

FUZZY BORDERS BETWEEN INVISIBLE AND SEMI-(IN)VISIBLE ANGLICISMS

Evidence from the GLAD Database and NSZA Dictionary

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ABSTRACT • In language contact literature on the typology of linguistic borrowing sharp divisions have repeatedly been made into various types of loan. Loan categorisations are determined by the borrowing strategy adopted by recipient language (RL) speakers and by the formal features of the product of the borrowing process (see e.g. Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Görlach 2002; Haspelmath 2009; Pulcini et al. 2012). In more recent research, the well-established categories have been redefined and relabelled to reflect a cognitively-oriented approach to the borrowing process (e.g. Winter-Froemel 2008), yet the fundamental three-fold typology of lexical Anglicisms has been retained. Authentic language data collected for the Polish contribution to the Global Anglicism Database (GLAD) and the New Dictionary of Polish Anglicisms (NSZA) point to the fuzzy borders and categorial indeterminacy of invisible and semi-(in)visible loans, motivated, as assumed, by RL-specific systemic features and adaptation processes. This paper focuses on the blurred boundary between a loan translation, e.g. Pol. *obiad biznesowy* < Eng. *business lunch* and a hybrid (loanblend), e.g. Pol. *aniol biznesu* < Eng. *business angel*. While the long-standing terminological tradition and the GLAD template both require making definite decisions as to loan category status, there is much evidence among Polish covert and partially covert Anglicisms that establishing clear-cut borderlines between loan categories may be challenging and therefore they should be seen as “more or less” rather than “either or” cases.

KEYWORDS • Anglicism; loan translation; hybrid; loanblend; categorial indeterminacy.

1. Introduction

The intensity of academic research on Anglicisms in world languages in the last several decades well reflects the unprecedented, globally felt influx and diffusion of Anglo-American lexis in world languages (see the GLAD Bibliography listing nearly 6,000 publications and the GLAD database). Anglicisms comprise contact-induced phenomena that exhibit varying degrees of visibility, i.e. recognisability of their foreignness by recipient language (RL) speakers. English loans range from visible unadapted direct borrowings whose form betrays their foreign provenance, e.g. *selfie*, *reality show* and *the sky is the limit*, to invisible loan creations that are formally independent of the foreign etymons that inspired their creation in the RL, e.g. cf. Pol. *sygnalista* (lit. ‘signal maker’) and < Eng. *whistleblower*. In between comes a whole range of other contact-induced phenomena that are more or less (in)visible (i.e. (un)recognizable as foreign by RL speakers), which depends on the borrowing strategy that was adopted for their introduction in the

RL and on the formal features of the outcome of the borrowing process. They include, among others, invisible loan translations and semantic loans, and semi-(in)visible hybrids (loanblends). The former are word-for-word or morpheme for morpheme translations of recognisable foreign etymons, e.g. Pol. *szklany sufit* < Eng. *glass ceiling*, Pol. *mysz* < Eng. (computer) *mouse*, the latter are half- or partial-translations, e.g. Pol. *długi weekend* < Eng. *long weekend*. In the words of Aleš Klegr (2024: 67), “[d]irect Anglicisms are ‘visible’ as loans since they preserve the English form; by contrast indirect Anglicisms composed completely of RL [...] components are ‘invisible’. It follows that hybrid Anglicisms composed of both English and RL components are halfway between visible and invisible as loans to RL speakers.”

Authentic data compiled for the GLAD database and NSZA dictionary show that an automatic straightforward three-fold division into visible, semi-(in)visible and invisible Anglicisms may not always be easy or obvious, as contact-induced phenomena display various degrees of (in)visibility which depends on the degree to which they or their individual components have been adapted in the RL. As will be illustrated in this paper, the gradability of the (in)visibility of Anglicisms occurs not only across different categories of loans but also within a single category, which is especially noticeable in the case of loan translations and hybrids. The aim of this study is to point to the deficient applicability of well-established definitions of loan categories and to the blurred borderline between loan translations and hybrids (loanblends), which results, as argued here, from RL-specific systemic features and adaptation processes. Rather than question the universality of the definitions proposed thus far, we focus on the illustration with authentic data of the typological challenges and explain the solutions adopted for the classification of data in GLAD and NSZA.

The paper is organised as follows. We first provide an overview of theoretical approaches to invisible and semi-(in)visible loans in language contact studies, then focus on demonstrating the lack of clear-cut borderlines between English-based hybrids and loan translations in Polish.

2. Invisible loans: a brief overview of theoretical approaches and definitions

Covert or invisible contact-induced phenomena have been recognized early on in language contact literature, going back to Campe’s 1794 observation that some seemingly native neologisms are in fact contact-induced, which can be evidenced by foreign structural patterns and semantic relatedness to foreign etymons. In 1905 Jespersen recognizes loan-translating (without actually using this term or any other) as one of the ways of enriching English Christian lexis, pointing to contact-induced “framing new words from native stems” as a way of “express[ing] ideas foreign to the pagan world”, as in Old English *god-spell* loan-translated from Greek *euaggélion* (1982[1905]: 39, 41).

