# THE EARLIEST BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH INTO POLISH

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The literature on the subject of the influence of English on the Polish language has already become quite rich. A pre-war article by Koneczna ought to be mentioned here in the first place (Koneczna 1936/37). It is the first attempt at an overall approach to the problem of the English borrowings into Polish.

After World War II the problem was mainly dealt with by Fisiak, and also by Grabowska. The numerous and valuable contributions by Fisiak comprise the discussions of ways of infiltrating of anglicisms into Polish, of their adaptation to the Polish phonological and morphological systems, and of the semantics of anglicisms in view of the Polish lexicon (cf. Fisiak 1961, 1962a, 1962b, 1963, 1968, 1970, 1975). These works are of a considerable methodological value and they contribute essentially to the general linguistic problems of language contact. From the point of view of the material discussed, they deal with the present-day borrowings from English into Polish. Also, new borrowings from English are discussed by Grabowska (cf. Grabowska 1973a, 1973b, 1973c). Some examples of the most recent semantic borrowings are collected and discussed in Kurkowska (1976).

Beside the works mentioned above, we can find only a few minor articles dealing with the problem of borrowings from English in some selected varieties of present-day Polish (cf., e.g., Du Feu 1960; Fisiak 1964; Kania 1975) and some more or less extensive references to anglicisms in works dealing with foreign influences on Polish in general (cf., e.g., Rybicka 1976; Ropa 1974) and also, in some other works in the field of the Polish lexicon, especially that of contemporary Polish (cf., e.g., Rzepka and Walczak 1979).

A separate problem is the influence of English on the language of Polish immigrants to England and the United States of America. The problem 122

found its manifestation in the already classic studies by Doroszewski and Hofman (Doroszewski 1938, Hofman 1967), and research in the field, owing to the sociolinguistic inspiration, has gained momentum and promises hopes for very interesting results (cf., e.g., Gruchmanowa 1976a, 1976b, 1982; Dubisz 1976). This, however, is a separate question and lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

As can be seen from the very brief overview presented above, we know much today about the English influence on contemporary Polish - about its scope, forms, functions, semantics, sociolinguistic distribution, etc., but we still know little about the diachronic development of this influence, about the history of the inflow of anglicisms into Polish. Most of the data on the subject can be found in the already mentioned article by Koneczna (1936/ 1937) and in the paragraph devoted to English borrowings in Klemensiewicz (1972). Basing on these two works, one can summarize the views on the history of the English influence on Polish to date in the following way:

"Until recently, there have been no direct influence of English on Polish..." (Koneczna 1936/1937:161). Similarly, Klemensiewicz claims that "before the 19th century there can be no question of the influence of English onto Polish". In the 19th century this influence was weak and rather indirect, through German and French, which is manifested in the phonetics of the borrowings (e.g., szterling, sztorm, szampion, żokej). It was only the rise of the sovereign Poland, the development of her trade and economic relations with the rest of the World that caused the livelier influence of English on the Polish language. "The society's interest in sports and travelling also favoured this". (Klemensiewicz 1972:177). Thus, according to the views presented so far, the influence exerted by English on the Polish language begins on a serious scale at the start of the interwar period, and the few earlier borrowings were of a sporadic, indirect character (through German and French). The aim of the present paper is to revise, at least partially, these opinions.

One has to admit that until the 18th century there had been, in fact, no language contacts between English and Polish. There had been no historical conditions for them. England had remained beyond the sphere of interests of the Polish foreign policy, The original English culture had been almost completely unknown in Poland, whose interests had been directed to the reception of initially Czech, then Italian and finally French cultural patterns. The lack of knowledge of the culture had been followed by the lack of knowledge of the language. It is interesting to notice that in the period of the Enlightenment people speaking English could, apparently, be counted on the fingers of one hand only although, on the other hand, there were among them such influential persons as King Stanislaus Augustus and Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski (his comedy, "Panna na wydaniu" ("Marriage à la Mode"),

an adaptation of David Garrick's play, was an exception in view of the mass reception of the French literary models).

