

LATENT BILINGUALISM

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1. Introduction.

The main psychological problem which faces the adult learner beginning a foreign language is the enormous discrepancy between what he would like to say in the new language and what he is capable of saying in it; in other words, between the high level of sophistication characterizing his use of his native tongue and the necessarily low, almost infantile, level of the utterances he can produce in the language he is trying to master.

It would seem, however, that the learner can achieve quite a high degree of complexity and efficiency of communication (which must not be confused with linguistic sophistication, or even correctness) with the help of a relatively modest grammatical machinery; provided, though, that he has a rich vocabulary. Thus, command of an extensive vocabulary appears to be the necessary condition for meaningful communication and, consequently, the best way to combat frustration and to avoid loss of motivation: the two dangers that beset the adult beginner. Therefore one of the most important tasks for the course designer and the teacher is to find a way of helping the learner to accumulate a fairly large stock of lexical items within the first few weeks of his work on the language.

In the case of closely related languages this task is comparatively easy, since the teacher can concentrate on cognates. This has been tried, notably with English and the Scandinavian languages. However, it involves two risks. Firstly, the learner may be led to believe that practically the whole of the vocabulary of the new language consists of cognates. This may result in disillusionment and subsequent loss of desire to learn when the learner discovers

that his assumption was false. Secondly, there is the danger represented by false cognates and other "deceptive words".¹

A different situation arises in the case of two languages which are unrelated or related only distantly, so that there are very few lexical items that the learner is likely to recognize as cognates. Russian and Portuguese can be quoted as examples. In this case vocabulary acquisition is a particularly difficult task.

The situation is different again when the language to be learnt has for some time served as an important source of loan-words in the learner's native tongue. This occurs, among others, when the target language is a world language, and English is the most characteristic example here. The loan-words can then be used to introduce the learner to the lexical system of English — and, incidentally, to English pronunciation and spelling.² This, too, has been tried; in Poland, among other countries. The emphasis, however, has been on using loan-words to illustrate English sounds and spellings.

The solutions outlined so far have all been only partial. It seems that the aim of supplying the learner, in the shortest possible time, with enough vocabulary to enable him to start communicating can be reached only if we do not confine our attention solely to loan-words, but look for and utilize the largest possible number of those elements of the lexical system of the target language which the learner can be expected to find easy to assimilate. These fall into three major classes, which we propose to call interlingual synonyms, unasimilated loans, and "linguistic folklore" borrowings.

2. Interlingual synonyms.

The first one of the classes of items mentioned above comprises all those words and phrases which are shared by the lexical systems of both languages (i.e., the target language and the learner's native tongue) and so are likely to be understood by the learner in their target-language form on the basis of their spelling, their pronunciation, or both. They fall into several categories, which will be illustrated here with material taken from English as the target language and Polish as the learner's native tongue.

¹ For an analysis of "deceptive words" in Polish see Jerzy Welna (1977).

² This can be done in two ways that are complementary to one another. One is to present the learner with words from his native language which are spelled identically with their English counterparts, and emphasize the pronunciation differences. The other is to present loan-words from English whose pronunciation resembles very strongly their original English pronunciation but which are spelled differently; the emphasis here would be on the differences in spelling. In both cases the aim is to take advantage of the feeling of strangeness experienced by the learner, which is likely to arouse interest and facilitate memorization.

1. English loan-words in Polish,³ eg.:

E. barman	P. barman
E. bikini	P. bikini
E. hobby	P. hobby
E. motel	P. motel
E. radar	P. radar
E. start	P. start
E. sweater	P. sweter
E. wigwam	P. wigwam

2. Words based on Greek and Latin stems, common to English and Polish (irrespective of how they found their way into Polish), eg.:

E. actor	P. aktor
E. export	P. eksport
E. instrument	P. instrument
E. telephone	P. telefon

3. Words from other languages which were borrowed independently both by English and by Polish, eg.:

E. algebra	P. algebra
E. casino	P. kasyno
E. slalom	P. slalom
E. sputnik	P. sputnik

It is suggested that pairs of words of these kinds be called *interlingual synonyms*; for short, *internyms*. They can be defined as pairs of words, one in language A and the other in language B, such that the meaning of the language-B word is the same as at least one (possibly more) of the meanings of the equivalent language-A word, and at the same time the two words are so similar in spelling, pronunciation, or both that the language-A word can be readily understood by native speakers of B who have never learnt A.