One of the first typologies of covert loans can be found in Sandfeld-Jensen (1912: 167-172), who recognizes three major types of “*calque linguistique*” (a term introduced by Duvau 1894: 192 for word-for-word translations of foreign etymons). Apart from semantic calques, Sandfeld-Jensen enumerates one-word and multi-word structural calques, e.g. Ger. *entdecken* < Fr. *découvrir* and Ger. *den Hof machen* < Fr. *faire la cour*, respectively. Within one-word calques, the author further distinguishes four subtypes that reflect the varying degrees of the exactness of translation; these are: 1) exact translation, e.g. Ger. *Halbwelt* < Fr. *demi-monde*, 2) free translation, e.g. Ger. *Wolkenkratzer* < Eng. *skyscraper*, 3) inexact replication of a foreign structural pattern, e.g. Ger. *Fegefeuer* < Lat. *purgatorium*, and 4) half-translation, e.g. Cz. *bavlna* / Pol. *bawełna* < Ger. *Baumwolle* (Sandfeld-Jensen 1912: 167-172). From the perspective of current research it is surprising that this subdivision is not proposed for multi-word calques (for evidence see Section 5). Thus, this early typology of covert loans recognizes the inexactness of translation as well as partial or

fragmentary translation of foreign etymons. Weise (1912: 208-209 in Betz 1949: 15) recognizes yet another type of calque, a so-called replacement loanword (“*Ersatzlehnwörter*”), defined as a foreign word substitution that is formally and lexically different from its foreign etymon, e.g. Ger. *Umwelt* < Fr. *milieu* (cf. Haugen’s “native induced creation”, 1956: 766; Weinreich’s “loan creation”, 1953: 51; Winter-Froemel’s “independent innovation by word-formation”, 2008: 22).

Szober’s typology mentions two types of contact-induced calque (1929: 24-31), etymological loans (“*zapóžyczenia etymologiczne*”) and semantic loans (“*zapóžyczenia semantyczne*”). The former are coined from native morphemes as copies of foreign models (“their body, i.e. word-formation material, is native, but their soul [...] is foreign” (Szober 1929: 28-30, trans. AW), the latter are native words whose new meaning is contact-induced.

Other contributions to the scientific description of covert loans include Betz’s typology (1949: 27-28), which in addition to the above-mentioned categories includes syntactic calques (“*Lehn-syntax*”). Similarly to Sandfeld-Jensen (1912), within one-word loan coinages (“*Lehnprägung*”) Betz (1952: 27) distinguishes 1) exact word-for-word translations (“die genaue Glied-für-Glied-Übersetzung”), though the illustrative example used by Betz, “*Wolkenkratzer – skyscraper*”, does not seem right (cf. Sandfeld-Jensen’s type 2), 2) free translation (“die freiere Teilübertragung: ... *Halbinsel – paeninsula*”), and 3) an innovation independent of the foreign etymon (“die formal unabhängige Neubildung eines Wortes zur Übersetzung eines fremden: *Kraftwagen – Automobil*”). Although Betz, just as Sandfeld-Jensen (1912), recognizes multi-word (phraseological) calques as a distinct category, neither of the researchers provides its further subcategorization that would reflect the exactness or completeness of translation, as it is done for one-word calques.

In his typology of linguistic borrowing, Haugen (1950: 215) proposes the category of loanshifts that includes semantic loans and loan translations, both of which appear in the recipient language as “functional shifts of native morphemes”, as well as loanblends (hybrids). Loanshifts “show morphemic substitution without importation”, while loanblends “show morphemic substitution as well as importation”; both have discoverable foreign models (1950: 215). Haugen is sceptical about his predecessors’ distinguishing between one- and multi-word calques, pointing to the same borrowing mechanism that occurs in both. This view was earlier expressed in Velten (1930: 336-337), who rightly argued that “in many cases it would be impossible to determine the border-line between a compound and the somewhat looser connexion of a phrase” (Velten 1930: 336).

While Haugen (1950: 215) interprets loan translations and semantic loans as cases of the “substitution” of foreign morphemes, Weinreich (1953: 51) uses the term “reproduction” (of foreign morphemes) and sees loan translation as a broad category that includes exact and inexact loan translations as well as loan creations, both one- and multi-word. Hybrids involve “the transfer of some elements and the reproduction of others” (1953: 51).

A three-fold division of calqued expressions in reference to phraseological units is present in Šanskij (1972: 240 in Obara 1989a: 45), who differentiates between exact, inexact and half translations, exemplified with Rus. *железный занавес* < Eng. *iron curtain*, Rus. *железная дорога* < Fr. *chemin de fer*, and Rus. *сделать сцену* < Fr. *faire une scène*, respectively. The author also recognizes calqued proverbs, e.g. Rus. *аппетит приходит ва время еды* < Fr. *l’appetit vient en mangeant*, and winged words, e.g. Rus. *быть или не быть* < Eng. *to be or not to be*.

