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JARMILA TÁRNYIKOVÁ

ENGLISH BORROWINGS IN CZECH: HEALTH TO OUR MOUTHS?

Abstract¹

This paper is based on the assumption that linguistic borrowings, accompanying the processes of globalisation and the socially stratified plurality of the world, are multifaceted in nature, and find their way of manifestation at various levels of language representation (phonic, graphic, grammatical, lexical, textual...). While English loanwords (anglicisms) have been studied from various interdisciplinary perspectives², grammatical patterns mirroring the donor language preferences, or borrowings of discourse markers and other signals of communicatively regulative strategies (including formulaic phrases), have still remained at the periphery of researchers' priorities. The aim of this paper is to advocate the contribution of these less-emergent types of borrowings to the overall processes of a contact-induced language choice and/or a contact-induced language change, in which the principle of multicausation (Thomason and Kaufman 1988) has a relevant say.

Key words

Loanword; anglicism; language contact; principle of multicausation; adoption; adaptation; infiltration; language ecology

1. Introduction

In my brief outline, I would like to pay attention to a select number of corpus-based manifestations of contact-induced communicative strategies applied in the processes of language *adoption* and language *adaptation* (domestication) – in which the donor language is English and the recipient language is Czech; i.e. two typologically different languages (the former being prevailingly analytical, the latter mostly synthetic).

Being rooted in functional linguistics of the Prague School, I would like to advocate the idea that in order to evaluate the particular results of the process of borrowing, such as traditional topic No 1, i.e. *loanwords*, one has to take into consideration other supportive manifestations of borrowings and think of their complex interplay in the process of language contacts, in which language choice is highly symbolic and reflects the dynamism of social mobility (Woolard 1989).

Particular types of borrowings will be looked upon here as *scalar entities* ranging from *explicit*, overt language devices, such as loanwords – to *implicit* manifestations, in which what is borrowed is the underlying communicative strategy of a donor language put into the jacket of a recipient language word stock. This is, for example, the case of the Czech literal equivalent of the English politeness formula *Thank you for your time* i.e. *Děkuji Vám za Váš čas*, which is gaining ground as a more explicit version of the rather implicit strategy used in Czech, i.e. *Děkuji Vám* [Thank you], with the implicit, i.e. contextually retrievable “object” of thanks. (For more examples see 2.2.4.)

In between these polarities, there are ‘slight’ structural borrowings (cf. 2.2.1), borrowings of communicatively regulative discourse markers (*sorry, okay, all right...*), borrowings of evaluative strategies (e.g. *good* as a mark of quality is giving way to *super*) spreading from advertisements to everyday talk (cf. also 2.2.2). Similarly, the ‘be in’ and ‘be out’ evaluative polarization is rapidly spreading from fashion magazines (e.g. *Víte, v jaké barvě plavek budete v roce 2009, in?* [do-you-know-in-which-colour-of-swimsuit-you-will-be-in-2009 ‘in’], [DNES 4.7.2009: C6], or *Sako je INN* [Jacket-is-INN], [Story 13.7.2009: 42] – to life style in general (cf. *Co je in? Proč být in? Jak být in?* – or spoken discourse statements, e.g. *Dnes jsem out* [today-I-am-out], interpreted by some Czech users not only as ‘out of fashion’ but also ‘out of order’, corresponding to ‘*mimo*’ in Czech) – not to speak about the rapid spread of the interjections *wow* and *oops* in the colloquial speech of young language users.

What is also gaining ground is a welcome and creative playing with Czech words by coating them into the forms echoing English, as in *PlumLove*, which is a multi-genre music festival taking place in the locality called Plumlov since 2006.

