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*„Proč to neříct česky?“, Slova převzatá z angličtiny v českém
neheterosexuálním sociolektu a jejich používání v e-komunikaci*

*“Why not say it in Czech?”: Czech Non-heterosexual Sociolect and Usage of
English Loanwords in Online CMC*

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Prohlášení

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Abstract and key words

This thesis pays attention to the Czech non-heterosexual sociolect and, more precisely, the English loanwords used in otherwise entirely Czech computer-mediated communication. The term in the title: “non-heterosexual”, is used to include a broader spectrum of possible respondents who consider their sexual identity different from binary homosexual and heterosexual sexual orientation. To be able to observe a real sample of this type of communication, this thesis gathers a collection of conversations from users of a popular dating app called *Grindr*, which is one of the most popular dating services in the world. The reasons for the tendency of using the English loanwords instead of their Czech counterparts are mainly accredited to a degree of emotional detachment that they provide. The hypothesis is that the users of this service are most likely to use English loan words instead of their Czech counterparts when discussing sexual relations as it serves as a “depersonalizing” defensive tool. A follow-up questionnaire is then also proposed to the respondents in which they are supposed to pick from a selection of messages in three different contexts the one they are more likely to use themselves. If the hypothesis is correct, they are most likely to choose the message with English loanwords in the context of sex. The use of English loanwords is an interesting aspect of Czech non-heterosexual sociolect, which has not been studied in the past. The thesis thus provides a modern take on the study of the contemporary behaviour of the observed group.

Key words: anglicism, loanword, computer-mediated communication, psychological detachment, emotional detachment, non-heterosexual, sociolect, Grindr, corpus

Abstrakt a klíčová slova

Tato práce zkoumá český neheterosexuální sociolekt a jeho specifický aspekt používání slov převzatých z anglického jazyka v jinak zcela české e-komunikaci. Termín neheterosexuální je použit pro rozšíření možných respondentů, kteří používají jiných termínů než pouze binární dvojici heterosexuální a homosexuální pro označení svojí vlastní sexuální orientace. Aby práce mohla sledovat skutečný vzorek této komunikace, sbírá opravdové konverzace uživatelů populární seznamovací služby *Grindr*, která je jednou z nejpopulárnějších služeb svého druhu na světě. Používání těchto anglických přejímek místo jejich českých ekvivalentů je zejména zapříčiněno psychologickému a citovému odstupu, které cizí slova poskytují. Hypotézou této práce je, že uživatelé této služby sahají po těchto anglických přejímkách zejména při rozebírání sexuálních vztahů, protože jim poskytují obranný nástroj a možnost odosobnění od obsahu. Respondenti poté mají také zodpovědět na následující dotazník, ve kterém mají ze série zpráv ve třech různých kontextech vybrat tu, kterou by sami nejpravděpodobněji poslali. Pokud je hypotéza správná, jejich volbou budou v kontextech sexu zprávy s anglickými slovy. Použití anglicismů je zajímavý prvek českého neheterosexuálního sociolektu, který zatím nebyl prozkoumán. Tato práce tak přináší moderní přístup ke studiu chování pozorované skupiny.

Klíčová slova: anglicismy, přejímky, e-komunikace, psychologický odstup, citový odstup, neheterosexuální, sociolekt, Grindr, korpus

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since the invention of the internet, communication has been going through immense changes. Real-life chatting has turned to e-mails, e-mails to forums, forums to chat rooms, chat rooms to social networks, social networks to dating apps, and so on. Nowadays, the user can choose amongst the infinite number of apps and other platforms to chat with whoever, whenever, and about whatever. Although it might seem that all these apps and websites provide a very similar type of service, the types and behaviours of users on them differ. This thesis focuses on Czech non-heterosexual individuals and their communicative behaviour in online CMC. The main aspect that is observed is the use of English loanwords in otherwise entirely Czech sentences. The reason for this use is assumed to be a level of psychological and emotional detachment which the use of a foreign language provides. The speakers usually need this detachment in situations when they feel vulnerable.

To acquire a real sample of this type of communication, a questionnaire is constructed into which Czech non-heterosexual users of a popular dating service called *Grindr* are supposed to submit their own conversations, which they had through this service. The service is mostly used for finding sexual encounters, and thus the sample of communication is mainly in the context of sex, which can precisely be the vulnerable topic for which, the speaker might rather tend to use English loanwords.

The hypothesis thus is that Czech non-heterosexual individuals will use English loanwords instead of their Czech counterparts in otherwise entirely Czech sentences when discussing sex.

In the introduction of this thesis, some aspects of topics relating to the subject of this thesis are discussed. The process of lexical borrowing and its further specification on English loanwords is discussed in a broader sense. The application of this process into the Czech language is then also debated regarding the phonetic-phonological and morphological

adaptation. As a possible reason for the use of the English loanwords is accredited to the psychological detachment these English loanwords offer. Psychological and emotional attachment to using foreign languages is thus also discoursed. A brief history of queer linguistics is then discussed together with the problematics of terminology and the non-heterosexual lexis. Finally, the topics of computer-mediated communication and online dating language are presented.

In the second part of the thesis, the process of acquiring the conversations is described. From the collected conversations is then built a corpus which will give the frequency and concordance information. The most frequent loanwords are then compared with their Czech counterparts and their use in the sexual context is discussed. The second questionnaire is then also discussed and its results are presented in regard to the thesis.

2. English Loanwords and anglicisms

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2022), a loanword is “a word taken from another language and at least partly naturalised”, and an anglicism is “a characteristic feature of English occurring in another language”. The terms anglicism and English loan words are sometimes used interchangeably, but according to some, there are differences. Bozděchová (1997: 271) understands anglicisms either in a broader or in a narrower sense. In the broader sense, anglicisms are loan words which are fully adjusted to the Czech language and function at all linguistic levels. In the narrower sense, they are English lexical units which remain unmodified in an effort to fit into the Czech language system and still retain their original form.

In the Czech lexical context, anglicisms are words that are incorporated and used in the Czech language, but they originate from English. The words are not always incorporated in their pure English form. They might take on the inferior language's morphological and grammatical aspects, such as adjectival suffixes and their different grammatical flections. On the contrary, the opposite tendency also occurs when aspects of English are incorporated into the other language, such as literal translations or using English grammatical or morphological structure while speaking the other language. These are known as *calques* (Markley, 2022).

Loanwords are most commonly divided into full loanwords and partial loanwords. Full loanwords are those words which are borrowed as a whole from one language and used in the same form in the other one. On the other hand, partial loanwords only borrowed a part of it into the other language, and the rest is supplemented by a part native to the recipient language (Shi, 2020: 205). An example of a full loanword is the adjective *hot*, which appears in the Czech language in its native form. On the contrary, an example of a partial loanword is the word *webový*. The stem of the word *web* was borrowed from English, but the Czech adjectival suffix *-ový* was added. Shi defines this process as one in which “only one or few syllabic characters are ‘loaned’ whereas others are drawn from the native language” (2020: 205).

Words, in general, might also appear in abbreviated constructions which are used to shorten a phrase which is especially common in online communication (Turkel, 2021). Some common abbreviations are for example: *ave.*, *blvd*, *photo*, which are abbreviated forms of *avenue*, *boulevard*, and *photograph*. Multi-word constructions usually appear either as initialisms or acronyms. Initialisms are created by joining the initial letters of the multi-word construction, but every letter is pronounced individually, for instance: *DVD*, *PC*, *NY*, which stand for *digital versatile disc*, *personal computer*, *New York*. Acronyms are formed in the same manner, but the final constructions are pronounced as words, such as *NASA* or *FOMO*, which are composed out of initials letters of *National Aeronautical and Space Administration*, and “*fear of missing out*” (Turkel, 2021). These abbreviated forms can also undergo the process of lexical borrowing. Abbreviations appear namely in informal and spoken communication and as a result of this tendency, there are Czech words such as *esemeska* (from SMS), or *céděčko* (from CD) (Bozděchová, 2017). Initialisms and acronyms appear both in professional and everyday interactions, additionally, they can even appear in attributive positions to other Czech words, such as in “PR pracovník” (PR worker) (Bozděchová, 2017).

Another commonly appearing aspects, that usually remains untranslated in the Czech language are proper nouns. Proper nouns are names of persons, places, and organizations (English Club, 2022). Although these names remain untranslated, they might undergo the process of adaptation, which is in more detail described in chapter 2.5. As a result, there are such constructions in the Czech language as *Instagramu* (inflected according to the model word *hrad* in the Czech third case, singular) and *Instagramový* (Czech adjectival suffix *-ový*).

2.1. English as a global language

English, in its expansion, represents a special kind of language. Its global status is generally achieved when a language “develops a special role that is recognized in every country” (Crystal, 2012:3). It is the most spoken language in the world (Statics and Data, 2022),

making it the lingua franca¹ of today. As such, English has a significant influence on other languages, which use it as a source for terms that did not previously exist in them and for many other reasons. The purity of the language as a global language is at risk since people from different countries change it and modify it to their own language. This is generally a consequence of a language becoming global, “it does not belong to anybody anymore” (Crystal 2012: 2). To obtain the global status in countries where English is not a native language, it must be first given a particular function within the communities of the country. There are two ways to achieve this. The first one is to make English an official language which would make it a second official language and a “complement to a person’s mother tongue, or first language” (Crystal 2012: 4). This can be seen in countries such as Singapore, India, and Ghana. The second way to achieve this is to make English a priority in foreign-language teaching, even though it has no formal function in the country. This can be seen nowadays in Czechia, where this position was previously taken by the Russian language, as in many other countries of the former Soviet Union (Crystal 2012: 4-5).

The reasons to favour a foreign language vary; the language might, for example, be more practical, bring economic benefits, or may be viewed as a symbol of prestige and pride regarding one’s identity (Ammon 2010: 9). A way in which it is possible to spectate English influence on the Czech language is the growing number of English lexical borrowings. English as the globally dominant lingua franca loans many words to Czech. Lexical borrowings are consequently followed by phonological, syntactic, and morphological borrowings (Nekula 2022).

