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**“HEY, REF! GO, MILK THE CANARIES!”
ON THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE LANGUAGE OF SPORT**

Key words: sports language, sports linguistics, Old Polish, etymology of sports terms, sports dictionaries.

ABSTRACT

The article justifies the necessity of studies of language of sport within the scope of general linguistics. The research in this particular area has been sporadic and insufficient. The article presents a historical overview of studies on sport vocabulary, from ancient Greece, through medieval lexicons of games and plays to modern sports. The author focuses on Old Polish names of games and pastimes as well as on the influence of English sport vocabulary on Polish and other European languages. He points to the rather superficial interest of general linguists in the area of sport language, but also reveals examples of successful research. The article lists the existing written studies and dictionaries of sport terminology, starting from the oldest known source in the English language *Sportsman's Dictionary* from 1735.

LINGUISTICS AND SPORT

Edward Sapir once wrote that “the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society” [41: 68].

Sapir's words can easily relate to sport as one of areas of culture. Certainly, sport cannot be grasped and comprehended “through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism.” On that score, the language of sport – linguistic interpretation of sport supplemented with cultural analysis – is as much an object of research as any other aspect of human life.

Language is one of the most important components of the distinctiveness and cultural identity of sport. It determines its spread and social range as shown by the phenomenon of sport media. Sport generates numerous professional and trade jargons, e.g. coaching jargon, terminologies of training methodology, the language of sport sciences, sport medicine and, finally, athletes' and sport fans' slang. Each such variety is always to some extent correlated with national language and features distinct phonetic, stylistic and morphological characteristics. Finally, language is an expression of multiple values of sport outside the domain of sport. These values are philosophical, physical, ethical, health-related and artistic, e.g. related to literature and fine arts. The last category has been particularly neglected, although it plays a significant role in the so-called high culture outside sport. It is impossible to image the Hellenic

culture without the distinctive quality of Pindar's *epinikion* – one of the most unique works of ancient Greek lyric poetry, strictly related to ancient Olympic Games. The value of sport in French culture would have been seriously depreciated without the unique work *Les olympiques* by Henri de Montherlant (1924), which introduced modern sport into the French language. The Polish language would have been much impoverished without *Wawrzyn olimpijski* (Olympic Laurel) by Kazimierz Wierzyński, who not only won the gold medal for poetry in the Olympic Art and Literature Competition in Amsterdam in 1928, but also introduced the poetic rhythm of sport to Polish literature, and dignified sport terminology – which had hitherto been held in contempt by the intellectual circles – by giving it full status in the Polish language tradition.

The world of sport seen from the perspective of sport language is a sort of highly specialized linguistic reality, in which particular protagonists are assigned numerous conventional linguistic roles. The referee uses a collection of short, laconic expressions and concise style with great commanding power supplemented with appropriate symbolic gestures. The coach uses a completely different register and styles. The players and the spectators alike use a special jargon in informal conversations between one another. A sports medicine physician, who examines a player's injury, or a scientist conducting research into physiology or sociology of sport would also use a different language. All these language varieties, although sharing a number of common characteristics, feature distinct terminologies, intonation, stylistics, or dialectal, jargon or slang features. The way a referee expresses his thoughts on the pitch is strikingly different from, for example, a supporter shouting "We got screwed!" Furthermore, each of these language varieties can be subdivided according to different sports disciplines – each featuring its own lexical corpus; some of them even centuries long tradition of distinct pronunciation and style. The language of scientists and scholars can be subdivided into terminologies and registers specific for social sciences, pedagogy, philosophy, sociology, and sport psychology on the one hand; and biological sciences such as anatomy or sport physiology on the other. They are also quite distinct in the area of methodology of physical education. The world of sport is finally divided into distinct

national and even supranational language communities.

These special "internationals" of athletes, referees or coaches of different sports, who travel from event to event, meet together in sports arenas or hotels, e.g. during the athletic "Golden League", European or world championships, let alone the Olympic Games, and form their own specific, cosmopolitan language conventions. The process of communication becomes universalized.