Though the present study is synchronic, the diachronic dimension is implicitly projected into the shared experience of the Czechs, who have been exposed to various contact-induced waves of borrowings through centuries, in which the Czech language has adopted and gradually adapted a large number of loanwords from various languages – with many of them perceived nowadays as productive components of the ‘common core’ of language potential, ranging from *A* (*abstinent*) to *Z* (*zadaptovat*) [= to adapt [perfective]]. Their forms reveal either total identity with the source language spelling (*copyright, computer, e-mail, interview, public relations, snowboard*, to name but a few) or various degrees of adaptability to spelling or grammar, reflecting various stages of phonological and morphological nativization (*brifink, beachvolejbal, komiksy, kornflejky, bukovat, zabukovat*).³

Due to the constant flow of new information, the Czech word stock has swollen with new loanwords, and the numerical impact of anglicisms together with their social-determined status in the Czech community has contributed to the perception of the English influence as an enrichment in those domains where there is no functional equivalent in Czech (for example in professional communication, information technologies, etc.).

But not all the ‘English-based’ borrowings are perceived as enrichments by language users and the reasons are rather socio-linguistic – unnecessary (indispensable) loanwords put into a jacket of the Czech paradigm are mostly frowned upon, as in *Nejsme schopni to [umanidžovat]* (We are not able to manage it.) in a TV debate (Channel 2, 2.6.2009). Similarly, there appear various borrowing-based sequences, in which English loanwords are ‘embroidered’ into the grammatical canvas of Czech, as in the following example quoted by Behún (2006: 4) (for a brief discussion see also *miscellany* in 2.2.5.):

Edukujeme benefity baby-sittingu

(sentence pattern V-O-Attr. Postmodifier)

[Educate_[indicative, present tense, 1st person pl.] –benefits-baby-sitting_[genitive sg.]]

We educate people on the benefits of baby-sitting.

1.1. Narrowing the scope

As mentioned in the introductory section, the focus will be narrowed to less obvious and hence less discussed manifestations of contact-induced language borrowings, with English as the donor language and Czech as the recipient language. This restriction, however, does not totally exclude *loanwords* from our considerations. But if discussed, the goal is not to attempt to *count* individual loanwords (i.e. *anglicisms* in this case) but rather to *account* for the reasons behind their usage and contextualize lexical borrowings into a larger framework of other language-contact induced borrowings.

1.2. Theoretical framework

Let me first introduce the theoretical background: I base my study mainly on the following theoretical sources:

- a. Halliday’s (1978) conception of *man as social man* – and the consequent interpretation of language as social semiotic. With this view in mind, borrowings are supposed to represent a contact-induced set of social markers endowed with various social functions.
- b. Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988: 74ff) *principle of multicausation* based on the idea that the linguistic outcome is a result of a combination of internal linguistic and external sociolinguistic factors with the following 5 degrees (gradations) of contact:

- (1) casual contact resulting in lexical borrowings
 - (2) slightly more intense contact > slight structural borrowings
 - (3) more intense contact > borrowings of function words
 - (4) strong cultural pressure > moderate structural borrowings
 - (5) very strong cultural pressure > anything goes
- c. Verschueren's (1987) concept of pragmatic perspective (see 1.3 below) as a necessary part of a language-contact description.

Two phases seem to be relevant for the interpretation and evaluation of the results, i.e. the phase of a *contact-induced language choice* (in which the borrowings from the donor language have the status of possible alternative choices) – and the phase of a *contact-induced language change* (in which the infiltration into the recipient language results in various degrees of adaptability leading to a change). Both will be looked upon as mutually dependent scalar notions.

1.3. *Interdisciplinary approach*

I base my analysis on the assumption that language contact as a phenomenon is in the first place a socio-cultural matter (it is the socio-cultural and socio-linguistic factors, and not the factors of a purely linguistic nature that bring communities into contact).

Language contact, however, is also a **pragmatic** matter reflecting our experience with particular communicative strategies and language means used to meet the intended goals. With cross-language comparison in mind, our approach should also be sensitive to **cross-cultural** pragmatics (cf. Wierzbicka, 1991) and the **ethnography of communication** (cf. the need advocated by Leech (1983) to make a distinction between communicatively constitutive units of language that are rule governed – and communicatively regulative units of language that are principle controlled). The distinction proposed by Leech enables us to keep apart those lexical borrowings that represent naming units from those representing contact words, discourse markers, etc. (*sorry, okay, all right*).