¹ ”any of various languages used as common or commercial tongues among peoples of diverse speech” (Merriam-Webster 2022)

2.2. Lexical Borrowing

The term *borrowing* might be deceptive. Its metaphorical implication absurdly suggests some degree of lender's consent and that it should be returned or repaid at some point in the future. Yet sometimes, neither side of this process participates knowingly, and it is indeed illogical to anticipate some sort of trade or return of the borrowed lexicon. Terms like *stealing* and *adoption* are discussed as potentially more adequate yet still not perfect, always due to the term's insufficient or misleading properties. *Stealing* has a negative connotation, which signifies that the group from which something is stolen would be put at a disadvantage from such an act. On the other hand, *adoption* does not have a negative connotation or would mislead in the way that the word was unjustly incorporated into another language. It would be an adequately used term, for the speaker does adopt elements of the other language, but its problem lies in the additional terms that would be derived from it. A proposed term for a word adopted from one language into another would be an *adoptee*, which again might raise some unwanted connotations. The term *borrowing* has an advantage for its language application has not been implemented by laypeople. The word thus remains unambiguity in the linguistic discussion, and no other well-established term has been introduced (Haugen 1950: 212). Although Haugen's article is from the year 1950, the fact that the term is still used even in contemporary textbooks ("An Introduction to Sociolinguistics" by Wardhaugh & Fuller from 2014, for example) suggests that *borrowing* is still the preferred term to use.

In the past, it was pointed out that "all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages" (Haugen, 1950: 210). Haugen (1950: 210), therefore, proposes that a group of bilinguals has to be assumed in the target language, and it is their behaviour and the results of borrowing that should be analysed. In other words, a group of English speakers must exist in the second language environment in order for lexical borrowing to occur. The speakers who are exposed to the other language then

tend to reproduce some of the foreign words. These reproductions may vary from such formulations the native speakers would produce themselves to a form that the native speakers would not even recognise; this creates two types of language borrowing. The first type of this process is called *importation*. *Importation* occurs when the reproduced loan is indistinguishable from the one a native speaker of the second language would produce. It may be said that they imported the loan in its original form into their language as an innovation. The second type of this process is called *substitution*, which occurs when the borrowing speaker reproduced the loan inadequately and thus substituted a related pattern from his own language (Haugen, 1950: 212). The second type is usually more prominent as some sort of compromise between the original form and the target language norms is common. The loan is adjusted to the new language, and it then may vary from the original in phonetics, inflection, word formation, or syntax (Haugen, 1950: 213).

2.3. Adaptation of Loan words and Anglicisms into Czech

Lexical borrowing is one of the primary sources of innovation in the Czech vocabulary. A contemporary analysis of the most recent additions to the Czech lexis suggests that anglicisms represent a leading position among the new loan words in comparison with words originating from other languages that only convey an insignificant number (Mravinacová, 2005: 187). It is thought that this rapid increase in English loan words coming into the Czech lexis dates back to the year 1989 when the Czech language opened to a wave of new influences coming from English (Kučera, 1995: 77). The number of new English loan words which are being applied in many different fields of communication is rising, notably in computer-related communication (*bookmark, firewall, wallpaper*), business/marketing-related communication (*brandovat, merchandiser, loyalty program*), psychology-related communication (*gender, labelling, transgender*), music-related communication (*grunge, rave, unplugged*), travel-related

communication (*all-inclusive, last minute, outgoing*), and finally fashion-related communication (*casual, outfit, street style*) (Mravinacová 2005: 188-9).

The loanwords have to undergo a process of integration, but not all aspects of the foreign loanword are integrated into the adopting language. A loanword can obtain either a high or a low degree of integration. A clear sign low degree of integration is a loanword that is not being incorporated into morphological and word-formation paradigms, and grammatical categories such as case, gender, and number are being expressed only by syntactical constructions. Such words are then incorporated into the syntactical scheme only in nominal positions to prevent semantic misunderstanding, e.g. the verb *carvovat* (to carve on skis) only appears as a noun *carving*. (Mravinacová, 2005: 189-90) A sign of high degree integration is a loanword which has completed a process known as *orthographic and orthoepic adaptation*, which involves two parts: the spelling adaptation and the pronunciation adaptation. The two processes happen in relation to each other and are based on the rules of Czech phonology. The two aspects are especially important to note when discussing anglicisms because they have significant differences between the graphical and the sound form. Through the process of adaptation, the difference becomes solved either by means of (1) transforming the spelling according to the adopted pronunciation (*fotbal*), (2) by transforming the spelling according to the original pronunciation (*džentlmen*), or (3) by adopting the word in its original form (*blues*), which is nowadays the most frequent one, which is attributed to the increasing number of Czech English-speakers (Mravinacová, 2005: 190).

2.4. Phonoetic-phonological adaptation

Loanwords also undergo a phonetic adaptation, that is either total or partial, which usually depends on the time the word has spent incorporated into the language (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 141) The pronunciation adaptation happens by modifying the distinctive English sounds such as [θ], [ð], [æ], and [ə] by moving the accent on the first syllable, omitting the

aspiration of consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, and by the voiceless pronunciation of voiced sounds at the ends of words (*carving* pronounced as /ka:rviŋk/). Nevertheless, there are instances where the English sounds persist. The graphic form can influence the pronunciation, so the Czech pronunciation standard does not always apply. For example, the word *work* is according to the Czech pronunciation standard pronounced as /verk/, but the variation /vork/ also appears, which signifies that pronunciation of anglicisms sometimes is not absolute and it may fluctuate (Mravinacová, 2005: 191-2)

2.5. Morphological adaptation

Morphological adaptation is a process which transforms the loan words with the use of affixes, which express the grammatical and other morphological categories, namely gender and case. These are in English, an analytical language, expressed by other grammatical words, but in Czech, a synthetic language, they are formed with inflections (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 142). The process of changing the form of the word to fit the needs of speakers of the target language is called “domestication” (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 142), and in the Czech setting, the term “czechification” is used (Svobodová, 2009: 22). The process of czechification of loanwords creates derivatives out of anglicism, which is a common ability of most of them, but not all of them (recall *carving* *x* *carvovat* in 2.1.2 Adaptation of Loan words and Anglicisms into Czech). Other uninclinable Entlová and Malá (2020: 142) mention are for example *miss*, *graffiti*, *know-how*, *sci-fi*, and *selfie*. The declinable words have the ability to have derivational suffixes added to them, the original form thus serves as a stem. To form an adjective an adjectival morpheme *-ový* is added to the original nouns, creating constructions such as *bluesový*, *internetový*, and *slangový* (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 142). The same can happen for loan words which have already been adopted into the Czech language by the change of spelling based on either (1) the adopted pronunciation (*fotbalový*) or (2) the original pronunciation (*džentlmenský*). In some cases, both forms are acceptable (*tramský*/*trempský*). The same process occurs when forming

verbs; the infinitival suffix *-ovat* is added, which results in words like *surfovat*, *importovat*, *resetovat*, but also *skenovat*, *faulovat*) (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 142). The inclining of nouns is further discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

2.6. Nouns

The morphological adaptation of nouns is based on the final part of the loan words in their nominative singular form, which determines their classification to a certain inclinational paradigm. That then determines the word's Czech morphological categories of number, case, and gender. Words whose adaptation is unproblematic are usually words that belong to some commonly adopted and well-known word-formation pattern. Notably, words for persons ending in *-er* like *promoter* or *dealer*, (which are inclined as masculine-animate nouns according to the model noun *pán*, which results in constructions like *dealera*, *dealerovi*, *promoterem*) or words for inanimate objects ending in *-er* like *pager* (which are inclined as masculine-inanimates according to the model noun *hrad*, so for example *pager*, *pagerem*, *pagerovi*). To the category of the model noun: *hrad* also belong words ending in *-ing/-ink* such as *jogging*, or *meeting* (Mravinacová, 2005: 192-3). Put simply, to the category of masculine gender belong words ending with a consonant, such as *buldog*, *gin*, *outfit*, *bodybuilding*, and *workoholik* (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 142) with the exception of some words like *mafioso* which end in a vowel (see Mravinacová, 2005: 193). Words ending in *-a*, belong to the feminine gender (*doga*, *gorila*) and words that belong to the neuter usually have the Czech suffix *-ství* and *-ování* added. (Entlová and Malá, 2020: 143) These rules are very simplified as there are many exceptions to these rules. In case of interest, Mravinacová (2005: 191-5) offers a more detailed description of the several inclination rules and tendencies.

A special case of inflection represent foreign loanwords ending in *-i/-y*. For the reason that these words are not very common in the Czech language, especially in non-nominative

cases or in the plural number, there are rules to guide the Czech speakers on how to inflect them (Šmilauer 1944:101). For the purposes of this study are notably mentioned anthroponyms, which are in the singular number inflected according to the model word “Jiří” (Šmilauer, 1944: 103). An example of such a word is *dandy*, which is thus inflected as *dandyho*, *dandymu*, *dandyho*, *dandym*. In the case of forming the plural forms, they are inflected according to the model words *pán*. Such constructions would thus look as *dandyové*, *dandyů*, *dandyům* (Šmilauer, 1944: 103).

3. Psychological detachment from foreign words

One of the reasons why people might be using English loanwords is the emotional and psychological detachment from such words. Keysar with his study of the use of foreign language at the Chicago University argues that speaking in a foreign language provides a degree of an emotional distance, that is not achieved by the native one (Reiter, 2017). Native language becomes connected with a variety of emotional associations because it is the language one grows up with. According to Ivaz et. al., “native languages are acquired in emotionally rich contexts, while foreign languages are typically acquired in emotionally neutral academic environments” (2015: 2). The use of English loanwords can provide a smaller fraction of this emotional detachment in situations when the speaker needs it. One of these situations is observed in this thesis. In a communication in the dating context, people tend to use loanwords notably for the detachment they provide, as they might be discussing explicit and sexual content.

4. Non-heterosexual Sociolect

The subject of observation of this paper is Czech *non-heterosexual* sociolect and the English loanwords commonly used by individuals who fall into the mentioned category. Before any further discussion, it is necessary to introduce and explain the term “non-heterosexual”.

The term is used to draw attention to the binary way sexuality was conceptualised purposefully. If such a concept was understood as the true one, it would mean that there are only two possible sexual orientations: heterosexual and homosexual. The single term “homosexual” would not be sufficient as it would not include other sexual orientations and identities such as bisexual, questioning, pansexual, etc. The choice of a more inclusive term was therefore required.

