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## EXPRESSIVE MEANS IN PONGLISH – A CONTACT LANGUAGE VARIETY USED NOT ONLY BY POLES LIVING IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES



The influence of English on the Polish language has been examined by many Polish linguists. Most research focused on the classification of loanwords<sup>1</sup>. Some publications explained the history of English borrowings in the Polish language<sup>2</sup>, whereas others investigated semantic borrowings in informal Polish<sup>3</sup>. The influence of English on the language of the younger generation of Poles was discussed as well<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> J. Fisiak, *Złożony kontakt językowy w procesie zapożyczania z języka angielskiego do polskiego*, „Język Polski” 1962, XLII, no. 4, pp. 286-294; A. Markowski, *Nowsze anglicyzmy semantyczne w polszczyźnie*, „Poradnik Językowy” 1992, no. 2, pp. 156-160; A. Markowski, *Nowsze zapożyczenia w polszczyźnie: anglicyzmy gramatyczne i leksykalne*, „Poradnik Językowy” 1992, no. 3, pp. 237-241; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, *Uwagi o wpływie języka angielskiego na polszczyznę końca XX wieku*, „Język Polski” 1993, LXXIII, no. 4-5, pp. 279-281; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, *Angielskie elementy leksykalne w języku polskim*, Kraków 1994; E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, *Tendencje rozwojowe współczesnych zapożyczeń angielskich w języku polskim*, Kraków 1995; E. Sękowska, *Funkcjonowanie nowszych zapożyczeń angielskich we współczesnej polszczyźnie*. Wybrane zagadnienia, „Poradnik Językowy” 1993, no. 5, pp. 242-248; E. Sękowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego na słownictwo polszczyzny ogólnej*, „Poradnik Językowy” 2007, no. 5, pp. 44-53.

<sup>2</sup> B. Walczak, *Język polski na Zachodzie*, [in:] *Współczesny język polski*, ed. J. Bartmiński, Lublin 2001, pp. 563-574; B. Walczak, *Kontakty polszczyzny z językami niesłowiańskimi*, [in:] *Współczesny język polski...*, pp. 527-540; W.T. Miodunka, *Język polski poza Polską*, [in:] *Polszczyzna 2000. Orędzie o stanie języka na przełomie tysiącleci*, ed. W. Pisarek, Kraków 2000, pp. 306-325.

<sup>3</sup> M. Zabawa, *English lexical and semantic loans in informal spoken Polish*, Katowice 2012.

<sup>4</sup> M. McGovern, *Wyrażenia anglojęzyczne nacechowane ekspresywnie w gwarze studentów polskich*, „Język a Kultura” 1992, vol. 7: *Kontakty języka polskiego z innymi językami na tle kontaktów kulturowych*, eds. J. Maćkiewicz, J. Siatkowski, pp. 31-40; D. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak, *Spolszczony angielski czy zangielszczony polski? Wpływ języka angielskiego na język generacji gadu-gadu*, „Poradnik Językowy” 2008, no. 3, pp. 50-61; A. Otwinowska-Kasztelanica, *A study of the lexico-semantic and grammatical influence of English on the Polish of the younger generation of Poles (19-35 years of age)*, Warszawa 2000.

Crucially for this paper, one can enumerate Polish studies devoted to the variety of language used by Poles living in English-speaking countries<sup>5</sup>. The specific language spoken by and among Poles living in English-speaking countries used to be labelled “the language of Polonia”<sup>6</sup> or “the dialect of Polonia”<sup>7</sup>. Recently, the word “Ponglish” has been coined to refer to this linguistic phenomenon<sup>8</sup>. Ponglish (*Polish + English*), as the blend name indicates, is an example of a hybrid language which mixes elements of English and Polish. This language variety seems to emerge in a bilingual (English and Polish) environment where language contact situations arise and *language transfer* occurs<sup>9</sup>. What is more, *language mixing* and *code-switching* appear to be the main features of this “linguistic cocktail”<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, *borrowing transfer*, which refers to the influence a second language has on a native language, and *substratum transfer*, which involves the impact of a source language on the acquisition of a target language, are present in the process of communication between people who speak Ponglish<sup>11</sup>.