1.4. *Dynamism of the processes*

The processes of contact-induced language choice and contact-induced language change are treated here as **dynamic processes**, in which the cultural pressure and the relative linguistic distance can speed up or retard the infiltration, respectively (cf. the common adoptions and adaptations resulting in such hybrids as *homelesák* (a homeless person), *rockotéka, šoumanka*, etc., but also *patchworkový balíček* [patchwork+adj.ending + parcel] – and the obvious difficulty with the infiltration of e.g. quotational compounds of the type *glove-brush* to Czech, as in:

- (1) úžasná *rukavice-kartáč* pro péči o srst Vašich miláčků
[fantastic-glove-brush-for-care-of -fur-of-your-pets]).

Such word-formative process, however, is not productive in Czech and only rare exceptions occur, cf.:

raketa země-vzduch
[missile surface-air]
surface-to-air missile

On the other hand, the pressure of the language of advertising can be very strong, as can be exemplified by such colloquial infiltrations as ‘vantáč’ < *one touch* used to refer to one touch deodorants, or ‘pušapky’ < push-up bras (both found on the list of products offered at the street market in my home town).

This dynamism is also seen in the status of the results of language contact, be it a lexical item, a syntactic structure or an underlying communicative strategy. The attitudes towards English infiltration vary in time and one has to be very cautious in using firm labels, since any description is rather indicative of **tendencies in use**, and hence tentative.

1.5. Two varieties of English

The discussion of English infiltration, as presented in this paper, is sensitive to the existence of two varieties of English, i.e. **institutionalised** variety (ESL, English as a second language) and **performance** variety (EFL, English as a foreign language). So, from now on, if not specified otherwise, my discussion of English will focus on the performance variety, i.e. EFL used as a **link-language** (cf. also the growing interest in English as an International Language (EIL)).

The extent to which English loanwords (*anglicisms*) are positively evaluated depends very much on the kinds of dimensions that we tap. It is fair to say that the positive attitudes to such processes are not always as visible on the surface as the negative ones, and, consequently, reported less often.

1.6. Generally shared attitudes towards English

There is no doubt that while Russian meant a language that was rigorously hammered into our heads as the only “foreign language”, English, after the “velvet revolution” has become a symbol of social and political prestige.

With average language users, however, the hunger for English has been giving way to a period of sober evaluation, criticism and calls for serious reasoning, monitored and regulated by language planning agencies (cf. the Institute of the Czech Language). Some of the language users’ attitudes reveal the purist intentions of “word-watchers”, while some of them are aimed at the functional purity of the mother tongue in those cases in which English infiltration seems to be an unwanted redundancy.

The principle of utility, on the other hand, is a powerful pragmatic argument for the infiltration of those English loanwords that fill in the lexical gap (*hard-*

ware, software), contribute to the principle of economy, and – last but not least – function as social markers of self-identity.

The role of linguists in the processes of language adoption and adaptation seems to be one of language **therapists** contributing to language ecology in an environment in which the reasons for promoting English as a language of wider communication are both pragmatic and prestigious.

Generally shared attitudes to English: English is pleasing to the ear and has a long-lasting reputation as a world language and one of the three working languages of many of EU institutions and bodies, acquiring the status of **lingua franca for Europe**, which contributes to the constant growth of Euro-anglicisms of the *Eurobank* type. Reasons for learning are instrumental (attainment of personal goals), interactive (participating in world-wide events) personal satisfaction (songs, reading books, etc.).

2. Discussion of the data

2.1. Data gathering

Three samples of data from different periods have been compared for the purposes of the present discussion (with a total of 157 borrowings, of which 85 were lexical, 31 structural, 41 occurrences represented borrowings of communicative strategies). These were extracted from four sources, i.e. newspapers, TV news, TV round-table discussions, and radio news in different periods of time (i.e. the first sample, collected over a period of three months, January to March in 1993, the second over the same period in 1996 and the last in 2009, January to July).

