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# **Czech Attitudes to English Lexical Borrowings**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The proposed thesis deals with the attitudes to English borrowings in the Czech Republic, primarily examining their variability caused by age. Its main aim is to verify the assumption that growing age correlates with the tendency of Czech language users to have negative attitudes towards borrowings from English. In the theoretical part, selected aspects of the occurrence and perception of English borrowings in Czech are presented. Besides, some of the major issues considering the area of language attitudes are dealt with. The practical part gives an account of a questionnaire survey in which 165 respondents from three generations took part. The questions focus on the perception of frequency of English borrowings in Czech, the semantic transparency of these lexemes, the language users' attitudes to English loanwords, as well as their predictions and concerns considering the further development of their mother tongue. The results suggest that older generations tend to have rather negative attitudes to the borrowings. Moreover, younger peoples' assessment of anglicisms is not as decisively positive as originally hypothesised in the present analytical framework. Nevertheless, noticeable differences in language attitudes among age groups were confirmed.

**Key words:** *language attitude, borrowing from English, loanword, anglicism, Czech*

## **ANOTACE**

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá postoji české veřejnosti k anglickým lexikálními výpůjčkám, především se však soustřeďuje se na rozdíly v těchto postojích v závislosti na věku. Jejím cílem je zejména ověření souvislosti mezi rostoucím věkem a tendencí zaujímat k výpůjčkám z angličtiny negativní postoj. Teoretická část práce představuje vybrané aspekty výskytu a vnímání anglicismů v češtině, dotýká se ale také základních poznatků z oblasti jazykových postojů. Praktická část popisuje dotazníkový průzkum, jehož se zúčastnilo celkem 165 respondentů ze tří různých generací. Otázky jsou zaměřeny na vnímání frekvence anglických výpůjček, jejich srozumitelnost, postoje mluvčí češtiny k těmto lexémům a v neposlední řadě jsou zkoumány také obavy a předpovědi týkající se budoucího vývoje češtiny. Výsledky výzkumu naznačují, že příslušníci starších generací často zaujímají k výpůjčkám spíše negativní postoj. Mladí lidé navíc nehodnotí anglicismy tak pozitivně, jak jsme původně předpokládali. Celkově však průzkum potvrdil významné rozdíly v postojích různých generací.

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně za použití zdrojů a literatury v ní uvedených.

Praha, 10. 6. 2010

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## Introduction

In recent years, many linguists have discussed the growing importance of English worldwide, using terms such as “language globalisation”, “global lingua franca”, or “linguistic imperialism”. As far as the Czech Republic is concerned, the trend could be illustrated by the fact that English has been made a priority in foreign-language teaching.

Furthermore, as Crystal noted, “the emergence of a global language can influence the structure of other languages – especially by providing a fresh source of loan-words” (Crystal, 2003: 22). Like many other languages, Czech has absorbed literally hundreds or thousands of words from English in the past two decades. These lexemes are not only specialized terms used by a small group of experts; a large amount of English borrowings have penetrated the language of the mass media as well as everyday communication. In the media aimed at the general public such utterances are currently occurring as

*“Poslanci kývli na product placement.”* (Czech Television)

*“Policie obvinila prvního člověka ze stalkingu.”* (TV Nova)

*“Hostem pořadu byla lídryně TOP 09.”* (Czech Television)

*“No a kdybychom to řekli headlinovitě, tak...”* (Czech Television)

*“Je otázka, nakolik tam ten leadout man bude chybět.”* (Czech Radio 1)

A number of Czech linguists have turned their attention to the changes in word-stock brought about by the influence of English. While they have extensively examined the new lexical items as such, significantly less research has been conducted in the area of language users, many of whom have frequently expressed criticism of the phenomenon. Therefore, the proposed thesis attempts to provide an insight into the **language users’ attitudes to English borrowings**.

As Crystal suggests, “in any speech community, a few people want to protect their language against what is perceived to be unwelcome change (what is usually called ‘purism’), whereas others welcome change, diversity and innovation” (Crystal, 2005: 4). Thus, a number of issues arise with respect to the

language attitudes of Czech native speakers: Do most of them find English borrowings necessary, useful, or attractive? Do they know the meanings of these lexemes at all? Are they concerned about the future development of their mother tongue, and would they welcome any regulations concerning the use of borrowings in the mass media? These and many other questions could be asked in connection with the phenomenon.

It is to note that attitude formation is a complex process in which experience seems to play a vital role. Due to a significant shift in second language learning initiated by the political change in 1989, there is a great variability in linguistic experience in the Czech population. While in younger generations, knowledge of English is virtually taken for granted, it is rather exceptional in older generations, who, as a rule, learned Russian at school. Therefore, there is reason to presume that Czech attitudes to English borrowings vary noticeably according to age.

### **Research Aims and Hypothesis**

As indicated above, the aims of the present study are

- (1) to provide an insight into the **present-day Czech attitudes to English lexical borrowings**, and, in particular,
- (2) to examine **whether** (and to what extent) **these attitudes vary according to age**.

The underlying hypothesis is as follows:

*Growing age correlates with the tendency of Czech people to have rather negative attitudes towards English lexical borrowings.*

The expected findings will be dealt with in Chapter 4 in greater detail.

## **Thesis Structure**

The first part of the present thesis (Chapters 1 to 3) comprises the following:

**Chapter 1** deals with the phenomenon of English lexical borrowings in Czech from several viewpoints. The initial section of Chapter 1 focuses on the issue from a diachronic perspective. In the following sections the findings and observations of several Czech linguists are presented concerning the process of internationalisation of the Czech lexis, the reasons for using lexemes from English rather than indigenous vocabulary, as well as the linguists' reflections on the public concern about the future of Czech. The final section offers some of the opinions and arguments typically encountered in the public debate on the influence of English on Czech.

**Chapter 2** focuses on the concept of (language) attitude. It attempts to encompass the essential theoretical issues relevant to the focus of the proposed thesis. One of the sections is devoted to contributions made by two outstanding Czech linguists – Daneš and Čmejrková. The last section deals with selected problems and techniques in attitude measurement.

**Chapter 3** provides an overview of the existing empirical research on the attitudes to borrowings in the Czech population.

The other major part of the thesis (**Chapters 4 and 5**) gives an account of a questionnaire survey of 165 respondents carried out for the purposes of the present study. In the initial sections, an overview of the expected findings as well as the essential methodological issues are provided. In the following sections the survey results are presented and discussed.

In **Chapter 5** conclusions are drawn based on the data gathered in the survey.

# 1. Selected Aspects of English Borrowings in Czech

Please note that all citations of Czech sources in the following chapters are unofficial and unauthorised translations made for the purposes of the present work by the author.

## 1.1 The Term “Anglicism”

In its broad sense, the term *anglicism* refers to *any* linguistic element borrowed from English into another language. However, it prototypically stands for a *lexeme* that is subject to borrowing from English. Some lexicologists further distinguish between *foreign words* that have not undergone any stage of formal adaptation to the new language system, and *borrowings* that have been adapted to a certain extent (cf Bozděchová, 1997: 272).

For the purposes of the present study, such a detailed distinction is unnecessary. Herein the term *anglicism* refers to a lexical item borrowed from English to Czech, and it is used interchangeably with *English loanword (ELW)* and *English borrowing*.

## 1.2 English Borrowings in Czech from a Diachronic Perspective

As Kučera (1995) notes, borrowing of lexemes from English is a relatively new phenomenon; for the most part, the English loanwords currently used in Czech entered its word-stock in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In connection with the emergence of an independent Czechoslovak state in 1918, and consequently, a gradual shift in cultural orientation, the first perceptible traces of English-language influence became apparent. After the Second World War, however, the country fell within the Soviet sphere of influence, resulting in the Czech language being inhibited from further borrowing of English lexemes. Despite the authorities' unfavourable attitudes towards Western influences, the 1960s saw a renewed growth of the number of English

loanwords (Kučera, 1995: 77). The article *Anglicismy v češtině* (1979) could be used to illustrate the way a Czech linguist reflected on the development:

Tejnor observed that as far as language is concerned, there is always a degree of tolerability (“únosnost”) of foreign elements which is different for different language users. He pointed out that for historical reasons the Czech population developed a “protective reflex” against German, which was, however, not the case with English. He considered it one of the major reasons why English loanwords were significantly more likely to be accepted by the Czech public (Tejnor, 1979: 208). As he stressed, at the same time, the lexemes of English origin ran into various difficulties: Firstly, it was the limited knowledge of English in the Czech population; in a survey carried out in 1970, only 11% of respondents reported to have some knowledge of English. Secondly, Tejnor mentioned the fact that the difference between the phonological form of a word on the one hand and its graphic representation on the other is significantly bigger in English than in Czech (ibid: 210).

In addition, Tejnor considered the possibility that indigenous terms would be replaced with English ones in scientific discourse. He drew the conclusion that the property of being international, which was associated with English terms, could only be temporary. Moreover, it appeared that indigenous terminologies had already been evolving which were better capable of expressing relations among terms than English loanwords. For instance, the terminological norm ČSN 36 9001 for Digital and Analogue Computers from 1973, had included solely one English borrowing (“assembler”); and even this term had an equivalent of Czech origin (“sestavující program”). Furthermore, the English lexeme “display” had been replaced with “zobrazovací jednotka”, which could be further specified as “zobrazovací deska” or “zobrazovací tabule”, etc. Tejnor continued, stating that this tendency did not only involve specialized terms. As examples he mentioned “boiler” which had been replaced with “zásobníkový ohříváč vody”, or “aut” (replaced with “zámezí”) (ibid: 212).

It is to emphasise once again that, compared to the current situation, the knowledge of English in the Czechoslovak population was rather poor in the 1970s, and the then scale of borrowing from English into Czech was insignificant; therefore, a few of Tejnor's observations might appear rather far-fetched from today's perspective. Nevertheless, some of the points he raised are still highly topical.

Not surprisingly, it was the end of the Communist regime (1989) and the subsequent political, economic, and cultural changes that triggered an unprecedented influx of English lexemes into Czech. Initially, the trend was mainly accounted for by the American (i.e. the U.S.) influence (cf Měšťan, 1999), however, in recent years, such issues as (language) globalization and the role of English as the world's *lingua franca* (cf Crystal, 2003, or Uher, 2001), or the growing importance of information technology (cf Kraus, 2008: 12) have been more frequently discussed.

It should be stressed that lexis is not the only level of the Czech language at which English has exerted noticeable influence. Examples such as "Sazka Aréna", "fax papír", "No-Frost lednice" or "instant kaše", where the respective first parts are to be identified as uninflected adjectives used attributively, illustrate the loss of inflection connected with remarkable syntactic innovation that have taken place in a number of collocations (Kučera, 1995: 78, Mareš 2007: 42). Similarly, some common phrases such as "Mějte hezký večer" or "Je to o tom, že..." have been frequently mentioned as word-for-word translations from English.

Nonetheless, the lexical level of the language has obviously been the most affected one. The two editions of the dictionary of neologisms called *Nová slova v češtině* (1998 and 2004) could be provided as an example of the fact that the Czech language has absorbed hundreds (or perhaps thousands) of lexemes from English.

The areas of lexis that have been frequently reported to be the most affected ones are, among others, sports (e.g. "beach volejbal", "krosčeka", "play

off”, “head kouč”), economics (e.g. “cash flow”, “diskont”, “leasing”), information technology (e.g. “bluetooth”, “server”, “uploadovat”), popular music (“eurodance”, house”, pop music”), the mass media (e.g. “flash interview”, “newsroom”, “prime time”, “talkshow”) (Svobodová, 2007: 16), or (youth) slangs (e.g. “skejt’ák”, “freestylový”, “bullshit”) (Svobodová, 1999).

Naturally, this phenomenon could not have gone unnoticed by linguistics experts as well as the general public by whom it has been extensively examined and discussed in the past two decades. While the former have mostly been descriptive and have rarely given their opinion, the latter have tended to evaluate the perceived effects of English borrowings on their mother tongue. Above all, these effects have attracted widespread criticism.

### **1.3 English Borrowings in Czech as Reflected by Language Experts**

A number of linguists have researched the area of English borrowings and published extensively on such issues as the formal adaptation of the loanwords or their role in word formation, to name just a few. These are, however, beyond the scope of the present study as they primarily concern Czech morphology. I will now focus solely on the authors’ observations that are related to the aspects examined in my survey (Chapter 4, p. 35), or otherwise closely connected with language users. Concerning the Czech attitudes to English loanwords, they provide certain relations, arguments, or possible motives.

#### **1.3.1 Internationalisation of the Czech Language**

Many linguists use the term *internationalisation* to refer to the most salient feature of the current Czech language (cf Mareš, 2007). As noted earlier, this tendency to absorb foreign elements, especially from or via English, has been particularly strong in the area of lexis. As Mareš states, while in the past (i.e. mainly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the period after 1918) efforts were made to create Czech equivalents for foreign lexemes, the present-day language lacks any such tendency that would serve as a counterbalance to *internationalisation* (Mareš, 2007: 39).



Various factors have been suggested to facilitate the process of borrowing English lexemes into Czech. In the early 1990s Daneš stressed the role of the long period of cultural isolation (1948–1989) after which the Czech public was “spontaneously unsaturated” and “hungry” for everything that the West had to offer (Daneš, 1999b: 302). As mentioned above, more recently, the growing importance of English worldwide and its high prestige have been highlighted (Uher, 2001). Bozděchová emphasised the role of language education (at present, virtually all children in the Czech Republic learn English as a second language), as well as the increasing contact between Czech citizens and English speaking people (Bozděchová, 1997: 278).

### **1.3.2 Reasons for the Use of English Borrowings**

On the basis of her research on the use of English borrowings in the mass media, Svobodová (1999) identifies several reasons why authors of texts opt for an English loanword instead of a Czech expression.

Firstly, for a number of borrowings there are no suitable Czech equivalents with precisely the same meanings (e.g. “skinhead”, “doping”, “know-how”). Longer paraphrases could be used, which would, nonetheless, be at variance with the principle commonly referred to as “economy of language” (see, e.g., Vincenti, 2003).

Secondly, many *anglicisms* occurring in areas such as business or politics are international terms, and, therefore, hardly any efforts have been made so far to translate them or search for Czech equivalents (e.g. “summit”, “audit”, “broker”).

Finally, since English loanwords are widely perceived as attractive and fashionable, a number of authors use them in order to “be in”, to appear more modern, sophisticated, international, etc. (e.g. “byznys”, “superstar”, “top”) (Svobodová, 1999: 166).

This observation has often been associated with what Daneš (referring to the 19th-century Bohemian thinker Bernard Bolzano) regards as an “unfortunate

tendency for the Czech” to admire and imitate foreign models (Daneš, 1999b: 302). Among others, Bozděchová shares this view (1997: 278). Similarly, Kučera believes that some speakers’ frequent use of *anglicisms* is a sign of showing off; they want to demonstrate, or at least pretend having good knowledge of English (Kučera, 1995: 82).

Besides, *anglicisms* frequently function as means of stylistic variation; they may be used in order to avoid undesirable repetition of one and the same word (Svobodová, 1996a: 102). Occasionally, English borrowings provide opportunities for wordplay; for instance, the orthographically similar forms of the loanword “chat” and the Czech “chata” (cottage) have this potential (Mareš, 2008: 41).

Furthermore, language experts frequently emphasise the significance of borrowings in specialized terminology where these lexemes enhance simplicity and clarity of expression (Bozděchová, 1997: 273). Hasil mentions the area of information technology; as he explains, all attempts to create indigenous terminology in this field eventually proved futile, as they were rejected by the language practice as such (Hasil, 2003: 52). As one may notice, the sharp contrast between this observation and those made by Tejnor more than two decades earlier (see p. 14) reflects the high degree of change in the language development.

In addition, there are certain age, occupational, or interest groups using characteristic registers (e.g. teenagers, businessmen, or graffiti writers) of which frequent occurrence of *anglicisms* is typical. As Mareš stresses, the characteristic way of expression serves here as a means of identification with the group (Mareš, 2008: 43). Consequently, in their efforts to appeal to a particular group, some media, such as magazines for teenagers, teem with *slangisms* and *colloquialisms* which are extremely often (adapted) English loanwords (e.g. “komentý”, “cool ohoz”, “super storka”, or “Dohrál jsi na kompu super gamesku?”).

### 1.3.3 Growing Public Concern for the Language

Like many others, Kraus states that people's attitudes to and assessment of their language are naturally influenced by the changes in word-stock as well as the ways the Czech language has been treated (Kraus, 2008: 11). In particular, an increasing number of people regard these changes as a threat to their mother tongue. This could be accounted for by the fact that "in the era of Americanisation, people do not perceive their language solely as a means of communication, but also as a value closely associated with the nation's existence" (ibid: 13). Kraus continues, saying that people tend to disapprove of those changes occurring after the period of their compulsory school attendance, i.e. after the time when they received systematic education concerning their mother tongue (ibid: 13). Besides, it is a well-known fact that child appreciation of a standard in language occurs almost simultaneously with the beginning of his/her school attendance. Giles and Niedzielski (1998), for instance, mention the "inclination of children to like non-standard speech until they spend time in the school system" (Giles and Niedzielski, 1998: 89).

An interesting point was made by Daneš in his article *Jazyk malého národa*. As he notes, despite the fact that there are big and small nations, one might want to say that there are no big or small languages. However, Daneš does not find the statement realistic; in his view, "language awareness" that is present in language users constitutes an inseparable part of the language (Daneš, 1999c: 318). The awareness comprises the users' attitudes to their own (as well as a foreign) language, culture, and nation. As regards the language of a small nation, these elements become particularly evident whenever it is afflicted by a big nation's language expansion. While a big language primarily seeks to extend its sphere of influence, a small language's principal aim is self-preservation. Therefore, a small nation "seeks equilibrium or sinks into a mood of despondency, searches for an ally or makes an effort to defend its language." (ibid).

Nonetheless, in the past decades, even big nations such as Germany or France have shown signs of growing concern about the influence of English (Uher, 2001: 114). In Germany, for instance, an institution named “Verein zur Wahrung der Deutschen Sprache”, the aim of which is to preserve and protect the German language, was established. Besides, several editions of *Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen* (“A Dictionary of Superfluous Anglicisms”) have been published by now. In addition, English borrowings (e.g. “outsourcing”) annually rank among the “ugliest” and “most unwanted” words in the competition called “Unwort des Jahres”. Further, Uher mentions France where the government installed regulations to ensure that French vocabulary would be preferred to (English) borrowings in the media (The *Loi Toubon* passed in 1994). It is to note that Uher does not consider the imposition of law on language use to be a constructive way of protecting the language (Uher, 2001: 114).

As the Czech linguists frequently mention, the strong influence of English on Czech associated with the aforementioned feelings of being threatened instigate public criticism. Despite this fact, Bozděchová (1997) hopes that Czechs are no longer purists, and for the most part, they have realized the necessity of borrowing. Thus, instead of asking whether to use loanwords or not, we should ask ourselves which of the many foreign lexemes should be used, in what forms and meanings, in which contexts, etc. (Bozděchová, 1997: 272).

Unlike Bozděchová, Hasil (2003) allows that purist tendencies have not completely disappeared. He observes that the extreme frequency of English borrowings in Czech results in the fact that they have been rejected by a certain part of the lay public. Nonetheless, he holds that the borrowings which are functional tend to be accepted by the public, while those used exclusively for the purpose of appearing clever, modern, or prestigious meet with rejection (Hasil, 2003: 52).

However justified the criticism of “*Anglicisation*” or *internationalisation* seems to be, according to Uher it is often merely declamatory, offering no concepts of a sensitive integration of international elements into Czech (Uher, 2001: 117).

Although language experts are seldom critical themselves, many of them suggest that the use of English borrowings results in a decrease in the general comprehensibility of texts (e.g. Bozděchová, 1997, Svobodová, 1996b or 1999). Apart from that, Svobodová mentions that English borrowings frequently occur in the names of Czech products, shops, companies, competitions, television shows, etc. (e.g. “Disco Move On”, “Wellness Hotel”, a record shop named “Top Sound”, or a pet shop named “Fedog”). She finds many of them opaque and misleading for the Czech people and, consequently, she questions the common assumption that these names, although meant to attract attention, make better advertisements (Svobodová, 1996b).

Finally, let me briefly comment on the linguists’ future predictions concerning the influence of English on Czech. According to Kraus, for instance, the changes in the present-day language are definitely not to be regarded as symptoms of language extinction (Kraus, 2008: 14). Similarly, Uher considers the current situation of Czech satisfactory. He describes it as a well established language with an extensive repertoire of linguistic means, capable of adjustment to the changes brought about by *internationalization*, in particular by *Anglicisation* (Uher, 2001: 117). As he adds, nonetheless, how well the Czech language will stand the test of time depends on the communication skills, efforts, and a certain degree of national confidence of the language users (ibid: 118).

In accordance with Havránek (1938), Bozděchová regards the typological difference between Czech (i.e. a highly inflected language) and English (a relatively analytic language) as the reason why *Angloamericanisation* is not a threat to the Czech language (Bozděchová, 1997: 278).

By contrast, Kučera highlights the increasing number of Czech people with a very good knowledge of English. In his view, the fact will contribute to

the growing influence of English upon Czech, as well as a gradual shift in attitudes towards this influence. Consequently, it is to be expected that the Czech language will become more and more open to English borrowings (Kučera, 1995: 82).