Interestingly, Ponglish has become quite a popular phenomenon, as even an informal online dictionary (*Słownik slangu polsko-angielskiego* <http://www.ponglish.org/>) was founded in 2010 in order to collect and provide definitions of Polish-English slang words and phrases in use. As stated by the authors, approximately 10 new words are added to the dictionary every day<sup>12</sup>. The majority of the words are assigned to broader categories representing specific types of Ponglish<sup>13</sup>. This makes it reasonable to assume that Ponglish may not be spoken exclusively by the Poles living in English-

<sup>5</sup> E. Sękowska, *Język zbiorowości polonijnych w krajach anglojęzycznych. Zagadnienia leksykalno-słotwórcze*, Warszawa 1994.

<sup>6</sup> B. Walczak, *Język polski na Zachodzie...*, p. 569.

<sup>7</sup> E. Sękowska, *Język zbiorowości polonijnych...*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> Marzena Błasiak uses the word “Ponglish” only with reference to the Poles who live in Great Britain: M. Błasiak, *Dwujęzyczność i ponglish. Zjawiska językowo-kulturowe polskiej emigracji w Wielkiej Brytanii*, Kraków 2011.

<sup>9</sup> “Language transfer – influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (T. Odlin, *Language Transfer. Cross-Linguistic Influence in Language Learning*, Cambridge 1989, p. 27).

<sup>10</sup> Language mixing – the merging of some of the characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication; code switching – the systematic interchange of words, phrases and sentences of two or more languages. However, the terms are used interchangeably by some scholars (Y. Matras, *Language Contact*, Cambridge 2009, p. 101).

<sup>11</sup> T. Odlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 12.

<sup>12</sup> More information about the dictionary, its policy and founders can be found at <http://www.ponglish.org/>

<sup>13</sup> PONGLISH BRYTYJSKI – British Ponglish, PONGLISH AMERYKAŃSKI – American Ponglish, PONGLISH POLSKI – Polish Ponglish, PONGLISH INTERNETOWY – Internet Ponglish, PONGLISH TECHNOLOGICZNY – Technological Ponglish, PONGLISH BIZNESOWY – Business Ponglish, PONGLISH POTOCZNY – Colloquial/Informal Ponglish, PONGLISH MIEJSKI – City Ponglish. Some words belong to more than one category, e.g. *superwajzer* (supervisor) is labelled as: Business Ponglish, Colloquial/Informal Ponglish, and American Ponglish.

-speaking countries. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that *language contact* is understood broadly at present:

Language contact nowadays does not have to imply coexistence of two languages in one state. In fact, the English-Polish language contact may and does take place in present-day Poland via the Internet, television, cinema, radio, books, the press and the process of learning and teaching English<sup>14</sup>.

Significantly, in this paper the lexeme “Ponglish” will relate to various aspects of English-Polish language contact. Due to that fact the following criteria will be taken into consideration when distinguishing the community of people speaking Ponglish:

- 1) geographic criterion, that is, Polish immigrants who work and live in English-speaking countries;
- 2) professional criterion, that is, Poles who use international words and phrases typical of their profession, e.g. computer programmers or *korpomowa*<sup>15</sup>;
- 3) the criterion which takes into account a considerable role of English in the contemporary world. English is believed to be a global language. In this respect, speaking Ponglish is typical of those Poles who can, to a greater or lesser extent, speak English and use it in everyday situations for different communicative purposes. Probably, this is mostly the case among the youngest generation of Poles, since English phrases seem to be a common feature of Polish youth slang (including *ziomspik*)<sup>16</sup>. Seemingly, in this language variety English phrases are used intentionally.

Consequently, the main reasons for speaking Ponglish would seem to be as follows:

1. to facilitate the process of verbal communication (the communicative function of language), 2. to strengthen the relationship between the speakers and encourage integration between them (the phatic function of language), 3. to demonstrate the speakers' attitude towards what they are speaking about (the expressive function of language).

