeszcze zmienić, usunąć lub dodać (...) (A) [7]

analogowy

Do rejestracji jest Ci potrzebny modem usb – Sagem od tepsy lub jakiegokolwiek inne urządzenie np. modem **analogowy**, przez który będziesz mógł się połączyć z netem i zarejestrować. [12]

aplikacja

Użytkownicy mogą uruchamiać **aplikacje** biurowe Windows XP w trybie Windows XP bezpośrednio z pulpitu Windows 7. [26]

architektura

(...) ale **architektura** chipa graficznego taka sama... tego nie przeskoczysz. [25]

archiwum/archiwalny

Po ściągnięciu, wypakować **archiwum** i skopiować pliki do drugiego (ostatniego) folderu "Data". (A) [11]

arkusz

Jak ustawić **arkusz** Excela jako tapetę na pulpicie? (B) [22]

artefakt

tak jak mówi Homicidal 50 stopni to bardzo dobra temperatura zwłaszcza że serie 6xxx się bardzo grzały .. wiem bo sam posiadam 6200tc i w spoczynku po OC ma od 52 do 62 stopni a powiedz czy gdy grasz widzisz na ekranie **artefakty**? (A) [1]

atrybut

Zmieniłem **atrybuty** plików z 644 na 600 czyli odczyt/zapis możliwy tylko dla właściciela ale to nic nie pomogło... (A) [5]

autoryzacja

Że niby **autoryzacja** userów przez aplikację nie pozwala na zmigrowanie bazy danych do innej? [24]

awatar/avatar

Użytkownicy nie majacy **awatara** maja domyslny [32]

balans

Jak podgłośnię na maxa to słyszę lewy głośnik, a jak wyciszę prawy. A w ustawieniach jest tylko lewy **balans**. (B) [9]

banicja

Zapytałem administracji TS3 czy nie mam **banicji** – nie mam. Nie mam pojęcia co zrobić. [16]

bank

Błąd zegara systemowego lub pierwszego **banku** pamięci [1]

belka

Domyślnie jest to pozioma **belka** przewijania, jednak wystarczy kliknąć ciemno-zielony grot skierowany ku górze, aby wypełniła ona niemalże cały interfejs programu. [10]

beta

Kolejna **beta**, jeszcze nie wiadomo czy otwarta, ma się rozpocząć w lutym, oby była to otwarta **beta**. [29]

biblioteka

Wstawianie w zasadzie ogranicza się na przypięciu **biblioteki** skryptu i osadzenia kodu na stronie. (A) [7]

bindować

Co do zdjęcia to można oczywiście **zbindować** go ze zdjęciem ale każdy plik wykonywalny ma rozszerzenie exe bat itd. (B) [15]

bilet

Solidhost podobno BOK olewa swego klienta, rzadko kiedy odpisuje na **bilety** (...) [7]

blok

mam dwie propozycje na gpu 1 – budżetowa która nie za bardzo mi się podoba to: GTX 680 lightning + **blok** wodny z tym że mi się nie podoba chodzi o to że po założeniu **bloku** wodnego na lighting/a nie podoba mi się on już tak jak ze standardowym chłodzeniem nie wiem może tylko ja tak to widzę ale jakos traci on swój cały urok po założeniu **bloku** wodnego (A) [19]

boss

My ostatnio okupujemy taki nietypowy dungeon, bo jest to statek z pijanymi w sztok mobami ;) no i jest oczywiście kilka mniejszych **bossów**, my dotarliśmy do drugiego (takiej Maddame - biega jak naspedowana i ma hita że ho ho!). [29]

brama/bramka

Obejżalem sobie 6 odcinków polskiego tutoriala (pierwszy w moim opisie) i na prawdę tu są spore możliwości, zwłaszcza ostatni odcinek pokazujący jak robić **bramki** logiczne uruchamiające różne elementy robi wrażenie, zwłaszcza, że to wersja Alpha. (C) [29]

bufor

A powiedz mi **bufor** od nagrywarki i od dysku w nero skacze? [25]

casual

(...) CoD zdecydowanie targetuje w **casuali**, którzy chcą sobie postrzelać z kałasza. [29]

certyfiakat

Każda zmiana jaką zauważysz powinna zwiększyć Twoją czujność, potrzeba podania pełnego hasła zamiast kilku znaków z niego powinna wzbudzić podejrzenie, podobnie jak “cyfrowy **certyfiakat**” dla smartphonów. (A) [4]

chmura

Bezpłatny program antywirusowy oferujący ochronę w **chmurze**. [15]

ciastko/ciasteczko

Blokowanie **ciasteczek** szpiegowskich/śledzących w przeglądarkach Internet Explorer i Mozilla/Firefox. [15]

ciężki

Avast ostatnio zrobił się jakiś **ciężki** i niestety coraz bardziej zamula słabsze komputery. (C) [5]

cyfrowy

A zatem ma dawać możliwość de-aktywacji gry i jej odsprzedania, coś czego zawsze mi brakowało w **cyfrowej** dystrybucji (...) [29]

czysty/czyścić

Myślałem też o zrobieniu takiego PowerPacka dla Opery, który będzie zawierał modyfikacje i usprawnienia dla **czystej** Opery. (A) [12]

czytnik

adobe reader tak ma, to jest najgorszy **czytnik** pdf. (B) [22]

dedykowany

Czasem możesz mieć nawet problemy z filmami HD, dlatego nawet najbardziej badziewna karta **dedykowana** jest lepsza. [25]

definicja

Program charakteryzuje wyjątkowo prosty interfejs, automatyczne pobieranie aktualizacji z bieżąco uaktualnianymi **definicjami** wszystkich znanych wirusów (...) [4]

demon

(...) ja też miałem problemy ale jak ładowałem do **demon**a i coś potem kombinowałem to śmiga. [18]

developer/deweloper

Studio WayForward Technologies, odpowiedzialne za remake DuckTales, to amerykański **deweloper** gier wideo, którego siedziba mieści się w Kalifornii. [32]

diagnostyka

Jak sprawdzam sobie te **diagnostykę** procka to często są skoki użycia z np 10 do 90 albo nawet 100%. [28]

diagnoza

Jaką darmową aplikację polecacie do **diagnozy** działania dysku twardego? [17]

dinozaur

Tego zabytkowego **dinozaura** AGP nie ruszać. [14]

dokument

(...) miałem zapisany w wordzie **dokument** tekstowy, ok. 25 stron, dziś dodałem kilka poprawek i oczywiście zapisałem. [22]

domena

Domeny .eu za 6,90 zł - promocja do 23 grudnia. Obniżyliśmy cenę **domen** .eu. [21]