It is no wonder therefore that Linde's dictionary (Linde 1807—1814), comprising the lexicon from the 16th to the turn of the 18th and the 19th centuries registers only a few words of English origin: flanela (flannel) 'woollen cloth'; foksal (Vauxhall) — there is no entry but under piknik Linde quotes one of the Stanislaus period plays: "Komedyj, redut, pikników, foksalów nigdy nie opuszczali"; galon (gallon) 'a measurement for liquor, by which tradesmen measure porter and English beer'; klub (club) 'society'; magazyn (magazine) 'a title of a journal'; piknik (picnic) 'a common feast, to which all contribute'; poncz//puncz (punch) 'a strong drink, made from arrack, lemons etc.'; porter (porter) - there is no entry but the word appears in the definition of the entry galon. With most of the words it is impossible not to consider a French influence in that period: cf. French flanelle, club, magasin, pique-nique. In the above ennummeration, the English words are provided by me; the author of the dictionary, without giving the source of the borrowing, only in three cases comments generally ("z ang.", "z angielsk." - from Eng., from Engl.) on their English origin - correctly in the case of galon and klub, incorrectly in the case of a germanism mops ('pug, small dog, on ladies' laps only caressed').

As far as the 19th century is concerned, the opinion about a very weak and almost exclusively indirect influence of English on Polish seems to be doubtful from the very beginning. Without even trying to go into details concerning all the factors and circumstances it is enough to remember, for the purposes of the present paper, that Romanticism, genetically an English literary movement, must have awakened the interest in the culture and, as a consequence, in the English language. It is known, for instance, that Mickiewicz had learned English in order to read Byron whose fragment of "The Giaour" he had translated into Polish. Recently, fairly vivid political, economic and technological connections which in the early decades of the 19th century took place between the Polish territories and England have been revealed (cf. Lipoński 1978). Finally, one has to consider the English fashion, appearing especially among the aristocracy and wealthy landowners, and spreading gradually onto wider social spheres: the fashion whose product - a type of an Anglophile - was reflected in the character of the Count in "Pan Tadeusz". It is difficult to assume that all this did not leave visible traces in the language. Thus it turns out that already in the first half of the 19th century anglicisms were not infrequent in Polish.

In 1861, in Vilnius, a dictionary of the Polish language was published. It is referred to as the Vilnius Dictionary, because of the place of publication (Zdanowicz et al. 1861). Probably because of its concise character it is not so appreciated by the historians of the Polish language as it should be. But, in fact, it is the most comprehensive Polish dictionary of the 19th century (nearly 110 thousand entries). The authors intended it to be an aid in making the lexis of Linde's dictionary available to general public (Linde's dictionary, a big, six-volume edition was expensive, not very handy in use, and hard to get in spite of its second edition in the years 1854—1860). The Vilnius Dictionary was updated and supplemented with new words which had appeared in the language since the publication of Linde's dictionary. As the result, the dictionary "comprises..., in principle, all of the Polish lexis, but primarily, the lexis of the first half of the 19th century "(Szymczak 1978:VIII).

While preparing a monograph on the dictionary, I have carried out a detailed analysis of its content, focusing my attention on, among other things, the borrowings from English. It turns out that it registers over 180 of them. This has to be considered an unexpectedly high number, especially in view of the above-mentioned opinions on the subject. In the prevailing majority of cases the authors of the dictionary indicate the origin of a word by a parenthetical remark "z an.", "z ang." (En., Eng.); only sporadically, in just a few cases, do they provide the English word as the source of borrowing. Sometimes the English origin is shown indirectly, through a semantic definition, e.g.: konstabl 'an English court official'; lord 'master, a title of English noblemen', etc... Finally, it happens, although relatively rarely, that the English origin is not signalled in the dictionary at all, either directly or indirectly (it concerns, among others, the words bryg, dzin//dzyn, klomb, koak/kok/koks, kompost, magazyn, plejżer, poncz/pończ/pącz, pudlingowanie, rewolver, rum, tunel, waterklozy). In only a few cases the authors mention the pronunciation of the words of the English origin, e.g.: ale (z ang., czyt. el - Eng., pron. el); arrowroot (z ang., czyt. arraurut); jumper (czyt. dżemper, z ang.); jury (czyt. dżiury, z an.), etc...