As can be seen from the subclassification presented above, the class of interlingual synonyms for language A and language B is not coextensive with the class of language-B borrowings from A (or vice versa). Thus the approach to teaching vocabulary proposed here differs from the attempts at using only cognates or loan-words as basic lexical items in a beginners' course.

³ Three subcategories can be distinguished here: a) native English words (eg. *barman*, *hobby*, *sweater*); b) words from other languages borrowed via English (eg. *bikini*, *wigwam*); and c) artificial creations (eg. *motel*, *radar*). This subcategorization, however, is not relevant for our discussion here.

The most extensive analysis of English loan-words in Polish is to be found in the work of Jacek Fisiak; mainly in his "English sports terms in Modern Polish" (Fisiak 1964), "Phonemics of English loanwords in Polish" (Fisiak 1968), and "The semantics of English loanwords in Polish" (Fisiak 1970).

3. Unassimilated loans.

The second major class of items in the target language which the learner can be expected to recognize as familiar (and, consequently, easy to learn) comprises words and phrases which have not been assimilated into the learner's native tongue but are nevertheless used by many speakers, in their foreign-language form; in quotes, as it were. This class is particularly well represented when the target language is a world language like English. Again examples will be taken from English in Poland: *beer, coffee, make-up, open (ticket), rally, science-fiction, snack bar*. The term proposed for items of this kind is *unassimilated loans*. They differ from interlingual synonyms in two respects. First, the Polish elements of interlingual synonymic pairs constitute part of the Polish lexical system and therefore take inflexional endings and derivational suffixes exactly the same as other Polish words. Secondly, all of them have become polonicized in their spelling. Unassimilated loans, on the other hand, are not inflected and retain their English spelling. More careful speakers may even try and imitate their original English pronunciation.

Semantically, items of this kind are taken over either in their central—or, perhaps, sole—meaning (eg. *beer, science-fiction*), or in one of their peripheral meanings (eg. *break*, used as a command in boxing).

The boundary between interlingual synonyms and unassimilated loans is not firm: English vocabulary items are being assimilated into Polish all the time. There is a clear subclass of items representing an intermediary stage, namely words and phrases which are used as if they were completely assimilated into Polish, ie., are inflected and, in some cases, take on Polish derivational affixes, but which at the same time retain their original English spelling. Examples: *blues, quiz, show, week-end*. A few items exist in two spelling versions, eg. *cocktail* and *koktajl* (the former particularly in the phrase *cocktail bar*). Items of this intermediary character will be referred to as *part-assimilated loans*.

A good example of the rapidity with which the process of assimilation of loan-words sometimes occurs is the phrase *strip-tease*. It is a very recent importation into Polish and for a brief period of time it had the status of an unassimilated loan. It is now, however, crossing the boundary line and becoming simply a loan-word of the internym type: in informal use it is more and more often spelled *striptiz*, and takes on Polish derivational morphemes, eg. *striptizerka* 'strip-tease dancer'.

4. "Linguistic folklore" borrowings.

The third class of items in the target language which are likely to be familiar to the learner comprises complete utterances in that language which have become part of the "linguistic folklore" of the learner's native tongue. Again

examples will be taken from English in Poland: *goodbye, O.K., made in Poland, thank you, I love you, Do you speak English?* The list of items of this kind is not long; yet they seem particularly useful in teaching, since they not only afford a chance of introducing the learner to the lexical system of the target language and to its pronunciation and spelling, but can also serve as examples of certain syntactic patterns.