Similarly, calques of various types are listed in Cyran (1974: 43-36), who enumerates calques proper (“*kalki właściwe*”) that include one- and multi-word exact and inexact translations, e.g. Pol. *korkociąg* < Ger. *Kork(en)zieher*, Pol. *drapacz chmur* < Eng. *skyscraper*, and syntactic calques, e.g. Pol. *pod żadnym warunkiem* < Ger. *unter keiner Bedingung*. One other category are incomplete calques (“*kalki niepełne*”), i.e. hybrids (“*hybrydy*”) that are half-translations of foreign models, e.g. Pol. *bawełna* < Ger. *Baumwolle*. Semantic calques are treated as a separate category

of loans in Cyran's typology. (For a more comprehensive overview of European and American calque-related research see Witalisz 2015: 29ff.)

What stems from the above considerations is that various linguistic traditions recognise similar types of calqued expressions, regardless of the languages in contact. It should be pointed out that the term loan translation (used already by Velten 1930: 337) is often used interchangeably with the term calque in language contact literature (e.g. Haspelmath 2009: 39), which does not seem a fortunate solution in view of the fact that the term calque is far more generic than loan translation and functions as an umbrella term for various types of calque: semantic, structural, syntactic, whereas loan translation pertains only to structural calques. In this paper we conveniently use "calque" as a generic term referring to both loan translations and hybrids as they are different types of calqued expressions.

The 20th-century typologies of lexical loans quoted above were based on the structuralist form-meaning dichotomy and took the isolated word as the starting point of linguistic analysis. More recent onomasiology-oriented cognitive approaches have focused on the context in which a loan is used and on RL speakers, who make conscious lexical choices and decide to use foreign loans to fulfil their communicative and pragmatic needs, cf. e.g. Winter-Froemel's 2008 relabelling of loan translation as "analogical innovation by word formation" and semantic loan as "analogical innovation by semantic change" (2008: 22).

To sum up, despite the different labels¹ used in various linguistic traditions, both loan translations and hybrids (loanblends), which are the focus of this paper, have been recognised in nearly all typologies of calques, or loans in general, proposed so far and, more importantly, they have been interpreted as two separate (sub)categories of calqued expressions. Yet, despite the well-defined and amply exemplified loan categories, the classification of authentic contact-induced phenomena as either loan translations or hybrids proves challenging, especially if the two languages in contact are genetically distant and exhibit considerable differences in their structure and word-formation systems, and if adaptation processes required by the RL system come into play (see also previous research on categorial indeterminacy of loan translations and semantic loans in Witalisz 2014).

In this paper, the focus is on GLAD-required differentiation between a loan translation and a hybrid, which in many cases, as will be shown below, is far from obvious. The following sections present the data used for the analysis and outline and illustrate the typological challenges faced when classifying calqued expressions that show varying degrees of (in)visibility.

¹ Cf. the (selected) alternative labels for loan translations, ordered chronologically: *calque linguistique* (Sandfeld-Jensen 1912: 167-172), *zapóżylenia etymologiczne* 'etymological loans' (Szober 1929: 24-31), loan translation (Velten 1930: 337; Haugen 1950: 215; Weinreich 1953: 51; Gómez Capuz 1997: 88; Görlach 2002: 9), *Lehnbildung* (Betz 1949: 27), formal calque (Hope 1960: 140), *tłumaczeniowce* 'translated units' (Cyran 1974: 34), *Lehnformung*/loan formation (Duckworth 1977: 40), lexical/phraseological calque (Obara 1989: 60-61), analogical innovation by word formation (Winter-Froemel 2008: 22); and for hybrids: *Teillehnwort* 'partial loanword' (Betz 1949: 26), loanblend (Haugen 1950: 215), hybrid compound (Weinreich 1953: 52), *полкалька* 'half-calque' (Jefremow 1971: 98), *Lehnverbindung* 'borrowed connection' (Duckworth 1977: 40), *kalka mieszana* 'mixed calque' (Rybicka 1976: 96) (see Witalisz 2016 for a more comprehensive enumeration).

3. Data, sources, method

The language data analysed in this paper have been sourced from the GLAD database and from NSZA (*Nowy słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* [A New Dictionary of English Borrowings in Polish], 2025). All data are authentic in the sense that they have been manually verified in plTenTen19 corpus of Polish available in Sketch Engine. Out of the 1,534 calques of English origin, 1,125 (73,3%) have been classified as loan translations, 251 (16,3%) as hybrids (with discoverable English models), and 158 (10,3%) as semantic loans (incl. 16 multi-word semantic loans). Most data are two- and multi-word phraseological units.

For the analysis in Section 5. we have selected (examples of) those items whose classification as either loan translations or hybrids proved to be challenging and which demonstrate a blurred boundary between the two categories. The data have been classified into subgroups to illustrate and discuss the sources of typological problems that were identified. We begin, however, with a brief presentation of unproblematic, easily classifiable hybrids to better explain why the items discussed in Section 5. have been considered borderline cases.