#### **1.4 English Borrowings as Reflected in a Continuous Public Debate**

For the past two decades, opinions on the influence of English on Czech have frequently appeared in various newspaper and magazine articles, interviews with language pundits, internet discussion forums, blogs, comments, etc. Some of the most representative will be presented below.

As indicated above, a large proportion of these contributions have been critical, describing the phenomenon as an “invasion”, “flood”, “attack”, “raid”, “blind influence” of English, “rape” or “devastation” of the Czech language. In his article *Jak dlouho ještě budeme mluvit česky?* (“How Long Will We Continue to Speak Czech?”) Petráček calls it an *anglophile import*, and invents a few more descriptions, such as *anglo-dilution* (“angloředění”), or *amero-rape* (“ameroprznění”) of Czech (Petráček, 2004). In the magazine *Týden* a journalist used a simile stating that “anglicisms resemble weed; their spread is spontaneous and unstoppable” (Tvarůžková, 2001). Such expressions as *angločeština*, *E-čeština*, or *česko-anglická pamluva* have been invented to point to the extent to which English words have penetrated Czech.

The overuse of English borrowings is frequently associated with people working for international companies, journalists, reporters, advertisers, translators, the American film industry, musicians, and such like.

Many native speakers of Czech disapprove of the use of English borrowings motivated by the efforts to show off or be in fashion:

“Those who want to be in, use ‘meeting’ instead of ‘schůzka’, ‘kouč’ instead of ‘trenér’, and ‘team’ instead of ‘družstvo’/‘skupina’.” (Prošek)

“Using an English expression is often pointless (...) It’s just a matter of fashion.” (Truksová, 2009)

*“Using English in order to appear more educated is not a sign of intelligence. It’s snobbery.”* (Tvarůžková, 2001)

*“The use of anglicisms is considered a hallmark of being worldly-wise.”* (Tvarůžková, 2001).

*“I’m not sure whether children enjoy ‘baby-sitting’ more than the ordinary ‘hlidání’.”* (Behún, 2006)

Besides, the fact that a large number of borrowings have Czech equivalents is often highlighted. Therefore, in many cases there is no actual need to use an English loanword:

*“For inconceivable reasons, we replace fully-fledged Czech expressions with English words.”* (Behún, 2006)

*“In my opinion, Czech is rich enough; we needn’t use malformations like this one.”* (a comment from an internet discussion *Výraz ‘lídryně’*, 2010)

Others, however, regard “the chronic inability of Czech to create new functional words” (Petráček, 2004) as one of the main problems.

Furthermore, many emphasise that the Czech population uses *anglicisms* due to a lack of national pride:

*“The Czech language has been declining because we lack patriotic pride and don’t strive to speak it. At the same time, the influence of English on Czech is fairly strong.”* (a comment to Behún, 2007)

Petráček mentions some peoples’ “lack of respect for the main attribute of their nation – their mother tongue.” (Petráček, 2004)

As regards possible solutions to the situation, a number of people stress the importance of measures which should be taken in the area of Czech language education. Some language users believe that linguists should provide and promote Czech equivalents for English borrowings, while others suggest that the process of borrowing from English is natural, and, although we may not like it, there is nothing to be done to change it.

As indicated in the previous section, a number of Czech people express concerns about the future of their mother tongue:

*“I am sceptical (...) and I fear that the bell tolls for Czech. While the French and the German will always manage to defend their languages against English, Czech has got some 50 or 70 years left, in my opinion.”* (a comment to Krejčí, 2009)

By contrast:

*“The influence of English on Czech will vanish as soon as the knowledge of English becomes a matter of course, and no one ever feels the need to boast about it.”* (a comment to Krejčí, 2009)

It is to stress that positive comments on the influence of English occur as well. In particular, it has been frequently pointed out that “English borrowings help the Czech language to overcome the shortage of indigenous expressions in such areas as information and communication technologies” (Prošek), and therefore, some of them are considered very useful.

Necessity and usefulness seem to be the most typical arguments in favour of English borrowings, however, they are not the only ones. The following is a comment of a young language user:

*“I like using English words in my mother tongue and so do all my peers. Thanks to these words, Czech isn’t boring and uninteresting anymore; it starts to be in. And if you don’t like it, go and learn English. You have no other option anyway.”* (“Nebojte se o češtinu“, 2001)

On the whole, negative comments on the influence of English on Czech certainly outnumber those indicating positive assessments. Nonetheless, as Čmejrková observed, negative emotions are significantly more liable to be expressed than the positive ones (Čmejrková, 2008: 17). Therefore, there is reason to presume that the general public attitudes are rather less negative than those indicated in the majority of the above quotations and observations.



## 2. The Concept of Attitude

While in common usage the lexeme “attitude” is synonymous with “opinion” or “feeling”, in many fields, such as psychology, sociology, sociolinguistics, anthropology, or education, it has a more specialized meaning. As this work attempts to examine borrowings from the perspective of attitudes associated with them, let me now briefly focus on the notion of *attitude* as such.

### 2.1 Attitudes from a Psychological Perspective

The onset of the research on attitudes dates back to the 1930s, and since then the concept has been considered one of the key issues in social psychology. A variety of definitions of attitudes exist; for Ajzen (1988), for instance, they are “dispositions to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event” (Ajzen, 1988: 4). Baker (1992) sees attitudes as “a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behaviour” that often manage to explain, summarize and predict behaviour (Baker, 1992: 11).

In general, attitudes are viewed as hypothetical constructs, which brings difficulties in assessing them. Being abstract, they cannot be directly observed; they can only be inferred from peoples’ external behaviour. However, “as a ‘disposition’, an attitude can be seen as having a degree of stability which allows it to be identified” (Garrett, 2010: 20).

As far as the formation of attitudes is concerned, the experts share the view that attitudes are learned rather than innate dispositions, although some of the research on this issue (e.g. Tesser, 1993) has indicated that hereditary factors might play an indirect role in attitude formation. A variety of processes may be involved in our learning of attitudes; in accordance with Gardner, Garrett (2010) highlights two major sources: (1) our personal experience and (2) our social environment, including the media.

In terms of attitude structure, the researchers have traditionally identified three components: *cognition*, *affect*, and *behaviour*. Garrett (2010) explains that

“attitudes are *cognitive* insofar as they contain or comprise beliefs about the world, and the relationships between objects of social significance, e.g. judgements on standard language varieties tending to be associated with higher-status jobs” (Garrett, 2010: 23). As he further notes, attitudes are *affective* because they involve feelings about the attitude object. The affective aspect is connected with favourability and unfavourability, and with the intensity of our approval or disapproval of the attitude object. Finally, according to Garrett, “the *behavioural* component concerns the predisposition to act in certain ways, and perhaps in the ways that are consistent with our cognitive and affective judgements” (ibid).

In connection with this issue Baker (1992) emphasises that the cognitive and affective components of attitude may not always be in harmony, as “irrational prejudices, deep-seated anxieties and fears may occasionally be at variance with formally stated beliefs” ( Baker, 1992: 11). Baker sees here one of the potentially problematic areas of attitude measurement, where formal statements are made reflecting the cognitive component of attitudes. These may only reflect a person’s surface evaluation, while some private feelings, especially those incongruent with preferred public statements, may remain hidden.

According to Baker (1988), further difficulties in attitude measurement arise from the fact that actual behaviour compared with attitudes expressed in a verbal form are markedly different. This implies that attitudes in reality are:

- 1) different from, and not always congruent with actual behaviour
- 2) affected very significantly by the context
- 3) just one determinant of behaviour. Personality, abilities, situations, needs, etc. are also hypothetical or real explanatory factors.
- 4) different for reality and hypothetical reality. An attitude towards a mother-in-law, for instance, may be modified when in her presence.

- 5) different for “I” and “they”. In other words, the responses to a question such as “Are you selfish?” may be very different from the responses to “Are people selfish?” (Baker, 1988: 114)

## **2.2 Sociolinguistic Concept of Language Attitude**

With its findings on attitudes, (social) psychology made an important contribution to other areas of research. In the last five decades, **language attitude** has been established as one of the key concepts in sociolinguistics and examined from a variety of perspectives. A number of researchers have focused on language attitudes in bilingual settings as well as the attitudes towards different language varieties. Another major area of study is based on the assertion that attitude is a predisposing factor affecting the outcomes of education; an extensive amount of research has been conducted on the role of attitude in second language acquisition and language teaching. Nevertheless, as it is not intended to go into detail on the aforementioned areas, only a few of major issues will be touched upon in the following sections.

As Baker emphasises, “in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be vital in language restoration, preservation, decay, or death” (Baker, 1992: 9). Furthermore, he observes that the “status and importance of a language in society and in an individual derives in a major way from adopted and learnt attitudes” (Baker, 1988 112). It is also generally accepted that attitudes can function both as input and output from social action (e.g. Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010). For instance, a favourable attitude to a language may be a vital input in language achievement. A language learning course, on the other hand, can result in a favourable attitude to the language learnt.

Beyond the educational context, attitudes also play a role in both production and reception of language. In line with Hymes and other researchers, Garrett (2010) holds that “language attitudes and the socio-cultural norm that they relate to are an integral part of our communicative competence, so in terms of our everyday use of language, language attitudes would be expected not only

to influence our reactions to other language users around us, but also help us anticipate others' responses to our own language use and so influence the language choices that we make as we communicate.” (Garrett, 2010: 21)

Besides the above-mentioned authors, others have examined the issue of language attitudes from various angles as well. The contributions of Bauer and Trudgill (1998), Coupland and Jaworski (1997), Romaine (1995), or Lippi-Green (1997) should be mentioned at least.

### **2.3 Language Attitudes as Seen by Czech Linguists**

In connection with the aims of the present study, Daneš, who made a contribution to the theory of language attitudes in the late 1960s, should be mentioned. In spite of the fact that he primarily focused on language attitudes in terms of codification of the standard variety, his observations have wider implications. Drawing on the then sociological theory of attitudes, he distinguished four types of attitudes to language: *instrumental*, *ethic*, *habitual*, and *affective (emotional)* (Daneš, 1999a). Furthermore, he pointed out that attitudes tend to appear in contrasting pairs. Among others, he considered the following to be of major significance:

- 1) The contrast between rationality and irrationality. The instrumental type of attitudes (i.e. the one accentuating the role of language as a communication tool as well as the necessity of obligatory norms) is prototypically connected with rationality, while emotional attitudes are irrational. The latter should not be underestimated as they tend to prevail in the population.
- 2) The contrast between the actual language behaviour on the one hand, and opinions, beliefs, and convictions concerning language on the other. As Daneš emphasised, language users are frequently unaware of this contrast.
- 3) The contrast between the actual (deep-seated) motives and the proclaimed motives of language behaviour. In other words, people

often mask the motives that seem socially unacceptable (cf Baker, 1992: 11)

- 4) The contrast between resistance to change on the one hand, and an attitude that readily accepts changes on the other.
- 5) The contrast between *isolationism* (divergent tendencies) and *universalism* (convergent tendencies). As Daneš explained, it is the “separatist function” of standard language on the one hand, and the contact with other languages and as well the constant need for language enrichment on the other hand. (Daneš, 1999a: 279ff)

Čmejrková, who conducted a survey examining the attitudes to standard versus non-standard varieties of Czech, reached an interesting conclusion: When a general question is asked, a respondent tends to activate his language awareness in which many complex cognitive and emotional processes are involved. Thus, devoid of any particular context, (s)he makes an assessment based on an overall attitude, of what things *are* and what they *should be* like. Čmejrková maintains that in the case of such global attitudes, the predispositions to positive/negative assessment are strong and deeply-rooted ones. Conversely, if the context of a language situation is more precisely given, the definition of a respondent’s attitude becomes more immediate, concrete and relative to the particular situation (Čmejrková, 2008: 27). These findings imply that different levels of generality of the questions asked in an attitudinal survey are likely to yield different results.

Further, Čmejrková notes that various factors, such as social status, education, region, or age seem to play an important part in the area of language attitudes (ibid).

## **2.4 Techniques and Problems in Attitude Measurement**

There is a variety of methods and techniques for attitude measurement, such as *Likert scales*, *Thurston scales*, *Guttman’s Scalogram*, the *Semantic Differential Technique*, *Factor Analysis*, document and content analysis, interviews, case studies, the *matched guise technique*, and many others. In the

research on language attitudes, the following have been very frequently employed and combined (see, e.g., Dane, 2010, or Rasinger, 2008):

The most common type of *Likert scales* is a series of statements to which respondents indicate agreement or disagreement on a scale consisting of three or more points.

As far as *semantic differential* scales are concerned, respondents are most frequently presented with sets of opposing lexemes (adjectives) and asked to indicate their preferences on the scales between these contrasting words.

In the *matched guise technique*, respondents listen to taped samples of spoken language and rate the speakers on affective and cognitive qualities.

In the survey conducted for the purposes of the present study the two former techniques were employed. They are undemanding (and thus not discouraging) for the respondent, and the data obtained is relatively easy to process. Besides, these techniques had been frequently used in the previous research on the Czech attitudes to loanwords.

As suggested above, the measurement of attitude is connected with many potential problems and dangers. Baker (1988) provides a summary of the reasons why attitude measurement is rarely, if ever, totally valid:

- 1) People may respond to an attitude test in a way that makes them appear more prestigious. Consciously and unconsciously people tend to give socially desirable answers.
- 2) People may be affected in their response by the researcher (his/her ethnic identity, gender, status, age, language in its verbal and non-verbal forms, and social class) as well as by the perceived aim and objectives of the research
- 3) A good attitude test will encompass the full range of issues and ideas involved in the topic. The initial item pool must necessarily cover the full range of possible attitudes in terms of topic, complexity and favourability/unfavourability. The sample population must be representative, not an atypical one. (Baker, 1988: 116)

### 3. Empirical Research on Attitudes to Loanwords in Czech Population

As mentioned earlier, the research on the attitudes to borrowings in the Czech population has so far been represented by only a few contributions. Those that are of particular relevance to the present work will be dealt with in the following sections.

In 1970 a seminal survey of the Public Opinion Research Institute and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in which 630 respondents took part, focused on the attitudes to borrowings (i.e. borrowings in general; not only *anglicisms*), the knowledge of them, and their semantic transparency in the Czechoslovak public. Tejnor provided a summary of the results titled *Přejatá slova a veřejné mínění* (1972), and drew the following conclusions:

An overwhelming majority of the Czech population felt that lexical borrowings were overused, especially in the mass media. Furthermore, even those loanwords which had long become part of the standard Czech language caused difficulties to language users, and the majority of the public evaluated these lexical loans negatively. Tejnor maintained that the underlying motivation was too complex to be fully revealed, however, he pointed out that the negative attitudes were obviously not to be attributed to purist tendencies; the most respondents, for instance, rejected the idea of removing the large number of established borrowings, although these lexemes were still felt to be foreign elements in Czech.

Moreover, almost a half of the survey respondents considered borrowings indispensable, particularly in specialized registers. In addition, a significant part of the population was aware of the fact that the growth in international contacts as well as other factors would result in a further rise in the number of loanwords in Czech.

However, there appeared to be a big controversy surrounding the use of borrowings in the mass media. Tejnor stressed the major difference in assessment

between the active language users in the area of the media (i.e. the journalists, reporters, etc.) on the one hand and the recipients of this language (i.e. the public) on the other. The former tended to overestimate the knowledge of borrowings of the latter, which resulted in the fact that loanwords were often used inappropriately, and fairly frequently overused. Thus, having comprehension difficulties, some people, especially those with lower education, were partially excluded from an important area of the society's communication.

Tejnor concluded that language policies should be implemented to improve the situation. These were to involve systematic language education, as well as a reasonable use of borrowings in the media, with more regard for the recipients. (Tejnor, 1972: 201)

After a thirty year interval, Gester (2001) was the first to carry out a questionnaire survey the results of which were potentially comparable with Tejnor's. Compared with Tejnor's more general scope, Gester focused exclusively on the area of English borrowings that had meanwhile become one of the major issues of Czech lexicology. An account of her research was published as *První empirická analýza recepcce anglicismů v češtině* (Gester, 2001).

First, Gester presented ten concrete English borrowings (“džob”, “gay”, “go kupon”, “chat”, “cheeseburger”, “joint venture”, “power-play”, “rowdy”, “Sales representative”, and “light”) and examined the respondents' reactions to them in terms of their knowledge, use, semantic transparency, connotations associated with them, and attitudes to them. This section was followed by a set of more general questions targeted at the respondents' attitudes to English borrowings. The summary of her research includes, among others, the following results:

Three quarters of the respondents considered the group of ten borrowings interesting, commonly used, and meaningful. As many as nine in ten participants found the loanwords melodic. Furthermore, the degree of knowledge of ELWs did not seem to be connected with age.



43 % of the total of 194 respondents saw the use of English loanwords as a means of international understanding. Nevertheless, the proportion of participants who considered ELWs beneficial to their mother tongue was smaller than expected (25%). Almost half of the respondents (47%) felt that there were too many English words in Czech; at the same time, a large proportion (43%) disagreed with the statement. Although 37.1% of the people supported the idea of restricting the use of ELWs; only three respondents held that the use should be regulated by law.

On the basis of her data, Gester concluded that people were aware of their mother tongue absorbing large amounts of ELWs, and they reflected on it. She further pointed out that the relative brevity of the period of strong English-language influence resulted, in her view, in a more reserved attitude which was politically and/or culturally motivated.

As far as generation differences are concerned, Gester observed that in the youngest group (aged 15–20) the attitudes ranged from a view uncritically accepting everything that came from the United States, to a standpoint promoting national identity. Older respondents (aged over 45) did not primarily regard ELWs as a threat to their mother tongue, but as an enrichment of it (Gester, 2001: 44).

However, Gester's sample population was not representative, especially in terms of age structure. Above all, the group of people aged over 45 was particularly underrepresented. This fact makes Gester's data somewhat less relevant from the perspective of the present study.

The last author to be mentioned at this point is Svobodová, who has carried out extensive research in the area of English lexical borrowings. In the article *Přejatá slova v češtině z pohledu uživatelů jazyka* she comments on the results of two surveys relating to the issue (Svobodová, 2001).

In the first one, 200 students were to give the respective meanings of ten loanwords. In addition, they were dictated another ten borrowings and asked to write down the correct spelling (i.e. the version(s) recognized as standard in

Czech). The results revealed that, for instance, 44,5% of the students were unable to explain what “www” stood for, 27% did not know the meaning of “workshop”, and 16% did not understand the lexeme “know-how”. The spelling task turned out to be even more problematic. The loanword “showbusiness” can be mentioned as an example; as many as eighteen different spellings of the lexeme were suggested: “showbusiness”, “showbyznys”, “šoubyznys”, “show-business”, “showbysnys”, “showbussines”, “showbiznis”, “showbussiness”, “showbusines”, “šou-byznys”, “showbuisness”, “šoubyznis”, “showbuisniess”, “šoubiznis”, “shoubuisnes”, and “šoubuisness”.

Similarly, the second questionnaire survey of a random sample of 100 people showed that the majority of respondents (79%) did not know what “Cash & Carry” meant, or that 76% were not able predict what kind of goods would most probably be sold in a shop named “Pet Centre”. Besides, the results indicated that a large proportion of people preferred Czech names and titles to English ones; when asked where they would go if they were to buy a bouquet, 47% said they would opt for a flower shop named “Květinářství Azalka”. Only 3% found “Flower service” more appealing.

As Svobodová noted, one could easily presume that during the ten years of extensive borrowing from English, people had become accustomed to the most frequent lexical items and either learned or inferred their meaning. Nevertheless, the research results demonstrated that for many language users it was not the case. Like Tejnor, Svobodová concluded that ELWs were likely to bring about problems concerning various levels of language use (Svobodová, 2001: 177).

## 4. Attitudes to English Borrowings in Czech – A Survey

### 4.1 Aims and Expected Findings

As noted earlier, the proposed thesis is concerned with public attitudes towards English loanwords occurring in modern Czech. In particular, it intends to examine whether (and to what extent) these attitudes vary according to age.

Two issues mentioned in the previous chapters should be highlighted at this point:

- Since the large-scale borrowing of lexemes from English represents a relatively **new trend** and a noticeable change to the Czech language, it seems **more likely to be accepted by younger people** than by older generations (cf Kraus, 2008).
- Further, the role of **experience** in attitude formation has been stressed (cf Garrett, 2010). As far as language attitudes are concerned, the knowledge of a particular foreign language (or the lack of it) will inevitably influence a person's attitudes towards this language. The fact that the several generations of the present-day Czech public **differ significantly in terms of knowledge of English**, is very likely to contribute to the **formation of different attitudes towards English lexical elements** occurring in Czech.

Therefore, the underlying assumption of the present study is that of a general tendency for **older generations** to have rather **negative attitudes** towards **English borrowings**. Or, conversely, the younger a person is the more likely (s)he is to form a positive attitude towards them.

For the purposes of the present study, data from three age groups are collected and compared.

#### 4.1.1 Expected Findings in Terms of the Three Age Groups

Group A (aged 15 to 29) comprises people who have lived most of their lives after the onset of extensive borrowing from English in the early 1990s.

Since then, the English language has become a common part of school curricula, resulting in the majority of young Czech population having some knowledge of English ranging from elementary to advanced. They have been most exposed to the English-speaking influence through films, pop music, the internet, etc. Therefore, I presume that a substantial part of the group will express positive attitudes towards English borrowings; I expect them to find the loanwords quite natural, attractive, and useful.