4.1. Terminology Issues

The study of the language of people with different than heterosexual sexual orientations proposes several problems which must be reviewed. The first issue, with which not only the scholars attending this topic but also the general public seem to struggle, is the use of correct and overall inclusive terminology. According to *Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns* (1991: 973), there is no universal agreement on the use of proper terminology regarding these groups of people. Additionally, the culture perpetually evolves and what seems appropriate changes all the time. Therefore, it is impossible to suggest one final term that would incorporate every type of sexual orientation, but some recommendations regarding such a sensitive topic are inarguably required. Complications arise when the language regarding a person with a different sexual orientation than heterosexual is used. The language and terminology should not be too vague and inadequately defined. The term used in such situations should be selected as unambiguous in the reference so the reader knows precisely which sexual orientations are discussed. Another issue with the terminology is the past negative connotation of the term *homosexuality*, which used to be associated with mental illness, deviation, and criminal behaviour (Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns, 1991). These damaging stereotypes may be perpetuated when inappropriate terminology is used. For these reasons, several preferred terms and the reason why they are preferred are required to be discussed.

The preferred term indicating one's sexual desire should be *sexual orientation* instead of *sexual preference*, which implies that it is one's voluntary choice rather than an aspect of their personality that one was born with. Additionally, terms like *lesbian sexual orientation*, *gay male sexual orientation*, *heterosexual sexual orientation*, and *bisexual sexual orientation* are preferred over *lesbianism*, *heterosexuality*, *homosexuality*, and *bisexuality* which used to be in the past associated with pathology (Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns, 1991). One should also avoid using the term *gays* when they are in fact, talking also about females who are sexually attracted females. In this case, *gay males and lesbians* should be used, which are also preferred over the term *homosexuals*, which also used to have negative associations with pathology and criminality, and furthermore might cause inaccuracy in terms of inclusivity and exclusivity (Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns, 1991). Kulick (2000: 243) also mentions that the term *gay* seemed to be appropriate in the late 1960s, soon after the term was protested against, as it omitted women and, therefore, lesbians were not included.

Today, the most frequently used way to call people with non-heterosexual sexual orientation is some form of the abbreviation LGBTQIA+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex², asexual³) which names many of the sexual orientations. The "plus" and the end denote more identities than just the one in the acronym and ensure that other newly defined ones can be later added. The most extensive version of this abbreviation that was found was "LGBTQQIP2SAA", which according to the Bloomington Pride website (2022), stands for "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning⁴, intersex, pansexual⁵, two-spirit (2S)⁶,

² "Intersex people have innate sex characteristics that don't fit medical and social norms for female or male bodies." (Intersex Human Rights Australia, 2021)

³ "Someone who is asexual experiences little to no sexual attraction". (Ferguson and Rypole, 2021)

⁴ Term used for people who are in the process of discovering their sexual orientation. (Resnick, 2021)

⁵ Someone who is attracted to all genders, even outside the binary norm. (Resnick, 2021)

⁶ "Refers to a person who identifies as having both a masculine and a feminine spirit, and is used by some Indigenous people to describe their sexual, gender and/or spiritual identity." (Researching for LGBTQ2S+ Health, 2020)

androgynous⁷, and asexual”. For reasons of simplicity and clarity of this thesis, the term *non-heterosexual* was prompted for.

The second issue of the study of this topic, proposed by Kulick (2000: 245), is that the sociolinguistic study of the language behaviour of lesbians and gay men is hampered because critical essays have only appeared in small circulation, ephemeral, or out-of-print-journals. He also mentions that no academic discussion has the potential to grow if it is available only to a few. The explanation for the exclusivity of such research is unclear. Kulick (2000: 246) furthermore explains that it is due to the fact that the research on this topic has had no influence on any branch of sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology. The lack of impact could be related to the “structure of discrimination” in the academic environment, which has in the past discouraged any research on homosexuality, that would not see it as a sort of deviance (Kulick, 2000: 246).

4.2. Non-heterosexual lexis

In the past, non-heterosexual individuals had need for code-words, which could have been used in public to avoid stigmatization and in some cases even aggression from the possibly over-hearers. This resulted in a number of lexis that were meant to only be understood by a specific few. The desire to crack the “mysterious code” (Kulick, 2000: 248) inspired many linguistic analyses. However, it was not just “gay” language that sparked interest among the scholars of the 1940s. Other subcultural groups which were linked with the “underworld”, such as prostitutes and the homeless were also under a philological microscope. The inclusion of “gays” among such groups only confirms the stigma and social diversion LGBTQ+ people

⁷ The term is used to describe someone who is "neither specifically feminine nor masculine" and has "characteristics or nature of both male and female." (Resnick 2022)

represented in the past. Their lingo was examined in order to be able to address the socio-cultural aspects and qualities of those groups (Kulick, 2000: 248).

The earliest written evidence can be dated back to 1941 when the first English-language lexicon of homosexual language was published by folklorist Gershon Legman (Kulick, 2000: 248). The glossary contained 329 items, out of which 139 are identified as exclusively homosexual. The glossary contained such terms as “drag”⁸ and “straight”⁹, which are used today even by the general public. Aside from the glossary, Legman mentions an interesting phenomenon that gay males frequently use feminine pronouns and titles instead of properly masculine ones.¹⁰ The greatest fraction of the words were linked with sexual behaviour, which is then by some other linguists, such as Julia Stanley, who wrote allegedly the best glossary of homosexual slang (Doyle, 1982: 74-6), overlooked. Stanley, like many other later scholars, disputed the existence of “gay language”. She claimed that even though “gay slang has functioned as a bond among gays, signalling one’s identification as a member of the gay community... too much of the lexicon of gay slang is given over to a preoccupation with sexual objectification and social stratification, both economic and racial” (Stanley, 1974: 385) Both of the mentioned qualities Stanley characterizes as typical of heterosexual society and therefore diminishes the differences between “gay language” and the general one (Kulick, 2000: 253). This tendency also might be in an effort not to support the stereotype that gay men are promiscuous, which only supports the discourse that regards them as deviants or sodomites. This viewpoint was very prominent later on, especially during the 1980s, due to the AIDS epidemic, which remains an everlasting reason for discrimination (Halkitis, 2012).

⁸ a gender-bending art form in which a person dresses in clothing and makeup meant to exaggerate a specific gender identity, usually of the opposite sex (MasterClass staff, 2020)

⁹ heterosexual

¹⁰ For example: “Have you met that guy, John? She was so rude to me the other day.” – “Oh, yeah. She’s a complete bitch!”

Stanley was not the only one who argued for the elimination of the distinction between non-heterosexual and heterosexual language. Other scholars have also claimed that there is no such thing as “gay language”, as it became politically problematic with the arising gay liberation movement, namely in the late 1960s and 1970s. Julia Penelope, an American linguist, argued in several significant publications that the notion of “gay slang” is “sexist, classist, and racist” (Stanley 1974:386) and that what is thought to be “gay slang” usually involves completely arbitrary, everyday terms used by heterosexual men as well (Kulick, 2000: 253). Penelope criticised one of the prominent aspects of “gayspeak”: the use of female names, pronouns and address forms, which Legman previously described. In her opinion, the use of female pronouns is borderline offensive, as these feminine terms, as used in the “gay world”, can be sometimes synonymous with terms like unattractive and undesirable and other pejorative terms. She asserted that “gay males use these terms among themselves for the same reasons straight males coined them, as a way of verbally trivializing and abusing women” (Penelope and Wolfe, 1979: 10).

Another study, done by Rude and Healy in 1979, analysed this use of grammatically and semantically feminine forms in “gayspeak” and proposed an elaborate point of view. According to their study, done on exclusively gay male subjects in locations such as gay bars, this speech aspect is only characteristic of gay males who have spent a significant amount of time living openly homosexual. They also propose that even though the use of feminine terms can be used positively (as in “Oh, she’s so cute”), its main function is to express the persisting negative opinion about the referent (Kulick, 2000: 253). They linked the use of feminine pronouns with “lack of naturalness, lack of control, and nastiness” (Rudes and Healy, 1979: 49). In the mentioned example, the implied positive aspect of “cuteness” is diminished by “she”, which indicates that although the aspect is attractive, they fail to be perceived as “rugged”, which seems to be the ideal physical aspect of men (Kulick, 2000: 253). In other words, the

referent although attractive, was not attractive in a masculine way, which seems to be the prominently desirable one.

This claim correlates with Tommaso M. Milani's 2013 study *Are 'queers' really 'queer'? Language, Identity and same-sex desire in a South African online community* (which is the main inspiration of this thesis). In his study, Milani analysed the aspects of femininity in gay men and how desirable they are to other gay men. He thus discovered that feminine-acting gay men are less looked-for than those who are "straight-acting"¹¹. Additionally, he claims that this aspect "has become somewhat of an obsession among homosexual men across various socio-cultural contexts" (Milani, 2013: 624). If masculine traits are viewed as the "normal" ones, then feminine traits must logically be considered as the "deviant" ones, but that does signify some sort of immiscible bipolarity. The individuals showing signs of deviance might produce, value, fetishise even characteristics typically associated with normality (gay man can act as a heterosexual man and be attracted to men who behave in the same way). Therefore, the celebration of straight-acting traits inevitably leads to rejection and disapproval of stereotypically feminine, gay traits (Milani, 2013: 624). Milani thus brought to light the internalised homophobia among the gay male community. To describe a person with such "undesirable" traits, a description of a linguist Rodgers is borrowed: "The flaming faggot, men who look like women, flagrant wrist-benders,... all those who find it difficult to be accepted for what they feel they are even within the pariah gay subculture." (1979: 11) Bruce Rodgers is an author of a great lexicon titled *The Queen's Vernacular*, where he authors the origin of gayspeak primarily to these "deviants". The celebration of "straight-actingness" suggests the existence of "hegemonic homosexuality, a homosexual mirror image of heterosexual hegemonic masculinity" (Milani, 2013: 624) in the gay male community. The presence of hegemonies of masculinity inevitably makes femininity strongly rejected, or feared, for which

¹¹ "Conventionally masculine. Describes a homosexual male whose behaviour resembles that of the traditional heterosexual or straight male stereotype." (Urban Dictionary, 2004)

the term “sissyphobia” is used (Milani, 2013: 625). The perception of “normal” and “deviant” is problematic as it puts some social groups at a disadvantage and creates a notion that non-heterosexual behaviour and lifestyle should be along the lines of hetero-normativity. Milani proposes that such a notion should be abandoned and argues that even other aspects of same-sex desire, such as uncommitted, multi-partnered relationships, should be normalised (Milani, 2013: 618).