5. Interlingual synonyms: discussion.

A tentative list of English-Polish interlingual synonyms, unassimilated loans, and "linguistic folklore" borrowings is presented in Section 7. Here, by way of introduction, is a brief general discussion of its contents.

Unassimilated and part-assimilated loans do not seem to present problems. Individual items may or may not be known to the learner; but if the learner recognizes an item, he will almost certainly interpret it correctly—even though his interpretation may be restricted to only one of the meanings which this item has in English. It is the interlingual synonyms that call for comment,

a) Spelling and pronunciation.

The definition of interlingual synonyms given above (in Section 2) begs the question of how similar a language-A word should be to its counterpart in language B in spelling and/or pronunciation to be readily understood by native speakers of B. The problem is empirical rather than theoretical in nature since the answer in each case depends in the last resort on informants' reactions. It seems therefore that instead of formulating rules we should examine the evidence and try and discover the tendencies underlying the informants' reactions.

As far as spelling is concerned, the most obvious candidates for the list of interlingual synonyms are words spelled identically in both languages. Even from the short lists of examples quoted in Section 2 it can be seen that at least as far as English and Polish are concerned, identically spelled internyms are quite numerous. It is quite clear, of course, that identity of spelling is not necessarily paralleled by identity of pronunciation.

The next group consists of words which are spelled differently in each language, such differences, however, being relatively slight and regular; resulting from different spelling conventions in each language. Thus, for example, although double consonant letters are hardly ever used in Polish, they do not seem to present a problem to the Polish learner when he encounters them in English. To give just a few examples, the English words *professor, bulldog*, and *tennis* are immediately recognized as the internymic equivalents of the Polish words *profesor, buldog*, and *tenis*. This is presumably influenced by the

fact that in English pronunciation double letters do not stand for either double consonants or long consonants.

If the only spelling difference between an English word and its Polish internymic equivalent lies in the use of a letter or letters which are not normally used in the Polish alphabet, this does not seem to act as an obstacle to understanding. This refers mostly to words containing the letters *x* and *v*: such as *boxer*, *sex*, or *revolver*, which are easily interpreted as the equivalents of the Polish words *bokser*, *seks*, and *rewolwer*. Again, pronunciation is a contributory factor. Interestingly enough, no words with the graphemic cluster *qu* (alien to Polish) appear on the list of English-Polish interlingual synonyms.

Another spelling convention of English which an average educated speaker of Polish is familiar with is the use of the letter *c* and the cluster *ck* for the sound /k/. Examples are very numerous: *cowboy*, *actor*, *cocktail*, *tonic*, *club* — to quote just a handful.

Two more English spelling conventions (shared also by several other European languages) seem to be familiar to many native speakers of Polish: the use of *ph* as the graphic representation of the phoneme /f/, and the use of *y* in the environment of a vowel letter to express the semivowel /j/. Examples: *cowboy*, *yacht*, *photo*, *saxophone*.

Pronunciation similarities are more difficult to define than spelling similarities. Analysis of the list of English-Polish interlingual synonyms seems to suggest two observations. The first is that internymic pairs based on similarity of pronunciation are fewer in number than pairs based on similarity of spelling. The other observation is that, predictably, native speakers of Polish interpret English words in terms of the Polish phonological system. As a result the English consonants remain largely unchanged (in phonological, not in phonetic terms), the exceptions being /θ/, /ð/, and /ŋ/, while the vowels become reinterpreted to fit the Polish vocalic system, which is simpler both in terms of its phonemes and in its phonotactic and prosodic rules.

The next question is, in how many respects a language-A word can differ in spelling and/or pronunciation from its counterpart in language B and still be recognizable as its internymic equivalent. In other words: we have to decide where we should draw the line between pairs of interlingual synonyms and pairs of words, one from language A and the other from language B, which are not sufficiently similar in spelling or pronunciation to be easily recognized as related. Again it has to be stressed that the problem is empirical and not theoretical in nature, since the ultimate aim of our search for internymic pairs is facilitation of the learning process, and the final judges are the learners themselves.