drzewo

Posiadamy bardzo rozbudowane **drzewo** kategorii oraz działów, 90% bezbłędnie wypełnione opisy, przejrzysty panel użytkownika (...) [26]

dziennik

(...) podejrzewam, że ktoś wykasował cały tydzień z **dziennika** zdarzeń, kiedy komputer był używany teoretycznie przeze mnie (...) [15]

edytor

(...) odpowiednie liczby odnajdziemy włączając dowolny **edytor** plików dds. (B) [11]

eksplorator

W **eksploratorze** przy próbie formatowania H: wyskakuje komunikat: dysk jest zabezpieczony przed zapisem. [8]

eksport

A przecież jest **eksport** kontaktów i na serwer i do pliku. [12]

elektroniczny

Asystent Magazyn 2011 PRO - wersja **elektroniczna** / licencja 1 rok, cena 79.00 PLN [17]

etykieta

vol – wyświetla **etykiety**, oraz numer seryjny dysku [28]

filtr

Poczta z **filtrem** antyspamowym i skanerem antywirusowym (A) [7]

fizyka

Kolejną zmianą jest jeszcze bardziej nierealistyczna **fizyka**, która jest jak najbardziej na miejscu. Teraz przejdziemy nawet po bardzo cienkich linach zawieszonych nad budynkami. [30]

folder

Jako katalog docelowy ustaw jakiś swój **folder** np. frames2 [9]

format

Jak widać, każdy z programów posiada podobny klasyczny interfejs w którym możemy wybrać rodzaj kompresji, stopień kompresji, **format** pliku i wiele innych parametrów, których podawać tutaj nie będzie bo to nie jest celem testu. (B) [28]

forum

Faktycznie co ostatnio zaglądam na jakies **forum** to widzę te sponsorowane linki. [22]

galeria

chodzi mi po prostu o stronke gdzie np będę mógł wrzucić 7 zdjęć i potem komuś je pokazać wysyłając jeden link do **galerii**, zamiast do kazdego zdjecia osobny link [16]

generator

Dostałem za zadanie znaleźć **Generator** liczb pseudolosowych napisany koniecznie w visual studio, obojętnie jakiej wersji. [7]

geometria

Istnieje teoria, że włożenie HDD do zamrażarki na 1h, zmienia **geometrię** talerzy i głowic w taki sposób, że możliwe będzie odczytanie danych przez kilka minut – dopóki dysk się nie nagrzej. [3]

gest

Oczywiście **gesty** myszy są debeściak, żyć z tym nie potrafię. szkoda że w explorerze lub jakimś innym shellu tego nie ma (może się myłę?). [12]

guzik

i dlaczego nie działa mi środkowy **guzik** myszy?? (B) [12]

heurystyka

Program zre RAM jak głupi ale za to ma najpotężniejszy moduł **heurystyki** czyli wykrywania wirusów do których nie pojawiły się definicje. [5]

hibernacja

Kiedy użytkownik kliknie przycisk “Zamknij system”, Windows zamyka wszystkie uruchomione aplikacje, wylogowuje się i przełącza w tryb **hibernacji**. [10]

historia

Od pewnego czasu w historii google mam zapytania ktorch nie wpisywalem oraz rozne strony ktore nie sa mi znane, Moje pyanie jak to sie znalazlo w **historii**? [22]

ikona

Powinieneś mieć przy zegarku **ikonkę** do programu sterującego. [9]

import

mówisz ze **import** do AQQ jest możliwy ale jak jest np z dalszymi rozmowami które prowadził już na AQQ też będą dopisywane do istniejącego archiwum? [12]

indeks

Dodatkowo chciałbym się dowiedzieć czy **indeks** klastrowany jest przebudowywany przy zmianie na kolumnie indeksowanej, czy jest tylko rozbudowywany/modyfikowany? (A) [24]

infekcja

Następnie zrób skan systemu w celu poszukiwania **infekcji**. [4]

instalować

Gdybyś się zdecydowała na PDFCreator uważaj przy instalacji - zdarzało mu się **instalować** niechciane dodatki (...) [22]

izolować

(...) po najechaniu na interesującą nas aplikacje możemy ją **wyizolować**. [10]

jądro

Można to zrobić także bez użycia Live CD, a jedynie samego **jądra** linuxa które mieści się na dyskiecie i operacje można wykonać bezpośrednio na pliku SAM [28]

język

mam problem zadaniami z zadaniami w programowaniu w **języku** c [7]

kafelki

Jak dla mnie **kafelki** w wersji na pc to jakaś pomyłka, na szczęście da się to wyłączyć i wtedy system jest już całkiem ok. [10]

kalibrować

Wiadomo, trzeba moniterek odpowiednio **skalibrować**, bo na defaultowych ustawieniach nasycenie kolorów jest niezadowolające. [8]

kanał

Możesz wybierać czy piszesz jako Google+ czy jako **kanał** na YouTube. (A) [16]

karta

Może **karta** sieciowa ustawiła się na jakiś egzotyczny dla sieci domowych adres z puli 10.0.0.x lub np. 169.254.xxx.xx. [22]

klient

ale powiem ci tak że kasowac może nie świadomie bo może mieć skonfigurowanego **klienta** poczty np outlook-a i tam jest taka opcja że po pobraniu z serwera kasuje maile na serwerze [4]

klon

Serwis informacyjny? Nie ma problemu, mogę wykonać **klona** facebooka. (C) [7]

klucz

Ponoć mój **klucz** do visty zadziała też na 64 bit, ale nie wiem skąd wziąć instalkę Visty 64bit. (A) [22]

koligacja

aha i wspomne że teraz to już w ogóle pisze że jest tylko 1 rdzeń procesora i nie da się nawet włączyć opcji **koligacji** (...) [27]

kolizja

Instaluje się z innymi antywirusami w systemie bez **kolizji**. [15]

komenda

Nawet jak ktoś wie jak wystartować dosa i **komendę** format C: z pendrivea to będę wdzięczny, bo jak w trakcie uruchamiania windowsa wciskam F8 to nie startuje dos tylko jakieś dziwne menu opcji do wyboru, ale nie ma tam normalnego dosa. [5]

komórka

Chciałbym aby arkusza było coś takiego: **Komórki** A1, A2, A3 itd zawierały imiona graczy **komórki** B1 B2, B3 itd zawierały ich ranking i aby imię gracza wskazywało ranking (...) (B) [17]

kompilować/kompilator

Przecież instalując gentoo nauczysz się **kompilować** programy, instalować system bez żadnych graficznych GUI! [18]

kompresja/kompresor

Probowałem wszystkiego, **kompresja** danych, oczyszczanie dysku, użyłem CCleanera (był już zainstalowany), do wszystkiego potrzebne jest jednak miejsce. [5]