The results have supported my assumption that besides comparing the results there is a need to study the underlying communicative strategies leading to the results (i.e. the linguistic outputs), since, surprisingly enough, the result may be a typical Czech wording used to manifest a non-typical Czech communicative strategy (cf. the example with *Děkuji vám za váš čas. Thank you for your time* introduced in section 1.1).

2.2. Types of borrowings

Since the procedures with the infiltration of loanwords are well described in literature, I would like to focus on the contact-induced communicative strategies first and sub-categorize them into the following sub-types.

2.2.1. Slight structural borrowings: modifications in syntactic patterns

(Occasional, frowned-upon, typical of written ads mirroring the underlying English text.)

These were represented in our samples by

- long pre-modifying chains in NPs in Czech (imitating the donor language NPs), as in the following example:

- (2) *pokrokový, nejedovatý, čočkový materiál* [advertising sun-glasses in newspapers]
[progressive-poisonless-lens material]

There arise some difficulties with the borrowed pre-modifying chains in Czech. Being a synthetic language, Czech requires a grammatical concord of the pre-modifying adjectives with the head Noun (in gender, number and case) so that the original English secondary adjectives (i.e. N + N sequences) have to be changed into adjectives, which, in some cases are restricted in use in Czech to occur in specific collocations. This is e.g. the case of the adjective *čočkový* (based on (lens) but also used for (lentil)), which mostly collocates with *soup*, i.e. *čočková polévka* (lentil[Adj fem. ending] soup[Noun fem.]) but sounds funny in collocation with *material*, as in Ex.(2) above.

- pre-modification of long compound adjectives (rare in Czech), see Ex.3.

- (3) *V tomto mladofrontovském výboru*
[in this Mladá Fronta collection] (Mladá fronta = a publishing house)

(A more appropriate – and hence expected – solution would be a well-balanced NP in which the long pre-modifying adjective would be postponed and realized as a word group, i.e. *v tomto výboru Mladé fronty...*[in this-collection-of-Mladá Fronta].)

- the use of stative BE-predications (typical of ‘nominal’ English) instead of more dynamic V [lex] predications typical of ‘verbal’ Czech as in

- (4) *Ten pohled je prostě dech beroucí.* [Radio Prague 2, 14.4.2009, discussion on Iran] [The-view-is-simply-breath-taking]

- quotational compounds (newspaper and TV ads) – rare, since hyphenation is not typical of compounding in Czech – and hence stylistically marked; cf. Ex. (1) above.

2.2.2. *Shift in evaluative strategies*

Contact-induced language change seems to be in progress in the frequent introduction into the language of ads of evaluative communicative strategies **exaggerating positive values**. This is typical of both spoken and written advertisements. While *good* once meant a mark of quality, now, the positive degree in the process of gradation is, as it were, devalued, giving way to comparatives (less frequent) but mostly superlatives. As a result, everything is the *best*, *super*, or *the only one* (exclusive uniqueness). Similarly, *blue* must be *bright blue*, etc. Once we begin the evaluative strategy with the superlative, the way how to gradate the quality is to switch to a different evaluative scale of gradation, such as the one occurring in ads nowadays, i.e. *super* gives way to *new*, to become later *super new*.

This phenomenon, however, is not typical of English borrowings only: in present-day Czech, many absolute adjectives become subjects to gradation, resulting in such superlatives as *nejšpičkovější* [the most top], *nejhlavnější* [the most main] – very often to impress the addressee by the degree of value, reliance, etc.; unfortunately, very often in those situations in which the vagueness of the argument is compensated for by the power of words.

Similarly, the ‘double gradation’ of the type *více propracovanější řešení* [more elaborate [+ more] solution] is far from being ‘healthy to our mouths’. For more details see Svozilová 2003. A fashionable contribution to evaluative strategie is the spreading of the adjective *cool*, as in:

Pak jsem změnil školu, objevil gel na vlasy a začal být cool. [TV Max 14/09:8]

[Then-I-changed-school-discovered-gel-for-hair-and-began-to-be-cool.]