It must also be mentioned here that the number of 180 words of English origin given above does not include a certain category of words which should, in fact, be treated as such, i.e., all kinds of words from exotic languages which entered the Polish language through English and in the English phonetic and/or graphic shape. This is often certified by the relations between spelling and pronunciation, e.g. jonka (czyt. dżonka) 'a kind of typically Chinese vessels'; kowsong//kausung'a piece of black nankeen, used in Magindanao as means of payment', etc... This mainly applies to names of the flora and fauna of various parts of the world, and also to names of monetary units, measures, weights, etc., from the territories of the British Empire. However, since in such cases the English intermediary is never signalled in the dictionary, which makes the analysis extremely time-consuming because of the uniqueness of some words, I shall limit my study to the English influences in the narrow sense of the term. The figure of over 180 words, mentioned above, applies to these cases only. The English words, quoted in parentheses,

which are the sources of borrowing are provided by myself, since the authors of the dictionary, as was indicated earlier, usually limit themselves to the remarks "z an.", "z ang." (Eng., Engl.). The definitions, however, are quoted after the dictionary, which seems necessary for the presentation of the meanings under which the borrowings functioned in the Polish of the first half of the 19th century. For reasons of brevity I shall give up an extended presentation of the material, limiting myself to some selected, representative examples. For the same reasons, I shall give only the English translations of the definitions of the entries presented.

The material, in general, can be divided into two groups, unequal from the point of view of the significance they have for the establishment of the actual range and intensity of the influence of English on the Polish of that period. The first group covers words referring to the typically English (and North American) realia, the second one — words only loosely related to those realia. The borderline, though, between the two groups is rather unstable and, in detail, difficult to establish. The authors of the dictionary quite often consider English such designates which, although definitely of English provenience, are not solely limited to England but become common all over the world along with the growing influence of English civilization, e.g., some types of ships, some English-made inventions, etc.

Undoubtedly English exotisms are terms referring to the organization of social life in England: political, legal, economic, social and other institutions characteristic of this country, e.g., alderman (alderman) 'a police official in England'; baronet (baronet) 'a title used by the English noblemen, lower than that of baron'; bedlam (bedlam) 'a lunatic asylum in England'; bil (bill) 'in the English parliament; a project of a legislative act'; eskweir (Esquire) 'carrying a shield, a title used by lower noblemen and more prominent townsmen in England'; klan (clan) 'among Scotsmen and Irishmen, a generation, a tribe'; kommodor (commodore) 'an English ship captain who commands a squadron'; konsole (consols) '1) English home debts, on which interest is paid, based on some state income; 2) receipts for such debts'; konstabl (constable) 'an English court official'; koroner (coroner) 'an official to examine bodies of those dying from unnatural causes'; ledy (lady) 'a noble woman, madam, miss'; lejd (Lloyd) '1) a Stock-Exchange coffee house in London; 2) a periodical in England'; lerd (laird) 'master, proprietor, nobleman'; lord (lord) 'master, a title of English noblemen'; milady (my lady) 'in England a title meaning: madam, dear madam'; milord (my lord) 'a title of English noblemen'; nabab (nabob) '1) a duke in India; 2) a name given in England to those who grew rich in the East Indies'; sity (city) 'town; Old Town in London'; szeryf (sheriff) 'a municipal official in England fulfilling certain court and police duties in his constituency'; to rys (Tory) - no separate entry, but the word appears in the definition of the entry wig, cf. below; warrant (warrant) 'a certificate of a company existing in London and Liverpool issued to the owner of commodities to prove that they are deposited in the company's stores and can be released according to the order of the proprietor'; wig (Whig) 'an adherent of public liberty and progress; their party is in opposition to the party of Tories, who are conservatists, adherents of aristocratism'.