komunikacja

Pamięci DDR3 w porównaniu z poprzednikami zapewniają szybszą **komunikację** z procesorem i krótszy czas odświeżania komórek pamięci, a więc bardziej komfortową pracę z komputerem. [10]

konferencja

Kto Cie banuje? Administracja GG. Bo biora to za spam: w **konferencji** jest 15 osob i w ciągu minuty wysyłam około 20 wiadomości i wychodzi 300 wiadomości na minute i mnie banują na 24h ;[[12]

konfiguracja

W **konfiguracji** bazy danych wpisujesz to co wpisałaś w panelu CBA.PL. [7]

konflikt

Windows wykrył mi dwie partycje F i G, ale partycje D i E była niewidoczna, być może **konflikt** nazw z partycjami dysku MASTER, który również ma D i E. [1]

konsola

W zestawie: **-konsola** Xbox 360 Modern Warfare 2 edition, Elite, 120GB HDD -nagrywarka LiteOn iHAS 124B (...) (A) [9]

konto

Jeśli uszkodzony jest profil użytkownika, to problem nie występuje na innych **kontach**. Wystarczy utworzyć nowe **konto**, przepisać potrzebne pliki, a stare **konto** usunąć. [22]

kontroler

(...) w Menadżeże Urządzeń nie ma wogóle **kontrolerów** dźwięku, wideo i gier. [9]

konwersja

Konwersja audio za darmo na formaty MP3, WMA, WAV, FLAC, AAC, M4A, OGG (...) [26]

koń trojański

W kwarantannie Eseta były 4 **konie trojańskie**. [4]

kredyt

Jeśli gracz kupi **kredyty** bezpośrednio u Makemmo.com i wyda u nas w grze, podział zysku wygląda następująco (...) (A) [32]

krytyczny

Skanowanie obszarów **krytycznych**, które poszukuje niebezpiecznych plików w obiektach ładowanych na startcie systemu (C) [10]

księga gości

Zrobiłbym to tak: (...) **księgę gości** znaleźć gotowy skrypt (ewentualnie przerobić) [4]

kwarantanna

Pliki w **kwarantannie** to oczywiście szkodniki, które zostaną usunięte przy deinstalacji. [5]

layout

Layout dla forum o tematyce gamingowej, nie dokończony w 100%, ale jeśli znajdzie się kupiec, od razu biorę się do pracy nad nim. [9]

leczyć

Jedną z metod jest użycie programu HDD Regenerator, który przeskanuje dysk w poszukiwaniu bad sektorów i próbuje je **wyleczyć**. [28]

lekki

A znacie jakis **lekki** soft do pisania, który nie obciąża systemu a ma polski słownik? (A) [17]

liniowy, liniowość

(...) fabuła jest maksymalnie **liniowa**, wszystko i wszyscy są maksymalnie zaskryptowani, nie ma rozwoju postaci, nie ma się wpływu na dialogi (...) [29]

lokalny

A tak na serio, program korzysta z różnych bibliotek i rejestru. Również same pliki **lokalne** programu są narażone na uszkodzenie, np. wskutek działania złośliwego oprogramowania (...) [16]

ładować

Komputer się zawiesił w czasie **ładowania** trybu awaryjnego. [1]

łamać

Jeśli chodzi o samo **łamanie** hasła “na chama”, to nie ma obawy, że konto użytkownika zostanie zablokowane, po prostu po (bodajże) trzech próbach Płatnik się wyłączy i trzeba będzie go uruchomić ponownie. [20]

łata

W internecie można znaleźć **łatkę** która znajdzie się w SP1 do win7 i windows 2008, zwiększa ona wydajność na kartach obsługujących DX10, DX 10.1 i DX 11 (...) [20]

maska

Witam, Gdy chcę zmienić **maskę** podsieci w DHCP oraz dodać nową pulę adresów IP, przy zmianie niestety pokazuje mi się błąd (...) (A) [16]

mechanika

Generalnie w Dote grałem około 1,5roku i muszę powiedzieć, że LoL to jej godny następca, **mechanika** gry została taka sama, grafika ‘wyładniała’, niektóre rzeczy zostały poprawione. (A) [6]

menedżer

System też pobiera swoją pamięć, sprawdź w **menedżer** urządzeń czy nie ma tam przez jakiś proces zużycia pamięci jak tak to napisz jaki. [27]

menu

Zrobiłem to w Paint.NET. 1. Otwierasz obrazek w programie 2. Z **menu** wybierasz kolejno Adjustments => Lighten (...) [9]

migracja

Migracja z windows 7 na xp [11]

mnożnik

Xeon 1230v2 -da się go podkręcić **mnożnikiem** więcej niż 3,7ghz? [19]

moderator

Jak zamyka się posty na forum? (...) Nie zamyka się, możesz po prostu napisać PW do jakiegoś **moderatora** żeby to zamknął. [17]

monitor

Monitor sieci. Tu obserwujemy cały nasz ruch sieciowy. W każdej chwili możemy go zablokować, a także edytować reguły poszczególnych aplikacji. (B) [10]

most

Mostek południowy mógł powodować takie zwiechy to fakt. [28]

mysz

Co do klawiatury to, żeby miała dodatkowe przyciski (tzn. uśpienie itp.) i żeby **mysz** i klawiatura były trwałe co najmniej 5 lat. [13]

narzędzie

Bierzesz **narzędzie** zaznaczania (chyba takie lasso, nie pamiętam teraz) i objeżdżasz głowę, potem Ctrl+C i Ctrl+V masz gg;> [9]

nawigacja

(...) w ustawieniach zapory możemy definiować reguły dla aplikacji, a także przydzielać im konkretną grupę “zaufania”. **Nawigacja** po tych ustawieniach jest naprawdę prosta, zmiana głównych ustawień zwiększających poziom bezpieczeństwa – również. [10]

obiekt

(...) inaczej skrypt nie będzie miał uchwytu ponieważ **obiekt** nie zostanie jeszcze “nadrukowany” w przeglądarce (...) [7]

obraz

Zawsze wypada mieć **obraz** dysku z banalnego powodu, że odtworzenie systemu z **obrazu** jest dużo szybsze i pewniejsze niż jego instalacja. (A) [22]

obudzić

Chciałabym aby uspienie włączało się dopiero po 10 min a nie po 2-3min. Dlaczego nie da się go “**obudzić**” np guzikiem Fn? [11]

odświeżyć

Dopiero po **odświeżeniu** strony wyświetlają się linki. (A) [12]

okno

Wyświetli się **okno** z napisem “czy chcesz odinstalować?” (...) [22]

otworzyć

A jak drukuję, to wygląda to tak: **otwieram** plik, klikam drukarkę i czekam... czekam.... [22]