4.3. Gay men and computer-mediated communication

The number of websites, blogs, and mobile applications (later as dating services) targeting gay men as their audience is seemingly infinite. As the most internationally popular ones are noted *Grindr*, *Adam4Adam.com*, and *eHarmony.com*. There are even some Czech locally oriented sites providing a smaller dating pool, such as *iBoys.cz* or *NaKluky.cz*. All of these offer a seemingly similar service with which the users can chat and meet other gay men, usually specifically in their area. According to a study done by David F. Shaw (1997: 143-4), these dating services provide an alternative to what gay bars do with the addition of more privacy and, in some cases, even anonymity, which might be very important to gay men, especially to those who have not come out.

CMC might play a very crucial role in the lives of many LGBTQA+ people and particularly the questioning youth, who takes to the internet to explore information on sexual orientations and learn self-acceptance. But mainly to seek out other like-minded youth to have interpersonal interactions, which are fundamental in realizing one’s sexual orientation. (Bond and Figueroa-Caballero, 2016: 289) Those who do not have a supportive environment in their offline lives tend to seek it out online. CMC allows them to seek compassion outside of their “geographically and socially limiting environment” (Bond and Figueroa-Caballero, 2016: 289).

A recent study on the internet behaviour of youth has found that nearly 62 % of “LGB”¹² adolescents sought other “LGB” peers online. The same study discovered that LGB teenagers were more likely to build actual friendships through CMC than their heterosexual colleagues (Kosciw, 2013).

5. Computer-mediated communication (CMC)

Interesting linguistic phenomena which sparked many scholars’ interest can be found in computer-mediated communication (later on as CMC). An increase in research done on aspects of communication through electronic devices can be observed since the mid-1990s (English Club, 2022). This type of communication contains many shortenings and other departures from the orthographic rules. Omitting capitalisation, diacritics, punctuation, and forming abbreviations are just a few of many typing tendencies used to make the overall communication more straightforward and quick (Purvis, 2017: 19-21). Several loanwords and (yet unborrowed) English words also appear in CMC, and they sometimes emerge in otherwise entirely non-English phrases, which is an aspect of so-called “code-switching” (Purvis, 2017: 63). English code-switching in chat jargon is very common and unsurprising. Especially the usage of internet-related terms such as *hashtag*, *like*, or *online*. This might be due to the fact that a large number of the most popular websites (such as *Twitter* or *Facebook*) are or were, at some point, only available in English and thus, people came in contact with these terms in English at first. More surprising is when users opt for the English loans/words instead of their commonly used native equivalent. This may be because the native version is too long and the speaker is aiming for language economy, or some other aspects may play a role. English words might be viewed as more modern or “cool”, especially among the younger speakers.

¹² The study was done explicitly on lesbians, gay men, and bisexual individuals. That is why the abbreviation is only “LGB”.

5.1. Online dating language

Online dating language represents a specific type of online CMC, that contains some unique linguistic features. These dating sites and apps allow their users to modify their self-presentations. The information they share on their profiles thus does not have to correlate to reality as the users are able to construct a more desirable version of themselves (Birnholtz et al., 2014: 4). One aspect that reflects on the unique form of dating language is the notion of “stigma of casual sex” (Birnholtz et al., 2014: 5). This stigma leads to the users’ fear of being judged for indulging in casual, one-time sex. There is even a colloquial term “slut shaming” that proposes its negative connotation to this type of behaviour. To avoid being associated with this type of behaviour users tend to self-present themselves in a way that distances them from it (Birnholtz et al., 2014:5). Using English loanwords in these situations can serve as one of the tools the users of these services use to emotionally distance themselves from their own utterances. That is because of the learned notion, that they could be shamed for it

5. METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the chosen methods for the practical part of the thesis; why they were chosen, and how were consequently applied. The focus of this study is English loanwords and anglicisms and their usage among non-heterosexual individuals. Hence a sample of actual communication produced by them was necessary to collect. The research has been conducted by the analysis of private conversations from a popular dating app *Grindr*, which is self-proclaimed as “The world’s largest social networking app for gay, bi, trans, and queer people” (Grindr.com: 2022). This was primarily inspired by a study “Are ‘queers’ really ‘queer’? Language, identity, and same-sex desire in a South African online community” by Tommaso M Milani from 2013. Milani collected data from the descriptions of profiles from a South-African gay dating website titled *Meetmarket*. From the descriptions, he then constructed a corpus on which he analysed the frequency and concordance information.

5.1. Questionnaire 1

This thesis takes on a similar approach in the way that it also gathers data from a dating medium, from which a corpus was composed, giving further information. The English loanwords were analysed in terms of their frequency, form, and possible adaptation into Czech. Their Czech counterparts’ frequency was then also measured, and their usages were compared and discussed. The concordance information was also mentioned, as the contexts of the loanwords correlate to the frequency of their uses.

The first problem that had to be answered was the choice of the medium. Although there are some Czech dating sites, they are not as popular, and they are mostly used by older men aged 35-50+. Since English has only been heavily influencing Czech since 1989, it was necessary to focus on an age group, which grew up learning English. This does not mean that

people who are above the targeted age group do not understand the English loanwords, but it is hypothesised that it is mainly younger people aged 18-30 who use them regularly.

The greatest issue represented the way of gathering the data. Users of *Grindr* tend to discuss very sensitive and private things on there and they were not always willing to share their conversations. Additionally, one of the app's proudest features is the anonymity it provides as even the app's logo is a mask. To guarantee the anonymity, the app does not provide any way by which it would be easy to gather the text. Therefore, programs such as *WebScrapers*¹³ were out of the question. This meant that the only way to collect the data was to transcribe them manually from screenshots¹⁴, which were received from recipients.

It was important to ensure, that the recipients would feel safe to share the conversations and that they would remain in absolute anonymity. It was also important to try to make it as easy as possible for them to send the screenshots in a way that would not take too much time. Therefore, they could not send them via e-mail, or another commonly used messaging service such as *Facebook* because their names would be shown. However, asking them to download some messaging app that provides anonymity, such as *Wickr Me* would discourage them completely. To make it as easy and as anonymous as possible a questionnaire was composed via *Google Forms*, which could seemingly fix both of the issues. Although the service does allow uploading of pictures as a form of an answer, for abling this feature, the respondents are asked to log in using their *Google* account. This would however reveal their name, thus breaking their anonymity. It was necessary to figure out a way by which the users would be able to send their conversations without any chance of tracking them back. For this reason, they were asked to upload their conversations on *WeTransfer* a file transfer service with which you upload files and then share them with a link. It does not require any sort of signing up or downloading, so it seemed the easiest way. Respondents were then asked to paste the link into

¹³ Software that automatically extracts data from a website.

¹⁴ A feature of a phone that takes a picture of what is currently on the screen.

the questionnaire on *Google Forms* as a text, which did not require them to log in and did not reveal their identity. They were also offered to send them directly to me via e-mail, *Facebook*, *Instagram* or *WhatsApp* if they did not care about their anonymity and they still find the process to be too difficult and time-consuming.

The respondents were supposed to fulfil the following requirements: they were supposed to be native Czech speakers, users of the *Grindr* app, and aged between 18 to 39. The text they would send was supposed to consist of 10 conversations containing at least 10 messages. They were advised to only send messages they were comfortable sending and to blackout or otherwise cover any pictures they did not wish to share.

For this first questionnaire, it was possible to acquire ten respondents, whose conversations summed up to 10,772 lexical items. It is also important to note how were the participants found and who they were. To be sure the participants were actual users of *Grindr*, they were asked directly through the app. For this purpose, a blank profile was created and in its description was written that applicants for this study are looked for. Since this passive attitude turned out to be ineffective, some randomly chosen users were contacted through the messaging system the app provides and ten responded. Additionally, they all had to answer whether they are or are not native Czech speakers.

Participants, therefore, had to screenshot the individual texts and then sent them through the mentioned system if they wished to keep their anonymity. If they did not care about the anonymity aspect, they were also offered the option to send the screenshots directly via several different messaging platforms. As the process of taking screenshots and covering some confidential photos and even parts of the messages was very time-consuming, most of them chose the second option. The most common reason for rejecting to participate in the survey was that it would take too much time and effort. The lack of motivation could have been probably fixed by providing, for example, a financial reward.

Additional data was gathered by creating a corpus in *Sketch Engine* and with *Microsoft Excel*. *Sketch Engine*'s concordance and frequency tools were the ones used to provide the additional data, which were then entered into a *Microsoft Excel* file in which were the later results calculated and then transferred into figures. Due to a high variety of forms of some of the words, lemmas were used to calculate the frequency instead of the tokens, this is additionally explained with every discussed word in the results chapter.

Due to the fact, that the writing styles of the participants varied as well, there had to be some corrections done to the text. Diacritics and obvious typos, which are both common aspects of CMC, were corrected to unify the text so the corpus software would understand the words accordingly. Names were changed and home addresses were deleted completely to provide anonymity hence they were not crucial to the analysis whatsoever. The wrong use of punctuation remained uncorrected as it did not present an issue for the purposes of this thesis. Spelling differences of the English loanwords remained in the original format they were written in to then later discuss the use of the different forms. The word "bottom", for example" also appeared in its shorter version, "bttm", and thus, it remained unchanged in the final text file. To differentiate where the individual text messages started and ended, they were divided by lines. Each message was written down in its own line, so this aspect could also be viewed in the corpus software, which signals the division by a "</s><s>" symbol.

5.2. Questionnaire 2

The hypothesis of this thesis is that non-heterosexual individuals tend to use English loanwords instead of their Czech counterparts in otherwise entirely Czech sentences, especially when discussing sexual intercourse and using sexual-related terms in CMC. To additionally confirm this hypothesis, a follow-up questionnaire was composed with *Google Forms* as well. The respondents were supposed to choose from a variety of text messages those they were most

likely to write themselves. The selection was composed of three sets of three messages that were synonymous in meaning. The differences in the messages were based on the number of English loanwords used. There was always one message containing no loanwords, one containing one loanword, and finally, one having two or more loanwords. The sets of messages also varied in the context; one was small talk/greeting, the second was discussing work, and the third was discussing sex. If the hypothesis is correct, they would most likely choose the message containing loanwords in the set of messages discussing sex.