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Numerous names of religions and their factions also belong here, e.g.: anglikanin (anglican) 'a man professing a religion introduced in England by Henry VIII'; dissentery (dissenters) 'protestants in England who do not recognize the leading bishop's church'; kowenan (covenant) 'a union of Scottish protestants to defend their teaching in 1586'; kwakier (Quaker) 'a member of an English sect by that name established in 1650 by John Fox'; purytanin (puritan) 'a man belonging to a protestant sect by that name in England, exactly a man of pure faith'; purytanizm (puritanism) 'the teaching of puritans'; szakier (shaker) 'one of the members of a Christian sect in America; during their service, imitating the dance which David professed in front of the Ark of the Covenant to parise God, people of weak nerves fall into cramps, then fits, and then, when they come to, they tell the others what they apparently saw and heard in Heaven'.

The names of monetary units, English and American measures and weights also belong to this group, e.g.; buszel (bushel) 'an English measure for dry goods=36.348 liters'; cent (cent) 'a copper coin in Northern America= 1.85714 gr.'; dolar/dollar (dollar) 'a coin in Northern America worth 8-9 Polish zloties'; farthing (farthing) 'an English coin=0.75 gr.'; galon//gallon (gallon) 'a measure for liquor, by which merchants measure porter and English beer'; groat (groat) 'an English coin=20 gr.'; gwinea (guinea) 'an English coin=43 zloties'; halfpenny (halfpenny) 'an English coin =2.75 gr.'; pens, pl. penny (!) (penny pl. pence) 'an English coin=5 gr.'; sikspens (sixpence) 'an English coin=1 zloty'; sterling//szterling (sterling) an English nominal coin, i.e., used for calculations only=40 zł. 2,125 gr'; szyling//szylling (shilling) an English coin (12 pence)=1 zł. 18 gr.'; and also some single names from various semantic spheres, designating English realia, e.g. oars (oar) 'a small boat on the river Thames in London'; pled (plaid) 'a coat, a woolen cloak, checkered, used by Scottish highlanders' (with the time the word changed its meaning and lost its character of an exotism). Altogether, in this group there are over 70 borrowings. Exotisms, as words which are untranslatable by nature, are not always the evidence of actual vivid contacts between languages - in Polish we have borrowings of that type from various languages - and therefore their significance in the establishment of the range and intensity of the influence of English on Polish in only of minor character.