Even a brief analysis of the Ponglish dictionary content would seem to suggest that expressivity is its significant constituent. Therefore, this research concerns some expressive means in Ponglish. Specifically, in this paper an attempt will be made to

<sup>14</sup> M. Zabawa, *English-Polish language contact and its influence on the semantics of Polish*, [in:] *Kontakty językowe i kulturowe w Europie/Sprach-und Kulturkontakte in Europa*, ed. A. Kątny, Gdańsk 2008, p. 155.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZpP0A0AZBY> [date of access: 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2015].

<sup>16</sup> D. Żdunkiewicz-Jedynak, *op. cit.*; B. Chaciński, *Wypasiony słownik najmłodszej polszczyzny*, Kraków 2003; *idem*, *Wyczesany słownik najmłodszej polszczyzny*, Kraków 2005.

investigate expressive word formation in Ponglish, since the findings indicate that expressivity may be conveyed by means of Polish affixes attached to English base forms. The study will focus on nouns, by far the most predominant part of speech in the linguistic material collected (since 12<sup>th</sup> February 2015 761 nouns have been extracted from a set of 1010 words). Among the nouns there were 350 derivatives including 102 expressive derivatives<sup>17</sup>.

The linguistic issues connected with the expressive function of language have long been discussed by scholars<sup>18</sup>. According to a few linguistic definitions, the expressive function of language is focused on the addresser and its aim is a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he/she is speaking about<sup>19</sup>. The expressive function of language is manifested through expressive means. Expressive means exist for the purpose of logical and/or emotional intensification of an utterance<sup>20</sup>. In Polish the notion of expressive means is described as: phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and metaphoric<sup>21</sup>. As stated by Krystyna Waszakowa, expressive means are closely connected with evaluation. In most cases a positive attitude gives a positive evaluation, whereas a negative attitude gives a negative evaluation<sup>22</sup>.

As stated above, expressive content may be conveyed derivationally. Stanisław Grabias claims that in Polish affixes perform three main functions: 1. the structural function, 2. the semantic function and 3. the pragmatic function. Expressive morphology is related to the pragmatic function, that is, affixes may indicate positive, negative or indifferent attitudes towards people, objects, places, etc.<sup>23</sup>

The data collected from the Ponglish dictionary reveals that Ponglish expressive derivatives may constitute:

1. Neutral base forms and Polish affixes which are expressive in every context they occur /-ol/, as in IR-OL-Ø = IRELAND-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)

Descriptive: A man who comes from Ireland

Expressive: Speaker views that man negatively

<sup>17</sup> The definitions of the investigated derivatives are cited from the Ponglish dictionary. They are translated into English by the author of this paper. The example Ponglish sentences/dialogues are cited from the dictionary, yet, they are not translated into English. No changes in the definitions and example sentences have been made. The boundaries between morphemes and base forms have been introduced by the present author.

<sup>18</sup> *Wyrażanie emocji*, ed. K. Michalewski, Łódź 2006.

<sup>19</sup> A. Foolen, *The expressive function of language: Towards a cognitive semantic approach*, [in:] *The Language of Emotions*, eds. S. Niemeier, R. Dirven, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1997, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> S. Grabias, *O ekspresywności języka. Ekspresja a słowotwórstwo*, Lublin 1981, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> More to be found in references.

<sup>22</sup> K. Waszakowa, *O wartościowaniu w słowotwórstwie*, „Poradnik Językowy” 1991, no. 5/6, pp. 180-187.

<sup>23</sup> S. Grabias, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

The Polish suffix /-**ol**/ is pejorative and augmentative - compare: robot-nik-Ø ‘a worker’ vs. rob-**ol**-Ø ‘disapproving of a worker’<sup>24</sup>. *Augmentative* indicates a vast size of an item usually related to negative evaluation<sup>25</sup>.