The respondents for this questionnaire were acquired from the *Grindr* app in the same way as with the precedent one. For this survey, it was possible to gather responses from 40 users of the app. The higher number of respondents is mainly accredited to the survey's more straightforward quality. When collecting the responses for the first survey, many applicants had questions or objections to the survey, and so the entire process took more than two months, which proved to be a very ineffective method for that type of data accumulation. For the second questionnaire, however, there were no objections, and the entire process only lasted for 24 hours.

6 RESULTS

In this chapter, there are the results of the two questionnaires, some supplementary information resulting from the data collected and their processing, and their subsequent discussion

6.1. Results of questionnaire 1

The results of the first questionnaire revealed that out of the ten respondents, nine stated to be gay men, and one selected that they currently use the labels “questioning” and “curious” to describe their sexual orientation. The age of the respondents varied from 19 to 30. All of them confirmed that they are native Czech speakers and that they were active users of the *Grindr*

app at the time of the survey. All the conversations were then divided into individual words in *Microsoft Excel*, marked with a number, and then summed up. In total, there were 437 loanwords, which made up 4.2% of the total word count. The rest of the words, 10,335, were in Czech and thus represented 95.8% of the word count. The ratio is pictured in figure 1:

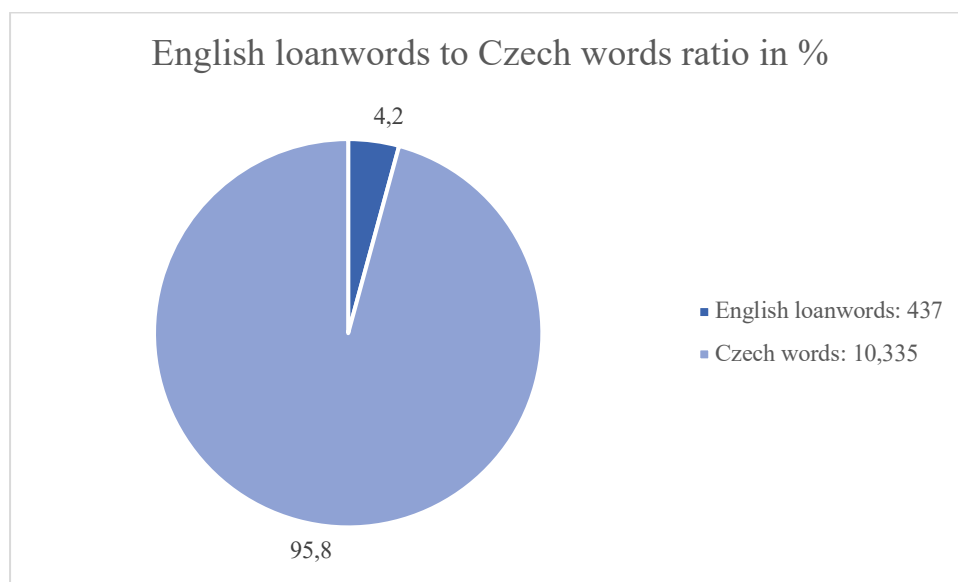


Fig 1.: English loanwords to Czech words ratio in %.

The loanwords were successively marked with a number 1 to 4, based on the following categories: (1) partial loanwords, (2) full loanwords, (3) abbreviations, and (4) proper nouns. Full loanwords were the most represented category with a number of 319, which made up 73% of the loanwords. Consequently, partial loanwords made up 10% with 45 items, proper nouns 9% with 39 items, and abbreviations 8% with 34 items. As can be seen in the figure 2:

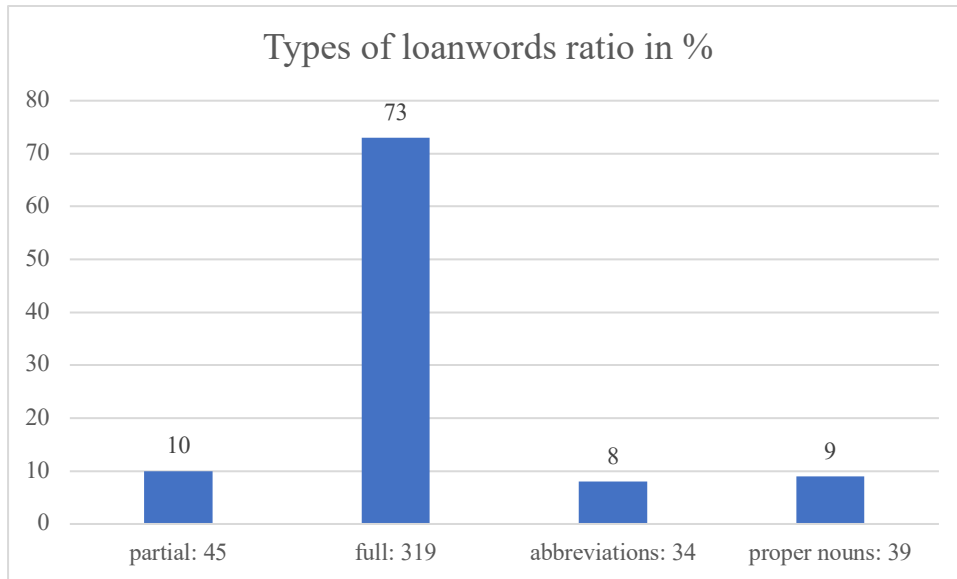


Fig. 2: Types of loanwords ratio in %.

A list of just the loanwords was subsequently constructed to measure the frequency of the words to determine which are the 20 most used. Since some words appeared in different forms, lemmas were counted instead. The term is always mentioned in its most frequently used form. Some terms ended up appearing in the collected text messages the same amounts of times, and therefore they are depicted as occupying the same ranks.

Ranking	Item	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	fun	37	8.5
2	top	33	7.6
3	sexy	29	6.6
4	bottom	26	5.9
5	vers	25	5.7
6	BJ	13	3.0
7-8	Insta	11	2.5
	hot	11	2.5
9	friends	10	2.3
10	daddy	8	1.8
11-12	Grindr	7	1.6
	kink	7	1.6
13	sorry	6	1.4
14-18	nice	5	1.1
	cute	5	1.1
	nudes	5	1.1
	rimming	5	1.1
	Tinder	5	1.1
19-20	piss	4	0.9
	hey	4	0.9

Fig. 3: 20 most frequently used English loanwords on the Grindr app.

Figure 3 shows the results of the frequency analysis, with the word “fun” resulting as the most used one. The word showed up in the conversations 37 times and thus represented 8.5% of all the English loanwords. The three subsequent words are terms used to describe the preferable sexual position and the results showed that “top” is the most frequently used one, with 30 occurrences. “Bottom” followed with 26, and “vers” (short for “versatile”) with 25.

7 Corpus analysis

7.1. Frequency and concordance information

The first aspect that was observed was the frequency of the English loanwords. Since some of them appeared in various forms (“bottom/ btm”), the frequency of lemmas was measured instead. The most frequently appearing ones are presented in *figure 3* in the results chapter. The most recurrent form of the word is the one noted. Most of them, as hypothesised, are terms relating to the contexts of sex.

The most frequently occurring English loanword was “fun”, which appeared in the conversations 37 times and hence represented 8.5% of all English loanwords in the text. This word appeared 35 times as a noun and two times as an adjective. This word only appeared in its original form as there were no instances of inflection to fit in the Czech inflectional system. The word can be thus regarded as a full loanword, which has not undergone adaptation or the process of so-called “czechification”. Regarding the concordance of the term, the term was usually used as a response to the question “What are you looking for?” in some form. It appeared 28 times as a response to this question, six times it was used in a direct question about whether the other user is “looking for fun” on the app, and three times in different situations. Even in the different situations, the word still always appeared in the meaning insinuating sex and never in a context that would only indicate its less specific meaning of “entertainment”.

The second, fourth and fifth most frequent lemmas of the text are terms relating to one's preferable sex role: "top", "bottom", and "vers" (short for versatile). The most frequent out of these was "top", which appeared 33 times and thus accounted for 7.6% of the English loanwords. The word only appeared as a noun. This term appeared 30 times in its original form, two times with inflectional suffixes of Czech nouns in the forms: "topu" and "topa" according to the Czech model word *pán*. The word also appeared once as a verb with the Czech suffix *-ovat* in the third person, present tense form: "topuješ". Since there are cases of inflection, the loanword is partial.

The third most occurring English loanword was "sexy", which in contrast to some of the other loanwords, is commonly used in the Czech language. This is most likely due to the fact that it has been borrowed much sooner than the other loanwords, which are discussed in this specific non-heterosexual dating site context. The earliest mention of this word appearing in the Czech written utterance is from 1969 when it appeared in the novel "Milenci a vrazi" ("Lovers and Murderers") by the Czech author Vladimír Páral (Sochová 1972:279). The word appeared 29 times, and hence accounted for 6.6% of the loanwords. It only appeared as an adjective, and there were no instances of adaptation into Czech by adding a suffix as the word is "uninflectable" (Ústav pro český jazyk, Akademie věd České republiky: 2022). This item usually appeared as a reaction to a picture that was sent by the other user.

The consequential lemma "bottom" occurred in the conversations 26 times, representing 5.9% of the English loanwords. It was found 25 times as a noun and once as a verb. 18 times it appeared in its original uninflected form, "bottom". There were then two instances of inflection: once as "bottomům" (noun inflected according to the model word *pán* in the Czech third case in the plural form) and once as a verb with the Czech negative prefix *ne-* and the

verbal suffix *-ovat* in first person, present tense form “nebottomuju” (“I do not bottom”). The lemma also occurred six times in its abbreviated form “bttm”.