pająk

Nasz katalog jest szybki i łatwy w obsłudze, przyjazny dla użytkownika i “**pajaczków**”. [21]

pamięć

(...) kolega mi opowiadał że to może być **pamięć** drukarki zajęta przez niezakończone uprzednio drukowanie. (A) [22]

panel

Wchodzę w **panel** sterowania -> narzędzia administracyjne -> zarządzanie komputerem i klikam: “pomniejsz partycje” i tu niestety zaczyna się mój problem. (B) [11]

personalizacja

W dzisiejszych czasach powinny być większe możliwości **personalizacji** sprzętu. [25]

pętla

Chyba najłatwiej załatwić to w **pętli** while (opcja>0) i na końcu **pętli** prosisz użytkownika by podał opcja, gdy poda 0 to program się kończy (...) [7]

piaskownica

Jednocześnie jakaś część comodo działa, bo mi notorycznie różne rzeczy blokuje albo wrzuca do **piaskownicy**... Czy mam drania po prostu wywalić i zainstalować jeszcze raz? [11]

pirat

Masz **pirata** czy oryginał ? (B) [26]

platforma

W bazie znajduje się ponad 20 **platform**, czyli: Amiga, 3DO, Arcade (...) [7]

poczta

Zastosowany w programie moduł MailChecker, który działa jako filtr antyspamowy umożliwia współpracę ze wszystkimi najpopularniejszymi klientami **poczty** elektronicznej pracującymi w oparciu o SMTP i POP3. (A) [4]

pokój

(...) i już jesteśmy na serwerze, jeżeli chcemy otrzymać swój prywatny **pokój** do rozmów wystarczy zwrócić się do administracji [30]

polecenie

(...) więc w CMD wpisujesz **polecenie** przejścia na swój pulpit - w Win7 jest to CD C:\Users\nazwa swojego konta\Desktop i ENTER (...) [23]

port

Czy laptop podłączony kable działa w każdym **porcie** LAN routera, czy tylko w jednym? [4]

portal

Zalozyłem konto na pewnym **portalu** na ktore wplacilem pewna kwote pieniedzy lecz po jakimś czasie nieuzywania tej witryny haslo wylecialo m iz glowy wiec, moja wina, takie rzeczy powinno sie zapisywac lecz niestety. [4]

powłoka

System prezentuje się bardzo dobrze, choć można zauważyć kilka poważnych błędów związanych z **powłoką** graficzną, w końcu to wersja beta więc nie ma co narzekać. [18]

procedura

Do tego pisze się **procedurę**/skrypt w SQL, a nie w PHP... [24]

proces

Na pasku znajdź napis **procesy** i wejdź w to następnie znajdź torpeda kliknij w niego i daj zakończ **proces**. [22]

profil

Posiadam **profil** na pewnej stronie www, pewna osoba (której znam tylko pseudonim na tej stronie, posiadająca też tam **profil**) włamała się do mnie i ukradła poufne dane. (A) [15]

protokół

Teraz klikasz myszą w **Protokół** internetowy TCP/IP i dajesz Właściwości. [28]

przeszczepić

mam pytanie, da sie jakos **przeszczepic** tamta karte do mojego kompa? [1]

przyklejony

EDIT: Dzięki za **przyklejenie** topicu. [12]

pulpit

Przypuszczam ze posiadma jakiegos wirusa, po restarcie pc przestały działać gadżety, ikony z **pulpitu** nie otwieraja się (...) [4]

rejestr

Przeskanowałem komp hijackiem i combofixem w hijacku naprawiłem 2 wpisy **rejestru** (A) [20]

rekord

Jak to wykonam z poziomu MS SQL managera to widze wszystkie **rekordy**. (A) [24]

reputacja

Natomiast na koncie ograniczonym program WOT zgłaszał już ze ta witryna ma zła **reputacje**. co powinienem teraz zrobic? [4]

rezydent

Jak pojawi się kod injection to mamy winnego - masz jakiegoś **rezydenta** wirusa w tle. [5]

robak

To nie żaden hacking, tylko **robak**, który krąży po sieci. [21]

rozdzielczość

Moim zdaniem najlepsze do gier są duże, bezprzewodowe myszki z dużą **rozdzielczością** (przydatna przy celowaniu). [29]

rozszerzenie

W koszu na pulpicie powstał plik z **rozszerzeniem** .bak [22]

scenariusz

Myth 3: Era Wilka oraz różnorakie dodatki, **scenariusze** i modyfikacje tworzone przez fanów serii. (B) [6]

semafor

Określona nazwa systemowego **semafora** nie została znaleziona. [28]

sesja

Sprawa wygląda tak: pisałem na jego forum post gdy wygasła mi **sesja** po x minutach więc wpisało się jako 'Gość' (...) [4]

sieć

(...) na komputerze pojawia się wykrzyknik przy symbolu **sieci** bezprzewodowej. [22]

silnik

A co do nowego **silnika** forum, nie wiem czy go wprowadzimy. (A) [31]

skanować/skaner

Po **przeskanowaniu** przez ten program jednego komputera okazało się, że pełno na nim trojanów a wśród nich coś takiego jak backdoor. (A) [4]

składnia

Moglibyście dodać kolorowanie **składni** C++? [15]

skórka/skóra

Wystraczy wgrać **skórkę** i już - strona wygląda zupełnie inaczej niż przed chwilą. [17]

skrót

Wszystkie **skróty** programów w całym systemie chcą się otwierać prze IE. (A) [1]

skrypt

Ale właśnie nie wiem czy taki zwykły c++, który komunikuje się z tym **skrytem** co jest w apache? [7]

stopka

Witam, jak wstawić **stopkę** z klauzulą "wyrażam zgodę..." w CV? (A) [17]

stos

W którymś momencie były bardzo istotne z uwagi na liczne exploity, a więc dziury w systemie np. typu przepełnienia **stosu**, które pozwalały na atak sieciowy (...) [22]

stres

Tak, HD4850 pasowała by tam, lecz trochę by ci przeszkadzała jej głośność (będzie najgłośniejszym elementem PC'ta w spoczynku i **stresie**). [3]

strona

Na **stronie** microsoftu dowiedziałam się że ten system nie jest już obsługiwany, czyli że nie dostanę nigdzie takiej instalki?? [22]

subskrypcja

Hej, Witam wszystkich i zapraszam do oglądania i **subskrypcji** mojego kanału na YouTube. (A) [30]

surfować

Wszystko poza **surfowaniem** po sieci będzie Cię przyprawiało o ból głowy. [25]

sygnatura

Informacja programu ESET NOD32 Antivirus, wersja bazy **sygnatur** wirusow 5779 (B) [24]

szpieg

Przeskanowałam laptopa za pomocą tego programu, wyskoczyło kilka infekcji ale **szpiega** chyba wśród nich nie ma. [4]