In Group C (aged 60 and above), by contrast, little knowledge of English is to be expected because, as a rule, the language had not been taught in Czechoslovak schools prior to the change of the political system in 1989. These people may have got used to coming across English loanwords in their everyday lives; however, they are unfamiliar with many of these lexemes. Consequently, they seem fairly likely to express more conservative attitudes, or even resentment, perceiving the words to be unnatural and rather useless. Many of them will probably consider English a threat to the Czech language.

In terms of knowledge of English, Group B (aged 30–59) can represent a transition between the two above-mentioned groups. Apparently, many people in this group use English in connection with their occupation, or when travelling, while others do not feel the need to learn the language. Therefore, I expect a wider diversity of attitudes in this group.

## **4.2 Methodology**

In connection with the choice of appropriate research methods, I took the following into account:

Firstly, examining someone's attitude naturally involves empirical research methods. In order to support the hypothesis, or contradict it, it was necessary to carry out a survey.

Next, it should be mentioned that previous research on attitudes to loanwords together with the variety of arguments for and against English borrowings presented in the continuous public debate, made it possible to

anticipate the range of attitudes I was going to deal with. This proved very helpful in designing the survey.

Finally, I presumed that comparing my results to those of previous researchers in this field, especially Tejnor (1972), could yield some interesting observations. In consequence, I drew on existing research methodology to some extent.

As the research aims required collecting relatively large amounts of data from a number of people, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to a sample population. For details see the following section.

#### **4.2.1 The Questionnaire**

For the original Czech version of the Questionnaire as well as the English translation that was distributed to the respondents see Appendices A (p. 83) and B (p. 85)

The questionnaire, which took up two standard A4 pages, could be divided into two main sections. The first was aimed at providing basic information about the respondents; they were asked to give their age, sex, achieved level of education, and knowledge of foreign languages.

As regards age, which represented the most important variable in the survey, they were to tick one of seven boxes: 15–19, 20–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, and 69 and more. Considering that I worked with only three age groups at the next stages of the research, this might seem slightly confusing. Let me explain that during the period of data collection the more detailed division enabled me to get a clearer picture of the age structure of the sample population. Thus I was able to make sure that no part of the age spectrum would be significantly over- or underrepresented.

Asking about the respondents' knowledge of languages primarily aimed to identify the current position of English among other foreign languages in the Czech Republic and to examine to what extent the familiarity/unfamiliarity with the English language (which is closely bound to age) might affect a person's

attitudes to English borrowings. It would undoubtedly be highly relevant to ask the respondents what their level of English is, as Gester (2001) did. However, I believe that in the case of language skills, a respondent's subjective assessment is very problematic to rely on and, therefore, the respondents were only asked whether they had *any* (i.e. at least basic) knowledge of a foreign language.

The other section comprised 24 questions relating to English loanwords in Czech. Besides multiple choice, which represented the most frequent type of questions, I made use of Likert scales, semantic differentials, and open questions. Thematically, the questions might be further divided into four sets.

One set of questions examined the respondents' **perception of English borrowings in terms of frequency (Questions 1 and 2)** as well as their **overall influence** on current Czech language (**Question 9**). The first question (*In Czech language do you come across words that come from English?*) was of special importance, as the respondents were instructed to skip the remaining questions if their answer to Question 1 was "don't know" or "no". The underlying assumption was that a person unaware of the occurrence of English loanwords in Czech would not be in the position to answer the other questions relating to the topic. However improbable this appeared, I held it necessary to provide the two above options. They were actually selected by three respondents.

The respondents were further asked to state where (i.e. in which contexts/types of texts) they came across English loanwords most frequently (**Question 5**). As I wanted them to give a spontaneous answer, I designed Question 5 as an open one. Additionally, the participants were asked whether they used English borrowings themselves (**Question 6**).

Another set of questions examined the **knowledge of English borrowings** as well as their **semantic transparency** for Czech native speakers.. The respondents were asked whether they had encountered English loanwords they did not understand (**Question 3**). If their answer was positive, I further wanted to know, how they dealt with such cases most often (**Question 4**). Next, they were presented with five lexemes (**Question 7**) and asked to estimate how frequently

they happened to come across these loanwords in Czech texts. Then the respondents were to write the meaning of the particular words in Czech.

The choice of lexemes (*headhunting*, *brífink*, *outfit*, *chatovat*, and *mainstreamový*) was not based on any particular survey. On the one hand, it aimed to present the respondents with words that had been used fairly frequently, especially in the media. On the other hand, I did not want the lexemes to come from a single thematic field. Thus, *headhunting* is usually confined to business discourse, whereas *brífink* (briefing) is most frequently associated with political parties and politicians; *outfit* is widespread in fashion magazines; *chatovat* relates to the area of human communication and is extremely common in a wide range of contexts, and *mainstreamový* frequently relates to art, music, etc. To some extent, the lexemes illustrate the processes of phonological, morphological, and orthographic adaptation of *anglicisms* to Czech, which is, however, beyond the scope of the present work.

As far as parts of speech are concerned, there were three nouns (*headhunting*, *brífink*, *outfit*), one adjective (*mainstreamový*), and one verb (*chatovat*). Considering the meaning of the particular lexemes, which the respondents were asked to give, let me provide the respective entries from the following sources: *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005) (**OAL**), *Nový akademický slovník cizích slov* (Holubová et al., 2005) (**NAS**), and *Nová slova v češtině: slovník neologismů* (Martincová et al., 2004) (**SN**).

**headhunt** /'hed.hʌnt/ *verb* [VN] to find sb who is suitable for a senior job and persuade them to leave their present job: I was headhunted by a marketing agency. > **headhunting** *noun* [U] (**OAL**)

**headhunting** /hedhanti-/ -u m. <z angl.> vyhledávání lidí vhodných pro určité profesní zařazení, zejména špičkových odborníků; lovení hlav: *Společnost se intenzivně zabývá headhuntingem; personální agentury obhajující headhunting*  
V prostředí personálních agentur. (**SN**)

**briefing** /'briːfɪŋ/ *noun* **1** [C] a meeting in which people are given instructions or information: a press briefing **2** [C,U] the detailed instructions or information that are given at such a meeting: *Captain Trent gave his en a full briefing.* □ a briefing session/paper (**OAL**)

**briefing** /brí-/ , **brífink**, -u m <a> **1** stručná informativní schůzka veřejného činitele n. jeho zástupce s pulicisty **2** odb. výklad, instruktáž před něj. profesionální akcí (**NAS**)

**outfit** /'aʊt.fɪt/ *noun* **1** [C] a set of clothes that you wear together, especially for a particular purpose: *She was wearing an expensive new outfit.* □ *a wedding outfit* □ *a cowboy/Superman outfit* (= one that you wear for fun in order to look like the type of person mentioned) **2** [C+sing./pl. v.] (*informal*) a group of people working together as an organization, business, team, etc.: *a market research outfit* □ *This was the fourth album by the top rock outfit.* **3** [C] a set of equipment that you need for a particular purpose: *a bicycle repair outfit* (**OAL**)

**outfit** /aut-/ –u m. <z angl.> **1** vhodný oděv, oblečení, šaty; celkový vzhled někoho tvořený kombinací oblečení, bot a doplňků: večerní outfit dostal novou podobu: k šifonovým plesovým šatům si můžete vzít pletený svetr; zpěvačka byla sexy oblečená, její outfit zdůrazňoval každou křivku jejího těla; outfit sexy uličnice skvěle dotáhne bílé, nejlépe o kousek kratší tílko; (**SN**)

**chat** /tʃæt/ *verb* (-tt-) [V] **1** chat (**away**) (**to/with sb**), chat (**about sth/wb**) to talk in a friendly informal way to sb: *My kids spend hours chatting on the phone to their friends.* □ *Within minutes of being introduced they were chatting away like old friends.* □ *What were you chatting about?* **2** to exchange messages with other people on the Internet, especially in a chat room: *He's been on the computer all morning, chatting with his friends.* (**OAL**)

**chatovat** /čɛt-/ ned. <a.> výp. tech. vést rozhovor (chat) prostřednictvím počítačové sítě Internet. (**NAS**)

**mainstream** /'meɪn.stri:m/ *noun, adj.*

*noun* **the mainstream** [sing.] the ideas and opinions that are thought to be normal because they are shared by most people; the people whose ideas and opinions are most accepted: His radical views place him outside the mainstream of American politics. > **mainstream** *adj.* [usually before noun]: *mainstream education* (**OAL**)

**mainstream** [mejnstřím], -u m <a> **1** hlavní proud, směr, linie v určité oblasti lidské tvorby, myšlenkové činnosti ap. **2** v oblasti populární hudby střední proud zaměřený na většinový vkus posluchačů; mainstreamový příd. (**NAS**)

A comparison of the English lexemes with the corresponding loanwords occurring in Czech shows a degree of shift in meaning. While the English verb *chat*, for example, denotes virtually any kind of informal communication, *chatovat* is restricted to the area of the internet. Similarly, the 'Czech' *outfit* only corresponds to senses 1 and 2 of the 'English' *outfit* as listed in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. On the other hand, in Czech *outfit* may refer to a person's overall appearance, which is not the case in English. To summarize, specialization of meaning has taken place as well as restriction.

The third group of questions was primarily concerned with the respondents' **attitudes**. First, they were to assess the above lexemes from several viewpoints (**Question 8**). The question was designed as a set of semantic differentials; the answer was to be indicated by ticking a point (i.e. number) on a scale between two opposing terms. These were 1. *standard – non-standard*,



2. *interesting – uninteresting*, 3. *useful – useless*, 4. *modern – outdated*, and 5. *sounding natural – sounding unnatural/artificial*.

I am well aware of the fact that the method employed in Question 8 might be arguable for several reasons, some of which are closely related to the limited scope of the present study. To begin with, the data gathered in such a way is inevitably influenced by the particular choice of lexemes. In other words, it is probable that with a different sample of lexemes I would get different results. Secondly, in order to keep the questionnaire relatively brief and user-friendly, I only selected five words to represent the vast amounts of English borrowings in Czech. Thirdly, although language users always come across loanwords in certain contexts, I provided the respondents with isolated words.

In addition, I asked them to assess all five items as a group, which was problematic again; clearly, any word, regardless of its origin, may have different connotations with different language users. Thus, particularly strong connotations associated with one of the lexemes might substantially affect a respondent's assessment of the words as a group. In spite of these facts, I believe that employing this methodology demonstrates some differences in assessment of *anglicisms* among age groups.

Next, the respondents were asked to express agreement or disagreement with nine evaluative statements relating to English borrowings (**Questions 10 - 17, Question 19**) by ticking one of the numbers on Likert scales. In order to avoid answer tendencies, the statements were phrased in opposing directions, covering both positive and negative attitudes. The odd number of options on the scale (i.e. 5) gave the respondents the opportunity to express a 'neutral' or 'balanced' opinion.

If the respondents had indicated their agreement with the last statement (*English loanwords are frequently overused in Czech.*), they were further asked who or what was responsible for the frequent overuse, in their view. Here they were provided with a number of options (**Question 20**).

The following question (21) examined a respondent's overall attitude to English borrowings. It was deliberately asked towards the end of the questionnaire, when (s)he had been given the chance to consider some of the advantages and drawbacks of borrowing English words into Czech.

Further, I wanted to know whether the respondents would restrict the use of *anglicisms* in the media provided that they were in the position to influence it. (Question 22)

Lastly, there was a short set of **future-oriented** questions. Within the Likert scales set, the respondents were asked whether they agreed with the statement that the Czech language could change significantly under the influence of English (Question 18). Later on, they were asked whether they were concerned about the future of Czech in connection with borrowing from English (Question 23). Finally, the respondents were given an example of restrictive language policy (the so-called *Loi Toubon* in France) and asked if they would support a bill aimed at protection of Czech language (Question 24).

#### 4.2.2 Data Collection and Processing

The stage of data collection took place in January and February 2010. Initially, a pilot survey with a small group of respondents resulted in minor alterations to the draft questionnaire, mainly in terms of question phrasing. Although these pilot respondents had not reported any difficulties following the instructions or proceeding through the questions, several of the first "real" questionnaires returned incomplete or completed incorrectly. It was frequently the case with elderly participants.

To avoid this, I subsequently guided the respondents through the questionnaire whenever possible. Not only did it ensure that all questions were answered but I also had the chance to take down some of the spontaneous comments and observations on the topic, which most respondents felt free to make.

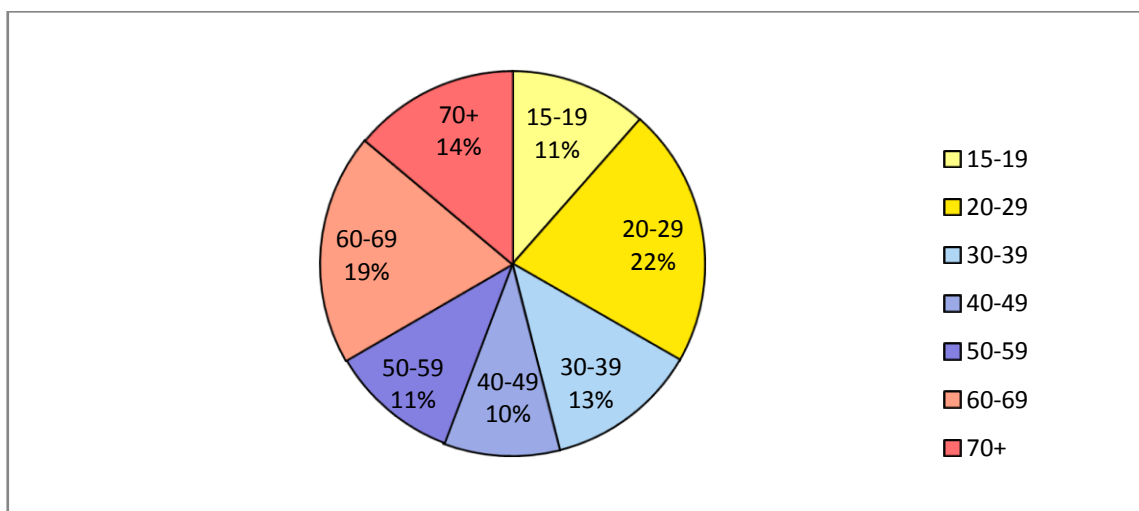
With respect to the variable age structure of the participants, the questionnaire was distributed almost exclusively in a paper-based form; only a few respondents whom I could not reach in person made use of an electronic format. Most people needed five to ten minutes to answer the 24 questions.

For the automatic processing of the information collected in the survey the portal VypInTo.cz (available at [www.vypInTo.cz](http://www.vypInTo.cz)) was used. The data was then obtainable in CSV file format which can be opened in most spreadsheets applications, e.g. Microsoft Excel. Besides visual presentation of survey results, VypInTo.cz enables correlation analysis, i.e. evaluating associations between variables.

### 4.2.3 The Respondents

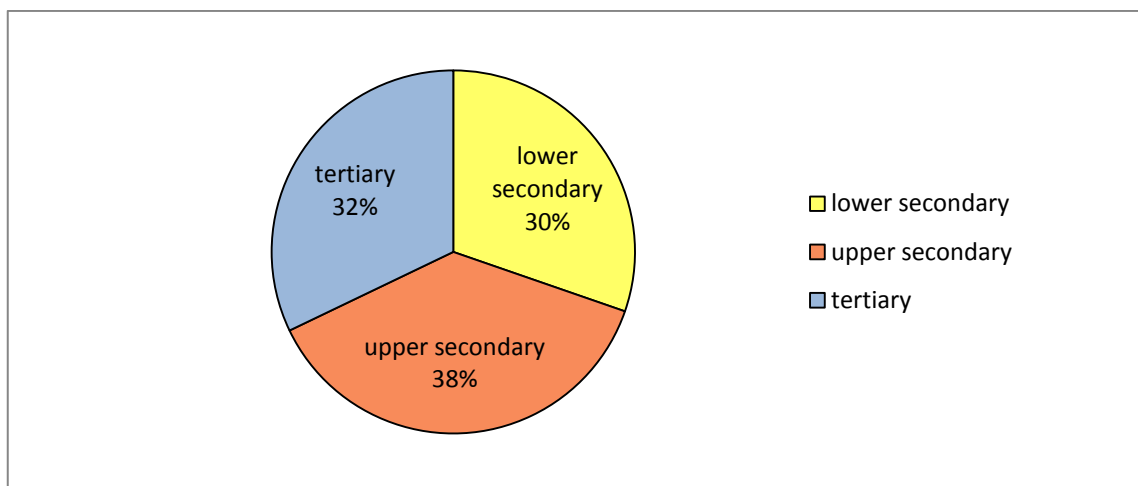
A total of 165 individuals were surveyed, 55 representing each of the three age groups. The numbers were deliberately kept equal in order to facilitate mutual comparability of the groups' results. Age was the only criterion on which that the selection of participants was based. The youngest respondents were 15 years old, while the eldest were in their eighties. Figure 1 shows the age structure of the respondents.

**Figure 1** Age structure of respondents



Among the participants there were 92 (55,8%) women and 73 (44,2%) men. All of them resided in Prague or Central Bohemia; the other regions were not represented. As far as educational background is concerned, a high proportion of the sample (over 32%) had tertiary qualifications, compared to just 14% of the total population. The respondents represented a wide range of socio-economic and/or employment statuses; there were students, employees of various professions, and a number of retired people. All of them volunteered and were not remunerated for their participation.

**Figure 2** Educational background of respondents



The above-mentioned facts imply some of the limitations of the research: In several aspects at least, the sample was not representative of the total Czech population. Above all, this applies to the level of education, which typically correlates with a person's knowledge of languages, and, thus, it is very likely to influence the attitudes towards them.

Although I am far from claiming universal validity of my findings, I believe that the data gathered offers relevant insight into the Czech attitudes towards English borrowings and enables to make comparisons among age groups.

### 4.3 Analysis of Survey Results

In line with the division of the questionnaire into four thematic parts, the results are presented in sections devoted to (a) **perception of frequency of English loanwords** (ELWs) and their influence on the current Czech language, (b) the **knowledge of ELWs** in the Czech population and their **semantic transparency**, (c) **attitudes** towards them, and (d) **concerns and predictions** considering the future of Czech, respectively. In the initial section I briefly comment on the findings regarding the knowledge of English and other foreign languages in the sample population.

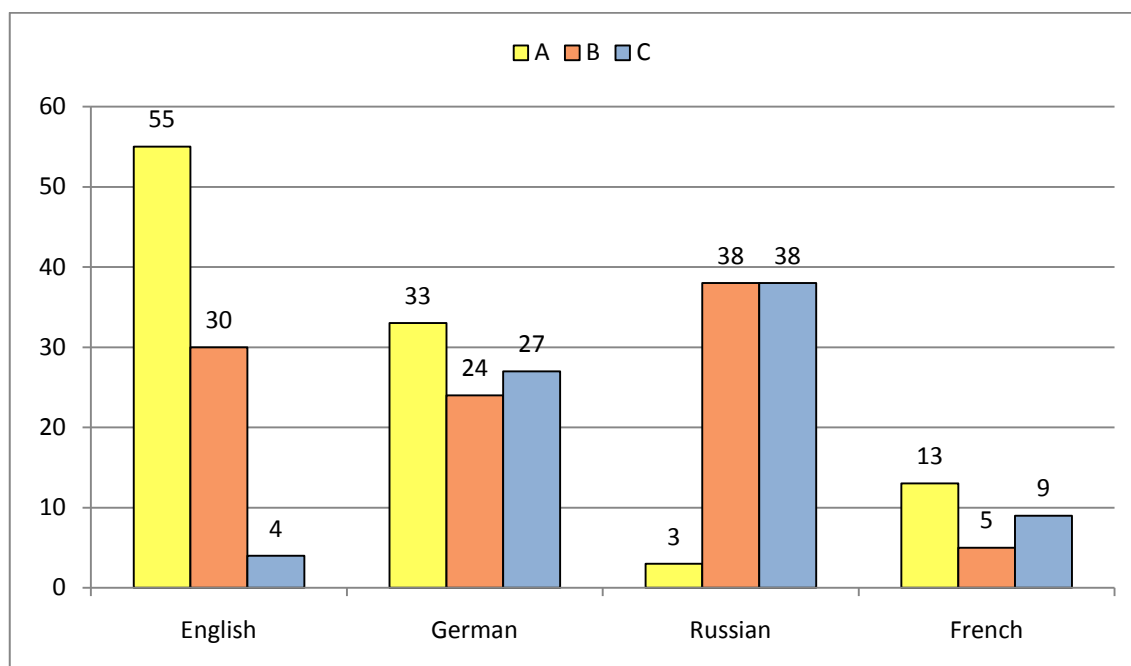
For complete results see Appendix D, pp. 89–101

Note that the three respondents from Group C whose answer to Question 1 (*Do you come across English borrowings in Czech?*) was “no” or “don’t know” were asked not to answer the rest of the questionnaire. Consequently, apart from Question 1 they were not included in the results, which means that only 52 respondents account for 100% in Group C. In the remaining groups 100% correspond to 55 respondents.