2. Neutral base forms and Polish affixes which are expressive in some contexts only /-**or**/, as in MEKSI-**OR**-Ø = MEXICO-PERSON-**EXPR.**-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)

Descriptive: A man who comes from Mexico

Expressive: Speaker views that man negatively

The suffix /-**or**/ is expressive when it refers to people, however, it is neutral when the male name of an animal is derived from the female one, as in: kaczu-**or**-Ø (‘drake’) < kaczką (‘duck’), gąsi-**or**-Ø (‘gander’) < gęś (‘goose’), etc.<sup>26</sup>

3. Neutral base forms and Polish affixes which are neutral in Polish but become expressive in Ponglish

/-**ów**/, as in MENCZESTER-**ÓW**-Ø = Manchester-PLACE-**EXPR.**-NOM.SG (inanimate-masculine gender)

Descriptive: the name of the city in England

Expressive: Speaker views that place positively or humorously

The suffix /-**ów**/ is used in Polish to form names of towns and villages<sup>27</sup>. In Ponglish, however, it has a different function, namely it adds an air of humour to the base form. As a result, a Ponglish word with this suffix sounds similar to Polish names of cities and towns, such as Głog-ów-Ø or Krak-ów-Ø.

4. Expressive base forms and neutral Polish affixes

**HARDKOR**-OWIEC-Ø = **HARDCORE**-**EXPR.**-PERSON-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)

Descriptive: 1) ‘serious or difficult to deal with and unlikely to change’, 2) ‘used to describe the people who are most interested and involved in an organization, group, or activity’ (CDO)

Expressive: Speaker views that person/the feature positively or negatively

The two meanings of the word *hardcore* found in the dictionary (CDO) imply that the base form might express positive or negative evaluation, depending on the context. Interestingly, this lexical unit in Polish youth slang is associated with bravery or an eccentric person<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> S. Grabias, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> R. Grzegorzczkowska, *Zarys słowotwórstwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 55-56.

<sup>26</sup> *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia*, eds. R. Grzegorzczkowska, R. Laskowski, H. Wróbel, Warszawa 1984, pp. 366, 369, 370.

<sup>27</sup> E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, *Nazwy geograficzne*, [in:] *Współczesny język polski...*, pp. 411-430.

<sup>28</sup> M. Czeszewski, *Słownik slangu młodzieżowego*, Piła 2001.

5. Expressive base forms and Polish affixes which are expressive in every context they occur

**KREJZ-OL-Ø** = CRAZY-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)

Descriptive: a person who is: '1) stupid or not sensible, 2) mentally ill' (CDO)

Expressive: Speaker views that person/the person's feature positively or negatively

As claimed by Maura McGovern, who investigated English words used by Polish university students, the adjective *crazy* carries positive connotations<sup>29</sup>. The expressive content of the word is emphasized by the Polish expressive suffix /-ol/.

6. Expressive base forms and Polish affixes which are expressive in some contexts

**SOFCI-AK-Ø** = SOFT-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)

Descriptive: 'someone who is soft, is not very healthy and strong (physically or emotionally)' (CDO)

Expressive: Speaker views that person negatively

The word *sofci-ak-Ø* is a product of a metaphor founded on the similarity between soft objects and man's behavior. This expression is rooted in human sensory experience related to sight and touch. It carries negative connotations, especially when it refers to a male. It can be concluded that being *soft* appears to contradict the stereotypical view of a man who is strong, confident, etc. The Polish suffix /-ak/ is expressive when it refers to man's features<sup>30</sup>, as in: *prost-ak-Ø* 'a man who is simple', *przystojni-ak-Ø* 'a man who is handsome', *ważni-ak-Ø* 'a man who considers himself important'. Importantly, according to Elżbieta Krasnodębska, the majority of such expressive words are pejorative<sup>31</sup>. The suffix /-ak/ may be neutral, though, when it refers to objects, as in: *leż-ak-Ø* 'deckchair', *wiesz-ak-Ø* 'stand/hanger'<sup>32</sup>.

With respect to the morphological patterns presented above, this paper explores briefly one category of derivatives formed by means of expressive affixes, that is, derivatives referring to man's qualities (*nomina attributiva*). *Nomina attributiva* are words which indicate a specific feature of something or somebody<sup>33</sup>. A good illustration are the following Polish words: *mal-ec-Ø* ('someone who is small') <*mały* ('small'), *brod-acz-Ø* ('somebody who wears a beard') <*broda* ('a beard').