4. English-based hybrids (loanblends) in Polish: prototypical examples

English-based hybrids identified in Polish are a varied group, as will be shown in the following sections. Some contact-induced hybrids are prototypical examples in the sense that each of their components is easily and unambiguously identifiable as either RL or foreign (SL), as in Pol. *skraść show* < Eng. *steal the show*, in which *steal* has been substituted with its Polish semantic equivalent *skraść*. They are easily detectable and classifiable, as one of the elements preserves its original foreign form, including spelling, and also because some of those hybrids coexist with direct borrowings in the RL, as in e.g. Pol. *bucket lista* and *bucket list* (< Eng. *bucket list*), *cisplciowy* and *cisgender* (< Eng. *cisgender*), and *cyber lenistwo* and *cyberslacking* (< Eng. *cyberslacking*). Some hybrids coexist with loan translations, e.g. Pol. *bilet open* and *bilet otwarty* (< Eng. *open ticket*), *detektor metalu* and *wykrywacz metalu* (< Eng. *metal detector*). Such interchangeable use of synonymous loans based on a single English model might be evidence of the gradual assimilation process of foreign loans or, on the contrary, of the growing bilingualism of young Poles who may prefer to use direct borrowings rather than their half- or loan-translated variants.

Table 1 presents examples of calques half-translated from English, whose status as hybrids does not raise doubts. The untranslated source language (SL) elements retain their original form and thus increase the visibility or foreignness of the calqued items. The hybrids have been organised into subgroups within Table 1 to demonstrate their different structural patterns and the RL grammar-motivated structural change they undergo in the calquing process.

English-based hybrids (loanblends) in Polish
N+N (reversed order) < N+N
chleb graham < Eng. graham bread, mąka graham < Eng. graham flour, chór gospel < Eng. gospel choir, muzyka gospel < Eng. gospel music, efekt albedo < Eng. albedo effect, dziennikarstwo gonzo < Eng. gonzo journalism, fasola kidney < Eng. kidney beans, gitara country < Eng. country guitar, gra co-op < Eng. co-op game, kapelusz fedora < Eng. fedora hat, koszulka polo < Eng. polo shirt, kurtka bomber < Eng. bomber jacket, kuchnia fusion < Eng. fusion cuisine, kukurydza baby < Eng. baby corn, pamięć cache < Eng. cache memory, spółka offshore < Eng. offshore company, sukienka bodycon < Eng. bodycon dress, studia queer < Eng. queer studies, system backup < Eng. backup system
N+ADJ / ADJ+N < N+N
lunch roboczy < Eng. working lunch, marketing sieciowy < Eng. network marketing, rock garażowy < Eng. garage rock, surfing kanapowy < Eng. couch surfing, wampirzy lifting < Eng. vampire lifting/(face)lift
N+ADJ < ADJ+N
bilet open < Eng. open ticket, muzyka pop < Eng. pop music
ORIGINAL WORD-FORMATION PATTERN ADJ+N
długi weekend < Eng. long weekend, długi drink < Eng. long drink, kwaśny rock < Eng. acid rock
ORIGINAL WORD-FORMATION PATTERN N/ADJ+N (that violates Polish grammatical rules)
bucket lista < Eng. bucket list, cisplciowy < Eng. cisgender, top model(ka) < Eng. top model
VERBAL HYBRIDS
grać fair < Eng. play fair, skraść show < Eng. steal the show
ONE-WORD HYBRIDS
knajping < Eng. clubbing, pop kultura < Eng. pop culture, play lista < Eng. playlist

Table 1. Examples of English-based hybrids in Polish (untranslated SL elements marked in bold).

Authentic data show that hybrids may also be inexact half-translations, such as Pol. *dodatkowe benefity* < Eng. *fringe benefit*, in which Eng. *fringe* has been freely rendered in Polish as *dodatkowe* ‘additional’. In other inexact hybrids the untranslated SL element has been replaced with a synonymous or semantically related word that is an earlier English borrowing, as in: Pol. *gazela biznesu*, lit. ‘business gazelle’ < Eng. *gazelle company*, and *trener zdrowia*, lit. ‘health trainer’ < Eng. *health coach*.

5. Fuzzy borders between loan translations and hybrids: presentation of data and discussion of typological issues

The aim of the presentation and analysis of the data compiled in Section 5. is to illustrate a blurred boundary between English-based loan translations and hybrids in Polish. The data have been organised into groups and presented in Tables 2-9, each reflecting a different typological issue. We explain the reasons for considering the examples in Section 5. borderline cases, and discuss the typological solutions adopted for data classification in GLAD and NSZA.

The typical Germanic word-formation pattern, N+N, is often realized in Polish as N+ADJ, as in *piwo kraftowe* < Eng. *craft beer*, *luka genderowa* < Eng. *gender gap*, and *umowa dżentelmeńska* < Eng. *gentleman’s agreement*, which comply with Polish grammatical rules. In the calquing process, the premodifying English noun is not replaced with a RL native equivalent, but the way it is rendered in the RL reduces its visibility or foreignness. It is rendered as an adjective coined with a RL native suffix *-owy* or *-ski* from a nominal direct Anglicism, as in Pol.

kraft (< Eng. *craft*) > *kraftowy*, Pol. *gender* (< Eng. *gender*) > *genderowy*, *dżentelmen* (< Eng. *gentleman*) > *dżentelmeński*. Thus, the three calques could be interpreted either as hybrids (with one untranslated element) or as loan translations. As they are composed of a native word that replaces the English word and of an Anglicism-based derivative coined in the RL, they have been classified as loan translations. Loan-based derivatives with native affixes are considered native lexis. The three instances quoted above are by no means isolated cases (see Table 2).