The solution adopted here has been to exclude all pairs of words which differ both in spelling and in pronunciation to a degree which makes recognition problematic; for example, English *jam*, Polish *dżem*. This applies parti-

cularly to cases in which the Polish word is longer by a syllable and has an additional vowel letter at the end; for example, English *aspirin*, Polish *aspiryna*. As far as complex morphemes are concerned, all those have been excluded in which there is a difference in the phonemic (and graphemic) shape of the derivational suffix between the English word and its Polish equivalent. This has eliminated such suffixal pairs as E. *-ic*, P. *-iczny/-yczny*; E. *-ist*, P. *-ista/-ysta* or *-istyczny/-ystyczny*; E. *-ar*, P. *-arny*; E. *-al*, P. *-alny*; E. *-ize*, P. *-izować*; and many others — including, for the sake of consistence, the “easy” pair: E. *-ism*, P. *-izm/-yzm*. An additional argument in favour of excluding all such pairs is that in many cases relative formal similarity of morphemes is not here paralleled by semantic affinity; the phenomenon analysed in detail in Werna’s paper on “deceptive words”, mentioned above (see note 1).

b) Semantic analysis.

The next problem is the degree of synonymy of items recognized by informants as interlingual synonyms. It appears that in the majority of cases the synonymy is perfect. Examples are easy to find: *barman* — *barman*, *poodle* — *pudel*, *jeans* — *dżinsy*, *zoo* — *zoo*, *tennis* — *tenis*, *judo* — *dżudo*,⁴ and so on. When synonymy is only partial, it is almost always the Polish item that is restricted in meaning.⁵ Thus, for example, in Polish the word *twist* is only used as the name of a dance or the name of a jar with a twist-off lid, while in English it has several meanings, both as a noun and as a verb. The Polish word *kamera* means ‘film camera’: its meaning is thus narrower than that of the English word *camera*. In Polish *mityng* is a sports term, while in English *meeting* refers to any gathering of people.

Lack of perfect synonymy seems particularly frequent with words referring to people. The pair *conductor* — *konduktor* can serve as a good example. The Polish word *konduktor* denotes the man who sells or checks tickets on buses and trains. In English the word has several meanings, and the situation is further complicated by the fact that there is a difference in usage between British English and American English:

	→	przewodnik (of electricity)
	→	dyrygent (of an orchestra)
conductor	→	konduktor (on a bus or, in U.S., on a train)
guard (Br. E.)	→	konduktor (on a train)

⁴ Perfect synonymy exists only between the English word *judo* and its Polish equivalent (*dżudo*), and not between these words and their Japanese source, which means “gentle method”. The same, of course, is true of the majority of those interlingual synonyms which, etymologically, are derived from languages other than either English or Polish.

⁵ As far as borrowings from English are concerned, this phenomenon was described by Fisiak in his “Semantics of English loanwords in Polish” (see note 3).

It is very rare for the Polish part of the interlingual synonymic pair to be wider in meaning than its English equivalent. Examples: Polish *koncert*, English *concert* or *concerto*; Polish *magazyn*, English *magazine* or *warehouse*.

There is another, small category of internyms which deserves comment. It consists of those English loan-words in Polish which were borrowed in their English plural form but function as nouns in the singular.⁶ Examples:

- E. hippie(s) P. hipis 'a hippie'
 E. cracker(s) P. krakers 'a cracker'
 E. comic(s) P. komiks 'a comic strip'

The reason for this is, presumably, that in the contexts from which these nouns were borrowed they appeared in the plural.⁷

A word of warning is in order concerning *pseudo-internyms*: pairs of words which are related semantically in a way which is misleading to the learner. This happens when the native-language element of the pair is used in a meaning which is only marginal for its foreign-language counterpart, or when the native-language element develops a specialized meaning in which its foreign-language counterpart is not used at all. The English-Polish pseudo-internymic pair *speaker* — *spiker* can serve as a good example. The Polish word *spiker* means 'radio (or TV) announcer': a meaning in which its English counterpart is not used. Needless to say, pseudo-pairs of this kind are not included in our list of interlingual synonyms.