The lemma of the third sex-role term “vers” (short for “versatile”) appeared 25 times and hence ranked as the fourth most-frequent English loanword, accounting for 5.7%. Due to the identical form of the noun form and an adjective form, it is impossible to detect in which word class it is more frequently used. An exemplary use would be in a sentence: “Jsem vers.”, which translates as “I am vers”, which in Czech has the same form as “I am a vers.” The term was mentioned 22 times in the abbreviated version “vers”, once as an abbreviation “versa” and only two times as “versatil”, which was adapted from the English “versatile”, by the omission of the final *-e*, which in English is silent.

All of the three sex-role terms usually appeared after a message vaguely asking the other user about what they like, which in some form was asked 30 times in the collected conversations. The question “Jsi top nebo bottom? (Are you a top or a bottom?)” was asked directly six times, and the question even appeared in an English version as short phrases “Looking?” and “Into?”.

The sixth most frequent English lemma was an abbreviation “BJ”, which stands for “blow job”, which is a vulgar-slang term used to describe oral sex. This lemma was found thirteen times in the conversations, representing 3.0% of the English loanwords. As an abbreviation, it was used twelve times, while in the full version only once. This is most likely because there is a tendency to use abbreviations in CMC to make the text shorter and to write down the message faster. Some version of this word usually occurred after the question “Co máš rád?” – “What do you like?”, which usually followed after the two participants of the conversation established whether their sexual roles are compatible.

The next item “Insta” was found eleven times and accounted for 2.5% of the loanwords. It is an abbreviation for the proper noun “Instagram”, which relates to a name of a popular

social network. The full form of the word was used only two times, while the abbreviated one was used nine times. Again, most likely for the reasons of shorter and faster communication. The word was mostly used in a question about whether the other user has a profile on this social network to move the communication there, or it was used in a question “Máš ještě nějaké fotky nebo Insta?” – “Do you have any other photos or Instagram?”. The exchange of pictures is a very prominent feature of the conversations on the *Grindr* app. Apart from the obvious reasons, pictures or sharing of a profile on another social network serves as a verification tool, so the users know they are actually talking to the same person as in the profile photo.

The following one was “hot” which also appeared 11 times, and thus also represented 2.5% of the loanwords. It only appeared in the uninflected original form and meaning. Similarly to “sexy”, it was usually sent as a reaction to a received photo.

The ninth most frequently used English lemma was “friend” with 10 items in the text; always as a noun, accounting for 2.3% of the loanwords. This term was used similarly to “fun” in the sense that it offers its user a level of ambiguity. However, that was in some cases destroyed by the juxtaposition of the words “with benefits”, which directly hints at a special kind of friendship that also includes having sex with each other. It was as well as “fun” most likely to be used as a response to the question “What are you looking for?”. This phrase appeared four times in the form of an initialism “FWB”. In the plural form “friends” it appeared six times. The lemma, whether as an abbreviation or a full word in all cases occurred after the question “Co tu hledáš?” – “What are you looking for here?”. The question was also commonly answered with both mentioned loanwords as “fun and friends”, which emerged in the messages six times. The two loans hence create a popular phrase, which directly establishes the commonly sought after relationship.

The tenth reoccurring lemma was “daddy”, which in some form appeared eight times, representing 1.8% of the observed loanwords. The word was always used as a noun. The term

also was not used in its original meaning (parent), but rather as an expression describing one's dominant sexual role, or a type of a man with specific physical features, such as older in age, overall masculine look, and larger physique. This loanword represents one of the scarcely used foreign loanwords which are inflected in the singular according to the model word *Jiří*, and according to the model word *pán* in the plural. In the sample of the messages, there was one occasion of using the inflected form and that was “daddyho” which corresponds to the singular form in the Czech second case. What is interesting is that there was one instance when the word should have been inflected, but it was not (“A ukážeš daddy něco...”). This confirms what Šmilauer mentioned in *Naše řeč* how since such words are uncommon, some Czech speakers do not know how to inflect them properly. The lemma also twice occurs in the plural in the conversations from the dating app, but they appear in the native form “daddies”, hence the speakers avoided the inflected use, possibly due to their lack of knowledge, which also confirms Šmilauer's statement.

The rest of the English loanwords noted in the *figure 3* appeared only in a few occasions, and thus their additional analysis is not as purposeful. Out of the twenty most frequent English loanwords from the samples of the *Grindr* conversations, 13 were used in the contexts of sex, with most of them occupying the first ten ranks of the frequency table.

7.2. Frequency and concordance information of the Czech counterparts

In this chapter, the frequency of the English loanwords is compared with their Czech counterparts and their uses are then discussed, that is if they exist. The most frequent English-loanword lemma was “fun” with 37 occurrences. Its Czech equivalent “zábava” was in the conversations found seven times. In the dating-app specific context which vaguely hints at sex, it was found six times, and in the everyday meaning (entertainment) only once. The English loanword is thus used more than five times more, than the Czech equivalent. Due to the

loanword's double meaning, it is necessary to also compare it with the word "sex", which is in many cases synonymous with it. This word appeared in the conversations nineteen times. For a fair comparison the uses in the response to the question "What are you looking for?" are contrasted: "fun" was used in this context 28 times, while the more direct "sex" was found in the same context only nine times. It is, therefore, safe to declare, that the speakers rather tend to use the English loanword and manifest some degree of ambiguity than answering this question directly.

Another set of English loanwords to compare is the set of two polar terms relating to one's preferred sexual role: "top", and "bottom". For the term "top", there are the Czech equivalents: "aktiv" or "aktivní" ("active"). As a lemma, it appeared nine times out of which six times as an adjective and three times as a noun but in an abbreviated form "akt". The loanword "top", in comparison, appeared 33 times. In the case of "bottom" and its Czech equivalents "pasiv" or "pasivní", the Czech one appeared 15 times, while the loanword 26 times. The Czech word appeared both as a The third term "vers" does not have a Czech counterpart, so there is nothing to compare it to and thus is excluded from this analysis.

Overall, to express the terms of one's sexual role preference, there can be seen a tendency to use the English loanwords instead of the Czech words. In total, the English ones were used 59 times while the Czech ones were only 24 times. Czech speakers are thus 2.7 times more likely to use the English loanwords, which in this case, is most likely due to their shorter quality. The higher number of uses of "pasiv/pasivní" over "aktiv/aktivní" can be also related to the negative connotation that the term "bottom" may in some cases insuniate. According to Melzer's book *Manhood Impossible: Men's Struggles to Control and Transform Their Bodies and Work*, "There can be a negative connotation, to being called a bottom as opposed to top... (as it) threatens his manhood" (2018:98). The term "pasiv/pasivní/ is not reported to have the same negative connotation in this form, but there is a pejorative version: "pasivka", which adds

the Czech female gender-marker suffix *-ka*. This term seems to be used exclusively in negative contexts, which effeminate the subject.

The consequential item is “sexy”, which translates into Czech as “přitažlivý, mající sex-appeal, smyslný, erotický, svůdný” (ABZ: 2022) – “attractive, having sex-appeal”, “sensual”, “seductive”. There were no instances of any of these Czech words in the collected conversations. This word is commonly used in everyday communication, and hence it usually remains untranslated.

Regarding the following abbreviation “BJ”, there are many Czech equivalents, which were in the set of messages used instead of the English loanword. In some Czech construction was this sexual practice mentioned 32 times. In all cases in some Czech parallel that can be literally translated as “smoking”. Out of the 32 times, it was used only once in a non-sexual situation in the question “Do you smoke weed?”. In this case, the English loanwords appeared lesser times than their Czech counterparts.

“Insta” as a proper noun, does not have a Czech counterpart, that would appear in the set of conversations. The only possible would be the colloquial term “instáč”, which Czech speakers sometimes use, but there was no instance of that.

The eighth most frequent loanword “hot” was used synonymously with the more frequented “sexy”, the Czech counterparts would thus in the context, that is the word used in the conversations, be the same as the one mentioned with the word “sexy”.

Some versions of the Czech counterpart to the English loanword “friend” was found 49 times in the sample of text messages. However, only in 19 instances, it proposed the same dual meaning as the one discussed with the word “friends”. Nevertheless, it appeared more frequently than the English construction and therefore is more common in the online CMC on the *Grindr* app.

The final discussed English lemma “daddy” did not have any Czech equivalents in the provided text sample, but a possible correspondent “tat’ka” could have appeared since it can be used in the same context.

The ratio of the English loanwords and their Czech parallels is for clarity purposes represented in figure 7. The loanwords without any equivalents are from the chart omitted. In figure 7, all of the uses of the Czech equivalents are incorporated, including in the non-sexual contexts. The English loans are depicted in blue and their Czech counterparts in red.

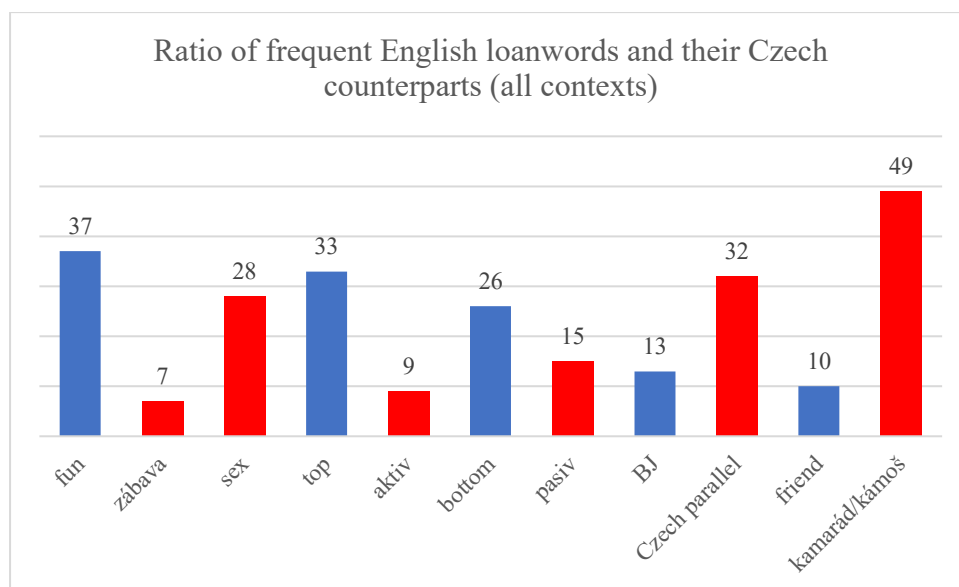


Fig. 7: Ratio of frequent English loanwords and their Czech counterparts.