Loan translations composed of a RL word and an Anglicism-based derivative N+ADJ < N+N
balet jazzowy < Eng. jazz ballet, cena dumpingowa < Eng. dumping price, дума gejowska < Eng. gay pride, przyjęcie koktajlowe < Eng. cocktail party, firma holdingowa < Eng. holding company, gwiazda filmowa < Eng. film star, klub golfowy < Eng. golf club, lista mailingowa < Eng. mailing list, maszyna vendingowa < Eng. vending machine, narty carvingowe < Eng. carving skis, platforma streamingowa < Eng. streaming platform, powieść kampusowa < Eng. campus novel, przestrzeń coworkingowa < Eng. co(-)working space, przyjęcie piżamowe < Eng. pyjama(s) party, reklama banerowa < Eng. banner ad, rodzina patchworkowa < Eng. patchwork family, sieć komputerowa < Eng. computer network, skrzynka mailowa < Eng. e-mail box, stacja dokująca < Eng. docking station, strefa buforowa < Eng. buffer zone, grupa fokusowa < Eng. focus group, studia genderowe < Eng. gender studies, wykup menadżerski < Eng. management buyout, zespół jazzowy < Eng. jazz band, wino budżetowe < Eng. budget wine

Table 2. Loan translations composed of a RL word and an **Anglicism-based derivative**.

The fuzzy border between a loan translation and a hybrid is also evident if the untranslated English element in a calqued expression is graphically adapted in the RL, as in Pol. *menedżer sprzedaży* < Eng. *sales manager* and *podwójny klik* < Eng. *double click* (see Table 3). The graphically adapted elements are well-assimilated nominal direct borrowings from English that entered the RL earlier than the corresponding calques. Again, the calques could be interpreted either as hybrids (with one untranslated element) or as loan translations due to the formal assimilation of the older borrowing. Since graphically adapted direct borrowings retain their status as borrowings, calques such as those in Table 3 are interpreted as hybrids in which one element has been substituted and the other imported and adapted.

Hybrids with a SL element adapted graphically
czeklista /checklista < Eng. checklist, efekt jo-jo < Eng. yo-yo effect, klasa biznes < Eng. business class
pierwszy dżentelmen < Eng. first gentleman, waniliowy seks < Eng. vanilla sex, szklany klif < Eng. glass cliff, etyczny haker < Eng. ethical hacker
strajk klimatyczny < Eng. climate strike, setter angielski < Eng. English setter, interfejs użytkownika < Eng. user interface
robić biznes < Eng. do business

Table 3. Hybrids with a **SL element adapted graphically**.

Similarly, the untranslated SL element may undergo morphological (and graphic) adaptation required by the RL grammatical system, as in Pol. *drapieżnik seksualny* < Eng. *sexual predator*, in which the English adjective has been adapted morphologically through RL suffix attachment (see also Table 4). In highly inflectional languages, such as Polish, morphological adaptation of most adjectives and all verbs borrowed from English occurs automatically, as it conditions the use of verbal and adjectival borrowings in native syntactic structures. The necessary morphological adaptation is not considered a case of word-formation, hence the typological solution in this case

is analogical to the one adopted for calques with graphically adapted untranslated SL elements above.

Hybrids with SL element adapted morphologically (and graphically)
mniejszość seksualna < Eng. sexual minority, system binarny < Eng. binary system, niebinarny < Eng. non-binary
odfriendować < Eng. defriend, surfować w sieci < Eng. surf the net
farma słoneczna < Eng. solar farm, farma wiatrowa < Eng. wind farm

Table 4. Hybrids with a **SL element adapted morphologically (and graphically)**.

The process of calquing may require that the English untranslated element is inflected according to the native inflectional paradigm in order to comply with the RL syntactic rule, as in Pol. *gwiazda rocka* < Eng. *rock star*, in which the English noun *rock* is put in the genitive case through native suffix attachment. Similarly, Pol. *być na topie* < Eng. *be on top* requires that the noun following the preposition *na* 'on' appears in the locative case. Consider more such examples in Table 5. Following the typological solution adopted so far, calques with an English element adapted morphologically through inflection are also considered hybrids.

Hybrids with an inflected SL element
bańka dotcomów _{GEN.} < Eng. dotcom bubble, efekt bumerangu _{GEN.} < Eng. boomerang effect, pokaz slajdów _{GEN.} < Eng. slideshow, stacja dysków _{GEN.} < Eng. disk drive, strefa fanów _{GEN.} < Eng. fanzone
być na haju _{LOC.} < Eng. be high on (drugs), być w taczu _{LOC.} < Eng. be in touch, mieć crusha _{ACC.} na kimś/kogoś < Eng. have a crush on sb, robić newsy _{ACC.} < Eng. do the news
na standbaju _{LOC.} < Eng. on standby

Table 5. Hybrids with a **SL element inflected according to RL paradigm (and graphically adapted)**.

Table 6 shows English-based hybrids that exhibit structural deviation from their foreign etymons in that English compounds are rendered as prepositional phrases in the RL. In addition, some untranslated SL elements are nativized, i.e. morphologically and/or graphically adapted, which further reduces the visibility of the foreign element. Yet, sticking to the rule followed so far, all calques in Table 6 are classified as hybrids, as they include an untranslated (imported or transferred) foreign element, though adapted.