Much more interesting and far more instructive for the establishment

of the scale of the English influence on the Polish of the first half of the 19th century is the second group of words, comprising the borrowings which are not so strictly connected with the English realia. There are over 110 such borrowings. Here are some examples: ale (ale) 'a kind of strong English beer, contains 5 to 8 parts of spirit per cent'; arrowroot (arrowroot) 'a kind of medical powder, in properties almost identical to starch'; balderdasz (balderdash) 'a mixture, fabricated wine'; bifsztyk (beefsteak) 'cuts of beef tenderloin, in typically English manner made into a meal'; blummerystka (Bloommer, bloommers) 'a woman wearing man-like garment, an adherent of bloommers'; blummeryzm (Bloommer, bloommers)'a fashion of wearing man-like garment by women, introduced by Mrs. Blummer (!) in the United States, already imitated in Europe'; bokser (boxer) 'a fighter with fists, expert in boxing'; boksować (box) 'to fight with fists'; boksy (box) '1) a blow with a fist; 2) fighting with fists, boxing'; bording (boarding (boat) 'a kind of a small ship'; bryg (brig) 'a twomasted ship'; brystol (Bristol (board)) 'paper produced in the city of Bristol for drawing in pencil, chalk and crayons'; budyn//budyń (pudding) 'a meal made from cream cheese, cream, flour and eggs, sometimes without cheese'; budzet (budget) 'the state and an annual register of income and expenses'; buldog//buldok (bulldog) 'a kind of a large dog'; dandy/dandys (dandy) 'a man of fashion, a worldly gentleman following the rules of fashion'; debarkacja (debarkation) 'unloading from a ship, stepping down to land'; dejki (dikes//dykes) 'dams, a weir'; dog (dog) 'a breed of a large dog'; dok (dock) 'a ship workshop; an inner part of a harbour, designed for building ships'; dren (drain) 'a drain, the name of clay pipes used for drying up damp soils, meadows'; drenować (drain) 'to dry up damp soils or meadows by means of drains'; dzentlmen (gentleman) 'an honorable, honest man, educated, a man of importance'; dżin//dżyn (gin) 'a kind of sweet, juniper flavoured vodka made from juniper berries, anise seeds, cinnamon, sugar, water and spirit'; dżokej (jockey) 'a person trading horses; stableman, groom'; elewator (elevator) 'a kind of lift'; faszionabl (fashionable) 'exquisite, dressed with taste, following a tasteful fashion'; flanela (flannel) 'cotton fabric'; flip (flip) 'a drink made from beer, vodka and sugar, a kind of punch'; grum (groom) 'a boy, a servant, a stableman'; jacht (yacht) 'a kind of a ship'; jumper (jumper) '1) the ne who jumps, a thief entering through a window; 2) a member of jumpers, a methodist sect'; jung (young) 'non-commissioned officer in the navy'; jury (jury) '1) a member of the jury, juryman; 2) jury'; juryman (juryman) 'a member of the jury'; kaliko/kalikot (alico) 'a fine cotton fabric'; kipsek (keepsake) 'a token of rememberance, a gift; a title of illustrated New Year's magazines'; klomb (clump) 'a small area of ground in the garden or a house yard planted with flowers or various kinds of shrubs, usually of a symmetrical shape like a circle, an oval, etc.'; klub (club) 'an exclusive society, a place of assembly of a society functioning on some conditions'; koak//kok//koks (coke, pl. cokes) 'scorched, i.e., more charred coal used as fuel in factories, flats in some (forestless) countries, steam engines, etc.'; komfort (comfort) 'convenience, leisurely life'; kompost (compost) 'a kind of fertilizer made from a rotten mixture of various refuse of organic materials, mixed with soil, lime, and other mineral substances'; kutter (cutter) 'a small, single-masted English ship; a fast-moving boat'; lugger (lugger) 'a light, two- or three-masted ship'; magazyn (magazine) 'a title of many periodicals or collective papers'; manszester (Manchester) 'a kind of cotton fabric similar to velvet; halfvelvet named after a city in England'; pakietbot (packet-boat) 'a mail ship'; partner (partner) 'a partner in a game, a dance, etc.'; pikle (pickles) 'spiced young cucumbers, mushrooms, etc. (with vinegar and salt)'; piknik (picnic) 'a common party, to which all contribute'; pionier (pioneer) 'a soldier used for land work, clearing roads, digging ditches, etc.'; plejżer (pleasure) 'an entertainment, a game'; plumpudink//plumpuding (plum pudding) 'a meal made from flour, milk and beef marrow'; poncz//pończ//pacz (punch) 'a hot beverage, commonly prepared from hot, boiling water or tea, rum, sugar, lemon juice and, according to taste, other aromatic spices'; porter (porter) 'a kind of strong English, or made according to the English brewing method, beer'; portwejn (Port-wine) 'red Portuguese wine, imported from the city of Oporto'; pudding (pudding) 'an English dish, a kind of a foul meal'; pudlingowanie (puddling) 'purification of raw material (iron) by means of an English method, in the so-called flame furnaces, where, while melted in a strong stream of hot air, it is dispossessed of a part of carbon and all foreign substances, and is turned into a white, brittle porous metal (fine metal) which is more easily turned into cast iron'; puf (puff) 'a made-up story, a gossip'; raut (rout) 'an evening party'; rels (rail, p. rails) 'a bar of an appropriate shape in the rail-road, on which the wheels of a locomotive and carriages run; several such bars fixed together take over the function of a railway from a regular road'; rewolver (revolver) 'a gun or a pistol with several barrels and one lock, a revolving gun'; rober (rubber) 'a double game (of whist)'; rostbif (roast beef) 'a roast of beef prepared in the English way'; rum (rum) 'a spirit distilled from the juice of sugar cane, arrack'; rumsteaks (rump-steaks) 'cutlets of beef, tenderized'; skuner//szoner (schooner) 'a small, two-masted ship'; sloop (sloop) 'a kind of a ship armed with less than 20 guns; or a Bermuda boat, an American boat; used mainly in the American colonies and in England'; spencer (spencer) 'a kind of short garment, men's or women's, or a dress coat without tails, named so after Lord Spencer who accidentally lost his tails during a hunting party'; splin (spleen) 'a mental disease caused by melancholy which (as it is thought) is nested in the spleen'; stembot (steamboat) 'a steam powered ship in England and in the English Channel'; szester (Chester (cheese )) 'a kind of an English cheese'; tawerna (tavern) 'an inn, a pub, a road inn'; trener (trainer) 'the one who trains a racing-horse'; trenować (train) 'to prepare a horse for racing'; tunel (tunnel) 'an underground or underwater passage, dug in a mountain or built under water for railway cars to pass through'; wagon (waggon) 'a carriage of an appropriate shape and large size for carrying goods and people on the railway, powered by steam which operates in a locomotive'; waterklozy (water closet) 'a newly applied equipment for toilets, serving to let water in there which takes away all refuse'; whip (whip) 'a beverage made from white wine, sugar and eggs'; wist (whist) '1) a card game in which two play against two; 2) a preferance, a kind of a card game, a preference with the whist rules; 3) a term used in preference, etc., to mean that someone will play against a person who declared to take an established number of tricks; also it denotes winning in that manner'; wokshal/ /foksal (Vauxhall) 'a wild garden, or rather a suburban forest in which a few constructions have been erected for the comfort of people coming there for entertainment in summer'.