For purposes of objective comparison, it is however necessary to also only compare the words when used in the same context which was sex. A special case represents the comparison of the loanword “fun” with the word “sex”, which is compared in their frequency of appearing as a response to the question “What are you looking for?”. The difference is highlighted by the use of different colour. This comparison is displayed in figure 8:

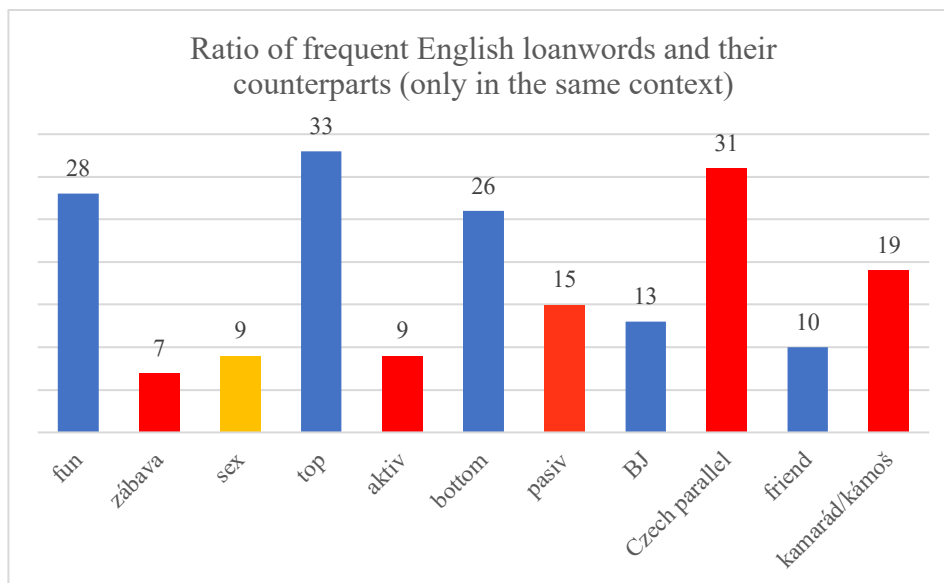


Fig. 8: Ratio of frequent English loanwords and their counterparts (only in the same context).

The frequency of the English loanwords when compared with their Czech counterparts shows in most cases an obvious preference for the usage of the loanwords. Although the charts also show a high number for the Czech parallels of the words “BJ” and “friend”, which then might propose that the preference of the English loanwords is not as marginal, it is important not to overlook the English loanwords whose Czech counterparts either were not found in the text messages or do not exist and for that reason, they are not portrayed there. Nevertheless, the results are still in favour of the loanwords usage being the more prominent feature of the online CMC on the *Grindr* app.

8. The follow-up questionnaire

The participants for the follow-up questionnaire analysing the uses of loanwords in different situations was also communicated via *Grindr*. For this questionnaire, it was possible to find 40 participants, who answered the questions and met the criteria. The age of the participants varied from 19 to 33, all of them confirmed that their native language is Czech and

that they are or once were users of *Grindr*. For the question about their sexual orientation, 38 answered: “homosexual”, one selected “bisexual”, and one “pansexual”.

In the first set of messages in the context of small talk/greeting, 27 participants chose the message containing one loanword. The remaining 13 of them picked the message with no loanwords and therefore nobody chose the message with more than one loanword. The ratio is visualised in the figure 4:

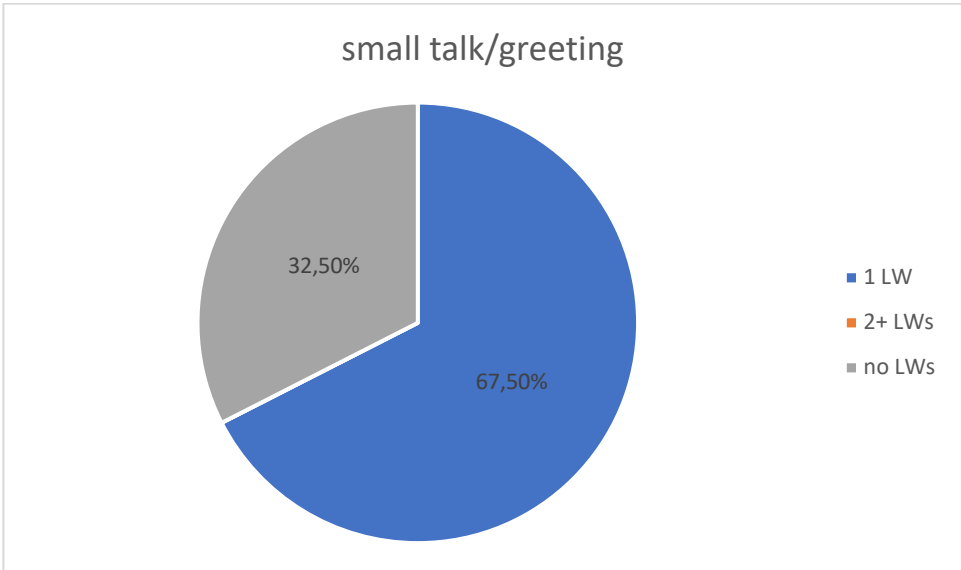


Fig. 4: small talk/greeting messages ratio.

For the second set of messages which were discussing “work”, 34 partakers selected the sentence without any loanword and six chose the one with two loanwords. The ratio can be seen in figure 5.

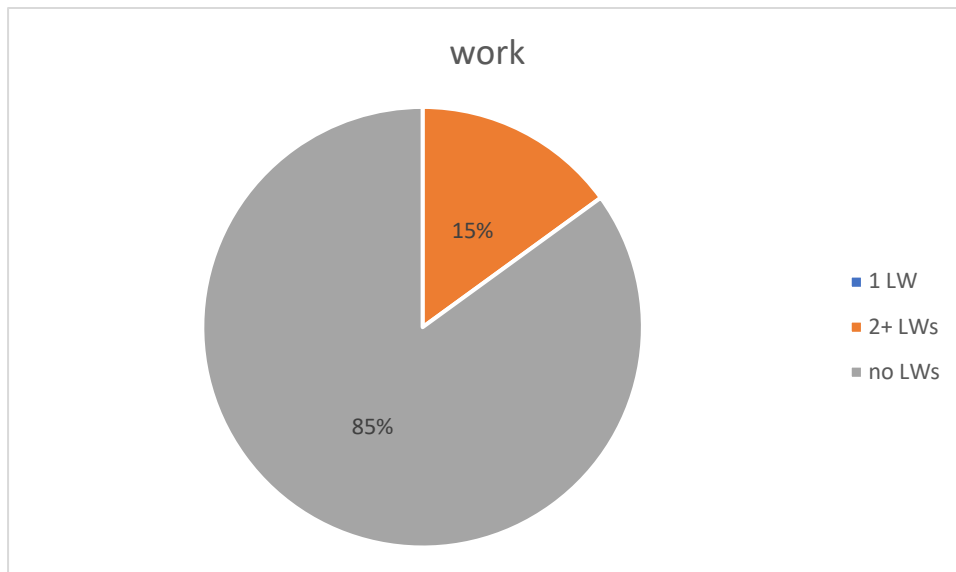


Fig. 5: work messages ratio.

In the final set of messages regarding sex, the results finally make a graph divided into thirds. 16 applicants chose the message with the most loanwords and 13 chose the one containing one loanword. The remaining 11 participants chose the sentence with no loanwords. Results are illustrated in figure 6.

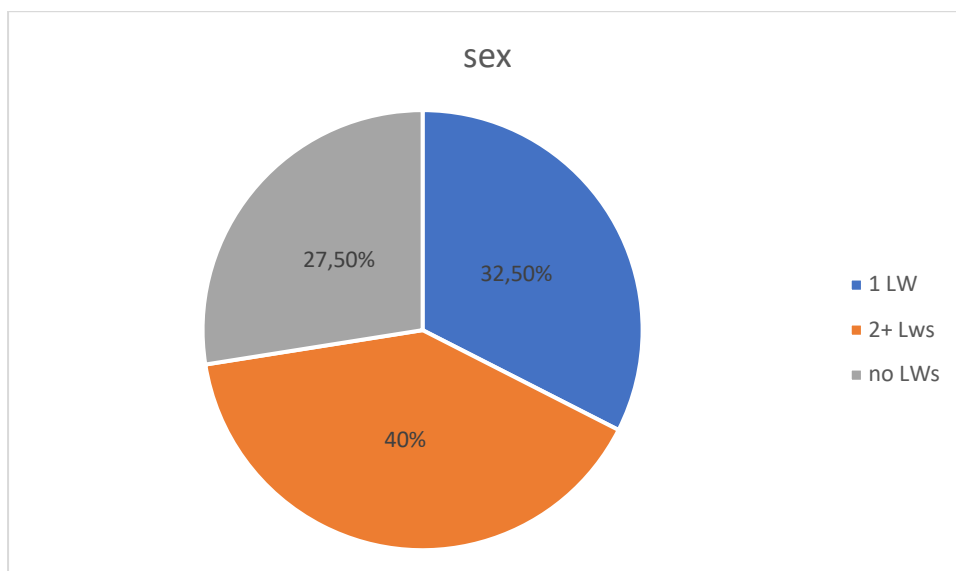


Fig. 6: sex messages ratio.

The responses for what labels of sexual orientations the respondents use were more diverse than for the previous questionnaire, but still, the most prominent group was represented by gay men, who accounted for 95% of the overall respondents with 38 individual answers. Then there was one mention of a bisexual man and one pansexual man. The inclusive approach, which was projected mainly in the proposition of the term *non-heterosexual* instead of *homosexual* was thus not as important. The age group was sufficiently adequate to the age group of the respondents from the previous questionnaire, and so their ages mutually correspond. The first set of questions was aimed to be in the context of small talk/greeting. The messages chosen were picked out of the actual conversations, so they represented real messages that were used on the app. However, the messages out of this context were not supposed to be indicating any sort of sexual subtext. The messages that were used were:

0 loanwords: “Ahoj, jak se máš? Jsi fešák. Co děláš?” – “Hello, how are you? You’re handsome. What are you up to?”