Hybrids with structural adaptation
hokej na lodzie < Eng. ice hockey, hokej na trawie < Eng. field/grass hockey, skok na bungee < Eng. bungee jumping
kij do bejsbola < Eng. baseball bat, kij do golfa < Eng. golf club, kij do hokeja < Eng. hockey stick, kijek do selfie < Eng. selfie stick, konsola do gry < Eng. games console, spray do włosów < Eng. hairspray
ciastko z haszyszem < Eng. hash cake, gin/dżin z tonikiem < Eng. gin and tonic

Table 6. Hybrids with structural adaptation (and a **SL element** morphologically and/or graphically adapted).

Calques that include a proper noun pose another classificational problem for two reasons. First, proper nouns, such as *Coca Cola* and *Big Mac*, used in an economically globalized world, are not considered loans *sensu stricto* and not listed in the inventories of borrowings. Second, some proper names have their equivalents in the RLs. Therefore, for instance, Eng. *Caesar salad*, rendered in Polish as *sałatka Cezar*, illustrates a borderline case between the category of hybrid and loan translation. The criterion adopted for the GLAD- and NSZA-required loan categorisation is based on the availability of a RL equivalent of the SL proper name, and its use in the calque. Therefore Pol. *efekt Matyldy* < Eng. *Matilda effect* and *syndrom Piotrusia Pana* < Eng. *Peter Pan syndrome* are argued to be loan translations, while *prawo Murphiego* < Eng. *Murphy's law* and *węzeł Windsor* < Eng. *Windsor knot* are considered hybrids, as the RL equivalents for neither *Murphie* nor *Windsor* are available in Polish. It is interesting to note that *Mary* in *krwawa Mary* < Eng. *Bloody Mary* has not been replaced with a RL equivalent, despite its availability, which is why *krwawa Mary* is categorised as a hybrid. Following the methodology adopted so far, the morphological and graphic adaptation of SL proper nouns does not disqualify hybrids.

Calques with proper names
Hybrids with a SL proper name
indeks Big Maca < Eng. Big Mac Index, efekt Google/Google'a < Eng. Google effect, zamek Yale < Eng. Yale lock, ostatni Mohikanin < Eng. last of the Mohicans, prawo Parkinsona < Eng. Parkinson's law, prawo Lyncha/linczu < Eng. Lynch law, prawo Murphiego < Eng. Murphy's law, węzeł Windsor < Eng. Windsor knot, sałatka Waldorf < Eng. Waldorf salad, McŚwiat < Eng. McWorld
Loan translations with a proper name
efekt Matyldy < Eng. Matilda effect, sałatka Cezar < Eng. Caesar salad, syndrom Piotrusia Pana < Eng. Peter Pan syndrome

Table 7. Calques with **proper names**.

Exempt from the dataset in Table 7 are calqued expressions in which one element is a RL adjectival derivative from an Anglo-American proper name, as in Pol. *koszula hawajska* < Eng. *Hawaiian shirt* (hawajski < Hawaje < Hawaii) and *walc bostoński* < Eng. *Boston Waltz* (bostoński < Boston < Boston), which are classified as loan translations (cf. Table 2).

One other typological challenge is posed by calques that include SL acronyms, single letters or numerals. The calques presented in the top part of Table 8 include English acronyms which have not been loan-translated and which function as independent direct borrowings in Polish, therefore those calques are labelled as hybrids. (It must be noted that some English acronyms happen to be loan-translated into Polish, e.g. *NIP* (*Numer Identyfikacji Podatkowej*) < Eng. *TIN* (*Tax(payer) Identification Number*)). The bottom part of Table 8 lists calques classified as loan translations, as they make use of single letters or numbers that are also available in the RL. Calqued expressions such as *krem CC* < Eng. *CC cream* (*colour correcting cream*) are indeed borderline cases: on the one hand, they include single letters, also present in the RL, on the other, those letters may be seen as acronyms without RL equivalents. Since neither *CC* nor any other letter combination used with types of cream is used as an independent borrowed acronym in Polish, all four calques have been labelled loan translations.

Calques with SL acronyms, single letters and numerals
Hybrids with SL acronyms
analiza SWOT < Eng. SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats), faza snu REM < Eng. REM sleep (Rapid Eye Movement), pamięć RAM < Eng. RAM (random-access memory), piwo IPA < Eng. IPA ale (Indian Pale Ale), karta SIM < Eng. SIM card (Subscriber Identity Module), kod PIN < Eng. PIN code (Personal Identification Number), kod PUK < Eng. PUK code (Personal Unlock/Unblocking Key), kod QR < Eng. QR code (quick response), wypalarka DVD < Eng. DVD burner (Digital Video/Versatile Disc), środowisko LGBT < Eng. LGBT community (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender), rower BMX < Eng. BMX bike (bicycle motocross); film 3D < Eng. 3D movie (three-dimensional)
Loan translations with single letters, acronyms and numerals
film klasy B < Eng. B(-)movie, nie ma planety B < Eng. there is no planet B, pokolenie X < Eng. Generation/Gen X, pokolenie Y < Eng. Generation/Gen Y, pokolenie Z < Eng. Generation/Gen Z, słowo na f < Eng. the F-word, zakręt U < Eng. U turn
krem AA < Eng. AA cream (anti-aging cream), krem BB < Eng. BB cream (blemish/beauty balm cream), krem CC < Eng. CC cream (colour correcting cream), krem DD < Eng. DD cream (dynamic do-all cream / daily defense cream)
dwadzieścia cztery na siedem / 24/7 < Eng. 24/7, paragraf 22 < Eng. catch 22

Table 8. Calques with **SL acronyms, single letters and numerals**.