#### 4.3.1 Knowledge of Foreign Languages in the Sample Population

While in 1972 Tejnor reported that only 11% of the population understood and/or spoke English, 89 (56,7%) participants in my survey stated that they had some knowledge of English. It should be pointed out that within Group A the number was as high as 55 (100%), compared to 30 (57.7%) in Group B and only 4 (8%) in Group C (i.e. in the group of respondents aged over 60 most of whom had learned Russian at school). Besides the growing importance of the English language worldwide, the striking difference is to be attributed to the political changes in 1989 which brought about a turning point in foreign language teaching. The figure no. 4.3 shows how knowledge of languages varies according to age group, providing a vivid illustration of the fact that English has become the second language number one, whereas Russian has long lost its prominent position in the Czech Republic .

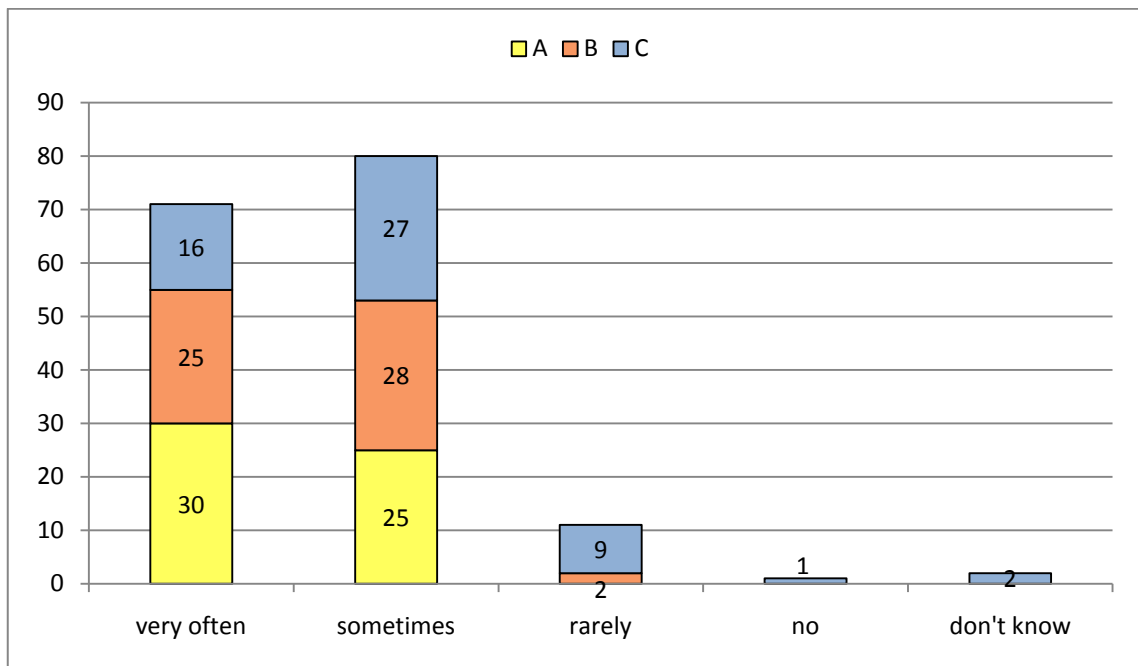
**Figure 3** Knowledge of foreign languages in the sample population (results according to age)



#### 4.3.2 Perception of Frequency of Anglicisms in the Sample Population

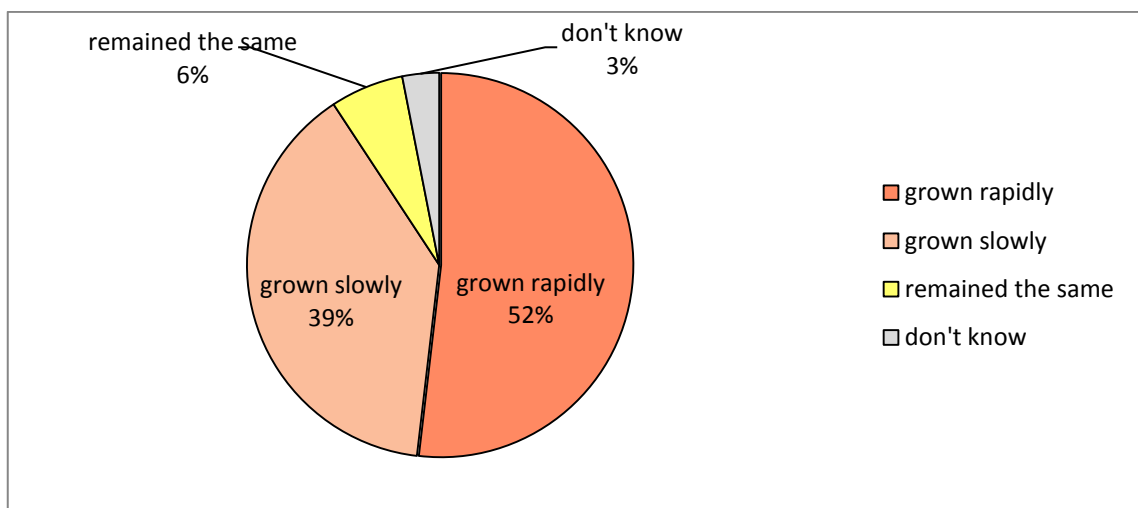
When asked to assess the frequency of English borrowings (**Question 1**, see Appendix B, p. 85), the majority of Group A (30 respondents, or 54.6%) stated that they came across them “very often”. In Groups B and C, the most frequent answer was “sometimes”, represented by 50.9% and 49% respectively. Furthermore, while in Group C the remaining options (“only exceptionally”, “no”, and “don’t know”) accounted for almost 22% of all answers, in group A these responses did not occur at all. The difference between A on the one hand and B and C on the other seems to reflect the fact that ELWs tend to be much more common in the language used *by* the youngest generation (e.g. in youth slangs) as well as the language targeted *at* young people (e.g. in magazines, advertising etc.) (see, e.g., Svobodová, 2007).

**Figure 4** Results for **Q.1** (*In the Czech language do you come across words that come from English?*); answers according to age



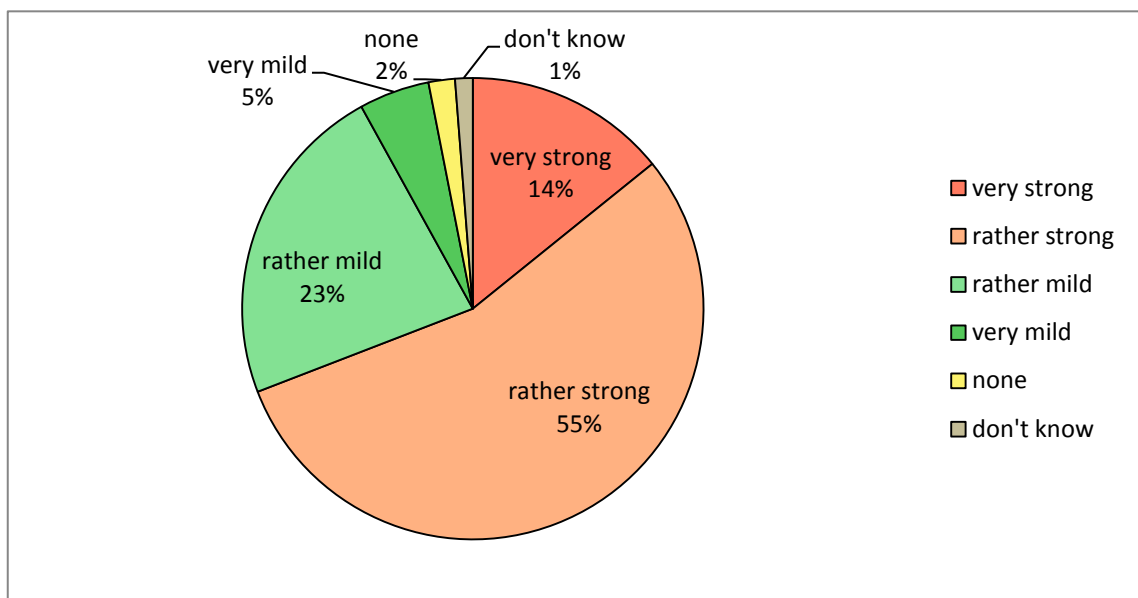
As regards **Question 2** (see p. 85), the overwhelming majority of all three groups felt that the number of ELWs in Czech had been on the rise, with 84 respondents (51.6%) considering the growth rapid and 63 (38.9%) describing it as “moderate”. The remaining options (“the number of ELWs has remained more or less the same” and “don’t know”) accounted for less than 10%, with no one answering that the number of ELWs dropped in recent years.

**Figure 5** Results for **Q.2** (*In recent years the number of English borrowings in Czech has...*)



Similarly, when asked to assess the influence of English on Czech in general (**Question 9**, see p. 86), more than half of the respondents (88, or 54.9%) described it as “rather strong”. In addition, 23 participants (14.2%) considered the influence “very strong”. These two options were slightly more likely to be selected by the eldest respondents than by the two remaining groups. The answer “rather mild” accounted for 37 participants (22.8%), most of whom belonged to Group A or B. The remaining options (“very mild”, “none”, and “don’t know”, were rather infrequent.

**Figure 6** Results for **Q.9** (*In your view, the influence of English on Czech has been..*)



The respondents’ answers to the open question where they came across ELWs most frequently (**Question 5**, see p. 86), covered a wide range of topics and areas of human communication. In all three groups the first place was taken by the mass media, especially the television and daily press, which were mentioned by 22 respondents (40%) in Group A, 35 respondents (63.6%) in Group B, and 37 respondents (71.2%) in Group C. Nevertheless, apart from these most frequent answers, the results differed noticeably.



**Table 7** Results for **Q.5** (*Where do you come across English loanwords most frequently?*); answers according to age

Group A		Group B		Group C	
mass media	22 (44%)	mass media	35 (63.6%)	mass media	37 (72%)
the internet	15 (27%)	IT	15 (27.3%)	IT	5 (10%)
everyday communication	15 (27%)	occupation	12 (21.8%)	communication of young people	5 (10%)
IT	13 (24%)	politics	9 (16.4%)	advertising	4 (8%)
school	9 (16%)	specialized texts	8 (14.6%)	crossword puzzles	4 (8%)
occupation	7 (13%)	the internet	7 (12.7%)	shopping centres	3 (6%)
economics, business	6 (11%)	sports	7 (12.7%)	the internet	3 (6%)

Among the most common sources of English borrowings, the youngest respondents mentioned the internet and the everyday communication with their peers, each of them represented by 15 people (27.3%). They further named the area of information technology (13 times), school (9 times), occupation (7 times), the field of economics and business (6 times), advertising (5 times), and many other areas.

The results were slightly different in Group B, where the respondents most often mentioned information technology (15 times), occupation (12 times), politics (9 times), specialised texts (8 times), the internet (7 times), sports (7 times) or advertising (6 times).

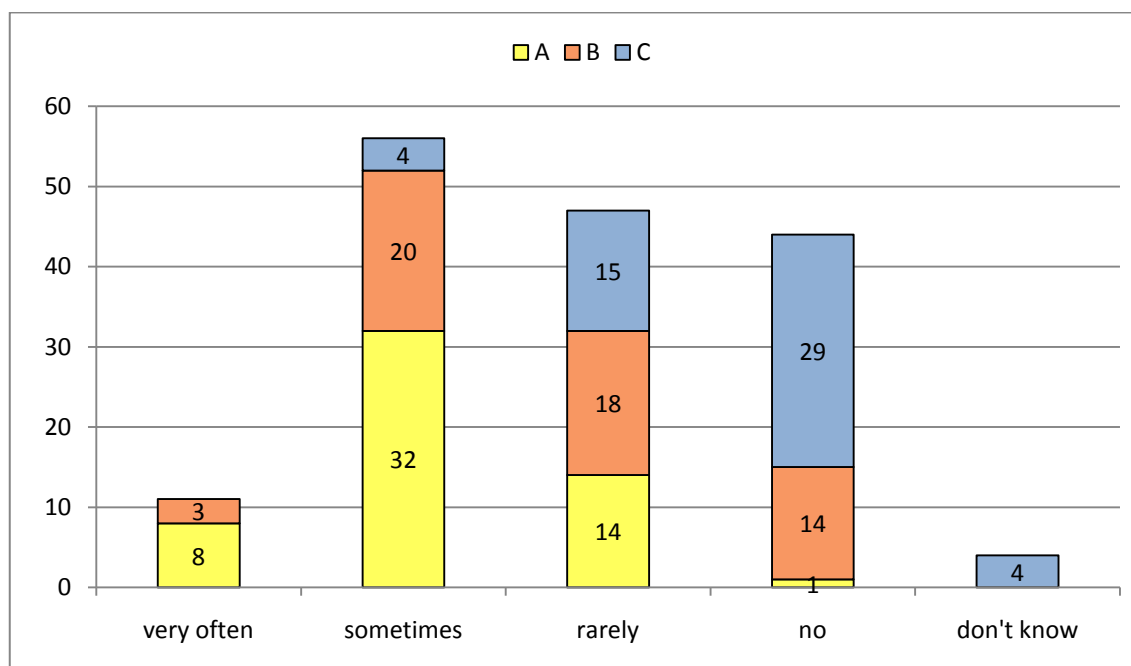
As stated above, almost three quarters of Group C said that they typically encountered *anglicisms* in the mass media, while the other answers were rather infrequent. Such fields as the communication among young people (5 times), economics and business (5 times), advertising (4 times), information technology (4 times), crossword puzzles (4 times) or shopping centres (3 times) appeared among them. Besides these most common answers, the participants further mentioned tourism, literature, music, EU institutions, menus in restaurants, the game of poker, text messages, and many other areas of communication.

It should be stressed that, owing to the open-ended format of this question, the particular numbers could be somewhat misleading. Theoretically, such answers as “occupation”, “specialised texts” and “economics”, for instance,

could all represent a single type of contexts. Despite these limitations, the results point to a general tendency of ELWs to be more frequently dealt with by the younger generations, who seem to encounter these lexemes in a wider range of contexts and, more importantly, use them actively in their everyday peer-to-peer communication, in connection with their professions, etc. In contrast, for the majority of the older generations, English borrowings appear to be confined to the media, advertising, or youth slangs, i.e. such areas of communication where their only role can be that of recipients.

These findings were further supported by the respondents' answers to the question whether they used English borrowings themselves (**Question 6**, see p. 86). In Groups A and B “yes, sometimes” was the most frequent answer, accounting for 32 (58.2%) and 20 respondents (36.4%) respectively, while in Group C, 29 participants (55.8%) stated that they did not use ELWs at all.

**Figure 8** Results for **Q.6** (*Do you use English borrowings yourself?*); answers according to age



### 4.3.3 Knowledge and Semantic Transparency of English Borrowings

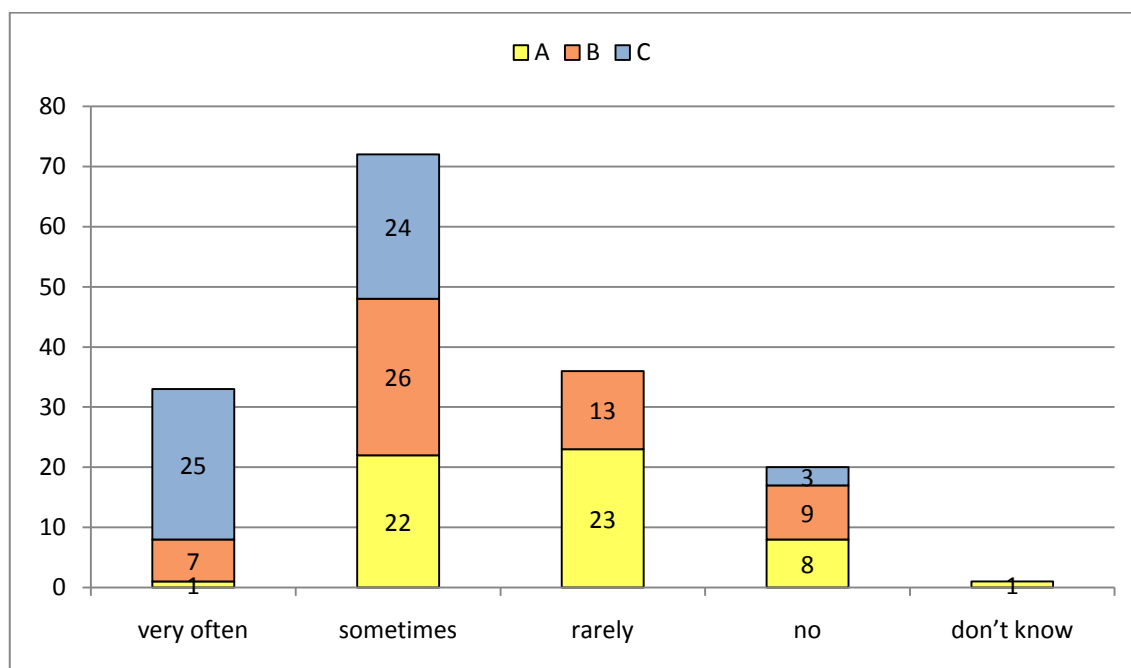
First, the participants were asked whether (and how often) they encountered ELWs that they did not understand (**Question 3**, see p. 85). A a

large majority of all respondents (141, or 87%) admitted that this had happened to them. However, the assessment of occurrence of such lexemes differed markedly among age groups. In Group A “yes, but rarely” and “yes, sometimes” were the predominant answers, accounting for 23 (41.8%) and 22 respondents (40%) respectively. Only one person in this group described the occurrence of unfamiliar lexemes as very frequent.

Within Group B the most common answer was “yes, sometimes” represented by 26 respondents (47 %). 7 respondents (12.7%) indicated that they came across unfamiliar lexemes “very often”.

By contrast, the occurrence of unfamiliar lexemes was considered very frequent by as many as 25 respondents (48%) in Group C. The option “yes, sometimes” took the second place, accounting for 24 respondents (46.2%)

**Figure 9** Results for **Q.3** (*Do you come across English borrowings that you don't understand?*); answers according to age



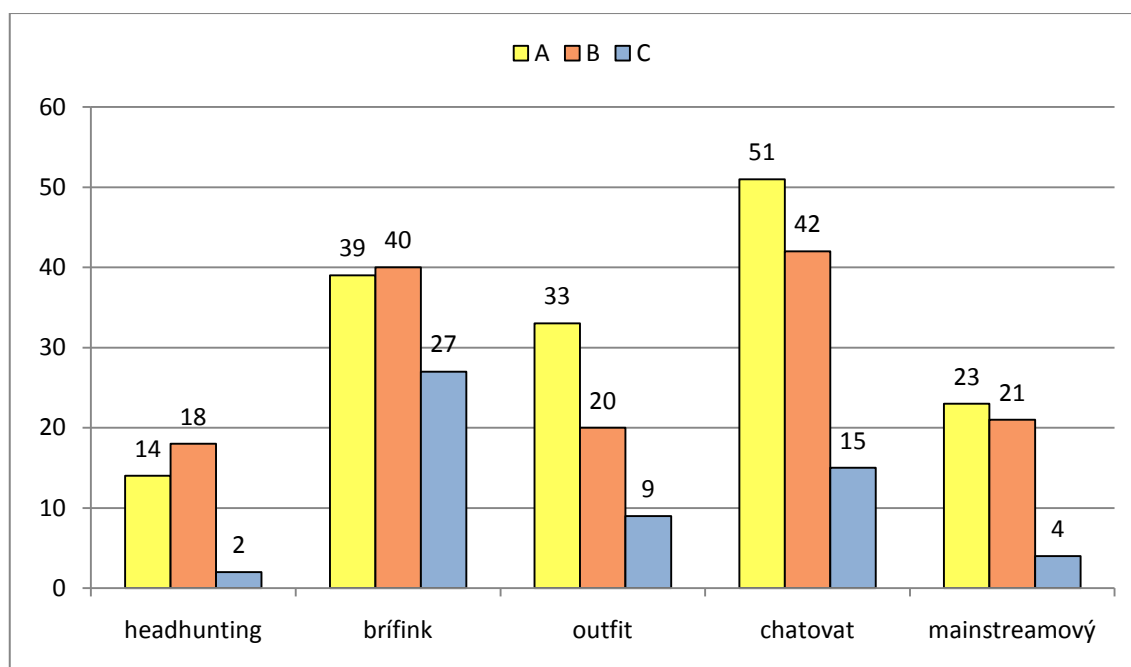
When asked how they dealt with unfamiliar borrowings most often (**Question 4**, see p. 86), the respondents in all three groups revealed that they most typically asked someone else about the meaning (37.6%), or that they were able to infer it from the context (33.3%). The level of education (connected with knowledge of foreign languages) seemed to play an important role here; more

than half of the respondents with tertiary education (51.1%) stated that they were mostly able to infer the meanings of ELWs.

As far as the use of dictionaries is concerned, in 1972, 42% of participants in Tejnor’s research claimed to seek help from dictionaries of foreign words “often” or “sometimes”, while only one in five respondents in my survey (20.6%) said that they used them most frequently. However, this difference might be partly attributed to the fact that I only allowed the respondents to select one (i.e. the most frequent) way of dealing with unknown borrowings. Thus, many of those who did not tick the option “look the word up in a dictionary” added their comments indicating that they often made use of printed dictionaries or, even more frequently, various sources available in the internet.