As can be seen from the above examples, English borrowings from the very beginning were concentrated within definite semantic spheres. For present-day Polish these spheres were established and described in Fisiak (1970). The borrowings of the first half of the 19th century fit this division completely; only there are different quantitative proportions among the particular groups. The terminology connected with social life comes in the first place here (dzentlmen, grum, jury, juryman, kipsek, klub, komfort, magazyn, partner, piknik, plejżer, raut, splin, wokshal/[fiksal]; also, the culinary lexicon (ale, bifsztyk, budyn/budyń, dzin/dżyn, flip, grog, pikle, plum-pudink/plumpuding, poncz//pończ//pacz, porter, portwejn, pudding, rostbif, rum, rumsteaks, szester, whip); fashion and garment terms (blummerystka, blummeryzm, dandy//dandys, faszionabl, flanela, kaliko//kalikot, manszester, spencer); and maritime terminology (bording, bryg, debarkacja, dok, jacht, jung, kutter, lugger, pakietbot, skuner//szoner, sloop, stembot). Fairly numerous are also words related to economy and technology (budżet, dren, drenować, elewator, koak//kok//koks, kompost, pudlingowanie, rels, tunel, wagon, waterklozy). Not very representative is the group of words referring to card games (rober, wist), and the largest group in Fisiak (1970), the one referring to sports, is in the first half of the 19th century only budding - probably the words like bokser, boksować, boksy, partner, trener, trenować belong here, although the last two are restricted solely to horseriding. Dżokej will find its place here later, as the result of a shift of meaning.

At any rate, the material presented here, although selective, entitles us to conclude that the influence of English on the Polish language starts with the beginning of the 19th century. Already in the first half of the century a considerable amount of anglicisms functioned in Polish. Definitely, this does not

impair the undoubted fact that the influence of English sharply increased only in the interwar period, and even more visibly after World War II, at the end of the 1950's.

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