Calques with combining forms and free morphemes of Greek or Latin origin constitute a special category of borderline cases. Lexical elements such as e.g. *bio-*, *mega*, *super* and *micro*, all well-established in both the SL and the RL, blur the boundary between a loan translation and a hybrid, as it is not clear whether the classical morphemes should be treated as borrowed or translated elements. Consider the examples in Table 9.

English-based calques with Latin and Greek morphemes
Loan translations with Latin and Greek morphemes
bio energia < Eng. bioenergy, bio medycyna < Eng. biomedicine, bio nauka < Eng. bioscience, bio paliwo < Eng. biofuel, bio technologie < Eng. biotechnology, bio terroryzm < Eng. bioterrorism
hetero normatywny < Eng. heteronormative, krypto waluta < Eng. crypto(-)currency
mega gwiazda < Eng. megastar, mega przebój < Eng. megahit, mikro zarządzanie < Eng. micromanagement, spódnica mini < Eng. miniskirt, mini piłka < Eng. minipill, multikulturowość < Eng. multiculturalism, multizadaniowość < Eng. multitasking
super gwiazda < Eng. superstar, super jedzenie < Eng. superfood, super wtorek < Eng. Super Tuesday
tłuszcz trans < Eng. trans fat, trans płciowy < Eng. transgender
kobieta alfa < Eng. alpha female, pokolenie alfa < Eng. Generation Alpha, mężczyzna/samiec beta < Eng. beta male
Hybrids with Latin and Greek morphemes
cyber bezpieczeństwo < Eng. cybersecurity, cyber atak < Eng. cyber-attack, cyber leniwość < Eng. cyberslacking, cyber poniedziałek < Eng. Cyber Monday, cyber przemoc < Eng. cyber-bullying, cyber przestępstwo < Eng. cybercrime, cyber przestrzeń < Eng. cyberspace, cyber wojna < Eng. cyberwarfare
hiper łącze < Eng. hyperlink, hiper tekst < Eng. hypertext
kaseta wideo < Eng. video tape, wideo rejestrator < Eng. videorecorder

Table 9. English-based calques with **Latin and Greek morphemes**.

The adopted typological solution is mostly based on the semantics of the Greek/Latin morphemes. The majority of calques in Table 9 are labelled as loan translations, as their component classical morphemes are well-attested in the RL and have been used with a similar meaning. These include formations with *bio-*, *hetero-*, *krypto-*, *mega*, *mini*, *multi-*, *super* and *trans*. With the advancement of new technologies, English *cyber-*, *hyper-* and *video* have acquired technology- and computer-related senses that have been imported into Polish, which is the reason why the formations with *cyber-*, *hiper-* and *wideo* are considered hybrids. Calques with *alfa* and *beta*, pose additional typological challenge, as the Greek letters are used to describe specific concepts unrelated to the Greek alphabet. Yet both letter names are well-established Greek borrowings in Polish, which motivates the somewhat arbitrary assigning of e.g. *pokolenie alfa* < Eng. *Generation/Gen Alpha* to the class of loan translations.

Finally, partial calquing may also yield tautological hybrid-looking formations, such as Pol. *deska snowboardowa* (lit. ‘board snowborad_{ADJ.}’) < Eng. *snowboard*, *gra fair play* (lit. ‘play fair play’) < Eng. *fair play*. The former is classified as a loan translation for reasons already mentioned at the beginning of this section: apart from the native word, its other component is adjectival Anglicism-based derivative coined in the RL. The latter is considered a hybrid, as the untranslated English element retains its visibility. Other such examples of tautological hybrids are *płyta CD* ‘disc CD’ < Eng. *compact disc* and *płyta DVD* ‘disc DVD’ < Eng. *Digital Video Disc*. Another tautological loan translation is *narty skiturowe* (lit. ‘skis ski touring_{ADJ.}’) < Eng. *touring skis*.

6. Discussion and conclusions

An attempt at analyzing and classifying a sizeable body of authentic contact-induced language data reveals that, despite the voluminous literature on linguistic borrowing, universal definitions and categorizations applicable in all linguistic environments are hardly attainable. It stems from the above analysis that English-based loan translations and hybrids attested in Polish, traditionally perceived as separate phenomena, have blurred boundaries and may overlap. However, this is not a frequent phenomenon and amounts to ca. 13% of all English-based loan translations and hybrids identified in NSZA.