The knowledge/semantic transparency of ELWs was further examined using several concrete lexemes (**Question 7**, see p. 86). As mentioned earlier, apart from the origin, the group of ELWs was rather heterogeneous; therefore, I consider it appropriate to deal with each of the lexemes separately at this point.

**Figure 10** Results for **Q.7** Number of respondents who knew the meaning of the lexemes according to age



The compound *headhunting* turned out to be one of the least known of the five lexemes in the sample population; 118 of all respondents (72.8%) stated that they had never encountered the word before; in Group C the proportion reached 88.5%. Correspondingly, only 34 (21%) of all respondents were able to explain the meaning or give a Czech equivalent, despite the fact that the idiomatic expression “lovci hlav”, which is a simple translation of the English *headhunters*, has been occurring in Czech in recent years. The survey results revealed that *headhunting* was best known to respondents in Group B; more precisely, one in three people aged between 30 and 59 was able to provide the meaning and/or a Czech equivalent. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that the lexeme typically occurs in employment or business discourse, which is an area of interest of the working-age population. In contrast, only 2 respondents in Group C knew the meaning of *headhunting*.

In comparison with *headhunting*, the respondents were much more familiar with the lexeme *brífink*. For the most part, they reported to have encountered the word “sometimes” (79, or 48.8%), or “very often” (67, or 41.4%). In Groups A and B the meaning of the lexeme was given by 39 and 40 respondents respectively (over 70%), compared to only 27 (51.9%) in Group C. The respondents’ definitions, mostly containing such key words as “setkání”, “jednání”, “sezení”, “schůze”, “porada”, “instruktáž”, or “tiskovka”, roughly covered both senses of the lexeme as listed in *Nový akademický slovník cizích slov* (see p. 39).

While the English “briefing” automatically connotes the semantic feature of “brevity” or “shortness” to a native speaker of English, it does not seem to be the case with *brífink*/briefing as a loanword. Only a minority of respondents, and exclusively those with some knowledge of English, included the adjectives “krátký” or “stručný” (i.e. “brief”) in their definitions.

The youngest group was the most familiar with the lexeme *outfit*; 47 respondents (85.5%) stated that they encountered the word “very often”, or “sometimes”. In Group B these two options accounted for 36 respondents

(65.5%). By contrast, the majority of Group C (31 respondents, or 51.9%) answered that they had never come across the word before. As far as the meaning of the lexeme is concerned, 33 respondents in Group A and 20 respondents in Group B were able to give it, compared to only 9 respondents in Group C. The definitions were relatively variable, roughly covering the meanings of “clothing”, “appearance”, and “equipment” (cf p. 40 for the respective dictionary entries). Among others, they comprised such expressions as “oblečení (a doplňky)”, “oděv”, “ošacení”, “způsob/styl oblékání”, “(celkový) vzhled”, “vzezření”, or “vybavení”. Several respondents, probably considering *outfit* highly informal and attempting to keep the register, gave the Czech “hadry” or “vohoz” as synonyms.

At the same time, the form of the lexeme appeared to be misleading for more than 7% of all respondents; in particular, the combination of the elements “out” and “fit” proved to cause comprehension problems. As a rule, “out” is used in Czech to describe something that is no longer fashionable/popular. Besides, it occurs in several other borrowings, such as “outdoorový”, “outsourcing”, or “outsider” where “out” carries the meaning of “outside/external” or “lacking the chance of being successful”. “Fit”, on the other hand, is used to refer to people who are (physically) healthy and strong. As a result, *outfit* was misinterpreted by 11 respondents, who provided such definitions as “(oblečení) vyšlé z módy”, “móda, která už není in”, “oblečení, které není na doma”, “něco na ven”, or “být z formy” (i.e. “clothes that are out of fashion”, “clothing that is not worn at home”, “something used outdoors” or “not to be in the ideal physical condition”).

Similarly to *outfit*, the loanword *chatovat* could be called a word of the young generations, by whom the means of communication via the internet are most widely used. All respondents in Group A had encountered the lexeme, with 52 (94.6%) claiming that they came across it very often. In addition, 51 of them (92.7%) were able to give the meaning. In Group B the proportions were noticeably lower, with 40 respondents (72.7%) answering that they came across the word very often and 14 (25.5%) opting for “sometimes”. 42 respondents aged between 30 and 59 knew the meaning of the loanword. Surprisingly many participants, about a third of those who knew the meaning, understood the

lexeme in its broadest sense as “communicate”, omitting the semantic feature “via the internet” in their definitions (cf p. 40 for the entry for *chatovat*). On the other hand, text messaging was included into the meaning by a few respondents. The participants frequently provided such definitions as “komunikovat (online)”, “povídat si (prostřednictvím internetu)”, “psát si s někým přes počítač”, “konverzovat”, “klábosit”, or the colloquial “kecat”.

As with the previous lexemes, the results in Group C differed significantly from those of Groups A and B. Only 19 respondents (36.5%) came across *chatovat* very often. Moreover, the lexeme was completely unfamiliar to 12 respondents (23%). Although the majority of this group indicated that they encountered the word “sometimes” (40.4%), or “very often” (36.5%), only 15 respondents (28.9%) knew the meaning. Several respondents further defined the word incorrectly as “hledat (na internetu)”, “vyhledávat”, or “brouzdat”. It would seem that they confuse *chatovat* with some other lexemes, e.g. *surfovat*, which belongs to the same semantic field and tends to occur in similar contexts.

Similarly to *headhunting*, the compound *mainstreamový* was one of the least familiar in the group of borrowings. The number of respondents who had not encountered the word before reached 22 (40%), 28 (50.9%), and 44 (84.6%) in Groups A, B, and C respectively. In the first two groups roughly 40% of the participants knew the meaning (23 and 21 respondents respectively), compared to only 4 respondents (7.7%) in the eldest group. Most typically, definitions like “patřící k hlavnímu proudu” or “středoproudový” (i.e. belonging to the mainstream) were used to describe the semantic content of the lexeme. Besides, a great variety of expressions occurred, such as “průměrný”, “obvyklý”, “běžný”, “standardní”, “nevybočující”, “nejrozšířenější”, “převládající”, “komerční”, “tuctový”, etc. As one can notice, some of these equivalents suggest that slightly negative connotations might be associated with the lexeme.

To summarize, the survey results revealed that the youngest respondents were the most familiar with the group of lexemes. In Group B, the degree of familiarity was slightly lower, nonetheless, two of the borrowings (*headhunting*

and *brifink*) were better known here than in Group A. On average, more than 50% in these groups were able to give the meanings of the lexemes, as contrasted with Group C where the proportion only reached 22%.

Further, the respondents who reported to have no knowledge of English are considered as a separate group, we will get a very similar percentage – 23%. Such a comparison provides a vivid illustration of the extent to which the issues of knowledge of English, age, and familiarity with ELWs are interrelated.

These results are partly in opposition to the findings of Gester (2001) who observed that the degree of knowledge of ELWs did not seem to be connected with age. However, as noted earlier, Gester did not particularly focus on differences in attitudes according to age. For the most part, the participants were students, whereas the respondents aged 45 and above were significantly underrepresented in her survey.

In addition, the level of education in general seemed to play a vital part; of the 53 respondents with tertiary education, an average of 62% were able to provide the meaning of the borrowings. In contrast, only 38,6% of the participants with lower qualifications were able to do the same.

#### **4.3.4 Attitudes to English Borrowings in the Sample Population**

First, the respondents were asked to assess the five aforementioned lexemes by means of semantic differentials (**Question 8**, see p. 86). When filling in the questionnaire, many of them reported the task to be rather difficult. As indicated earlier, the heterogeneity of the group of lexemes together with the varying degrees of their familiarity might have caused the difficulties in particular. The fact that the participants frequently selected number 3, which represented the “neutral” or “undecided” option, might be seen as a possible consequence of this.

Each of the semantic scales will now be dealt with separately. For the complete results, see Appendix D, pp. 93–94.



*a. standard – non-standard*

**Table 11** Results for **Q.8a** *standard – non-standard*; mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	3.47	3.43	3.96	3.62

The arithmetic mean of the values selected by the respondents on a five-point scale was 3.62, which means that the lexemes appeared rather non-standard. Nevertheless, the mode (i.e. the value that occurred with the highest frequency) was represented by number 3 indicating that a relatively high proportion of participants were unable to decide or considered the borrowings neutral in terms of standard versus non-standard registers. Several respondents commented that foreign words were extremely difficult to assess from this perspective. Others, however, implied the contrary, by giving such colloquial Czech lexemes as “kecat” or “vohoz” as the equivalents of “chatovat” and “outfit” in the preceding question.

Here again noticeable differences occurred between Groups A and B on the one hand and Group C on the other, where the majority considered the loanwords (slightly or decisively) non-standard. While in the former the mean values were 3.47 and 3.43 respectively, in the latter the mean reached 3.96, with 37 respondents opting for number 4 or 5 on the scale.

*b. interesting – uninteresting*

**Table 12** Results for **Q.8b** *interesting – uninteresting*; mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	3.26	3.38	3.25	3.3

As with the previous semantic scale, the mean of all respondents’ answers rose moderately above the neutral point (3.3) with number 3 representing the mode (selected by 51 respondents). The differences among age groups were rather insignificant, although one might notice that the lexemes appeared slightly more interesting to the oldest as well as the youngest group of respondents, where the mean was 3.25 and 3.26 respectively, than to Group B (3.38).

*c. useful – useless*

**Table 13** Results for **Q.8c** *useful – useless*; mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.89	3.33	3.79	3.33

The opinion on the usefulness of the lexemes differed more markedly among age groups. As for the youngest group, the mean deviated to the left of the neutral value, reaching 2.89, i.e. the respondents tended to favour usefulness rather than uselessness. In Group C, on the contrary, the arithmetic mean was almost one point higher on the five-point scale (3.79), with 33 respondents considering the loanwords rather or decisively useless. With a mean of 3.33 the results in Group B lay between those of the two remaining groups.

*d. modern – outdated*

**Table 14** Results for **Q.8d** *modern – outdated*; mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	1.71	1.98	1.98	1.89

Not surprisingly, the majority of all respondents regarded the ELWs as definitely modern; a total of 118 participants opted for number 1 or 2. At the same time, number 1 represented the mode. The mean deviated significantly to the left of the neutral value. Specifically, it reached 1.71 in Group A, compared to 1.98 in Groups B and C.

It seems worth mentioning that several respondents suggested using the word “módní” instead of “moderní”. Although there is a high degree of semantic overlap between these two lexemes, one may notice an important difference. While the former only covers the meaning of “fashionable” and as such it can be associated with negative connotations in certain contexts, the latter contains the semantic feature of “progress” and therefore is inherently positive.

*e. sounding natural – sounding unnatural/artificial*

**Table 15** Results for **Q.8e** *sounding natural – sounding unnatural/artificial*; mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	3.71	3.58	4.19	3.82

Here the mean values exceeded the neutral point most significantly, with a total of 105 respondents circling number 4 or 5 on the scale, compared to solely 23 participants who opted for 1 or 2. Number 5 was the mode. In the youngest group, the mean reached 3.71, whereas in Group B it was slightly lower (3.58). The oldest respondents, however, felt that the lexemes sounded almost conclusively unnatural, as 30 participants from Group C circled number 5. The mean of this group's answers reached 4.19.

In general, we may notice that the means of all respondents' answers appeared to the right of the neutral point, indicating a slightly negative assessment of the group of ELWs. The only exception was the “modern – outdated” scale where the respondents inclined to the left part of the scale.

Comparing the responses of the youngest group with those of the eldest, one might say that the tendency to assess the loanwords negatively rose with age. With the exception of the “interesting – uninteresting” scale where the results of the oldest and the youngest group were practically identical, the mean values of Group A lay between 0.3 and 0.9 points lower than the corresponding mean values of Group C.

Taking Group B into account, the findings seem somewhat less consistent as the mean values did not always occur precisely between those of the two remaining groups. As an example, the “interest” scale could be provided again, where this group's assessment of the ELWs was the most negative of all. However, looking at the sum of values from a wider perspective, these inconsistencies appear rather less significant and, in my view, they do not contradict the general tendency suggested earlier in this paragraph.

As I further examined, whether some other factors, such as education or knowledge of English, played a substantial part in the respondents' assessment, the following observations seem worth mentioning:

The participants without any knowledge of English (i.e. a large majority of Group C and roughly a half of Group B) were obviously more liable to negative assessment (see pp. 93–94).. When compared to the mean values of all respondents' answers, they found the group of lexemes noticeably less useful and natural-sounding. On the other hand, they considered the lexemes more interesting than the rest.

By comparison with the mean, the respondents with tertiary education found the borrowings more modern, yet markedly less interesting.

Next, the respondents were presented with ten evaluative statements concerning various aspects of English borrowings and their use in Czech (**Questions 10 – 17, Question 19**, see pp. 86–7). They were asked to express their agreement/disagreement with each of the statements by selecting a number on a five-point Likert scale (1 stood for strong agreement; 5 for strong disagreement). Here again the odd number of options enabled the participants to take the 'neutral' or 'undecided' position represented by number 3. In order to minimize the potential risk of any particular answer tendencies, such as simply agreeing or disagreeing with all the items presented, the statements comprised both positive and negative assessments of ELWs.

I will now present the respective outcomes, dealing briefly with each of the statements.

***Borrowing of words from English is necessary nowadays.* (Question 10, p. 86)**

**Table 16** Results for **Q.10** (*Borrowing words from English is necessary nowadays.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.96	2.91	2.98	2.95

Interestingly, none of the three age groups in the survey was particularly decisive on this point; the mode was represented by number 3 in all three groups. At the same time, this was the only case where the mean values of the respondents' answers were practically identical in all groups.

While in 1972 almost a half of Tejnor's respondents (48%) considered borrowing a necessary source of new vocabulary, only 37% in this survey agreed with the statement that borrowing of lexemes from English was necessary. Nonetheless, one could object to such a comparison since Tejnor did not specify the source (i.e. the language) of borrowing. One may certainly presume that a respondent's judgement on the indispensability of English borrowings can differ from his/her judgement on the necessity of borrowing in general.

***Borrowing of words from English is a natural process. (Question 11, p. 86)***

**Table 17** Results for **Q.11** (*Borrowing of words from English is a natural process.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.07	2.22	2.34	2.22

In comparison with the previous statement, the mean values diverged noticeably more to the left of the neutral point, suggesting that most participants tended to consider borrowing of lexemes from English a natural phenomenon. Differences among age groups could be illustrated by the fact that 38 respondents (69%) in Group A expressed agreement with the statement by ticking 1 or 2 on the scale, while only 30 people (58%) aged over 60 did the same. The average values of the participants' responses shown in Table 17 confirm that agreement decreased with age, though not dramatically.

***Loanwords coming from English should be replaced with Czech words. (Question 12, p. 86)***

**Table 18** Results for **Q.12** (*Loanwords coming from English should be replaced with Czech words.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.91	2.62	1.73	2.43

Although the statement represents a view which might appear far too purist to be supported by many, the survey results revealed the contrary. In Groups A and B, 20 (36.4%) and 23 (41.8%) respondents respectively expressed strong agreement or agreement. While the mode was represented by number 3 in these two groups, a large majority of Group C (28 respondents) opted for number 1, and a further 15 respondents selected number 2. In other words, as many as 43 participants (82.7%) of the eldest group felt that English borrowings should be replaced with Czech lexemes. The means of all three groups' responses (see Table 18) indicate a tendency for such purist attitudes to occur more frequently with growing age.

Besides, the results for Question 12 could be viewed as almost contradictory to the respondents' reactions to the previous statement (i.e. a majority found borrowing of words from English natural). With respect to this one could note that the quality of being "natural" frequently ascribed to the process borrowing of English words does not necessarily connote being positive. Nor does the lexeme "natural" imply that no measures should be taken concerning the use of ELWs.

***Czech should be protected against the influx of English loanwords.***  
(Question 13, p. 86)

**Table 19** Results for **Q.13** (*Czech should be protected against the influx of English loanwords*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.38	2.2	1.48	2.03

The data revealed that a surprisingly high proportion of participants would be supportive of a form of protection against the influence of English. I found especially remarkable that more than a half of the youngest respondents appeared to share this view.

In all three groups the respondents most typically selected number 1 standing for strong agreement. In addition, numbers 1 and 2 accounted for 29 (52.7%), 33 (60%), and 45 (86.5%) participants in Groups A, B, and C

respectively. As for the correlation between age on the one hand and the protective attitudes towards Czech on the other, Table 19 points to the tendency suggested in the previous paragraph.

***English loanwords enrich the Czech language. (Question 14, p. 86)***

**Table 20** Results for **Q.14** (*English loanwords enrich the Czech language.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.92	3.14	3.62	3.23

Number 3 stood for the most frequent answer in all groups, which indicated that a high proportion of respondents were rather indecisive on this matter. Many of them commented that they did not perceive ELWs to be a special enrichment; however, they considered some of the lexemes quite useful, often referring to the vocabulary connected with “computers” (i.e. information technology), sports, or music. A total of 40 respondents (24.7%) indicated agreement or strong agreement with the statement.

In Group A the mean of the respondents’ answers lay closest to the centre of the five-point scale (2.93); Groups B and C found English borrowings rather less enriching. Table 20 shows that here again the eldest respondents’ assessment of ELWs tended to be the most negative of the three groups; 29 respondents (55.8%) aged over 60 indicated strong disagreement or disagreement with the statement.

Some of the results of the previous researchers could be referred to: In 1970 roughly 37% of respondents found lexical borrowings from foreign languages enriching (Tejnor, 1972). The proportion was noticeably smaller in Gester’s survey – less than 25%. From this perspective, my data (24.7%) confirm the findings of Gester (2001). Nonetheless, Gester also mentioned that older respondents did not primarily regard ELWs as a threat to the Czech language but as enrichment of it. The results of the present survey seem to point to the contrary (cf, e.g., the results for Question 23, p. 100)

*For an ordinary person, English loanwords complicate the comprehensibility of a text. (Question 15, p. 87)*

**Table 21** Results for **Q.15** (*For an ordinary person, English loanwords complicate the comprehensibility of a text.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.6	1.82	1.27	1.91

For the most part, the respondents expressed agreement with the statement. While in the youngest group this tendency was not particularly evident, with only 9 respondents selecting number 1, the elder groups felt significantly more certain on the matter; total agreement was expressed by 33 (60%) and 41 (78.8%) respondents in Groups B and C respectively. The means shown in Table 21 could be used to further illustrate the differences among age groups.

At this point it seems suitable to make a reference to Question 3 where the participants were asked to assess how often they encountered English borrowings which they did not understand (see p. 90). Interestingly, even those respondents who had reported having no or scarce comprehension difficulties themselves, agreed that ELWs caused serious comprehension problems to many Czech people, especially the elderly ones who had not learned English at school. A few participants, who observed that ELWs were extremely frequent in the present-day Czech, admitted “feeling sorry for the poor people who did not understand any English”.

*Borrowing words from English causes harm to the Czech language. (Question 16, p. 87)*

**Table 22** Results for **Q.16** (*Borrowing words from English causes harm to the Czech language.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	3.18	2.8	2.54	2.85

Similarly to Question 14 (*English loanwords enrich the Czech language*), the respondents tended to avoid extreme options. Number 4 (representing



disagreement) was the mode in Group A, while the ‘neutral’ or ‘undecided’ number 3 occurred as the most typical answer in the elder groups.

As for the overall assessment of ELWs from this viewpoint, the results seemed to correlate with those for Question 14; the youngest respondents, who found ELWs rather enriching, were the least likely to consider them harmful to the Czech language. In comparison with Group A, the eldest participants, who did not see English borrowings as a special enrichment, tended to regard them as harmful. Table 22 shows that the results of the middle-aged respondents lay between those of the two other groups, revealing a tendency towards a slightly negative assessment.

These results bear a resemblance to Tejnor’s findings; when asked to assess the effect that borrowing of vocabulary from other languages had on Czech, 37% of Tejnor’s respondents found it (rather) beneficial, whereas 46% believed the process to be (rather) harmful (Tejnor, 1972). In other words, there was also a moderate tendency to assess loanwords negatively from this perspective. Despite the fact that, for several reasons, it is not possible to compare the results of this survey with Tejnor’s in terms of exact numbers and proportions, the data available certainly allows of a broader comparison of general tendencies.

***English loanwords facilitate communication among specialists in various fields. (Question 17, p. 87)***

**Table 23** Results for Q.17 (*English loanwords facilitate communication among specialists in various fields.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	1.53	1.38	1.25	1.39

As stated earlier in this section, the majority of respondents agreed with the assertion that the use of ELWs caused comprehension difficulties to many ordinary people, in particular those who did not have any knowledge of English. In contrast, there was widespread agreement that using ELWs facilitated communication among scientists as well as many other professionals. Number 1 was selected by 34 (61.8%), 40 (72.7%), and 42 respondents (80.8%) in the

respective groups. Of the total of 162 respondents only 2 disagreed with the statement. As Table 23 suggests, the eldest respondents were the ones to express the strongest agreement.

In addition, a number of the respondents from Groups B and C held the view that it was solely the area of science and technology to which the use of English borrowings should be confined.