<sup>29</sup> M. McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>30</sup> R. Grzegorzczkova, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> E. Krasnodębska, *Produktywność formantu -ak w dziesięcioleciu 1990-2000 (w porównaniu z okresem 1945-1989)*, "Poradnik Językowy" 2004, no. 4, p. 39.

<sup>32</sup> *Gramatyka współczesnego...*, p. 354.

<sup>33</sup> R. Grzegorzczkova, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

This section will present only selected *nomina attributiva* derived from English adjectives to which Polish affixes are attached, an example being the English base form *crazy* + the Polish suffix *-ol* = KREJZ-OL-Ø ‘somebody who is crazy’. As a result, Polish suffixes turn adjectives into nouns. Some examples are presented in Table 1. The distinction between masculine and feminine derivatives is made:

Table 1. *Nomina attributiva* derivatives in Ponglish

Masculine derivatives	Feminine derivatives
1	2
<p><u>KREJZ-OL-Ø</u> ‘szalony’ [a crazy man] Example sentence: <i>Tomek to totalny krejzol - zjada ryby z głowami.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>KREJZ-OL-Ø</b> <b>CRAZY-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG</b> (masculine gender) Descriptive: A man who is crazy Expressive: Speaker views that person negatively or positively</p>	<p><u>KREJZ-OL-K-A</u> ‘szalona’ [a crazy woman] Example sentence: <i>Agnieszka jest kompletną krejzolką! nie powinni wpuszczać takich jak ona na parkiet!</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>KREJZ-OL-K-A CRAZY-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-FEMALE-NOM.SG</b> (feminine gender) Descriptive: A woman who is crazy Expressive: Speaker views that person negatively or positively</p>
<p><u>LEJZ-OL-Ø</u> ‘leniwy’ [a lazy man] Example sentence: <i>Mikołaj nie chodzi do szkoły, bo jest lejzolem.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>LEJZ-OL-Ø</b> <b>LAZY-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG</b> (masculine gender) Descriptive: A man who is lazy Expressive: Speaker views that man negatively</p>	<p><u>LEJZ-OL-K-A</u> ‘leniwa’ [a lazy woman] Example sentence: <i>Ewa to szalona lejzolka - już dwa tygodnie nie przychodzi do szkoły.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>LEJZ-OL-K-A LAZY-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-FEMALE-NOM.SG</b> (feminine gender) Descriptive: A woman who is lazy Expressive: Speaker views that woman negatively</p>
<p><u>SOFCI-AK-Ø</u> ‘mężczyzna słaby psychicznie, wrażliwy’ [somebody who is soft = a mentally weak man, a sensitive man] Example sentence: <i>Grzesiek jest straszonym sofciakiem. Płacze na prawie każdym filmie!</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>SOFCI-AK-Ø</b> <b>SOFT-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-MALE-NOM.SG</b> (masculine gender) Descriptive: A man who is soft = not strong Expressive: Speaker views that man negatively</p>	<p><u>SOFCI-AR-A</u> ‘dziewczyna słaba psychicznie’ [a mentally weak girl] Example sentence: <i>Magda to straszna sofcia. Załamała się kompletnie po zdradzie Grzeska.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis: <b>SOFCI-AR-A SOFT-EXPR.-PERSON-EXPR.-FEMALE-NOM.SG</b> (feminine gender) Descriptive: A woman who is soft = not strong Expressive: Speaker views that woman negatively</p>