While in language contact studies the two categories may appear as clearly distinct or mutually exclusive, authentic data reveal a blurred boundary between them and their instability. That is why outcomes of language contact such as the examples quoted in Tables 2-9 should be investigated as “more or less” cases rather than “either or” cases. Each of the two categories may exhibit the properties of the other category, e.g. Pol. *anioł biznesu* < Eng. *business angel* might be considered both a hybrid (the original English element is retained) and a loan translation (*biznesu* is a morphologically and graphically adapted well-established borrowing that may no longer be perceived as foreign by RL speakers). The tools for the description of categories employed by cognitive linguists (e.g. Lakoff 1987) prove useful to capture the non-perfectness or fuzzy borders of hybrid-like and loan translation-like calques, which may be seen as prototypical (best) or non-prototypical, or better or worse, examples of a given category, with *szklany sufit* < Eng. *glass ceiling* and *bucket lista* < Eng. *bucket list* representing the prototypical or best examples of loan translation and hybrid, respectively. *Anioł biznesu* < Eng. *business angel*, for reasons stated above, would have to be considered a peripheral example of actually both categories. Alternatively, it could be seen as an example of a calque situated in a grey area between what can be considered loan translation and what can be considered a hybrid, as it has the characteristics of both categories. In view of the data presented in this paper, the space occupied by loan translations and hybrids may be seen to form a continuum from invisible loan translations composed of native lexis (e.g. *szklany sufit* < Eng. *glass ceiling*), across hybrid-like nativized formations (e.g. *wiadomości*

biznesowe < Eng. *business news* and *anioł biznesu* < Eng. *business angel*) to semi-(in)visible hybrids (e.g. *pamięć cache* < Eng. *cache memory*) and, ultimately, hybrids that violate RL grammatical rules (e.g. *bucket lista* < Eng. *bucket list*); the latter two, in contrast to loan translations, exhibit increasing visibility or foreignness.

The (in)visibility of loan translations and hybrids as one of their key attributes is, as shown in this paper, gradable, which is why in some cases their unequivocal classification into two separate categories may appear problematic. Hybrids themselves constitute a varied group whose members exhibit various degrees of (in)visibility, depending on the degree of (morphological and/or graphic) adaptation of the untranslated lexical SL element (e.g. *prawo Lyncha/linczu* < Eng. *Lynch law*), the use of earlier well-established loans as component parts (e.g. *strajk klimatyczny* < Eng. *climate strike*), as well as internationalisms present in both languages in contact (e.g. *super wtorek* < Eng. *Super Tuesday*). Therefore the set of criteria for loan translation-hybrid differentiation must be RL-specific rather than universal. Classification of data is possible but may require arbitrary decisions that may be different for different RLs.

The blurred category boundaries are determined by several factors. There is a variation in loan adaptation processes in different RLs due to the systemic differences between the languages in contact. In RLs that are genetically distant from English, e.g. Polish or Japanese, the degree of adaptation will be higher than in, say, other Germanic languages which share more properties with English (see e.g. Imamura 2018 for Japanese Anglicisms). This will find a reflection in whether and to what extent the untranslated SL element in a hybrid is adapted (and visible). Secondly, in the case of RLs whose syntactic and word-formation rules differ from those of English (cf. e.g. highly inflectional Slavonic languages vs. almost non-inflectional English), the contact-induced outcomes of loan-translating and half-translating will involve structural changes which may decrease the visibility of the untranslated SL element in a hybrid. It is important to note that despite the widely recognised definition of calques, the calqued expression often does not copy the structure of its foreign etymon if the two languages in contact have different grammatical systems (see e.g. Witalisz 2015: 258). Thirdly, the untranslated SL element in a hybrid may involve an earlier well-established borrowing or an internationalism (e.g. a Greek/Latin morpheme), no longer perceived as foreign by RL speakers, which will situate the calqued expression in a grey area between a hybrid and a loan translation. Fourthly, the foreignness/visibility of the SL element will be hard to identify (for the calque to be identified as a hybrid) if the “untranslated” SL element is a proper name with a RL equivalent, a single letter or a numeral, as attested in Section 5.

It goes beyond doubt that broad loan categories such as loan translation and hybrid are useful for the general description and categorisation of contact-induced phenomena and that they are effective for different contact settings. Yet, universal recommendations concerning detailed typological solutions seem hardly attainable. Taking into account several factors, such as 1) structural, lexical and semantic differences between various RLs that borrow from English, 2) the unpredictability of RL-speakers’ lexical preferences concerning the adaptation vs. adoption of English loans (see e.g. Zoričić et al. 2026), as well as 3) the variation in the morphological adaptation processes of recently acquired Anglicisms, it seems that the ultimate fine-grained categorisation of contact-induced phenomena will have to be, first of all, RL-specific, if we think about the influence of English on different languages. Secondly and more broadly, it will have to reflect the specificity of a particular language contact setting, e.g. Polish-Spanish/Catalan language contact experienced by the Polish diaspora in Spain. Therefore, while the solutions adopted for the categorization of Polish data in Section 5 may perhaps be partially useful for the categorisation of English calques in other Slavonic RLs (given their shared systemic features), they can hardly be considered universal.

The blurred category boundaries certainly pose a challenge for researches interested in proposing definite typologies. Yet, the value of broad, encompassing categories such as loan translation and hybrid rests in their ability to be inclusive and serve as guidelines or signposts for more detailed typologies that will have to be based on and reflect the features of authentic contact-induced data. Also, the blurred boundary between them can be invisibly shifted to accommodate unpredictable or untypical outcomes of language contact.

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