***English loanwords are frequently overused in Czech. (Question 19, p. 87)***

**Table 24** Results for **Q.19** (*English loanwords are frequently overused in Czech.*); mean values according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.1	1.64	1.42	1.73

The reactions to the statement showed that a large proportion of participants perceived the use of ELWs in Czech as unnecessarily frequent, and they found a number of these lexemes quite redundant. Strong agreement was expressed by 23 (41.8%), 33 (60%), and 39 (75%) respondents in Groups A, B, and C respectively; only 3 participants opted for strong disagreement, none of them belonging to Group C. Table 24 also confirms that growing age increased the likelihood of a respondent to agree with the statement.

A comparison might be drawn to Tejnor’s survey results revealing that almost three decades ago a high proportion of people also felt that foreign lexemes were often (43%) or sometimes (51%) overused in public discourse.

When comparing the mean answers of the respondents with tertiary education with those of the participants with lower education (see Appendix D, pp. 95–98 ) the following seemed obvious: The people with tertiary education were more likely to consider borrowing from English a natural process (Question 11). Besides, they were markedly less supportive of the rather purist suggestions that loanwords should be replaced with Czech lexemes (Question 12), or that Czech should be protected against the influence of English (Question 13). On the other hand, their agreement to the overuse of English borrowings in Czech was noticeably stronger (Question 19).

When the respondents without any knowledge of English (i.e. mainly elderly or middle-aged respondents) are regarded as a separate group, one may notice a rise in negative assessment (pp. 95–98). In particular, the two above-mentioned purist statements found more acclaim here. Not surprisingly, these participants considered ELWs markedly less enriching and more harmful to the Czech language than the rest (Questions 14 and 16). Furthermore, they agreed very strongly that English borrowings caused comprehension problems to common people. Finally, their support of the statement that ELWs were frequently overused was very strong as well (Question 19).

In the following part of the questionnaire, the 128 participants who had expressed agreement with the statement by ticking numbers 1 or 2 on the last scale were asked to decide who/what, in their opinion, contributed to the frequent overuse of ELWs in Czech (**Question 20**, see p. 87). It is to note that, since only a part of the respondents answered this question, the proportion of 100% corresponded to 35, 48, and 45 respondents in the respective groups.

**Table 25** Results for **Q.20** (*In your view, who/what is responsible for the frequent overuse of ELWs? You may tick more answers.*); answers according to age

Group A		Group B		Group C	
the media	31 (88%)	the internet	39 (81%)	the media	40 (89%)
the internet	27 (77%)	the media	36 (75%)	tendency to copy foreign models	32 (71%)
young generation	24 (67%)	tendency to copy foreign models	30 (63%)	foreign companies	31 (69%)
foreign companies	20 (57%)	young generation	29 (60%)	the internet	31 (69%)
science and technology	19 (54%)	foreign companies	29 (60%)	young generation	30 (67%)
prestige of English	18 (51%)	science and technology	28 (58%)	science and technology	24 (53%)
tendency to copy foreign models	17 (49%)	politicians	21 (44%)	politicians	23 (51%)

All of the items offered as possible answers were selected by a number of respondents; however, some of them occurred extremely often. Not surprisingly, the media appeared among the most frequent responses (cf the results for Question 5, see p. 87), taking the first place in Groups A (selected by 89% of respondents) and C (89%), and the second place in Group B (75%); The internet

was the second most frequent option, accounting for 77% of Group A, 81% of Group B, and 69% of Group C. The young generations were also held responsible for the frequent overuse of ELWs; this option was selected by 60% and 67% of Groups B and C respectively, and, more interestingly, 69% of the youngest group. Furthermore, foreign companies as well as the field of science and technology appeared among the most frequent responses.

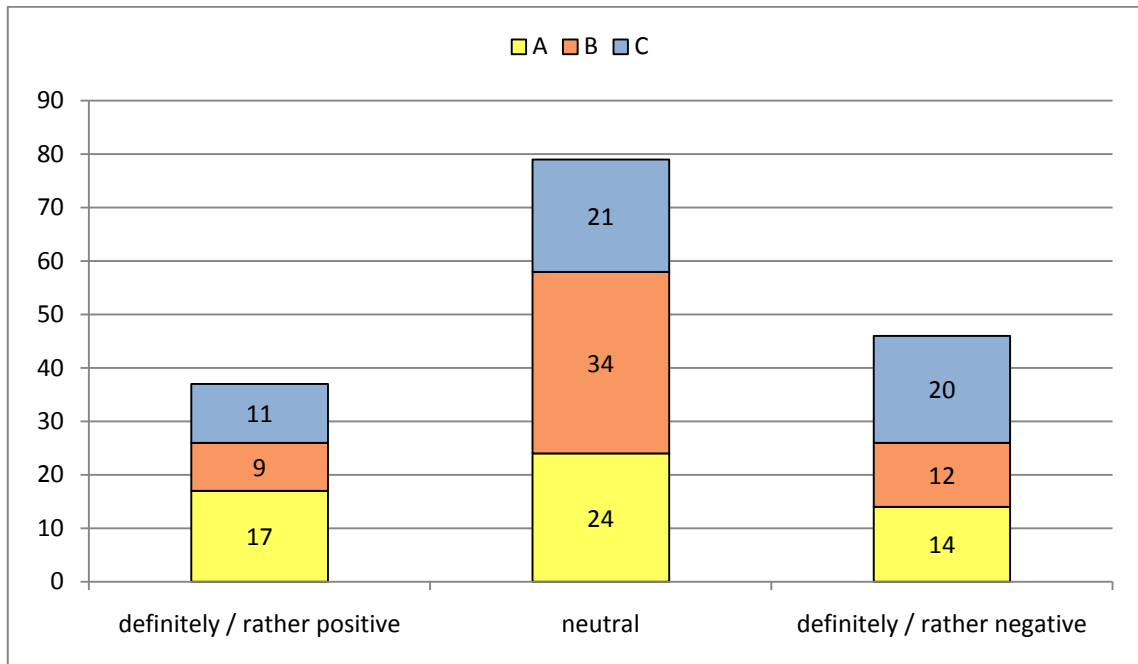
In line with Daneš (1999b), a noticeably high proportion of respondents observed that there was a tendency for Czech people to copy foreign models. This answer ranked second in Group C (selected by 71%) and third in Group B (63%), while it was less represented in Group A (49%) where it took the seventh place.

Roughly a half of the respondents in the two elder groups observed that politicians were to blame for the overuse. In the youngest group, over 50% considered the prestige of the English language an important factor.

Several participants further used the opportunity to add an answer of their own. Various ‘culprits’ were named here, such as “advertising”, “music/singers/songs in English”, “people who travel a lot”, or “people working for foreign companies”. One participant from Group A mentioned the “simplicity of English; its condensed way of expression” as an important factor. A few respondents took a critical view stating that people were “too lazy to seek equivalents for the English expressions”, or they made “an effort to be ‘in’ at any price”, or even, that they were „stupid“.

At this point, when they had been given the chance to contemplate some of the positive as well as negative aspects of using ELWs, the respondents were asked to assess their overall attitude to the influence of English on the present-day Czech language (**Question 21**, see p. 87).

**Figure 26** Results for Q.21 (*Your overall attitude to the influence of English on Czech is...*); answers according to age



Curiously enough, many of them showed reluctance to take a clear stance on the matter; a high proportion of participants (79, or 48.8%) described their attitude as “neutral”. This applied to all three groups, as the option was selected by as many as 24 (43.6%), 34 (61.8%), and 21 (40.4%) respondents in Groups A, B, and C respectively.

As far as the youngest group is concerned, “rather positive” represented the second most frequent option (15 respondents, or 27.2%), however, it was closely followed by “rather negative” (14, or 25.5%). Two people considered their attitude “decisively positive”, while no one opted for the “decisively negative” stance. In Group B, where the “neutral” standpoint was by far the most frequent one, the “rather positive” and “rather negative” attitudes were each represented by 9 people (16.4%). A further 3 respondents expressed a “decisively negative” opinion; the “decisively positive” option did not occur here at all. In accordance with the previous results, the eldest group’s assessment was the most negative of all groups. 18 respondents (34.6%) described their attitude as “rather negative” and, in addition, two respondents selected “decisively negative”. On

the other hand, 10 respondents in this group (19.2%) reported to have a “rather positive” attitude and one person even opted for „decisively positive“.

Interestingly, the participants with tertiary education tended to express a more negative view than the rest; 35,9% selected one of the “negative” options, compared to only 24.8% of the respondents with lower educations who did so (see Appendix D, p. 99). Negative attitudes were also more common among the respondents with no knowledge English (38.4% ticked the “rather negative” or “decisively negative” options).

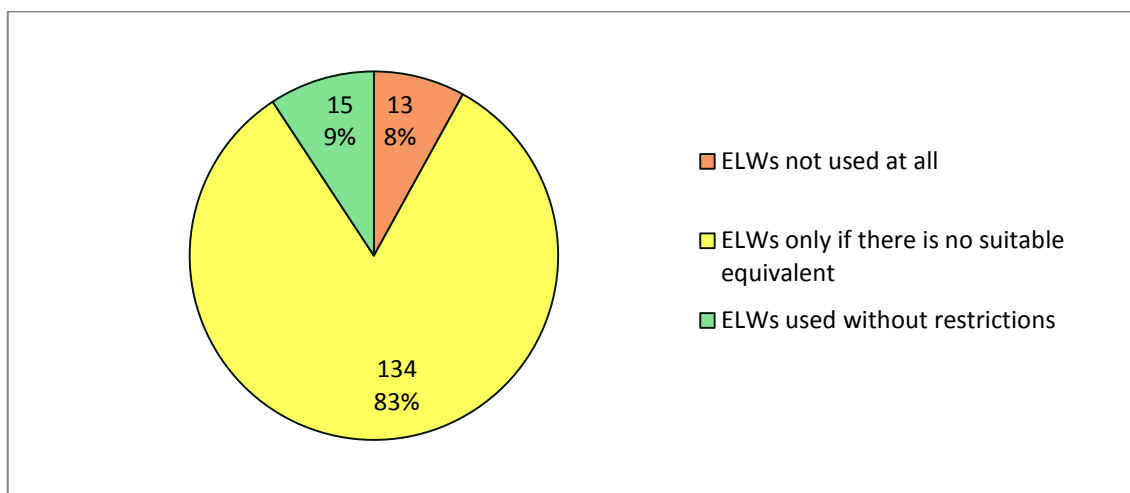
One might easily enter the area of speculation when attempting to account for the fact that so many participants considered their overall attitude to ELWs in Czech neutral. Nevertheless, the following observations seem relevant:

On the basis of my interaction with the respondents I concluded that the neutral standpoint was certainly not to be attributed to indifference towards English borrowings, or even towards the development of the Czech language as such. A large number of respondents made various comments on the topic, not scarcely emotive and critical, showing that it had engaged their interest. Therefore, it appears more likely that a number of participants realized the positive as well as the negative aspects of using ELWs; however, they were not able or willing to decide whether the advantages outweighed the drawbacks or vice versa. The results for the next question, among others, were in line with this interpretation.

As it had been possible to anticipate the occurrence of the mass media among the most frequent answers, the following question focused on the possibility of restricting the use of ELWs in this particular area of communication (**Question 22**, see p. 87). As Figure 27 reveals, an overwhelming majority of all participants (over 80%) would prefer to see English borrowings used solely in the cases where there was no suitable Czech equivalent. A relatively small number of respondents said that they would not impose any restrictions on the use of ELWs in the media; this option found 9, 4, and 2 supporters in Groups A, B, and C respectively. In Group C, 8 respondents

(15.4%) shared the view that, ideally, ELWs should not be used at all. This purist opinion met with little approval in the two remaining groups.

**Figure 27** Results for Q.22 (*In you were in the position to influence the use of ELWs in the media, which option would you prefer?*)



As the data indicated, most participants complained about the frequent overuse of English borrowings in Czech. At the same time they were not strictly against ELWs in general.

#### 4.3.5 Predictions and Concerns about the Future of Czech

The final section of the questionnaire (Questions 18, 23, and 24) was targeted at the respondents' predictions and preferences considering the future of the Czech language in connection with ELWs.

Within the Likert scales set, the respondents were asked to express their agreement/disagreement with the following statement: *In the future the Czech language can change considerably under the influence of English.* (**Question 18**, see p. 87)

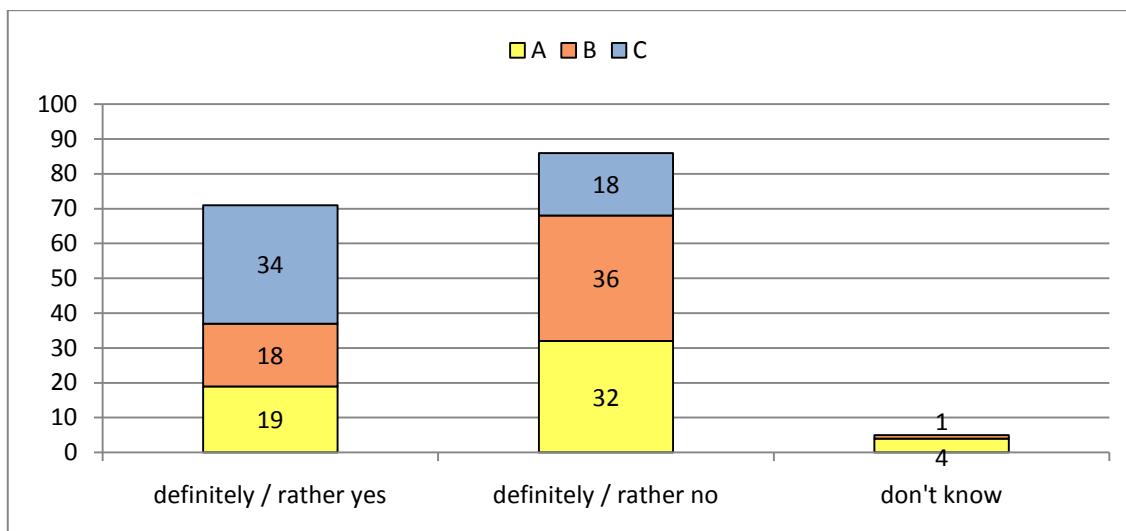
A large majority of all participants (107, or 66%) allowed that the influence of English could bring about significant changes to their mother tongue. Only 25 respondents (15.4%) considered this possibility rather or decisively unlikely. (Strong) agreement was most typically expressed by the youngest generation (40 respondents, or 72.7%), whereas the elder respondents were slightly less likely to accept this view (see Table 28).

**Table 28** Results for **Q.18** (*In the future the Czech language can change considerably under the influence of English.*); means according to age

group	A	B	C	all groups
mean	2.07	2.24	2.42	2.24

The statement closely related to **Question 23** (see p. 87) where the participants were asked whether they were worried about the future of Czech in connection with English borrowings. A total of 86 respondents (53%) gave a negative answer, whereas 71 participants (43.8%) felt worried.

**Figure 29** Results for **Q.23** (*In connection with borrowing from English, are you worried about the future of the Czech language?*); answers according to age



When differences among age groups are taken into account, with 32 people (58.1%) selecting “definitely/rather no” and 19 (34.5%) opting for “definitely/rather yes”, the youngest respondents turned out to be the least concerned about the development of Czech, although they had been the most likely to allow that the English influence could change their mother tongue significantly. As expected, the eldest respondents appeared to be the most concerned (34, or 65.4% opted for “definitely/rather yes”), however, at the same time a significant proportion (18 respondents, or 34.6%) indicated the contrary. The middle-aged group was the least likely to express worries; 36 of its participants (65.5) selected “(rather) no”, while 18 (32.7%) gave an answer in the opposite direction.

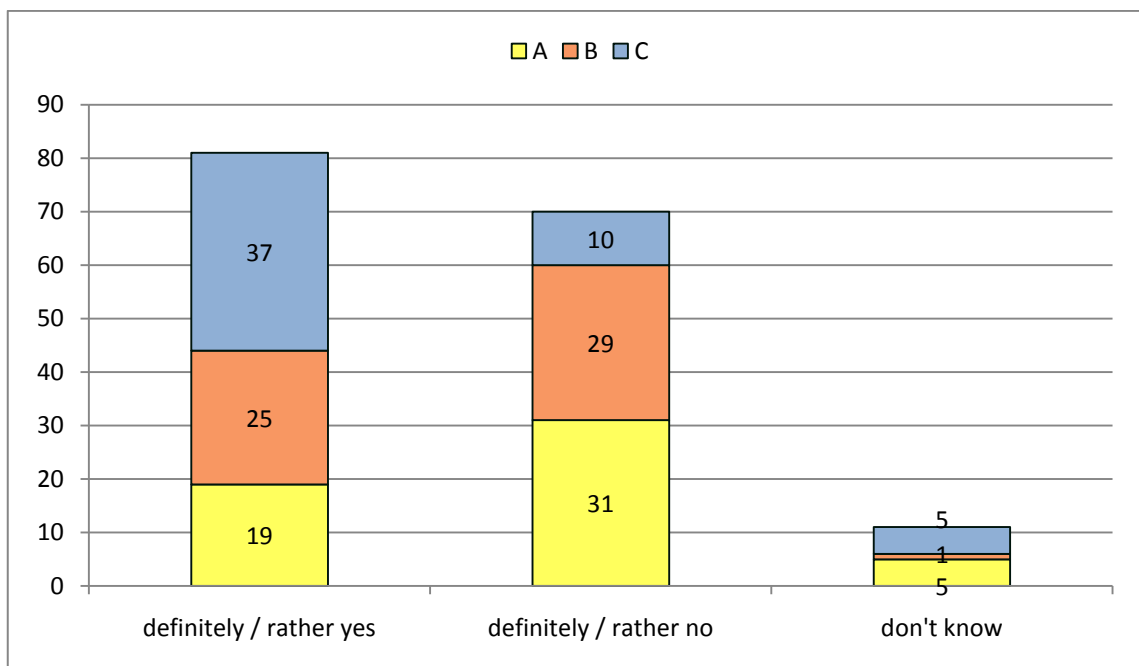


In comparison with the respondents with lower education, the participants with tertiary education were somewhat less concerned about the future of Czech (see p. 100). Similarly, the people with some knowledge of English seemed to be less concerned than the rest.

When answering this question, a number of the participants from the two elder groups commented that they were little worried because, in previous historical periods, the Czech language had experienced difficult times, and yet it had survived. They frequently referred to the situation of Czech in the Habsburg monarchy (1526–1918) where German had enjoyed a superior position. Besides, some of them mentioned the four decades of Russian language influence exerted by the former Soviet Union (1948–1989).

The last question focused on the topic of restrictive language policy (**Question 24**, p. 87) The issue appeared to be potentially controversial, as half of the respondents said they would favour a form of protection of Czech by law, while 43.2% disapproved of the idea.

**Figure 30** Results for **Q.24** (*France, e.g., has got a law regulating the use of foreign words in the media. Would you favour a bill aimed at protecting the Czech language?*); answers according to age



Here again differences were evident in the distribution of answers across age groups. In the youngest group the first place was taken by “probably no” (27 respondents, or 49.1%); a further 6 respondents (10.9%) opted for “definitely no”. 19 respondents (34.5%) selected one of the positive answers. In Group B “definitely no” represented the most typical answer (19 participants, or 34.6%); in addition, 10 people (18.2%) opted for “rather no”. 25 respondents (45.5%) from the middle-aged group were supportive of the idea. A large majority of Group C reported that they would welcome protection of their mother tongue by law; “rather yes” and “definitely yes” accounted for 19 (36.5%) and 18 (34.6%) respondents respectively. In contrast, only 10 people (19.3%) said they would be against it.

Several respondents who were strictly against any ‘language laws’ held the view that the only effective way of protecting their mother tongue could be based on the peoples’ respect for the language and, consequently, in a sensitive use of foreign elements.

## 5. Summary and Conclusions

As the survey results suggest, the Czech public realizes the growing influence of English on the Czech language and perceives the occurrence of English borrowings as fairly frequent. Moreover, a large majority of people – almost 80% participants in the survey – apparently share the view that English **loanwords are often overused**, especially in the mass media. These results bear resemblance to Tejnor’s findings (Tejnor, 1972), although it is to remind that his survey was concerned with borrowings in general, not solely anglicisms.

In spite of the fact that a relatively small number of people regard English borrowings as beneficial to their mother tongue (only one in four respondents viewed anglicisms as an enrichment of Czech), they seem to consider borrowing from English a natural phenomenon. Nonetheless, many participants indicated that indigenous vocabulary should be preferred to English loanwords. In the mass media, for instance, an **anglicism should ideally be used only when there is no suitable Czech equivalent** for the particular lexeme. The view was shared by more than 80% of the survey respondents. This result seems to confirm the findings of Svobodová (1996b) who held that people “do not reject a word simply because it is a foreign one. However, we should always take into account whether it is comprehensible and serves a purpose in the particular text” (Svobodová, 1996b: 139). This interpretation could also be supported by the fact that a large majority of the survey participants appeared to appreciate the role of English loanwords in specialised terminologies.

As expected, the survey revealed noticeable **differences among age groups**. These are particularly evident when the answers of the youngest respondents are compared to those of the eldest group.

Firstly, more than three quarters of the youngest participants considered themselves active users of English loanwords, whereas a majority of the eldest group claimed not to use anglicisms at all.