1	2
<p><u>DEBEŚCI-AK-Ø</u> 'najlepszy' [someone who is the best]            Example sentence:  <i>Adam jest <b>debeściakiem!</b> Wypił wiadro wody tyżeczką do herbaty.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis:</p> <p><b>DEBEŚCI-AK-Ø</b>            THE BEST-<b>EXPR.</b>-PERSON-<b>EXPR.</b>-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)            Descriptive: A man who is the best            Expressive: Speaker views that man positively</p>	<p><u>DEBEŚCI-AR-A</u> 'najlepsza' [a girl/woman who is the best]            Example sentence:  <i>Ewa jest <b>debeściarą!</b> Wypiła wiadro wody tyżeczką do herbaty.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis:</p> <p><b>DEBEŚCI-AR-A</b> THE BEST-<b>EXPR.</b>-PERSON-<b>EXPR.</b>-FEMALE-NOM.SG (feminine gender)            Descriptive: A woman who is the best            Expressive: Speaker views that woman positively</p>
<p><u>HARDKOR-OWIEC-Ø</u> 'ekstremista' [an extreme/hard-core man]            Example sentence:  <i>Marek to kompletny <b>hardkorowiec</b>. Widziałem jak ostatnio jadł łabędzie.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis:</p> <p><b>HARDKOR-OWIEC-Ø</b>            HARDCORE-<b>EXPR.</b>-PERSON-MALE-NOM.SG (masculine gender)</p> <p>Descriptive: A man who goes to extremes            Expressive: Speaker views that man positively/negatively</p>	<p><u>HARDKOR-ÓW-A</u> 'ekstremistka' [an extreme/hard-core woman]            Example sentence:  <i>Marzena to <b>hardkorówa</b>. Ogołiła sobie głowę na tyso.</i></p> <p>Morphological analysis:</p> <p><b>HARDKOR-ÓW-A</b> HARDCORE-<b>EXPR.</b>-PERSON-<b>EXPR.</b>-FEMALE-NOM.SG (feminine gender)</p> <p>Descriptive: A woman who goes to extremes            Expressive: Speaker views that woman positively/negatively</p>
<b>Masculine suffixes</b>	<b>Feminine suffixes</b>
/-ak/, /-owiec/, /-ol/	/-ara/, /-ówa/, /-ka/

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

The Polish suffixes /-ak/, /-owiec/, /-ol/ are attached to English adjectives in order to form masculine nouns, for example: *sofci-ak-Ø*, *debeści-ak-Ø*, *hardkor-owiec-Ø*, *krejz-ol-Ø*, *lejz-ol-Ø*. The masculine gender is assigned by attaching the null morpheme in the nominative singular. At the same time the words are classified as following the masculine declension.

The suffix /-ak/ is very productive in relation to the morphological category of *nomina attributiva*. It indicates the informal register<sup>34</sup>. Depending on the base meaning, the suffix /-ak/ informs about a negative attitude and negative evaluation, e.g. *sofci-ak-Ø*, or it gives information about a positive attitude and positive evaluation, as in *debeści-ak-Ø*.

<sup>34</sup> R. Grzegorzycykowa, *op. cit.*, p. 44.



The suffix */-owiec/*, as in *hardkor-owiec-Ø*, appears to be characteristic of the masculine nouns which are derived from the words indicating a person's field of interest or profession<sup>35</sup>, for instance, *handl-owiec* ('an expert at trade'). It means that in Polish the suffix */-owiec/* is not expressive. It belongs to a morphological category where the base does not designate the quality but the object associated with the bearer. Therefore, the suffix */-owiec/* is not typical of the *nomina attributiva* category. Probably it is attached to the base due to the final sound of the base form and it might be assumed that this suffix makes the pronunciation of the word *hardkor-owiec* easier or more appealing to the ear.

The suffix */-ol/* is used for expressive names, has augmentative character and carries pejorative connotations<sup>36</sup>. However, in the derivatives *krejz-ol-Ø* and *lejz-ol-Ø* it may also produce a humorous effect, mainly because it makes the derived words sound nice.

As can be seen from the above examples, some feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns, e.g. *krejz-ol-Ø >krejzol-k-a*, *lejz-ol-Ø >lejzol-k-a*. To indicate feminine nouns the Polish suffix */-ka/*, which is composed of the derivational morpheme */-k-/* and the inflectional morpheme */-a/*<sup>37</sup>, is attached to some masculine nouns. The feminine derivatives are also formed by the expressive Polish suffixes */-ara/*, */-ówa/* which consist of the derivational morphemes */-ar/*, */-ów/* and the inflectional morpheme */-a/*, as in *debeści-ar-a*, *hardkor-ów-a*. The suffix */-ówa/* is classified as pejorative and augmentative and the suffix */-ara/* is classified as pejorative<sup>38</sup>. Yet, there is evidence that in Ponglish, similarly to Polish youth slang, these suffixes may communicate only an informal humorous attitude of the speaker towards the person he/she is speaking about.