ścieżka

W opera6 w profilu musiałem pozmienić **ścieżkę** dostępu do macromedia flash playera. (A) [12]

środowisko

Podczas gdy się ładuje ubuntu wyskakuje błąd i coś o problemie załadowania **środowiska** graficznego. [18]

tacka

Przemyslałem sprawę **tacki** pod mobo - będzie wyglądała następująco (A) (...) [19]

tapeta

Mam już gotowe **tapetki** na tło oraz kalendarz ale problem jest w czymś innym. [17]

transfer

Ile wynosi **transfer** danych podczas gry w sieci? (A) [4]

troll

Nadal wierze, ze ten watek to tylko kiepski zart marnego **trolla**. [22]

tuning

Tuning komputera do battlefield'a 3 [20]

uśpienie

I jeżeli mogę ci coś poradzić to już nigdy nie wprowadzaj laptopa w stan **uśpienia**, bo możliwe, że moje sposoby, jeżeli pomogą, to wtedy zawiodą i już go nie uruchomisz. [1]

waga

Waga pliku to 237,4MB. [11]

wirtualny

A co do robienia pdf, można wykorzystać programy, które instalują się jako **wirtualne** drukarki, np. to (...) (A) [17]

wirus

Próbowałem zmiany sterowników, zmieniłem znow system, sprawdzałem czy nie mam żadnych **wirusów**, czyściłem rejestr i nic nie pomogło. [1]

wolumin

Wyskoczyło okienko, że dysk musi zostać sformatowany, a także zmienił się jego **wolumin** z H na J chyba. [3]

wsparcie

Program posiada wielojęzyczny interfejs oraz **wspiera** różne platformy. (B) [26]

wstrzykiwać

“Dedykowana” polskim klientom ING Banku Śląskiego wersja Zeusa modyfikuje stronę internetową banku (**wstrzykując** dodatkowe fragmenty kodu HTML). [4]

wtyczka

Witam, chciałbym dowiedzieć się czy istnieje jakaś **wtyczka** do komunikatora wtw, która dodaje podstawowe dźwięki (przy odbieraniu wiadomości zmianie statusu kontaktu etc.). [20]

wyciąć

Czyli chcesz **wyciąć** tło? Masz jakiegoś photoshopa? [9]

wydawca

(...) Daylight jest psychologicznym thrillerem szykowanym na PlayStation 4 (grę dostaną jednak także pececiarze). Tytuł śmiga na silniku Unreal Engine 4, producentem jest Zombie Studios, a **wydawcą** Atlus. (A) [32]

wypalić

zassać ISO hirensa, **wypalić** na CD, zbootować z niej, nic więcej [2]

zabić

Hej mam taki problem, Zapora win 7 żre mi strasznie procka, jedynym sposobem jaki mogę ten czyn zniwelować to **zabicie** procesu (...) [11]

zakładka

(...) wejdz do biosu poprzez naciskanie klawisza delete następnie **zakładka** Advanced i sprawdź czy przy wpisie Onboard Audio ustawione jest enabled [9]

załącznik

Daj zrzut ekranu tej strony – jako **załącznik** lub w innym serwisie niż ifotos, ok? [16]

zamrozić

Menadżer plików Firefox 3.5, **zamrożenie** ściągania [21]

zapora

Próbowałem z cfosspeedem to minimalnie pingi spadały na chwilę, sprawdziłem czy **zapora** nie blokuje (i nie blokuje), zainstalowałem CS'a specjalnie, żeby sprawdzić czy tam też pingi szaleją (...) [16]

zatoka

Do mocowania dysków w **zatokach** 5.25" użyję tego pomysłu (...) [19]

zaufany

Możemy utworzyć listę **zaufanych** witryn lub listę witryn, które należy zablokować, albo zdecydować się na wybór jednego z domyślnych poziomów ochrony. [10]

Zawiesić (się)

Gdy uruchamialem ponownie system **zawiesił się** on na wyszukiwaniu nowych sprzętów, tak jest za każdym resetem. [18]

zdarzenie

Podgląd **zdarzeń** w windowsie pokazał taki komunikat błędy po restarcie (...) [2]

ziarno

Jest to wersja z ekranem SLCD tj. bez **ziarna** PenTile, dającym bardzo ostry obraz i świetną widoczność nawet w słoneczne dni. [9]

złośliwy

(...) instalacja **złośliwej** aplikacji na telefonie ofiary, która przekaże kod z SMSa do atakującego. [15]

znak wodny

Program do tworzenia cyfrowych **znaków wodnych**. [9]

zombie/zombi

Wirus wykorzystując liczne zdalnie sterowane funkcje, by zamienić nasze urządzenie mobilne w bezmyślne **zombie** sterowane przez hakerów. [26]

zrzucić/zrzut

Tutaj jeszcze **zrzut** ekranu i widać że w systemie jest ta karta prodigy tylko jak ją uruchomić? (A) [27]

zwiastun

Choć o nowych funkcjach zaimplementowanych w PlayStation 4 wiemy już całkiem sporo, Sony postanowiło pokazać nam na specjalnie przygotowanym **zwiastunie**, do czego zdolne będzie ich nowe dziecko. [32]

APPENDIX 3

SEMANTIC BORROWINGS FOUND IN THE CORPUS

This appendix presents semantic borrowings found in the corpus along with their possible English models. Page numbers refer to entries for particular loans in the present monograph.

Semantic loan	Possible English model	Page number
administrator	administrator	136
adres	address	137
agresywny	aggressive	139
akcelerator	accelerator	139
aktywacja	activation	140
aktywny	active	141
alfa	alpha	142
analogowy	analog	142
aplikacja	application	143
architektura	architecture	144
archiwum	archive	144
arkusz	spreadsheet, worksheet	146
artefakt	artefact (artifact)	147
atrybut	attribute	147
autoryzacja	authorization	148
awatar	avatar	149
balans	balance	149
banicja	ban	150
bank	bank	151
belka	bar	151
beta	beta	152
biblioteka	library	153
bindować	bind	154
bilet	ticket	154
blok	block	154

boss	boss	155
brama	gate, gateway	156
bufor	buffer	157
casual	casual	158
certyfiikat	certificate	158
chmura	cloud	159
ciastko	cookie	160
ciężki	heavy	161
cyfrowy	digital	162
czysty	clean	163
czytnik	reader, ereader	165
dedykowany	dedicated	166
definicja	definition	166
demon	demon (daemon)	167
developer (deweloper)	developer	167
diagnostyka	diagnostics	168
diagnoza	diagnosis	168
dinozaur	dinosaur	169
dokument	document	169
domena	domain	170
drzewo	tree	171
dziennik	log, logfile	172
edytor	editor	172
eksplorator	explorer	173
eksport	export	174
elektroniczny	electronic	174
etykieta	label	175
filtr	filter	175
fizyka	physics	176
folder	folder	176
format	format	177
forum	forum	177
galeria	gallery	178
generator	generator	178
geometria	geometry	179
gest	gesture	179
guzik	button	179
heurystyka	heuristic(s)	180
hibernacja	hibernation	181
historia	history	181
ikona	icon	182
import	import	182
indeks	index	183
infekcja	infection	184
instalować	install	185