2.2.3. *English gambits (discourse markers) in Czech discourse*

Typical of young language users who have less than a survival command of English but want to sound ‘westernized’ (trying to imitate the ‘life-in-the-big-city’ atmosphere) is a trendy and fashionable preference for such gambits as *OK*, *all right* but also *sorry*, or *sure*. Less frequently, the same strategy is followed by those adults who ‘watch their self-identification’ and social role/s. The resulting *product* is a ‘macaroni’ Czech, with English discourse markers. But, since language should not be a battlefield, a clear position of tolerance is necessary, together with the hope that this is a temporary, trendy and fashionable price we pay for the lack of language contacts with the West under the last regime. Some of the discourse gambits, such as *sorry* have been hybridized, cf. *sorry* > *soráč*, which, however is too colloquial to achieve a wide-spread use (cf. also *second-hand shop* referred to as *sekáč* in colloquial Czech).

2.2.4. *English interjections in Czech discourse*

Restricted in choice but gaining ground namely in the speech of the young generation are interjections *wow* (used to express context-retrievable kinds of surprise, concern, wonder, pleasure, but also compliment, namely if accompanied by a relevant gesture), and *oops* (used to express acknowledgement of a (minor) accident, a mistake or blunder (e.g. when dropping something, causing sb. or st. to fall, etc.)). Both are linked with overt language manifestations of politeness and are used for almost the same reasons as in the donor language communicative situations. Similarly to the perception of the above-mentioned loan discourse markers, these interjections are considered trendy and cool.

2.2.5. *Language reflection of adopted communicative strategies*

This process can be described as a shift from implicit to a more explicit way of manifesting communicative strategies (primarily linked with politeness) by means of language. Thus, e.g. while in Czech, the usage of *thank you* used to mean ‘thank you for X in a given situational context’, nowadays, under the influence of mass-media, the formulaic language (imitating English pre-fabricated utterances) is gaining ground in various TV round-tables, interviews, etc. The prototypical result of such a strategy is the Czech version of the English sayings ‘*Thank you for your time*’ – *Děkuji Vám za Váš čas.*, or ‘*It was nice talking to you*’. – *Rád jsem si s Vámi popovídal.* The latter, unlike the English *polite way of closing the discussion*, tends to be understood by Czech users in its ‘primary interpretative plan’, i.e. as an expression of delight over talking to someone. Similarly *Have a nice day!* can be heard in Czech as a literal wording *Mějte pěkný den!* instead of the traditional *Pěkný den (přeji)!*

2.2.6. *Lexical borrowings (loanwords)*

The lexical borrowings will be understood here as manifestations of **lexicon-in-action** as opposed to **lexicon-qua-word list**. Their usage can be looked upon as a result of **casual contacts** and mostly include scientific and technical loanwords from English, typical of similar borrowings in other languages – but also some trendy (fashionable) and snobbish borrowings, as some of the samples below might illustrate.

A number of reasons have been put forward at various times to explain the spread of borrowings (cf. changes in morals, standards of a community, shift in the focus of interest, intensity of contacts, etc.). Below is a tentative (sample based) enumeration of possible reasons for the existence and infiltration of English loanwords in the domestic word stock of Czech:

- to fill in the lexical gap (e.g. in the language of technology and research) –

cf. the stage of **casual contact** in Thomason and Kaufman's classification introduced here in section 1.2.); as in

- (5) *keše hardverových řadičů*
[caché[pl.]-of-hardware-controllers]
- language economy (i.e. slight structural borrowing)
- (6) *převádění naší armády na západní styl > westernizace naší armády*
[transformation-of our-army- towards- the western style] > [westernisation of our army]
- internalisation of communication, as in
- (7) *peníze jsou alokovány parlamentem*
[money is allocated by the Parliament]
- prestige (to impress; cf. Ben Rampton's (1995) identity projection)

This is the domain of countless jokes and parodies imitating various politicians and celebrities but also TV announcers wanting to impress. Sometimes the lack of knowledge of the original meaning can result in funny collocations. One of them can be exemplified by Ex (8):

- (8) *stručný brífink* [TV news], in which the Czech adjective *stručný* means *brief*, so that the result is in fact a pleonastic collocation '*brief briefing*', but since the original meaning of the loanword does not belong to generally shared linguistic awareness, one can hear TV announcers speak about a 'longer briefing' as well.