Individual sports are dominated by different languages: golf, ice hockey and field hockey by English; football, curling or polo by British English; baseball and basketball by American English; handball by German; boccia by Italian; pelota by Spanish. Eastern martial arts such as judo, aikido, taekwondo and kickboxing use English replete with thousands of terms of Japanese, Chinese or Korean origin. As we can see, the edifice of sport is a multi-story one. Each floor of this building has numerous rooms and recesses which constitute one of the most complex language structures in each sports community on the regional, national and international level. The study of this phenomenon can be called sports linguistics.

In the aforementioned essay, Edward Sapir also wrote that "The value of linguistics for anthropology and culture history has long been recognized. As linguistic research has proceeded, language has proved useful as a tool in the sciences of man and has itself required and obtained a great deal of light from the rest of these sciences. It is difficult for a modern linguist to confine himself to his traditional subject matter. Unless he is somewhat unimaginative, he cannot but share in some or all of the mutual interests which tie up linguistics with anthropology and culture history, with sociology, with psychology, with philosophy, and, more remotely, with physics and physiology" [41: 68].

Despite many similar proposals to study language in the most versatile manner, formulated almost half a century ago, physical culture specialists or professional linguists studying language in contact with many different sciences rarely occupy themselves with the language themselves. None of the innumerable academies of physical education has carried out any systematic research on sports linguistic, even on a basic level. On the other hand, linguistics departments study extensively corpora of all possible regional dialects, communities, social groups, cultures, religions, arts, trades and professions, with the exception of sport.

It still regarded by some conservative circles of cultural experts as marginal or even “unserious”, in spite of the most obvious fact that sport is one of the most expressive and concrete manifestations of contemporary culture.

Linguistic studies of sport are very few. On the international level, the language of sport has been sporadically studied and published in some sociolinguistic journals, e.g. “Language in Society [e.g. 13].” Some aspects of the language of sport are discussed in textbooks for sports journalists [1; 9; 45].

Sport is also occasionally discussed in publications concerned with the widely understood social communication [4; 7]. It is also at times used in teaching foreign languages as an attractive topic for students [17]. Finally, the language of sport is sporadically studied by researchers of history and culture [23; 32].

In Poland, the very few linguistic studies of sport include highly valuable works by Jan Ożdżyński, who examined the language of sport from the perspective of traditional linguistics [33 & 34].

Despite the few pioneering research works in Poland and abroad, the language of sport remains largely a terra incognita. Moreover, this uncharted territory expands, as the range of sports and mass media grows.

What are the advantages of studying sport and its language together? What can linguistics offer to sport, and what can sport offer to linguistics? What cultural or scientific qualities can emerge at the meeting point of these two areas? Finally, what branch of linguistics would be most useful in research into sport language? Linguistics, like many other humanities, has numerous specialist branches. There are general linguistics, historical linguistics – which includes histories of individual languages – etymology, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, semantics, ethnosemantics, ethnosyntax, ethnopoetics and goodness knows how many more units of this linguistic corps commanded by often bossy generals, or sometimes by regular sergeants, who have a rather narrow vision of the linguistic battlefield in the area of human culture. Without figuring out the overlapping and often indefinable research areas, e.g. sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics, we may assume that we can use any of these branches of linguistics, provided they contribute to the understanding of any aspects of

sport. However, particularly useful can be the methodologies of etymology, ethnolinguistics and ethnosemantics.