All that has been said in this section leads to the conclusion that in teaching a foreign language the internymic pairs have to be handled carefully. It seems advisable both to use them always in context and even, perhaps, to caution the learner expressly against pseudo-internyms, deceptive cognates, and other "faux amis du traducteur". They are not, however, unique in this respect, since the same can be said about teaching many other vocabulary items. In any case, the advantages of using internyms and unassimilated loans in the early stages of teaching clearly outweigh possible risks.

6. Collection procedure.

To collect English-Polish interlingual synonyms, part-assimilated and unassimilated loans, as well as Polish "linguistic folklore" items of English origin, the following procedure was adopted. A tentative list of items from

⁶ For a discussion of this phenomenon see Fisiak's "Zjawisko depluralizacji niektórych rzeczowników angielskich zapożyczonych przez język polski" (Fisiak 1961).

⁷ English *jeans*, Polish *dżinsy* — another candidate for the list of internymic pairs — represents the category of "summation plurals". For a recent discussion of this and related phenomena see Randolph Quirk's "Grammatical and pragmatic aspects of countability" (Quirk 1978).

all the three classes was drawn up and presented to a number of native speakers of Polish, of whom some knew English and some did not. Interlingual synonyms were presented in their English version. The informants were asked whether in their opinion the items presented would be recognized and interpreted correctly by a non-English-speaking Pole, on the basis of their spelling, their pronunciation, or both. They were also asked to expand the list.

The final list turned out to be unexpectedly long, but the responses of the informants varied considerably. The variation was a function of two factors: the informant's sex and age, and the semantic field involved. Thus a person interested in sports would consider English sports terminology to be instantly recognizable; on the other hand a person interested in politics and economics might find sports terms unfamiliar but recognize and comprehend instantly terms used in political journalism.

In view of that the obvious conclusion was to look for a "common core" of internyms and unassimilated loans. Rather unexpectedly, this turned out to be a problem. For each informant the stock of items of these kinds was usually quite large, but individual variations depending on sex, age, and semantic field were surprisingly wide. At the same time most informants were quite dogmatic in their responses. "It is quite obvious to everybody, of course, what this word means" was the characteristic reaction; only what was obvious to person X proved to be only dimly recognizable to person Y, and completely alien to person Z. The area of general consensus — the "common core" of internyms and unassimilated loans — turned out to be quite difficult to establish, as it called for too many arbitrary decisions. As a result the final list (given below) includes all those items which were accepted by a reasonable number of informants, and no attempt is made to divide the items in each semantic field into "core" and "peripheral".

7. List of English-Polish interlingual synonyms and unassimilated loans.

This section contains a tentative list of English-Polish interlingual synonyms, and of part-assimilated and unassimilated loans from English in Polish, grouped according to semantic fields. Interlingual synonyms are listed as "Class A" items, unassimilated loans as "Class B" items. Part-assimilated loans are listed together with unassimilated loans, but marked with a dagger.

The list as it stands is, doubtless, incomplete: more items could be added to each category. It has to be emphasized, however, that the present paper does not aim at exhaustive enumeration of vocabulary items of the types described above; its objective is merely to present and discuss the issue.

PEOPLE

General terms

Class A		Class B
cowboy	kowboj	lady
gentleman	dżentelmen	Miss
hippie(s)	hipis	Mr.
lord	lord	+old boy
		+playboy
		sir

Professions and occupations

Class A		Class B
actor	aktor	+businessman
barman	barman	+clown
conductor	konduktor	+disc-jockey
detective	detektyw	guru
director	dyrektor	
doctor	doktor	
farmer	farmer	
gangster	gangster	
general	general	
inspector	inspektor	
major	major	
mechanic	mechanik	
minister	minister	
pilot	pilot	
president	prezydent	
professor	profesor	
reporter	reporter	
sheriff	szeryf	
steward	steward	
student	student	