In the following Exs. 9-10, the foremost intention of the author was to impress the TV viewers (Ex.9) as well as other participants of the TV debate, obviously with no sense of empathy towards the addressee, or to impress the local journal readers (Ex.10):

- (9) *V úvodním spotu se detekují snahy odhalit terorismus* [TV debate, 1996]
[in-the-introductory-spot-attempts-are-detected-to-disclose-terrorism]
- (10) *Novinkou byla letos druhá stage postavená v kempu Žralok.* [Olomoucký večerník, 7.7.2009: 8]
[news-was-this year-second-stage-built-in-camp Shark]
(Within the text, another collocation with the *stage* appeared, i.e. *spodní stage* [lower stage]).

- **determinologisation** – cf. e.g. a wide-spread use of the verb “to map” at various fields of human activities, such as:

(11) *mapovat situaci, problém, etc.*
[to map the situation, problem...]

- generally accepted professionalisms (see also Ex 5 above)

(12) *currentové indexy, impaktované časopisy*
[current indexes/indices], [impact journals]

(13) *zabukovat si letenku*
[to book[perfective] + reflexive pronoun + a plane ticket]
to book a flight

- a welcome wordplay in political competitions

(14) *Paroubegg/ParoubEGG/ParoubEgg* (blending the name of the Party leader ‘Paroubek’ + ‘egg’ to allude the happenings during which eggs were thrown on Paroubek, as in

ParoubEgg in Prague. 27 May 2009 – The throwing of eggs during rallies of the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) culminated in Prague

- an attention getting means in mass media

(15) *Flash Floods. O to tu jde.* [LN 29.6.2009, p.13]
In the body of the text, the term is explained and translated, cf. *Mnohdy se dostavují doslova jako ‘blesk z čistého nebe’*. Ostatně to velice dobře postihuje jejich anglický název flash floods ‘= ‘bleskové povodně’.

(Some of the translations, however, have to be taken with reservation, namely if the ‘translator’ is rather more keen than qualified and translates the text in a brick-by-brick fashion, cf.

(16) *Open Air Happening*
Otevřeně vzdušná událost, která pobaví nejen nás, ale i Vás... (a poster inviting students to participate in a musical event, Olomouc, 29. 6. 2009).

- miscellany

Appended to this section is a ‘waste basket’ of those samples in which it was not easy to identify their main communicative role as well as their impact as social markers. The unifying feature of these borrowing is that they are unnecessary innovations, in which the novelty of the expression and their

attention-getting role might be the main reason for their introduction (though the social role of self-identity seems to be omnipresent, see e.g. Ex. 22); cf.

- (17) *rozdělili si prize money* [TV sport news, 2009]
 [they have divided[reflex] prize money]
 i.e. a preference was given to a loanword, though a neutral naming unit is in existence in Czech (i.e. prize money = peněžítá odměna). Similarly in 18–22 there exist more common and ‘neutral’ Czech expressions:
- (18) *nemají cash money* [TV sports news, 2009]
 [they-do-not-have-cash-money]
cash money = *hotovost* in Czech
- (19) *kup si 4 pack koly a vyhraješ* [TV Ad, 2008]
 [buy [reflex]- 4 pack-of-Cola-and-you-will-win]
 4 pack = 4 *balení* in Czech
- (20) *linka na bázi amerického systému pure-pak*
 [line-on-the-basis-of-the-American-system-pure-pack]
 pure pack = *čisté balení* [milk factory Olma ad, 2008]
- (21) *Do práce. 50 nových jobů!* [newspaper ad, 2007]
 [To-work. 50-new-jobs] = 50 nových *pracovních míst*
- (22) *Nejsme schopni to [umanidžovat].* [TV 2, 3.6.2009]
 [we-are-not-able-to-manage-it] = *Nejsme schopni to zvládnout./ Neumíme si s tím poradit., Nestačíme na to, etc.*
- the negative impact of de-semanticized loanwords