1 loanword: “Ahoj, jak je? Jsi **hot**. Co děláš?” – “Hello, how are you? You’re hot. What are you up to?”

2+ loanwords: “Ahoj, **what's up**? Jsi **sexy**. Co děláš?” – Hello, what’s up? You’re sexy. What are you up to?”

The loanwords are highlighted in bold for better comprehension. The choice of these phrases turned out to be different than what was first intended but regardless they still show some interesting tendencies that relate to this study. The messages chosen are suggestive of a sexual undertone, which only the messages in the third set were supposed to.

In the results, we can see that while none of the subjects chose the message with two or more loanwords, 27, therefore, most of them chose the one with one loanword. What is interesting is, that most of the respondents chose the message with the loanword in the suggestive part: “You’re hot”, and nobody chose the one that had the loanwords in the

“greeting” part: “What’s up?”. This may again confirm the hypothesis, that English loanwords are more likely used in the sexual context.

The second set of messages proved, that when discussing other topics, such as work, the loanwords are not as used. The set of messages in the context of work contained:

0 loanwords: "Jak bylo dnes v práci? Jak dopadlo to jednání?"

1 loanword: “Jak bylo dnes v práci? Jak dopadl ten **meeting**?”

2 loanwords: “Jak bylo dnes v **jobu**? Jak dopadl ten **meeting**?”

All of them translate to “How was work today? How did the meeting go?”. In this instance, the most answered that they would use the message without any English loanwords, and only a couple chose the one with the most loanwords. The one with only one loanword remained unpicked by none of the applicants. This is curious because “meeting” is a very common loanword, and so it was predicted, that it would be chosen more times than the one with the word “job” in it, which is in this case inflected according to the Czech model word *hrad*.

It is also important to note, that although work or school were the second most discussed topic in the conversations, it was difficult to find a model sentence for this purpose, and hence this message did not actually appear in the collected text messages. Nevertheless, both of the English loanwords “meeting” and “job” did appear.

The final set of messages was used in the context of sex, and in this case, the used message was found in the surveyed data. The respondents were supposed to choose one of these three messages:

0 loanwords: “Hledám tu kámoše a sex. Jsi radši aktivní nebo pasivní?”

1 loanword: “Hledám tu kámoše a případně **fun**. Jsi radši aktivní nebo pasivní?”

2+ loanwords: “Hledám tu **fun and friends**. Jsi **top** nebo **bottom**?”

The messages could all be translated as “I am looking for sex and friends (fun and friends). Are you a top or a bottom?” with some slight differences. 13 respondents chose the message with one loanword and 19 picked the one with many loanwords, these together made up for 72.5% of the responses. It is, therefore, safe to declare that when stating that the users are looking for sexual encounters, they opt for the use of at least one loanword, rather than using the Czech direct equivalents.

6 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results of this study are discussed in regard to the hypothesis. Both of the questionnaires' data showed a tendency of using English loanwords, especially in the context of sex as was hypothesised. The hypothesis stated, that the users of the *Grindr* app tend to use English loanwords instead of their Czech counterparts in otherwise entirely Czech sentences. The users opt for the English loanwords to serve as a depersonifying tool with which they diminish the directness of the Czech equivalents.

It is important to mention that the English loanwords were not used in their usual contexts in the conversations and that it was the dating site-specific context in which these words were used. Their meaning is thus not the typical one found in common dictionaries and understanding them in this specific context is essential. The English loanwords such as “fun” or “friends” are used in the conversations to hint at their double meaning (sex) but their vague nature allows for the speaker to drawback to the word's original significance, if met with rejection. They also diminish the vulgar nature of the direct words, which serve to avoid being potentially shamed.

The frequency information alone confirms the hypothesis that English loanwords are mainly used in the context of sex, as loans in other contexts accounted only for a very small number of uses. The concordance information was used to distinguish the contexts of the words which were ambiguous in their meanings. Nevertheless, it also confirmed that the words were used more frequently in their explicit meanings rather than in their common meanings. The comparison with their Czech equivalents that were found in the collected conversations also revealed, that the English loanwords predominate in most of the cases.

The second questionnaire provided results that also fit the hypothesis as it proved that the respondents in most cases selected the message containing the English loanword in the

context of sex and that in the context of work, they preferred the fully Czech sentence. In the last set of messages which were in the context of small talk/greeting, the participants most frequently selected the message with the English loanword in the part of the message which was suggestive, and that was complimenting the recipient. No participant chose the sentence with the loanwords in the greeting part.

Finally, with the evaluated results it is safe to say that the hypothesis is confirmed and that English loanwords really are mostly used in the contexts of sex by the users of the *Grindr* app. This context represents a situation in which the speaker becomes vulnerable. The observed tendency is mostly accredited to an effort to avoid being too direct and to detach oneself from their utterance in case of rejection or other negative reactions. This thesis serves as a mapping tool capturing a certain linguistic behaviour of non-heterosexual individuals in online CMC, which represent an interesting aspect of the contemporary Czech non-heterosexual sociolect. A similar analysis have not been done in the Czech academic sphere and thus it is a unique piece of work, which can hopefully serve to inspire other possible sociolinguistic research.

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8. RESUMÉ

Tato bakalářská práce zkoumá používání slov převzatých z angličtiny v e-komunikaci českých neheterosexuálních jedinců. Aspekty komunikace přes elektronická zařízení představují velké množství zajímavostí, které jsou hodny bližšího zkoumání. Jedním z těchto aspektů je právě používání anglicismů v online komunikaci neheterosexuálních osob. Termín neheterosexuální je použit pro dosažení větší inkusivity a také proto, aby se případné výsledky respondentů, kteří vidí svoji sexuální orientaci jakožto jinou než heterosexuální a homosexuální orientaci.

Pro získání skutečného vzorku tohoto typu komunikace práce sbírá opravdové konverzace z populární seznamovací služby *Grindr*, která se zaměřuje na homosexuální, bisexuální a jinak sexuálně orientované jedince, jen ne na ty heterosexuální. Ze získaných konverzací pak díky softwaru *Sketch Engine* byla zjišťována frekvence a konkordance nejpoužívanějších anglických přejímek na této platformě.

Důvod pro používání těchto anglických slov v jinak zcela českých větách je zapříčiněn zejména psychologickým a emoční odstupem, které mluvení v cizím jazyce poskytuje. Tyto anglicismy tak slouží k možnosti odosobnění od obsahu zpráv v případě, že se řečník setká s negativní reakcí. Lidé mají tendenci se odosobňovat od toho, co řeknou, když říkají něco osobního nebo citlivého. Příkladem toho může například být, když probírají sex nebo k němu vyzývají. Vzhledem k tomu, že většina uživatelů aplikace Grindr ji využívá právě k hledání sexu, tak je tento kontext tím zkoumaným.

Hypotézou této bakalářské práce tedy je, že neheterosexuální jedinci používají slova převzatá z angličtiny zejména, když probírají sex nebo k němu sami vyzývají.

Potvrdit ji mají data získaná z konverzací uživatelů dané aplikace. Pokud je hypotéza správná, tak většina použitých anglicismů bude právě v kontextu sexu. Pro další potvrzení či vyvrácení hypotézy slouží druhý dotazník, v němž mají respondenti vybrat ze tří sérií zpráv ve třech

různých kontextech tu zprávu, kterou by sami nejpravděpodobněji napsali. Pro potvrzení hypotézy by měli účastníci dotazníku vybrat zprávu s anglickými přejímkami zejména v kontextu sexu.

Teoretickou část práce tvoří zmapování a vysvětlení anglických přejímk. Co vlastně jsou a proč do češtiny proudí takové množství právě anglických slov. To jsou otázky, na které práce v této části zodpovídá. Dále se pak zaměřuje na samotnou adaptaci těchto slov do češtiny, a to z pohledu morfologické a foneticko-fonologické modifikace. Práce tak rozebírá skloňování nových anglických slov a změny ve výslovnosti a zápisu.

Dalším tématem je psychologický a citový odstup, které mluvení v cizím jazyce poskytuje. Jazyk používaný na internetových službách sloužící k seznámení je také tématem této části. Oba tyto aspekty jsou stěžejní pro tuto bakalářskou práci.

V praktické části se pak práce zaměřuje na metodu sběru potřebných dat, která nebyla nejhodněji zvolena, protože byla velmi časově náročná a respondenti neměli dostatečnou motivaci pro poslání svých konverzací. Je pravdou, že požadovaná data jsou velmi osobní a také, že způsob jejich získávání zabere spoustu času. Dále se pak mluví o tvoření korpusu, z něhož se posléze získají všechny výsledky potřebné pro další analýzu.

Z korpusu se získaly informace o frekvenci a konkordanci anglických slov. Tato anglická slova jsou pak srovnána se svými českými ekvivalenty a jejich použití je rozebráno a vysvětleno. Vzhledem k tomu, že většina anglicismů skutečně představuje termíny z oblasti sexu, můžeme hypotézu potvrdit. Použití jejich českých ekvivalentů se ukázalo být ve většině případech menší, což opět potvrzuje hypotézu této práce.

Výsledky dalšího dotazníku, kde měli účastníci dotazníkového šetření vybrat tu zprávu z trojice zpráv, kterou by sami nejpravděpodobněji napsali, také přinesly zajímavá zjištění. V trojici zpráv byla vždy jedna zpráva s jedním anglicismem, jedna zpráva s více anglicismy a zpráva čistě česká. Tyto soubory zpráv byly ve třech různých kontextech: kontext pozdravu a

„klábosení“, kontext práce a kontext sexu. A skutečně výsledky dotazníku ukázaly, že nejvíce uživatelů aplikace *Grindr* by zvolilo zprávu s aspoň jedním anglicismem v sérii zpráv v sexuálním kontextu.

Výsledky z obou dotazníků tak potvrzují hypotézu této práce, že anglicismy tato skupina jedinců používá zejména v kontextu sexu, který v dnešní společnosti představuje stále tabuizované téma.

Práce slouží k zmapování současného chování pozorovaných jedinců, které tvoří zajímavý prvek českého sociolektu neheterosexuálních osob. Tento jev ještě zanalyzován v českém prostředí nebyl, a tak je tato práce jedinečná a může sloužit k inspiraci dalším jazykovědním a sociologickým výzkumům.