izolować	isolate	186
jądro	kernel	186
język	language	187
kafelki	tiles	188
kalibrować	calibrate	188
kanał	channel	189
karta	card	189
klient	client	191
klon	clone	191
klucz	key	192
koligacja	affinity	193
kolizja	collision	194
komenda	command	194
komórka	cell	194
kompilować	compile	195
kompresja	compression	196
komunikacja	communication	197
konferencja	conference	197
konfiguracja	configuration	198
konflikt	conflict	199
konsola	console	199
konto	account	200
kontroler	controller	201
konwersja	conversion	202
koń trojański	Trojan horse	203
kredyt	credit	203
krytyczny	critical	204
księga gości	guestbook	205
kwarantanna	quarantine	205
layout	layout	205
leczyć	heal	206
lekki	light	206
liniowy	linear	207
lokalny	local	208
ładować	load	208
łamać	break	209
łata	patch	210
maska	mask	210
mechanika	mechanics	211
menedżer	manager	212
menu	menu	213
migracja	migration	213
mnożnik	multiplier	213
moderator	moderator	214
monitor	monitor	215

most	northbridge, southbridge	215
mysz	mouse	216
narzędzie	tool	217
nawigacja	navigation	217
obiekt	object	218
obraz	image	218
obudzić	wake up	219
odświeżyć	refresh	220
okno	window	221
otworzyć	open	221
pająk	spider	222
pamięć	memory	222
panel	panel	223
personalizacja	personalization	224
pętla	loop	224
piaskownica	sandbox	225
pirat	pirate	225
platforma	platform	225
poczta	mail, email	226
pokój	chat room	227
polecenie	command	227
port	port	228
portal	portal	228
powłoka	shell	229
procedura	procedure	229
proces	process	230
profil	profile	230
protokół	protocol	231
przeszczepić	transplant	232
przyklejony	sticky	232
pulpit	desktop	233
rejestr	registry	233
rekord	record	234
reputacja	reputation	234
rezydent	resident	235
robak	worm	235
rozdzielczość	resolution	236
rozszerzenie	extension	236
scenariusz	scenario	237
semafor	semaphore	238
sesja	session	238
sieć	net, network	238
silnik	engine	239
skanować	scan	240
składnia	syntax	241

skórka	skin	242
skrót	shortcut	242
skrypt	script	243
stopka	footer, foot	244
stos	stack	245
stres	stress	245
strona	(web) page	245
subskrypcja	subscription	246
surfować	surf	247
sygnatura	signature	247
szpieg	spyware	248
ścieżka	path	249
środowisko	environment	249
tacka	tray	250
tapeta	wallpaper	251
transfer	transfer	251
troll	troll	252
tuning	tuning	252
uśpienie	sleep	253
waga	weight	253
wirtualny	virtual	254
wirus	virus	255
wolumin	volume	255
wsparcie	support	256
wstrzykiwać	inject	257
wtyczka	plug(-in)	257
wyciąć	cut	257
wydawca	publisher	258
wypalić	burn	258
zabić	kill	259
zakładka	bookmark	260
załącznik	attachment	260
zamrozić	freeze	260
zapora	firewall	260
zatoka	bay	261
zaufany	trusted	261
zawiesić (się)	hang	262
zdarzenie	event	263
ziarno	grain	263
złośliwy	malicious	264
znak wodny	watermark	264
zombie (zombi)	zombie	264
zrzucić	dump	265
zwiastun	trailer	266

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Marcin Zabawa

ANGIELSKIE ZAPOŻYCZENIA SEMANTYCZNE,
KALKI JĘZYKOWE DOKŁADNE ORAZ KALKI NIEDOKŁADNE
W POTOCZNEJ POLSZCZYŹNIE UŻYTKOWNIKÓW KOMPUTERÓW

Streszczenie

Głównym celem niniejszej monografii jest całościowe opisanie zapożyczeń semantycznych oraz kalk leksykalnych i frazeologicznych (dokładnych i niedokładnych) w polskim języku informatyki (w jego odmianie potocznej). Celem dodatkowym jest obszernie omówienie teoretyczne problematyki zapożyczeń semantycznych i kalk, a w szczególności wskazanie rozbieżności oraz różnego rodzaju luk w stanowiskach badaczy zajmujących się ww. typami zapożyczeń, a także podkreślenie trudności metodologicznych, przed jakimi staje językoznawca je badający. Wspomniane trudności dotyczą przede wszystkim niejasnych kryteriów wyodrębniania zapożyczeń semantycznych i kalk od jednostek nimi niebędących: opisano zatem szczegółowo proces różnicowania pomiędzy zapożyczeniami semantycznymi a rodzimymi neosemantyzmami, zapożyczeniami semantycznymi a (ponownymi) zapożyczeniami leksykalnymi, kalkami frazeologicznymi a rodzimymi neofrazeologizmami, kalkami a zapożyczeniami leksykalnymi, zapożyczeniami semantycznymi a kalkami frazeologicznymi, kalkami frazeologicznymi dokładnymi a niedokładnymi oraz półkalkami a hybrydami. Autor zaproponował tutaj własne kryteria pomocne w odróżnianiu ww. zjawisk językowych.

Podstawą badań jest samodzielnie zebrany przez autora monografii korpus polszczyzny specjalistycznej. W jego skład wchodzi krótkie notki (wpisy, posty) pochodzące z wybranych 32 forów internetowych o tematyce komputerowo-internetowej. Z każdego z 32 forów zebrano próbki wypowiedzi użytkowników (każda próbka liczy między 20.000 a 60.000 słów; w większości przypadków ich wielkość waha się pomiędzy 45.000 a 55.000 słów). Łączna wielkość korpusu to ponad półtora miliona słów (1.541.449) rozumianych ortograficznie, tj. jako szereg liter oddzielonych spacją. Korpus jest zatem stosunkowo duży i może być uznany za w pełni reprezentatywny dla nieformalnej polszczyzny informatycznej. Jest on bardzo zróżnicowany tematycznie, zawiera bowiem wpisy dotyczące zarówno sprzętu komputerowego (jednostki centralne, procesory, twarde dyski, wentylatory chłodzące, obudowy, drukarki, pamięci, myszy, klawiatury, słuchawki, skanery itd.), jak i oprogramowania (systemy operacyjne, edytory tekstu, arkusze kalkulacyjne, gry komputerowe, programowanie itd.) oraz Internetu (przeglądarki internetowe, komuni-

katory, programy antywirusowe, wirusy itd.). Autor stoi na stanowisku, że własnoręcznie zebrany korpus jest znacznie cenniejszym narzędziem badawczym niż gotowe korpusy dostępne w Internecie (takie jak *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*), które nie są najwłaściwszym wyborem dla celów badań nad językiem specjalistycznym. Korpus taki jest również lepszą podstawą badań niż artykuły prasowe zamieszczane w prasie komputerowej, które często są adaptacjami tekstów, które powstały wcześniej w języku angielskim.