DOGS

Class A		Class B
boxer	bokser	basset hound
bulldog	buldog	collie
poodle	pudel	
terrier	terier	

CLOTHING

Class A		Class B
jeans	dżinsy	bikini
nylon	nylon	maxi
pullover	pulower	midi
shorts	szorty	+mini
sweater	sweter	+non-iron
		+tweed

FOOD

Class A		Class B
broiler	brojler	curry
cracker(s)	krakers	+hot dog
grapefruit	grejpfrut	instant (coffee)
hamburger	hamburger	orange
ketchup	keczup	+snack bar
sandwich	sandwicz	tea
toast	tost	coffee

DRINK

Alcoholic drinks

Class A		Class B
coctail	koktajl	beer
gin	dżyn	+drink
rum	rum	sherry
vodka*	wódka	whisky

(Class B also comprises brand names of drinks, eg. Black & White).

Soft drinks

Class A		Class B
tonic	tonik	+coca-cola
		+pepsi-cola
		soda

* *Vodka* in English is a borrowing from Russian. The Polish word *wódka* is a native word, derived from the all-Slavic *voda* 'water'.

Other terms

Class A		Class B
bar	bar	dry

DRUGS AND COSMETICS

Class A		Class B
aerosol	aerazol	after-shave
antibiotic	antybiotyki	cream
cosmetic	kosmetyki	make-up
deodorant	dezodorant	powder
detergent	detergent	shampoo

MUSIC AND DANCING

Class A		Class B
concert	koncert	+big band
dancing	dansing	+blues
fox-trot	fokstrot	+charleston
gramophone	gramofon	cool (jazz)
long play	longplej	country (music)
opera	opera	hi-fi
saxophone	saksofon	+jazz
single	singiel	+jazz-band
song	song	jam-session
swing	swing	mono
twist	twist	music hall
		+musical
		+playback
		pop (music)
		+protest song
		stereo
		soul

(Class B also comprises names of currently popular pop groups).

PHOTOGRAPHY AND FILMING

Class A		Class B
camera	kamera	+dubbing
film	film	horror (film)
flash	flesz	porno

photo(s)	fotos	+zoom
slide	slajd	
western	western	

OTHER KINDS OF ENTERTAINMENT

Class A		Class B
club	klub	hobby
comic (strip)	komiks	party
magazine	magazyn	+quiz
picnic	piknik	+show
serial	serial	+strip-tease
zoo	zoo	+topless
		+week-end

CARD GAMES AND GAMBLING

Class A		Class B
bridge	brydz	+bluff
canasta	kanasta	
casino	kasyno	
joker	dzoker	
poker	poker	

SPORT AND GAMES

General terms

Class A		Class B
finish	finisz	fair (play)
leader	lider	
meeting	mityng	
sport	sport	
start	start	
record	rekord	
training	trening	

Names of games

Class A		Class B
badminton	badminton	+baseball
cricket	krykiet	polo

football	futbol
golf	golf
hockey	hokej
ping-pong	pingpong
rugby	rugby
tennis	tenis

Other sports (and sports equipment)

Class A

bobsleigh	bobslej
goggles	gogle
judo	dżudo
karate	karate
nelson	nelson
slalom	slalom
yacht(ing)	jacht(ing)

*Technical terms**(In boxing:)*

Class A

knock-out	nokaut
ring	ring

(In football:)

Class A

corner	korner
foul	faul
goal	gol
match	mecz
out	aut

(In tennis:)

Class A

double	debel
game	gem
net	net
set	set
single	singiel

Class B

box
break
+knock-down

Class B

+off-side

Class B

+backhand
+forehand

TRAVEL AND TOURISM

Means of transportation

Class A

charter (plane)	czarter(owy samolot)
express (train)	ekspres
helicopter	helikopter
taxi	taxi
trolleybus	trolejbus

Class B

+pick-up
+sleeping (-car)

Ports, etc.