Closing our tentative list is a brief note about the negative effect of mispronunciation (i.e. an inaccurate/incorrect pronunciation) and the consequent de-semanticization of loanwords often accompanied by incorrect spelling. The result is a foreign effect of a de-semanticized chain of loanwords whose meaning is partly retrievable from the situational context. They mostly occur in TV ads, where the advertised product with a written name on it (often based on a pun in English), is accompanied by the sound track in which a simplified, or wrong pronunciation disrupts the intended communicative effect. The following samples might illustrate the situation.

- (23) *BEDAZZLER* [*bedazle:r*] < *Be dazzler* (here the recipient language spelling and the adapted donor language pronunciation seem to result in a total loss of the original communicative intention); cf. also

- (24) *Busy B* – pronounced as [bizi be:], so that the pun with *busy bee* is lost [TV Ad, 2007]; similarly
- (25) *AB Doer* – pronounced as [abdo:r] [TV Ad, 2008].

3. Concluding Remarks

The process of linguistic ‘anglicisation’ is a multifaceted phenomenon, dynamic in nature and diversified in the impact on the recipient language, its users and the overall socio/cultural setting of a given language community.

As a result, reality of language is not homogeneity but continuous diversity. What we have in fact is a continuum of variation, starting from the individual and gradually extending throughout the entire population of those who speak the language.

While some of the contact-induced language choices and language changes involve first of all an inquiry at the micro-level of language processes (i.e. they are perceptible within the micro-communicative context), others are perceptible only when larger corpora are taken into consideration.

Consequently, inquiries at both the micro-level language processing and macro-level contexts seem to be necessary pre-requisites for relevant research in this area in the future.

Loanwords, though more emergent from the text than other results of the processes of borrowing, represent only one of the possible language manifestations of the processes of adoption and adaptation – and in order to grasp their status in a given language, the investigator should also take into consideration other supportive types of borrowings, such as structural borrowings, borrowings of function words, discourse markers, communicative strategies, and perhaps many more.

The linguistic treatment of contact-induced foreign elements in a given language community has to be also correlated with socio-pragmatic functions of the borrowings in individual text-types, discourse topics, thematic areas in which they are mainly used, etc.

As Woolard (1989) pointed out, language choice is highly symbolic and language shift is often motivated by the dynamics of social mobility.

The universalization of English, i.e. the cross-cultural and international uses of English, demand new concepts, new types of research, new methodology, and, perhaps new teaching strategies. In these fields of innovation, linguists should act as therapists, sensitive to both cultural and social values, since, as Anderson (1974: 172) put it, ‘linguistic borrowing is not radically different from other types of cultural borrowing inasmuch as some items...are accepted and others rejected’. But, as the antique wisdom prompts, *Panta rhei...*

Notes

- 1 This contribution echoes the topic of my section paper read at the Brno Conference in 1996 but never published so far. During the discussion section, it was Ludmila Urbanová who backed my arguments by readily supplying me with samples of authentic language data. This paper is a modest contribution by which to express my sincere thanks.
- 2 Cf. Manfred Görlach, ed. (2001) *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, Oxford: OUP (recording the usage of anglicisms in sixteen European languages, with entries presented according to the degree of acceptance, with a five point scale ranging from 0 to 5). This was followed in 2003 by Görlach's publication *English Words Abroad*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. In 2006 an international conference was held at the Universität Regensburg under the general theme 'Anglicisms in Europe'.
- 3 Here the Czech prefix *z(a)* + and one of the typical verbal suffixes, i.e. *-ovat* sandwich, as it were, the loan verb *to book*, Czechified in spelling into "buk", cf. *za-buk-ovat* (in its perfective interpretation).

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