Praca zawiera także omówienie języka Internetu, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem forów internetowych. Bardzo dokładnie opisano również proces tworzenia własnego korpusu językowego, zarówno od strony technicznej, jak i metodologiczno-materiałowej.

W pracy zebrano i dokładnie opisano 204 typy angielskich zapożyczeń semantycznych (derywaty nie są traktowane jako odrębne typy, zatem np. formy *akcelerator* i *akceleracja* są traktowane jako ten sam typ), które wystąpiły łącznie 42.638 razy w korpusie oraz 529 typów angielskich kalk (16 leksykalnych i 513 frazeologicznych; 440 kalk dokładnych oraz 89 niedokładnych), które wystąpiły łącznie 8.228 razy. Tym samym niniejsza monografia jest – wedle najlepszej wiedzy autora – najobszerniejszym omówieniem ww. typów zapożyczeń w potocznym języku informatyki. Co istotne, większość omówionych kalk i zapożyczeń semantycznych nie została do tej pory odnotowana w literaturze przedmiotu ani w słownikach języka polskiego (*Uniwersalnym słowniku języka polskiego* pod red. S. Dubisza oraz *Słowniku języka polskiego PWN* pod red. L. Drabik i E. Sobol).

Niniejsza monografia jest ilustracją tezy, że we współczesnej polszczyźnie stale wzrasta liczba angielskich zapożyczeń semantycznych oraz kalk frazeologicznych (kalki leksykalne są stosunkowo nieliczne). Są one wzajemnie od siebie zależne, tzn. – jak pokazała niniejsza analiza – powstawanie zapożyczeń semantycznych sprzyja powstawaniu kalk, a powstawanie kalk sprzyja powstawaniu zapożyczeń semantycznych. Kalki, które nie zawierają wyrazu użytego w nowym znaczeniu pod wpływem obcym (a zatem zapożyczenia semantycznego) są bowiem stosunkowo nieliczne. I odwrotnie – większość zapożyczeń semantycznych pojawia się razem z kalkami je zawierającymi.

Jak wskazuje niniejsza praca, angielskie zapożyczenia semantyczne i kalki frazeologiczne nie są nieznaczną i niewielką grupą w porównaniu do anglicyzmów leksykalnych; nie tylko ich liczba, ale także rola w języku polskim stale się powiększa. Są one szczególnie widoczne w języku specjalistycznym, takim jak język informatyki; język taki, co istotne, podlega nieustannym zmianom, co jest odbiciem stałego rozwoju technologicznego. Badania nad zapożyczeniami semantycznymi i kalkami, zwłaszcza – choć nie wyłącznie – w szybko zmieniającym się języku specjalistycznym, są zatem koniecznością. Autor ma nadzieję, że niniejsza praca będzie postrzegana jako odpowiedź na taką konieczność.

Marcin Zabawa

ENGLISCHE SEMANTISCHE ENTLEHNUNGEN, GENAUE
UND UNGENAUE LEHNÜBERSETZUNGEN
IN POLNISCHER UMGANGSSPRACHE DER COMPUTERBENUTZER

Zusammenfassung

Der Hauptzweck der vorliegenden Monografie ist es, semantische Entlehnungen und lexikalische und phraseologische (genaue und ungenaue) Lehnübersetzungen in polnischer Umgangssprache der Informatik ganzheitlich zu schildern. Der Nebenzweck dagegen ist es, theoretische Grundlagen der semantischen Entlehnungen und Lehnübersetzungen ausführlich zu beschreiben und insbesondere auf Diskrepanzen und allerlei Lücken in den von verschiedenen Forschern genommenen Stellungen hinzuweisen, als auch die von den Sprachwissenschaftlern erfahrenen methodologischen Schwierigkeiten hervorzuheben. Die genannten Schwierigkeiten betreffen vor allem unklare Kriterien, nach denen semantische Entlehnungen und Lehnübersetzungen von anderen sprachlichen Einheiten unterschieden werden: beschrieben wird also detailliert der Differenzierungsprozess zwischen semantischen Entlehnungen und muttersprachlichen semantischen Neologismen, zwischen semantischen und (wiederholten) lexikalischen Entlehnungen, zwischen phraseologischen Lehnübersetzungen und muttersprachlichen Neuphraseologismen, zwischen Lehnübersetzungen und lexikalischen Entlehnungen, zwischen semantischen Entlehnungen und phraseologischen Lehnübersetzungen, zwischen genauen und ungenauen phraseologischen Lehnübersetzungen als auch zwischen Halblehnübersetzungen und Hybriden. Der Verfasser wendet dabei eigene Kriterien zur Unterscheidung der genannten Sprachphänomene an.

Die Grundlage der Forschungen war der von dem Verfasser gesammelte Textkorpus der polnischen Fachsprache. Den Textkorpus bilden kurze Notizen (Einträge, Posten), die aus 32 ausgewählten, die Computer-Internet-Thematik behandelten Internetforen stammen. Jedem Forum wurden Aussageproben dessen Benutzer entnommen (jede Probe zählt zwischen 20 000 und 60 000 Wörter; es sind jedoch meistens 45–50 000 Wörter). Der Textkorpus besteht insgesamt aus über anderthalb Millionen (1 541 449) der orthografisch betrachteten Wörter, d.h. als eine Buchstabenreihe mit Spatien. Der Textkorpus ist also ziemlich groß und kann als vollauf repräsentativ für informelles informatisches Polnisch angesehen werden. Er ist thematisch sehr differenziert, weil er sowohl die die Computerausrüstung (Zentraleinheiten, Prozessoren, Festplatten, Ventilatoren, Gehäuse,

Drucker, Speicher, Mäuse, Tastaturen, Hörer, Scanners usw.), als auch die die Software (Betriebssysteme, Texteditors, Kalkulationsbogen, Computerspiele, Programmierung usw.) und den Internet (Internetbrowser, Kommunikationsprogramme, Antivirenprogramme, Viren usw.) betreffenden Einträge beinhaltet. Der Verfasser vertritt den Standpunkt, dass der eigenhändig gesammelte Textkorpus ein viel wertvolleres Forschungswerkzeug ist als die im Internet vorhandenen Korpusse (wie z.B.: *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* /dt.: *Nationaler Textkorpus des Polnischen*); diese sind seiner Meinung nach nicht gut genug für Erforschung der polnischen Fachsprache. Der eigenhändig gesammelte Textkorpus stellt überdies eine bessere Forschungsgrundlage dar, als die in Computerzeitingen veröffentlichten Artikel, die häufig Adaptionen der früheren englischen Texte sind.