Furthermore, the results confirmed that **English borrowings continue to cause comprehension difficulties** (cf Svobodová, 2001), particularly to older generations where the knowledge of English is rather scarce. In this respect the results appear to contrast with the observations of Gester according to whom the degree of knowledge of English borrowings did not seem to be connected with age (Gester, 2001). Roughly a half or the eldest respondents in my survey reported to encounter unfamiliar loanwords very frequently. Moreover, when presented with five concrete borrowings, on average only 20% were able to provide their meaning. By contrast, the proportion exceeded 50% in the two younger groups. As one may notice, the results imply that even the generations whose knowledge of English is considerably better may often find English borrowings opaque and misleading.

The data gathered further indicate **rather negative attitudes to English borrowings in older generations**. In comparison with the youngest group, the eldest respondents found the presented lexemes significantly less useful, natural-sounding and standard. Only 13% of them regarded borrowing of words from English as an enrichment of the Czech language. Moreover, an overwhelming majority indicated agreement with the purist idea that English borrowings should be replaced with indigenous words. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that they were more likely to express concern about the further development of Czech. As many as 70% said they would be in favour of a law protecting their mother tongue.

The **younger respondents' assessment** of English borrowings was **markedly more positive, yet not as favourable as expected**. For instance, only 32% of the youngest group considered the loanwords an enrichment of Czech. Furthermore, a significant proportion found the group of borrowings presented in the questionnaire fairly uninteresting, rather non-standard and unnatural-sounding. In addition, more than half of these participants agreed that the Czech language needed a form of protection. However, in contrast to the older generations, the majority of the youngest participants reported to be against

any regulations of language use by law. Besides, they turned out to be noticeably less concerned about the future of their mother tongue.

To summarise, the survey results seem to **bear out the hypothesis that rather negative attitudes to English borrowings correlate with growing age.** In comparison with older generations, the younger peoples' overall assessment of anglicisms is noticeably more favourable. Nonetheless, at the same time, it appears to be less positive than one might expect. Similarly, Gester (2001) noticed that anglicisms were rejected by a certain proportion of young people; she considered it attributable to the fact that youth slangs were oversaturated with these expressions. In view of the data gathered I find this explanation plausible.

Repeatedly, I would like to highlight the issue of **semantic transparency** of English borrowings for the native speakers of Czech. Almost forty years ago Tejnor held that journalists, reporters, and other authors of texts targeted at the general public overestimated their recipients' knowledge of borrowings and overused these lexemes very frequently (Tejnor, 1972). Thus, in Tejnor's view, certain groups of people, in particular those with *lower education*, were partly excluded from an important area of the society's communication.

The present-day situation seems to be very similar; one important difference should be stressed though: While four decades ago, the partly excluded group was to be defined by education, at present it seems to be best definable by *knowledge of English*, which is, at least temporarily, very closely connected with a person's *age*. From this perspective the influence of English is not only changing the Czech language; it could also be viewed as creating a new dimension of the generation gap in the Czech society.

As mentioned above, the survey showed differences in attitudes to anglicisms among age groups. However, it has actually revealed very little about the factors affecting the particular attitude formation. It is possible that the changes in second language teaching (and, consequently, better knowledge of English) as well as the growing prestige of English play the key role. In that case future surveys are likely to reveal more and more positive attitudes to English

borrowings in the Czech Republic (cf Kučera, 1995: 12). On the other hand, to a certain degree the differences in attitudes might be attributable to a more general linguistic phenomenon – the fact that language behaviour as well as language attitudes develop in the course of life. Thus, with growing age people are naturally more conservative and likely to consider any signs of change as a potential threat (cf Kraus, 2008: 13). Taking this into account, one might presume that there will always be a degree of variability in language attitudes based on the membership in an age group. Using the existing data, future research in the field might provide interesting insights into the interplay of factors in attitude formation. In addition, it might reveal further development of attitudes to borrowings in the Czech population.

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# Appendices

## APPENDIX A THE QUESTIONNAIRE (CZECH VERSION)

Milý respondente,

následující dotazník je anonymní. Jeho vyplněním, za které Vám velice děkuji, přispějete k malému výzkumu veřejného mínění k otázce vlivu angličtiny na češtinu. Zdeňka Endrštová ([endrstovaz@seznam.cz](mailto:endrstovaz@seznam.cz))

Věk:  15-19  20 - 29  30 - 39  40 – 49  50 - 59  60 - 69  70 a více

Vzdělání:  základní/vyučen  středoškolské  vysokoškolské

Pohlaví:  muž  žena

Zaškrtněte cizí jazyk(y), které ovládáte alespoň na základní úrovni:

angličtina  němčina  francouzština

ruština  španělština  italština  jiný (uved'te):

**U každé z následujících otázek zaškrtněte prosím vždy jen jednu odpověď, pokud není uvedeno jinak:**

1. Setkáváte se v češtině se slovy, která pocházejí z angličtiny?

ano, velmi často  ano, občas  ano, ale spíše výjimečně  ne  nevím

*(Pokud jste zaškrtnl(a) „ne“, nebo „nevím“, vyplňte prosím dále pouze otázky 7 a 8, ostatní nevyplňujte.)*

2. Počet slov převzatých z angličtiny podle Vás v posledních několika letech....

rychle roste  mírně roste  zůstává přibližně stejný  mírně klesá  rychle klesá  nevím

3. Stává se Vám, že anglickým výrazům v češtině nerozumíte?

ano, velmi často  ano, občas  ano, ale spíše výjimečně  ne  nevím

*(Pokud jste odpověděl(a) „ne“, nebo „nevím, pokračujte teď prosím otázkou 5. Pokud jste odpověděl(a) „ano, velmi často“, „ano, občas“ nebo „ano, ale spíše výjimečně“, pokračujte otázkou 4. )*

4. Co v takovém případě nejčastěji děláte?

někoho se zeptám  podívám se do slovníku  význam slova odhadnu  nic

5. Kde se s anglickými slovy použitými v češtině nejčastěji setkáváte? *(uved'te, prosím)*

.....

6. Používáte Vy osobně slova z angličtiny?

ano, velmi často  ano, občas  ano, ale spíše výjimečně  ne  nevím

7. Zakroužkujte prosím u každého z následujících slov číslo (3), pokud s ním setkáváte často, (2), pokud se s ním setkáváte občas, nebo (1), pokud jste ho nikdy neslyšel(a). Pokud znáte význam slova, uveďte jej.

	často	občas	nikdy	význam
headhunting	3	2	1	.....
brífink	3	2	1	.....
outfit	3	2	1	.....
chatovat	3	2	1	.....
mainstreamový	3	2	1	.....

8. Výše uvedená slova (headhunting, brífink, outfit, chatovat, mainstreamový) Vám celkově připadají....

*(Zakroužkujte v každé řádce vždy jedno číslo stupnice od 5 do 1.)*

a. spisovná	1	2	3	4	5	nepisovná
b. zajímavá	1	2	3	4	5	nezajímavá
c. užitečná	1	2	3	4	5	zbytečná
d. moderní	1	2	3	4	5	nemoderní
e. přirozeně znějící	1	2	3	4	5	nepřirozeně/uměle znějící

9. Podle Vašeho názoru angličtina češtinu ovlivňuje .....

- velmi silně     spíše silně     spíše slabě     velmi slabě     vůbec     nevím

**U každé z následujících vět (10 – 19) zakroužkujte vždy jedno číslo stupnice od 1 do 5 podle toho, zda s větou souhlasíte, nebo nesouhlasíte (1 - rozhodně souhlasím; 5- rozhodně nesouhlasím)**

	souhlas			nesouhlas	
10. Přejímání slov z angličtiny je v současné době nezbytné.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Přejímání slov z angličtiny je přirozený proces.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Slova přicházející z angličtiny by se měla nahrazovat slovy českými.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Češtinu bychom měli chránit před množstvím anglických slov.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Výrazy převzaté z angličtiny češtinu obohacují.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Anglická slova v textu ztěžují jeho srozumitelnost pro běžného občana.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Přejímání slov z angličtiny češtině škodí.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Používání anglických výrazů usnadňuje komunikaci mezi odborníky různých oborů.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Čeština se vlivem angličtiny může v budoucnu výrazně změnit.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Slova z angličtiny se v češtině mnohdy používají zbytečně často.	1	2	3	4	5

***(Pokud jste u věty 19 zvolil(a) číslo 3, 4, nebo 5, pokračujte nyní otázkou 21. Pokud jste zvolil(a) čísla 3, nebo 4, pokračujte otázkou 20.)***

20. Kdo/co k nadměrnému používání anglických slov podle Vás nejvíce přispívá? (Můžete zaškrtnout více odpovědí)

- média                                     školy, učitelé                                     kulturní a hospodářské postavení USA  
 politici                                     mladá generace                                     snaha Čechů napodobovat cizí vzory  
 zahraniční firmy                         překladatelé                                     prestiž angličtiny  
 internet                                     věda a technika  
 jiné (uveďte).....

21. Celkově svůj postoj k vlivu angličtiny na češtinu hodnotíte jako.....

- rozhodně kladný     spíše kladný     neutrální     spíše záporný     rozhodně záporný

22. Kdybyste měl(a) možnost ovlivnit používání anglických slov v hromadných sdělovacích prostředcích, ke které z možností byste se přiklonil(a)?

- Slova z angličtiny by se vůbec nepoužívala.  
 Slova z angličtiny by se používala jen v případech, kdy neexistuje vhodné české slovo stejného významu.  
 Slova z angličtiny by se používala bez omezení.

23. Vyvolává ve Vás přejímání slov z angličtiny obavy o budoucnost češtiny?

- rozhodně ano     spíše ano     spíše ne     rozhodně ne     nevím

24. Ve Francii například existuje zákon regulující používání cizích slov v médiích. Uvítal(a) byste nějakou formu zákona na ochranu češtiny?

- rozhodně ano     spíše ano     spíše ne     rozhodně ne     nevím

***Děkuji za Váš čas!***

## APPENDIX B

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Dear respondent,

Thank you very much for completing this anonymous questionnaire. You are contributing to a survey examining the public opinion on the influence of the English language on Czech. Zdeňka Endrštová ([endrštovaz@seznam.cz](mailto:endrštovaz@seznam.cz))

#### Your age:

- 15-19       20-29       30-39       40-49       50-59       60-69       70 and above

#### Your highest completed level of education:

- lower secondary (základní/vyučen)       upper secondary (středoškolské)  
 tertiary (vysokoškolské)

#### Your gender:

- male       female

#### Your knowledge of foreign languages (at least elementary level):

- English       German       French       Russian       Spanish  
 Italian       other (please state):

.....  
In the following questions please tick one option per question, if not stated otherwise:

#### 1. In Czech language do you come across words that come from English?

- yes, very often       yes, sometimes       yes, but rarely       no       don't know

*(If your answer is "no" or "don't know", do not answer any other questions. Otherwise, please go to Question 2)*

#### 2. In recent years the number of English borrowings in Czech has ...

- grown rapidly       grown slowly       remained more or less the same  
 dropped slowly       dropped rapidly       don't know

#### 3. Do you come across English borrowings you don't understand?

- yes, very often       yes, sometimes       yes, but rarely       no       don't know

*(If your answer is "yes, very often", "yes, sometimes", or "yes, but rarely", go to Question 4. Otherwise, please go to Question 5)*

**4. What do you do in most of these cases?**

- ask someone       look the word up in a dictionary       infer the meaning  
 nothing

**5. Where do you come across English loanwords most frequently? (please state)**

.....

**6. Do you use English borrowings yourself?**

- yes, very often       yes, sometimes       yes, but rarely       no       don't know

**7. In each of the lines below, please circle (3) if you hear/read the corresponding word very often, (2) if you come across it sometimes, or (1) if you have never come across it. If you know the meaning of the words, please state it.**

	very often	sometimes	never	meaning
headhunting	3	2	1	.....
brífink	3	2	1	.....
outfit	3	2	1	.....
chatovat	3	2	1	.....
mainstreamový	3	2	1	.....

**8. On the following scales, please circle the answer that best reflects our opinion.**

**The above words (headhunting, brífink, outfit, chatovat, mainstreamový) are .....**

- a. standard      1   2   3   4   5   non-standard  
b. interesting      1   2   3   4   5   uninteresting  
c. useful      1   2   3   4   5   useless  
d. modern      1   2   3   4   5   outdated  
e. sounding natural      1   2   3   4   5   sounding unnatural/artificial

**9. In your view, the influence of English on Czech has been .....**

- very strong       rather strong       rather mild       very mild       none       don't know

**Please indicate your agreement/disagreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, whereby 1 indicates total agreement and 5 indicates total disagreement.**

**10. Borrowing words from English is necessary nowadays.**      1   2   3   4   5

**11. Borrowing words from English is a natural process.**      1   2   3   4   5

**12. English loanwords should be replaced by Czech words.**      1   2   3   4   5

**13. Czech should be protected against the influx of English words.**      1   2   3   4   5

**14. English loanwords enrich the Czech language.**      1   2   3   4   5

15. For an ordinary person, English loanwords make the comprehensibility of a text more complicated. 1 2 3 4 5

16. Borrowing words from English causes harm to the Czech language. 1 2 3 4 5

17. English loanwords facilitate communication among specialists in various fields. 1 2 3 4 5

18. In the future the Czech language can change considerably under the influence of English. 1 2 3 4 5

19. English loanwords are frequently overused in Czech. 1 2 3 4 5

*(If your answer to question 19 is 3, 4, or 5, please go to question 21. Otherwise go to question 20.)*

20. In your view, who/what is responsible for the frequent overuse of English loanwords? (You may tick more answers)

- media
- schools, teachers
- position of the U.S. in economics and culture
- politicians
- young generation
- tendency for Czech people to copy foreign models
- foreign companies
- translators
- prestige of English language
- internet
- science and technology
- other (please state):

21. Your overall attitude to the influence of English on Czech is

- definitely positive
- rather positive
- neutral
- rather negative
- definitely negative

22. If you were in the position to influence the use of English loanwords in the media, which option would you prefer?

- English borrowings would not be used at all
- The use of English borrowings would be restricted to cases where there is no suitable Czech word with the same meaning
- There use of English borrowings would not be restricted.

23. In connection with borrowing from English, are you worried about the future of the Czech language?

- definitely yes
- probably yes
- probably no
- definitely no
- don't know

24. France e.g. has got a law regulating the use of foreign words in the media. Would you favour a bill aimed at protecting the Czech language?

- definitely yes
- probably yes
- probably no
- definitely no
- don't know

## APPENDIX C

### STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

#### 1. Age

age	number of respondents
15-19	19 (11.5%)
20-29	36 (21.8%)
30-39	21 (12.7%)
40-49	16 (9.7%)
50-59	18 (10.9%)
60-69	32 (19.4%)
70 and over	23 (13.9%)
<b>total</b>	<b>165</b>

#### 2. Education

education	number of respondents
“basic”(lower secondary) (ZŠ/vyučen)	50 (30.3%)
upper secondary (SŠ)	62 (37.6%)
tertiary (VŠ)	53 (32.1%)

#### 3. Sex

sex	number of respondents
men	73 (44.2%)
women	92 (55.8%)

#### 4. Knowledge of foreign languages

language	aged 15-29	aged 30-59	aged 60+	all respondents
English	55 (100%)	30 (54.5%)	4 (7.3%)	89 (56.7%)
German	33 (60%)	24 (43.6%)	27 (49.1%)	84 (53.5%)
Russian	3 (5.5%)	38 (69%)	38 (69.1%)	79 (50.3%)
French	13 (23.6%)	5 (9.1%)	9 (16.4%)	27 (17.2%)
Italian	2 (3.6%)	4 (7.3%)	1 (1.8%)	7 (4.5%)
Spanish	2 (3.6%)	2 (3.6%)	2 (3.6%)	6 (3.8%)
Latin	3 (5.5%)	1 (1.8%)	0	4 (2.6%)
Finnish	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	0	2 (1.3%)
Dutch	2 (3.6%)	0	0	2 (1.3%)
<b>Other</b> (each represented by respondent):				
Hungarian, Croatian, Portuguese, Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, Slovak				



## APPENDIX D

### SURVEY RESULTS

#### Abbreviations:

- E+** respondents with knowledge of English
- E-** respondents without knowledge of English
- ELWs** English loanwords
- T+** respondents with tertiary education
- T-** respondents without tertiary education

#### 1. In Czech language do you come across words that come from English?

**Table 1. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
yes, very often	30 (54.5 %)	25 (45.5%)	16 (29.1%)	71 (43%)
yes, sometimes	25 (45.5%)	28 (50.9%)	27 (49.1%)	80 (48.5%)
yes, but rarely	0	2 (3.6%)	9 (16.4%)	11 (6.7%)
no	0	0	1 (1.8%)	1 (0.6%)
don't know	0	0	2 (3.6%)	2 (1.2%)

#### 2. In recent years the number of English borrowings in Czech has...

**Table 2. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
grown rapidly	26 (47.3%)	30 (54.6%)	28 (53.9%)	84 (51.9%)
grown slowly	26 (47.3%)	20 (36.4%)	17 (32.7%)	63 (38.9%)
remained ... the same	2 (3.6%)	3 (5.5%)	5 (9.6%)	10 (6.2%)
dropped slowly	0	0	0	0
dropped rapidly	0	0	0	0
don't know	1 (1.8%)	2 (3.6%)	2 (3.9%)	5 (3.1%)

### 3. Do you come across English borrowings you don't understand?

**Table 3.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
yes, very often	1 (1.8%)	7 (12.7%)	25 (48.1%)	33 (20.4%)
yes, sometimes	22 (40%)	26 (47.3%)	24 (46.2%)	72 (44.4%)
yes, but rarely	23 (41.8%)	13 (23.6%)	0	36 (22.2%)
no	8 (14.6%)	9 (16.4%)	3 (5.8%)	20 (12.4%)
don't know	1 (1.8%)	0	0	1 (0.6%)

**Table 3.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
yes, very often	7 (13.2%)	26 (23.9%)	2 (2.2%)	31 (42.5%)	33 (20.4%)
yes, sometimes	19 (35.9%)	53 (48.6%)	33 (37.1%)	39 (53.4%)	72 (44.4%)
yes, but rarely	17 (32.1%)	19 (17.4%)	35 (39.3%)	1 (1.4%)	36 (22.2%)
no	10 (18.9%)	10 (9.2%)	18 (20.2%)	2 (3.7%)	20 (12.4%)
don't know	0	1 (0.9%)	1 (1.1%)	0	1 (0.6%)

### 4. What do you do in most of these cases?

**Table 4.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	total
ask someone	23 (50%)	15 (32.6%)	15 (30.6%)	53 (37.6%)
look the word up in a dictionary	9 (19.6%)	8 (17.4%)	12 (24.5%)	29 (20.6%)
infer the meaning	13 (28.3%)	20 (43.5%)	14 (28.6%)	47 (33.3%)
nothing	1 (2.2%)	3 (6.5%)	8 (16.3%)	12 (8.5%)

**Table 4.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	total
ask someone	10 (23.3%)	43 (43.9%)	27 (30.3%)	26 (36.6%)	53 (37.6%)
look the word up in a dictionary	11 (25.6%)	18 (18.4%)	17 (19.1%)	12 (16.9%)	29 (20.6%)
infer the meaning	22 (51.2%)	25 (25.6%)	25 (28.1%)	22 (31%)	47 (33.3%)
nothing	0	12 (12.2%)	1 (1.1%)	11 (15.5%)	12 (8.5%)

## 5. Where do you come across English loanwords most frequently? (please state)

**Table 5. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
the mass media	22 (40%)	35 (63.6%)	37 (71.2%)	94 (58%)
information technology	13 (23.6%)	15 (27.3%)	5 (9.6%)	32 (19.8%)
the internet	15 (27.3%)	7 (12.7%)	3 (5.8%)	25 (15.4%)
everyday communication	15 (27.3%)	4 (7.5%)	0	19 (11.7%)
occupation	7 (12.7%)	12 (21.8%)	0	19 (11.7%)
specialized texts	5 (9.1%)	8 (14.6%)	3 (5.8%)	16 (9.9%)
advertising	5 (9.1%)	6 (10.9%)	4 (7.7%)	15 (9.3%)
sports	4 (7.3%)	7 (12.7%)	3 (5.8%)	14 (8.6%)
economics, business	6 (10.9%)	2 (3.6%)	5 (9.6%)	13 (8%)
communication among young people	4 (7.3%)	3 (5.5%)	5 (9.6%)	12 (7.4%)
school	9 (16.4%)	1 (1.8%)	0	10 (6.2%)
politics	0	9 (16.4%)	1 (1.9%)	10 (6.2%)
crossword puzzles	0	0	4 (7.7%)	4 (2.5%)
shopping centres	0	0	3 (5.8%)	3 (1.9%)
literature	1 (1.8%)	0	1 (1.9%)	3 (1.9%)
job offers	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	0	2 (1.2%)
music	0	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.9%)	2 (1.2%)
text messages	1 (1.8%)	0	0	1 (0.6%)
EU institutions	1 (1.8%)	0	0	1 (0.6%)
poker	0	1 (1.8%)	0	1 (0.6%)
menus in restaurants	0	0	1 (1.9%)	1 (0.6%)
colloquial Czech	0	1 (1.8%)	0	1 (0.6%)
tourism	0	0	1 (1.9%)	1 (0.6%)
insurance business	0	0	1 (1.9%)	1 (0.6%)

## 6. Do you use English borrowings yourself?

**Table 6.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
yes, very often	8 (14.6%)	3 (5.5%)	0	11 (6.8%)
yes, sometimes	32 (58.2%)	20 (36.4%)	4 (7.7%)	56 (34.6%)
yes, but rarely	14 (25.5%)	18 (32.7%)	15 (28.9%)	47 (29%)
no	1 (1.8%)	14 (25.5%)	29 (55.8%)	44 (27.2%)
don't know	0	0	4 (7.7%)	4 (2.5%)

**Table 6.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
yes, very often	5 (9.43%)	6 (5.5%)	11 (12.4%)	0	11 (6.8%)
yes, sometimes	21 (39.6%)	35 (32.1%)	49 (55.1%)	7 (9.6%)	56 (34.6%)
yes, but rarely	17 (32.1%)	30 (27.5%)	25 (28.1%)	22 (30.1%)	47 (29%)
no	10 (18.9%)	34 (31.2%)	4 (40.5%)	40 (54.8%)	44 (27.2%)
don't know	0	4 (3.7%)	0	4 (5.5%)	4 (2.5%)

7. In each of the lines below, please circle (3) if you hear/read the corresponding word very often, (2) if you come across it sometimes, or (1) if you have never come across the word (Table 7a). If you know the meaning of the words, please state it (Tables 7b.A and 7b.B).