Class A

hangar	hangar
port	port

Class B

airport
air-terminal

Places to stay

Class A

hotel	hotel
motel	motel

Class B

+hostel

Travel documents

Class A

passport	paszport
visa	wiza

Class B

open (ticket)

Other terms

Class A

folder	folder
plan	plan
transit	tranzyt
transport	transport

Class B

airline
+camping

MOTORING

Class A

garage	garaż
parking	parking
scooter	skuter
service	serwis

Class B

automatic (gearbox)
+caravan
+jeep
oil

stop	stop	rally
tractor	traktor	

(Plus the names of the most popular makes of foreign motor-cars.)

GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

Class A		Class B
bush	busz	America
canyon	kanion	American
continent	kontynent	city
ocean	ocean	English
shelf	szelf	Polish
		United States

(Plus a considerable number of place names and names of countries, continents, etc.)

BUSINESS, FINANCE, AND POLITICS

Class A		Class B
bank	bank	+best seller
cent	cent	+business
cheque	czek	+copyright
container	kontener	+establishment
dollar	dolar	fair
export	eksport	lobby
		+marketing
import	import	money
safe	sejf	peace
trend	trend	police
		+voucher

MACHINES AND INSTRUMENTS

Class A		Class B
boiler	bojler	+deck (=cassette deck)
calculator	kalkulator	+tuner
computer	komputer	TV
cassette	kaseta	+xerox
instrument	instrument	
laser	laser	
radar	radar	
radio	radio	
reactor	reaktor	

sputnik	sputnik
telephone	telefon
thermometre	termometr
transistor	tranzystor
turbine	turbina

SCIENTIFIC TERMS

Class A	
algebra	algebra
atom	atom
electron	elektron
minus	minus
neutron	neutron
pesticide	pestycyd
plus	plus
proton	proton

MISCELLANEOUS

Class A		Class B
amulet	amulet	airmail
boomerang	bumerang	cigarette
bungalow	bungalow	end (The End: in films)
folklore	folklor	kiss
gang	gang	science-fiction
hall	hol	+sex-appeal
igloo	iglu	
limit	limit	
lynch	lincz	
model	model	
nonsense	nonsens	
problem	problem	
revolver	rewolwer	
scandal	skandal	
sex	seks	
smog	smog	
sniper	snajper	
standard	standard	
telegram	telegram	
test	test	
tornado	tornado	
tribune	trybuna	

trick	trik
wigwam	wigwam

8. List of Polish "Linguistic folklore" items of English origin.

GREETINGS AND POLITE PHRASES

Goodbye.	How are you?	Sorry.
Hallo.	How do you do?	Thank you.

AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION

All right.	O. K.
No.	Yes.

VARIOUS PHRASES AND SENTENCES

Do you speak English?	Love story.
English spoken.	Ladies and gentlemen!
Fifty-fifty.	No smoking.
For you.	Printed in Poland.
I love you.	To be or not to be.

9. Survey of form-classes.

Our tentative lists comprise 200 words and phrases in Class A and 120 in Class B, plus a handful of items on the list of "linguistic folklore" borrowings.

The great majority of items on the lists are nouns and noun phrases. They are mostly names of persons and things, but names of actions, abstract concepts, and relations are also represented. They all come from some twenty semantic fields, most of them relating to everyday life, work, and leisure; which makes the items particularly useful in teaching.

Adjectives are few in number (about twenty) and constitute a random collection. In Class A there are only a handful: *long* (in *long play*), *single*, *double*, *comic*, and *western*. The internymic equivalents of the last four function in Polish as nouns, but their adjectival meaning will be obvious to the learner. In Class B the list is much longer: *best* (in *best seller*), *big* (in *big band*), *cool* (a jazz term), *hot* (in *hot dog*), *dry* (wine), *fair* (in *fair play*), *instant* (coffee), *old* (in *old boy*), *open* (ticket or reservation). Some of these adjectives appear in their marginal, rather than central meanings: *cool jazz*, *dry wine*. In teaching they will require special treatment. Names of nationalities (and languages) also belong here: *American*, *English*, *Polish*. Finally there are one or two less useful items, such as *automatic* (gearbox) and *topless*.