In der Monografie wird auch die Internetsprache unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Internetforen geschildert. Sehr genau beschreibt der Verfasser, auf welche Art und Weise sein Textkorpus technisch und methodologisch entstand.

In vorliegender Arbeit wurden zusammengetragen und beschrieben: 204 Typen der englischen semantischen Entlehnungen (die Derivate galten nicht als separate Typen, so dass z.B. solche Formen, wie: *Akzelerator* und *Akzeleration* als derselbe Typ betrachtet wurden), die insgesamt 42 638 Male im Textkorpus auftraten und 529 Typen der englischen Lehnübersetzungen (16 lexikalische und 513 phraseologische; 440 genaue und 89 ungenaue Lehnübersetzungen), die insgesamt 8 228 Male auftraten. So ist die vorliegende Monografie – so der Verfasser – die umfangreichste Darstellung der oben genannten Entlehnungen in polnischer Umgangssprache der Informatik. Es ist wichtig, dass die meisten hier beschriebenen semantischen Entlehnungen bisher weder in der Fachliteratur noch in den Wörterbüchern der polnischen Sprache (*Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, unter der Redaktion von S. Dubisz und *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* unter der Redaktion von L. Drabik u. E. Sobol) berücksichtigt worden sind.

Die vorliegende Monografie veranschaulicht die These, dass es im heutigen Polnischen immer mehr englische semantische Entlehnungen und phraseologische Lehnübersetzungen (lexikalische Lehnübersetzungen sind verhältnismäßig selten) gibt. Die sind voneinander abhängig, d.h. – was diese Analyse aufgezeigt hat – die Entstehung von semantischen Entlehnungen begünstigt die Entstehung von Lehnübersetzungen, und die letztgenannte begünstigt dann die Entstehung von semantischen Entlehnungen. Die Lehnübersetzungen, die ein unter dem fremden Einfluss (semantisches Lehnwort) im neuen Sinne gebrauchtes Wort nicht enthalten, sind zwar relativ selten. Und umgekehrt: die meisten semantischen Lehnwörter erscheinen samt den sie enthaltenden Lehnübersetzungen.

Die vorliegende Monografie hat aufgezeigt, dass englische semantische Entlehnungen und phraseologische Lehnübersetzungen im Vergleich zu lexikalischen Anglizismen keine unbedeutende und kleine Gruppe bilden; die sind in der polnischen Sprache immer zahlreicher und gewinnen immer mehr an Bedeutung. Sie werden besonders in der Fachsprache, wie z. B.: Informatiksprache, zu erkennen. Solche Sprache unterliegt zwar andauernden Veränderungen, welche die unmittelbare Folge der ständigen technologischen Entwicklung sind. Die Forschungen über semantische Entlehnungen und Lehnübersetzungen müssen also unbedingt vor allem – obwohl nicht nur – im Bereich der sich schnell verändernden Fachsprache durchgeführt werden. Der Verfasser hofft, dass seine Arbeit den Bedarf daran decken wird.

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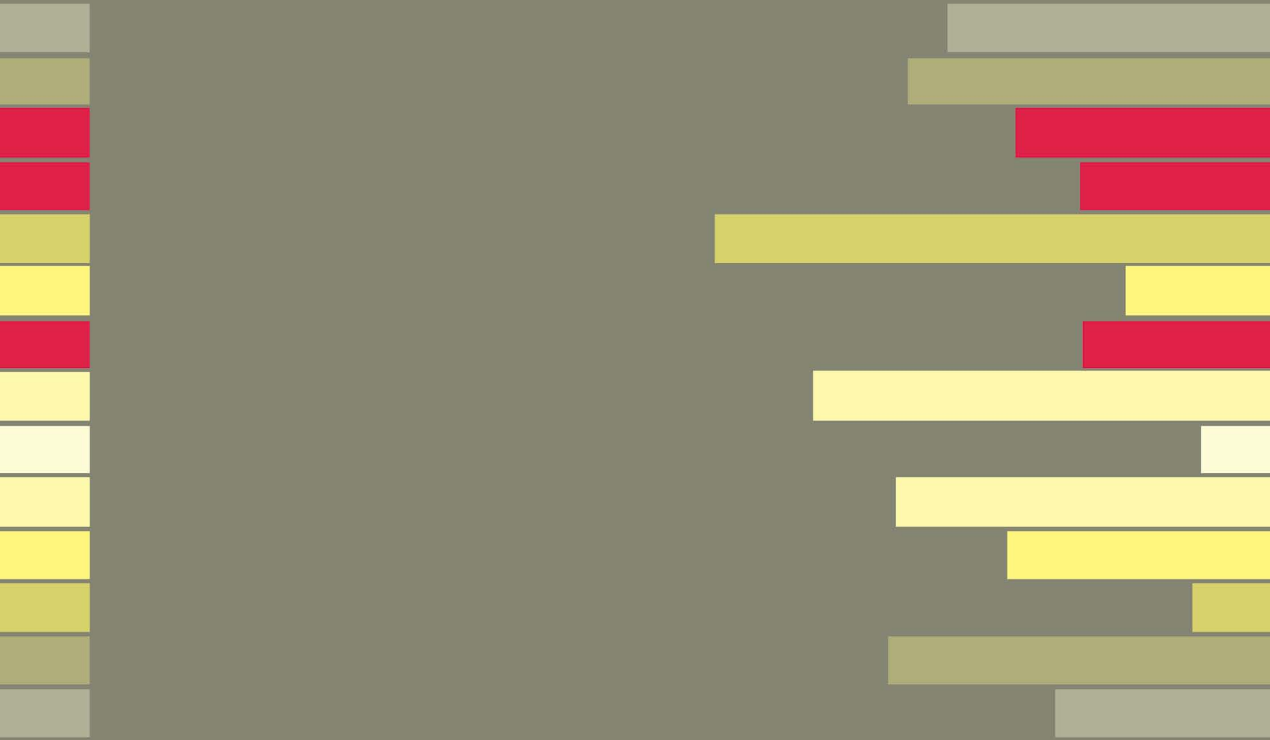
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