7a. How often do you hear/read the following words?

Table 7a. Results according to age

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
<b>HEADHUNTING</b>				
very often	4 (7.3%)	4 (7.3%)	1 (1.9%)	9 (5.6%)
sometimes	12 (21.8%)	18 (32.7%)	5 (9.6%)	35 (21.6%)
never	39 (70.9%)	33 (60%)	46 (88.5%)	118 (72.8%)
<b>BRÍFINK</b>				
very often	16 (29.1%)	27 (49.1%)	24 (46.2%)	67 (41.4%)
sometimes	32 (58.2%)	26 (47.3%)	21 (40.4%)	79 (48.8%)
never	7 (12.7%)	2 (3.6%)	7 (13.5%)	16 (9.9%)
<b>OUTFIT</b>				
very often	29 (52.7%)	16 (29.1%)	7 (13.5%)	52 (32.1%)
sometimes	18 (32.7%)	20 (36.4%)	14 (26.9%)	52 (32.1%)
never	8 (14.6%)	19 (34.6%)	31 (59.6%)	58 (35.8%)
<b>CHATOVAT</b>				
very often	52 (94.5%)	40 (72.7%)	19 (36.6%)	111 (68.5%)
sometimes	3 (5.5%)	14 (25.5%)	21 (40.4%)	38 (23.5%)
never	0	1 (1.8%)	12 (23.1%)	13 (8%)
<b>MAINSTREAMOVÝ</b>				
very often	13 (23.6%)	12 (21.8%)	3 (5.8%)	28 (17.3%)
sometimes	20 (36.4%)	15 (27.3%)	5 (9.6%)	40 (24.7%)
never	22 (40%)	28 (50.9%)	44 (84.6%)	94 (58%)

7b. Numbers of respondents who provided the meaning.

Table 7b.A. Results according to age

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
<b>HEADHUNTING</b>	14 (25.5%)	18 (32.7%)	2 (3.9%)	34 (21%)
<b>BRÍFINK</b>	39 (70.9%)	40 (72.7%)	27 (51.9%)	106 (65.4%)
<b>OUTFIT</b>	33 (60%)	20 (36.4%)	9 (17.3%)	62 (38.3%)
<b>CHATOVAT</b>	51 (92.7%)	42 (76.4%)	15 (28.9%)	108 (66.7%)
<b>MAINSTREAMOVÝ</b>	23 (41.8%)	21 (38.2%)	4 (7.7%)	48 (29.6%)

Table 7b.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
<b>HEADHUNTING</b>	21 (39.6%)	13 (11.9%)	32 (36%)	2 (2.7%)	34 (21%)
<b>BRÍFINK</b>	42 (79.3%)	64 (58.7%)	65 (73%)	41 (56.2%)	106 (65.4%)
<b>OUTFIT</b>	31 (58.5%)	31 (28.4%)	53 (59.6%)	9 (12.3%)	62 (38.3%)
<b>CHATOVAT</b>	42 (79.3%)	66 (60.6%)	79 (88.8%)	29 (39.7%)	108 (66.7%)
<b>MAINSTREAMOVÝ</b>	29 (54.7%)	19 (17.4%)	44 (49.4%)	4 (5.5%)	48 (29.6%)

8. On the following scales, please circle the answer that best reflects your opinion. The above words (headhunting, brifink, outfit, chatovat, mainstreamový) are ...

**8a. standard 1 2 3 4 5 non-standard**

*Table 8a.A. Results according to age*

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (standard)	1 (1.8%)	2 (3.6%)	3 (4.8%)	6 (3.7%)
2	8 (14.5%)	11 (20%)	1 (1.9%)	20 (12.3%)
3 (neutral)	18 (32.7%)	19 (34.5%)	11 (21.2%)	48 (29.6%)
4	20 (36.4%)	7 (12.7%)	17 (32.7%)	44 (27.2%)
5 (non-standard)	8 (14.5%)	16 (29.1%)	20 (38.5%)	44 (27.2%)
mean	3.47	3.43	3.96	3.62

*Table 8a.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English*

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	3.7	3.58	3.54	3.71	3.62

**8b. interesting 1 2 3 4 5 uninteresting**

*Table 8b.A. Results according to age*

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (interesting)	7 (12.7%)	4 (7.3%)	8 (15.4%)	19 (11.7%)
2	10 (18.2%)	6 (10.9%)	7 (13.5%)	23 (14.2%)
3 (neutral)	13 (23.6%)	24 (43.6%)	14 (26.9%)	51 (31.5%)
4	12 (21.8%)	7 (12.7%)	10 (19.2%)	29 (17.9%)
5 (uninteresting)	13 (23.6%)	14 (25.5%)	13 (25%)	40 (24.7%)
mean	3.26	3.38	3.25	3.3

*Table 8b.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English*

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	3.62	3.14	3.42	3.15	3.3

**8c. useful 1 2 3 4 5 useless**

*Table 8c.A. Results according to age*

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (useful)	8 (14.5%)	3 (5.5%)	7 (13.5%)	18 (11.1%)
2	11 (20%)	12 (21.8%)	1 (1.9%)	24 (14.8%)
3 (neutral)	21 (38.2%)	18 (32.7%)	11 (21.2%)	50 (30.9%)
4	9 (16.4%)	8 (14.5%)	10 (19.2%)	27 (16.7%)
5 (useless)	6 (10.9%)	14 (25.5%)	23 (44.2%)	43 (26.5%)
mean	2.89	3.33	3.79	3.33

**Table 8c.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	3.38	3.3	3.12	3.58	3.33

**8d. modern 1 2 3 4 5 outdated**

**Table 8d.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (modern)	30 (54.5%)	23 (41.8%)	25 (48.1%)	78 (48.1%)
2	13 (23.6%)	15 (27.3%)	12 (23.1%)	40 (24.7%)
3 (neutral)	10 (18.2%)	14 (25.5%)	10 (19.2%)	34 (21%)
4	2 (3.6%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.9%)	4 (2.5%)
5 (outdated)	0	2 (3.6%)	4 (7.7%)	6 (3.7%)
mean	1.71	1.98	1.98	1.89

**Table 8d.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	1.79	1.93	1.81	1.99	1.89

**8e. sounding natural 1 2 3 4 5 sounding unnatural/artificial**

**Table 8e.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (sounding natural)	2 (3.6%)	5 (9.1%)	4 (7.7%)	11 (6.8%)
2	6 (10.9%)	5 (9.1%)	1 (1.9%)	12 (7.4%)
3 (neutral)	13 (23.6%)	15 (27.3%)	6 (11.5%)	34 (21%)
4	19 (34.5%)	13 (23.6%)	11 (21.2%)	43 (26.5%)
5 (sounding unnatural)	15 (27.3%)	17 (30.9%)	30 (57.7%)	62 (38.3%)
mean	3.71	3.58	4.19	3.82

**Table 8e.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	3.83	3.82	3.65	4.03	3.82

**9. In your view, the influence of English on Czech has been ...**

**Table 9. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
very strong	7 (12.7%)	6 (10.9%)	10 (19.2%)	23 (14.2%)
rather strong	30 (54.6%)	29 (52.7%)	30 (57.7%)	89 (54.9%)
rather mild	15 (27.3%)	16 (29.1%)	6 (11.5%)	37 (22.8%)
very mild	3 (5.5%)	2 (3.6%)	3 (5.8%)	8 (4.9%)
none	0	1 (1.8%)	2 (3.9%)	3 (1.9%)
don't know	0	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.9%)	2 (1.2%)

**10. Borrowing words from English is necessary nowadays. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)**

**Table 10.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	8 (14.5%)	9 (16.4%)	10 (19.2%)	29 (17.9%)
2	11 (20%)	13 (23.6%)	9 (17.3%)	33 (20.4%)
3	19 (34.5%)	16 (29.1%)	13 (25%)	48 (29.6%)
4	9 (16.4%)	8 (14.5%)	12 (23.1%)	29 (17.9%)
5 (disagreement)	8 (14.5%)	9 (16.4%)	8 (15.4%)	25 (15.4%)
mean	2.96	2.91	2.98	2.95

**Table 10.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.89	2.98	2.91	3.04	2.95

**11. Borrowing words from English is a natural process. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)**

**Table 11.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	20 (36.4%)	18 (32.7%)	20 (38.5%)	58 (35.8%)
2	18 (32.7%)	18 (32.7%)	10 (19.2%)	46 (28.4%)
3	12 (21.8%)	10 (18.2%)	11 (21.2%)	33 (20.4%)
4	3 (5.5%)	7 (12.7%)	5 (9.6%)	15 (9.3%)
5 (disagreement)	2 (3.6%)	2 (3.6%)	6 (11.5%)	10 (6.2%)
mean	2.07	2.22	2.34	2.22

**Table 11.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.06	2.29	2.11	2.34	2.22

**12. English loanwords should be replaced by Czech words. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)**

**Table 12.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	7 (12.7%)	13 (23.6%)	28 (53.8%)	48 (29.6%)
2	13 (23.6%)	10 (18.2%)	15 (28.8%)	38 (23.5%)
3	18 (32.7%)	21 (38.2%)	6 (11.5%)	45 (27.8%)
4	12 (21.8%)	7 (12.7%)	1 (1.9%)	20 (12.3%)
5 (disagreement)	5 (9.1%)	4 (7.3%)	2 (3.8%)	11 (6.8%)
mean	2.91	2.62	1.73	2.43

**Table 12.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.59	2.36	2.92	1.84	2.43

13. Czech should be protected against the influx of English words. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)

**Table 13.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	18 (32.7%)	25 (45.5%)	37 (71.2%)	80 (49.4%)
2	11 (20%)	8 (14.5%)	8 (15.4%)	27 (16.7%)
3	17 (30.9%)	12 (21.8%)	5 (9.6%)	34 (21%)
4	5 (9.1%)	6 (10.9%)	1 (1.9%)	12 (7.4%)
5 (disagreement)	4 (7.3%)	4 (7.3%)	1 (1.9%)	9 (5.6%)
mean	2.38	2.2	1.48	2.03

**Table 13.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.34	1.88	2.48	1.48	2.03

14. English loanwords enrich the Czech language. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)

**Table 14.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	4 (7.3%)	2 (3.6%)	4 (7.7%)	10 (6.2%)
2	14 (25.5%)	13 (23.6%)	3 (4.8%)	30 (18.5%)
3	24 (43.6%)	21 (38.2%)	16 (30.8%)	61 (37.7%)
4	8 (14.5%)	12 (21.8%)	15 (28.8%)	35 (21.6%)
5 (disagreement)	5 (9.1%)	7 (12.7%)	14 (26.9%)	26 (16%)
mean	2.92	3.14	3.62	3.23

**Table 14.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	3.21	3.24	3.15	3.53	3.23

15. For an ordinary person, English loanwords make the comprehensibility of a text more complicated. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)

**Table 15.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	9 (16.4%)	33 (60%)	41 (78.8%)	83 (51.2%)
2	19 (34.5%)	8 (14.5%)	9 (17.3%)	36 (22.2%)
3	15 (27.3%)	9 (16.4%)	1 (1.9%)	25 (15.4%)
4	9 (16.4%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.9%)	11 (6.8%)
5 (disagreement)	3 (5.5%)	4 (7.3%)	0	7 (4.3%)
mean	2.6	1.82	1.27	1.91



**Table 15.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	1.93	1.9	2.39	1.32	1.91

**16. Borrowing words from English causes harm to the Czech language. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)**

**Table 16.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	5 (9.1%)	11 (20%)	12 (23.1%)	28 (17.3%)
2	8 (14.5%)	11 (20%)	12 (23.1%)	31 (19.1%)
3	18 (32.7%)	17 (30.9%)	19 (36.5%)	54 (33.3%)
4	20 (36.4%)	10 (18.2%)	6 (11.5%)	36 (22.2%)
5 (disagreement)	4 (7.3%)	6 (10.9%)	3 (4.8%)	13 (8%)
mean	3.18	2.8	2.54	2.85

**Table 16.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.79	2.87	3.12	2.51	2.85

**17. English loanwords facilitate communication among specialists in various fields. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)**

**Table 17.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	34 (61.8%)	40 (72.7%)	42 (80.8%)	116 (71.6%)
2	14 (25.5%)	10 (18.2%)	7 (13.5%)	31 (19.1%)
3	6 (10.9%)	4 (7.3%)	3 (4.8%)	13 (8%)
4	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	0	2 (1.2%)
5 (disagreement)	0	0	0	0
mean	1.53	1.38	1.25	1.39

**Table 17.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	1.34	1.41	1.48	1.27	1.39

18. In the future the Czech language can change considerably under the influence of English. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)

**Table 18.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	15 (27.3%)	19 (34.5%)	15 (28.8%)	49 (30.2%)
2	25 (45.5%)	17 (30.9%)	16 (30.8%)	58 (35.8%)
3	12 (21.8%)	10 (18.2%)	8 (15.4%)	30 (18.5%)
4	2 (3.6%)	5 (9.1%)	10 (19.2%)	17 (10.5%)
5 (disagreement)	1 (1.8%)	4 (7.3%)	3 (4.8%)	8 (4.9%)
mean	2.07	2.24	2.42	2.24

**Table 18.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	2.28	2.22	2.17	2.33	2.24

19. English loanwords are frequently overused in Czech. (1=agreement, 5=disagreement)

**Table 19.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
1 (agreement)	23 (41.8%)	33 (60%)	39 (75%)	95 (58.6)
2	12 (21.8%)	15 (27.3%)	6 (11.5%)	33 (20.4)
3	12 (21.8%)	3 (5.5%)	5 (9.6%)	20 (12.4)
4	7 (12.7%)	2 (3.6%)	2 (3.8%)	11 (6.8)
5 (disagreement)	1 (1.8%)	2 (3.6%)	0	3 (1.9)
mean	2.1	1.64	1.42	1.73

**Table 19.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
mean	1.42	1.88	2.91	1.48	1.73

**20. In your view, who/what is responsible for the frequent overuse of English loanwords? (You may tick more answers)**

**Table 20. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	total
the media	31 (88.6%)	36 (75%)	40 (88.9%)	107 (83.6%)
the internet	27 (77.1%)	39 (81.3%)	31 (68.9%)	97 (75.8%)
young generation	24 (68.6%)	29 (60.4%)	30 (66.7%)	83 (64.8%)
foreign companies	20 (57.1%)	29 (60.4%)	31 (68.9%)	80 (62.5%)
tendency to copy foreign models	17 (48.6%)	30 (62.5%)	32 (71.1%)	79 (61.7%)
science and technology	19 (54.3%)	28 (58.3%)	24 (53.3%)	71 (55.5%)
politicians	8 (22.9%)	21 (43.8%)	23 (51.1%)	52 (40.6%)
prestige of English	18 (51.4%)	11 (22.9%)	17 (37.8%)	46 (35.9%)
position of the U.S. in economics and culture	5 (14.3%)	8 (16.7%)	17 (37.8%)	30 (23.4%)
translators	3 (8.6%)	7 (14.6%)	14 (31.1%)	24 (18.8%)
schools, teachers	1 (2.9%)	7 (14.6%)	10 (22.2%)	18 (14.1%)
<b>Respondents' own answers</b> (each of them occurred once)				
simplicity of English; its condensed way of expression (group 15-29)				
peoples' laziness to seek Czech equivalents for English expressions (group 15-29)				
efforts to be in at any price (group 15-29)				
people are stupid (group 15-29)				
advertising (group 30-59)				
music, songs in English (group 30-59)				
people working for foreign companies (group 30-59)				
singers (group 60+)				
people who travel a lot (group 60+)				

**21. Your overall attitude to the influence of English on Czech is ...**

**Table 21.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
definitely positive	2 (3.6%)	0	1 (1.9%)	3 (1.9%)
rather positive	15 (27.3%)	9 (16.4%)	10 (19.2%)	34 (21%)
neutral	24 (43.6%)	34 (61.8%)	21 (40.4%)	79 (48.9%)
rather negative	14 (25.5%)	9 (16.4%)	18 (34.6%)	41 (25.3%)
definitely negative	0	3 (4.5%)	2 (3.9%)	5 (3.1%)

**Table 21.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
definitely positive	0	3 (2.8%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (1.37%)	3 (1.9%)
rather positive	12 (22.6%)	22 (20.2%)	22 (24.7%)	12 (16.4%)	34 (21%)
neutral	22 (41.5%)	57 (52.3%)	47 (52.8%)	32 (43.8%)	79 (48.9%)
rather negative	17 (32.1%)	24 (22%)	18 (20.2%)	23 (31.5%)	41 (25.3%)
definitely negative	2 (3.78%)	3 (2.8%)	0	5 (6.85%)	5 (3.1%)

**22. If you were in the position to influence the use of English loanwords in the media, which option would you prefer?**

**Table 22.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
ELWs would not be used at all.	1 (1.8%)	4 (7.3%)	8 (15.4%)	13 (8%)
The use of ELWs would be restricted to cases where there is no suitable Czech word with the same meaning.	45 (81.8%)	47 (85.5%)	42 (80.8%)	134 (82.7%)
There use of ELWs would not be restricted.	9 (16.4%)	4 (7.3%)	2 (3.9%)	15 (9.3%)

**Table 22.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
ELWs would not be used at all.	3 (5.7%)	10 (9.2%)	2 (2.2%)	11 (15.1%)	13 (8%)
The use of ELWs would be restricted to cases where there is no suitable Czech word with the same meaning.	47 (88.7%)	87 (79.8%)	75 (84.3%)	59 (80.8%)	134 (82.7%)
There use of ELWs would not be restricted.	3 (5.7%)	12 (11%)	12 (13.5%)	3 (4.1%)	15 (9.3%)

**23. In connection with borrowing from English, are you worried about the future of the Czech language?**

**Table 23.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
definitely yes	3 (5.5%)	5 (9.1%)	5 (9.6%)	13 (8%)
rather yes	16 (29.1%)	13 (23.6%)	29 (55.8%)	58 (35.8%)
rather no	26 (47.3%)	19 (34.6%)	11 (21.2%)	56 (34.6%)
definitely no	6 (10.9%)	17 (30.9%)	7 (13.5%)	30 (18.5%)
don't know	4 (7.3%)	1 (1.8%)	0	5 (3.1%)

**Table 23.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
definitely yes	3 (5.7%)	10 (9.2%)	5 (5.6%)	8 (11%)	13 (8%)
rather yes	18 (34%)	40 (36.7%)	25 (28.1%)	33 (45.2%)	58 (35.8%)
rather no	21 (39.6%)	35 (32.1%)	40 (44.9%)	16 (21.9%)	56 (34.6%)
definitely no	11 (20.8%)	19 (17.4%)	15 (16.9%)	15 (20.6%)	30 (18.5%)
don't know	0	5 (4.6%)	4 (4.5%)	1 (1.4%)	5 (3.1%)

24. France e.g. has got a law regulating the use of foreign words in the media. Would you favour a bill aimed at protecting the Czech language?

**Table 24.A. Results according to age**

	15-29	30-59	60+	all respondents
definitely yes	6 (10.8%)	10 (18.2%)	18 (34.6%)	34 (21%)
rather yes	13 (23.6%)	15 (27.3%)	19 (36.5%)	47 (29%)
rather no	27 (49.1%)	10 (18.2%)	8 (15.4%)	45 (27.8%)
definitely no	4 (7.3%)	19 (34.6%)	2 (3.9%)	25 (15.4%)
don't know	5 (9.1%)	1 (1.8%)	5 (9.6%)	11 (6.8%)

**Table 24.B. Results according to education and knowledge of English**

	TE+	TE-	E+	E-	all respondents
definitely yes	8 (15.1%)	26 (23.9%)	10 (11.2%)	24 (32.9%)	34 (21%)
rather yes	19 (35.9%)	28 (25.7%)	20 (22.5%)	27 (37%)	47 (29%)
rather no	11 (20.8%)	34 (31.2%)	34 (38.2%)	11 (15.1%)	45 (27.8%)
definitely no	14 (26.4%)	11 (10.1%)	18 (20.2%)	7 (9.6%)	25 (15.4%)
don't know	1 (1.9%)	10 (9.2%)	7 (7.9%)	4 (5.5%)	11 (6.8%)