The examined Ponglish derivatives undergo consonantal alternations which are regular in Polish, for instance, a hard consonant is transformed into a soft consonant, as can be seen in the following examples: *soft < sofciak* (t:ć), the *best < debeściak* (s:ś, t:ć), etc.

To sum up, this study just briefly outlines morphological expressive means found in the Ponglish dictionary<sup>39</sup>. Since Polish has a significant number of affixes, expressivity in Ponglish can be conveyed derivationally. Expressive derivatives in the Ponglish

<sup>35</sup> *Gramatyka współczesnego...*, p. 375.

<sup>36</sup> S. Grabias, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>37</sup> Due to the inflectional morpheme */-a/* the words follow the feminine declension.

<sup>38</sup> S. Grabias, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>39</sup> I have already examined some other aspects of the Ponglish dictionary content: 1) *Ponglish w aspekcie strukturalnym – zarys problematyki*, [in:] *Zielonogórskie seminaria językoznawcze 2012. Komunikacyjne aspekty badania języka*, eds. M. Hawrysz, M. Uździcka, Zielona Góra 2013, pp. 109-122; 2) *Some remarks on language awareness among the Polish living in English-speaking countries with reference to Ponglish*, [in:] *Świadomość językowa w komunikowaniu*, eds. M. Steciąg,

dictionary are composed mostly of English base forms and Polish affixes. Polish affixes contain derivational and inflectional morphemes. The former form new words, whereas the latter assign gender and classify words into specific declension types. Expressivity is closely connected with evaluation. Interestingly, some base forms or affixes which in standard English or Polish carry negative connotations in Ponglish carry positive ones. Such a game with the semantic value of words seems to be typical of different informal language varieties.

It is worth mentioning that some Ponglish words do have their Polish expressive equivalents, e.g. PNGL. *leżol* vs. PL. *leniuch*, etc. That is why, mixing English words with Polish expressive or neutral affixes seems to “refresh” conventional expressive means. Arguably, it is the specific word formation process in which two different languages are joined together that makes derivatives so attractive and appealing.

Last but not least, in this paper the word Ponglish refers to English-Polish language contact understood in a broad way. Hence, one may conclude that many expressive words excerpted from the Ponglish dictionary and examined in detail had been recognized in the informal Polish or Polish youth slang long before the lexeme Ponglish was coined.

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### **Ekspresywność "ponglisha" – języka kontaktowego używanego nie tylko przez Polaków zamieszkujących kraje anglojęzyczne**

**Streszczenie:** Celem artykułu jest sygnalna analiza wybranych nośników ekspresywności w odmianie języka będącej wynikiem kontaktu językowego, popularnie zwanej ponglish. Leksem *ponglish* jest kontaminacją wyrazów *polski* i *English*. To takie użycie języka (określane także wyrazem *kod*), w którym obok jednostek polskich są stosowane zwroty angielskie. Zgromadzony materiał ze słownika Ponglish.org wskazuje, że ekspresywność jest istotnym elementem w języku ponglish. Materiał leksykalny dowodzi, że jednym z wyznaczników ekspresywności są środki słowotwórcze (głównie zabieg sufiksacji, w którym podstawą słowotwórczą jest wyraz angielski, do którego dodawane są polskie przyrostki).

**Słowa kluczowe:** ponglish, środki ekspresywne, słowotwórstwo, angielsko-polskie kontakty językowe

### **Expressive means in Ponglish – a contact language variety used not only by Poles living in English-speaking countries**

**Summary:** The aim of this paper is to examine selected expressive means in Ponglish. Ponglish (a blend of *Polish* and *English*), as the name indicates, is an example of a hybrid language which mixes elements of English and Polish. As can be seen from the analysis of the data obtained from an online dictionary Ponglish.org, expressivity is arguably a major component of this language variety. Expressive means are described by several scholars as forms which exist for the purpose of logical and/or emotional intensification of an utterance. The examined data would seem to suggest that expressivity might be conveyed derivationally by means of different Polish affixes (mostly suffixes) attached to English base forms.

**Key words:** Ponglish, expressive means, word formation, English-Polish language contact