Verbs are even more scarcely represented than adjectives, but almost all of them are very useful in teaching beginners. In Class A there are only three: *stop*, *start*, *finish*. The last two function as nouns in Polish, but their English verbal meanings are not likely to be a problem to the learner. Class B contains

just two verbs: *box* and *break*. They appear only as technical terms in boxing and are thus of marginal usefulness. "Linguistic folklore" borrowings contain several verbs of high frequency of use: *be*, *love*, *speak*, *thank*, as well as several past participles: *made*, *printed*, *spoken*—all of them very useful in teaching the first steps of English.

Form classes other than nouns, adjectives, and verbs are only marginally represented in the material under discussion.

10. Latent bilingualism.

As we can see from the list of internyms, unassimilated loans, and "linguistic folklore" items of English origin, the number of English lexical units which the Polish learner can be expected to understand and therefore to master easily is quite considerable. Moreover, they come from a number of different semantic fields. We would seem justified, therefore, in coining the phrase *latent bilingualism* in relation to an average educated speaker of Polish who has never consciously studied English. The term "bilingualism" is here used, of course, in its "weak" meaning, implying a partial and very incomplete familiarity with the foreign language, limited to certain elements of its lexicon and of its graphic and/or phonological system. To put it in a different way: certain elements of the code of the foreign language function as a subcode in the learner's native tongue.

It seems reasonable to assume that by making the learner aware of his latent bilingualism, however partial and incomplete, we can help him overcome the very considerable difficulties involved in learning the beginnings of the foreign language.

11. Applications.

The uses of interlingual synonyms, unassimilated loans, and "linguistic folklore" items in language teaching are several. As was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, they can serve as illustrative material for teaching English sounds and letter-to-sound combinations. Borrowings from English are particularly useful here: both assimilated and unassimilated loans. However, the most important advantage of using internyms and unassimilated loans in teaching stems from the fact that they enable the beginning student to communicate meaningfully almost right from the start of his language learning career. Words and phrases that the learner recognizes as familiar are easy to learn. As we could see, a large proportion of them can be useful in everyday communication; many others relate to various fields of interest that the learners may find interesting to discuss.

One has to remember, of course, that items under discussion here are recognized as familiar and so are easy to learn receptively. That does not automatically guarantee that the learner will be able to manipulate them effortlessly in speech production. This will require special exercises; but the familiarity of the items and their usefulness in communication will make the process of learning to use them actively much shorter in comparison with the process of mastering other vocabulary items. The learner is likely to progress at a fairly fast rate, and the feeling of success this will give him will strengthen his motivation and thus help him overcome other, more serious learning problems, unavoidable at the elementary stage of language study.

It is not claimed here that one can write a beginners' course of English based exclusively on interlingual synonyms and unassimilated loans. A considerable number of other vocabulary items will have to be introduced: mainly more verbs and adjectives, but also a necessary minimum of words from other form-classes, such as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs. Even the stock of nouns and noun phrases will have to be enriched with items which do not figure on the list of interonyms and unassimilated loans, but should be included in the early stage of the course because of their communicative usefulness, their teachability, or both. However, it would seem reasonable to expect that interlingual synonyms, unassimilated loans, and "linguistic folklore" borrowings could account for one third of the lexical material in the first year of a non-intensive course, or in the first semester of a semi-intensive course of English for adult beginners.

The principal advantage of the approach to teaching adult beginners advocated here is psychological in nature. As was stated in the Introduction, the learner's main problem is the wide gap between what he wants to say and what he can say in the new language. By speeding up the process of initial vocabulary acquisition the teacher can help the learner overcome his inhibitions and crash through the "communication barrier" quite early on in the process of acquiring the foreign language.

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