Etymology as a science of word origins is a branch of linguistics that has been extensively utilized in sport studies for a long time, as evidenced in sport historiography. With some reservations, we can talk about etymology of sport as a study of origins of words and expressions specifically related to sport, or words and expression from the general lexicon, which have gained specific sport-related meanings. More often, however, a reverse tendency can be observed: a sport term enters general lexis. In the Polish language the earliest example of general vocabulary item giving rise to a sports term, which then in turn started to function in general lexicon is the noun *zapasy* (wrestling) and its derivatives. The Polish term undoubtedly derives from the expression *za pas* or *w pas*, which refer to holding the opponent by his belt or waist during a wrestling bout (Polish *pas* – belt or waist). This particular meaning of the expression can be found the 16th-cent. Old Polish work *Dworzanin polski* (The Polish Courtier) by Łukasz Górnicki in the form *za pas chodzić* (literally, “to walk while holding a belt/waist”). As “holding the belt” or “holding the waist” indicates a fight with no weapons, we can assume that the origins of this expression go back to the earliest form of Polish wrestling of explicitly sport character (in the modern sense). The expression may either refer to holding the opponent’s waist, or his real (leather or rope) belt during a wrestling bout. The latter technique has been well known and preserved in folk wrestling forms in different countries, e.g. in Icelandic *glima* in which wrestlers wear special belts originated from Viking tradition. The Polish *zapasy* than acquired a broader meaning of any type of fight, with or without the use of belts. The wrestling metaphor was then transferred to any type of competition, fight or bout. Terms like *zapasy* (wrestling) or *zapaśnik* (wrestler) initially metaphoric, came to signify terms related to military struggle or struggle with diseases, as in *stoczyć zapasy z chorobą* (to wrestle with a disease).

The study of wrestling terms in other languages will produce similar results, even if the Polish name for wrestling stems from a different word root, e.g. English *wrestling* [from *to wrestle*, i.e. *to grapple*]. The etymological differences of similar expressions in various languages constitute a separate field of comparative etymology. A good

example is *rogal* (crescent roll) – a Polish football slang for performing a corner kick along a long curved projectile, which is rendered in English as a *banana kick*.

The etymology of the oldest Polish names reveals the origins of often forgotten words describing the non-existent past reality of games and plays. The earliest varieties of the Polish bat and ball game of *palant* were known as *palant z galeniem* (pitching palant) and *palant bez galenia* (non-pitching palant). The game used also a number of derived terms such as *galenie* (pitching a ball), *galić* (to pitch a ball), *podgalny* (pitcher). All of them stemmed from the Old Polish *gałka* or *gala* denoting a round object, which was later replaced by the word *piłka* (ball) derived from Latin *pila*. The terms *galić* (to pitch) or *galenie* (pitching) signified an underhand delivery by the pitcher during the game. The word *gala* still functions in some Polish football slang expressions, e.g. *grać w galę* (to play football). In *palant z galeniem* the underhand delivery was performed by an opposing player, like in softball. In *palant bez galenia* the ball was tossed up by the batter himself.

Old Polish abounded in similes and sayings related to *galenie*, e.g. the proverb *Jak kto gali, tak mu odbijają* (Like pitcher, like batter). Old Polish author F. Falibowski (Chwalibowski) described the pitching action (*galenie*) as *Kiedy piłkę grają, raz ten bije, potem gali czyli pasie* (During the game one bats then pitches and then scores) [12].

The etymological explanation of former sports terms in Polish is often impossible, for instance, the names of two old Polish sports *rochwist* and *czoromaj*. The former was a horse race to a wreath placed on a hill or any other landscape forms, e.g. ravine entrance. The latter was a game consisting of driving wooden balls into holes in the ground, the number of which was one less than the number of players. The etymology of these two names remains obscure; they most likely had had some symbolic or objective meanings in the distant past. These two are not isolated cases and are not specific for the Polish language. A similar etymological controversy concerns the Old French game of *souille*. Some researchers have attempted to trace its etymology to Pre-Celtic *héault*, meaning the sun, which might have reflected the ancient solar cult manifested in the shape of the ball. Another popular theory, albeit rejected by expert etymologists, was Latin *selea* (sole). A more plausible explanation may be Old

French *souiller* (to be covered with mud and soil) referring to the players wallowing in the dirt. The most credible theory points to northern French *choule* and High German *Kiulla* (pouch), which referred to the early balls used in the game, which were made of pouches filled with packed hay, moss or bran. There are also numerous other theories, all pointing to the elusiveness of facts and names and difficulties in linguistic interpretation [19].

The case of *souille* shows that more complete linguistic data on ancient sports terms should be obtained not only by means of pure etymology. Sport etymology was critically assessed a few years ago by German researcher Heiner Gillmeister, according to whom the term *etymological method*, applied earlier by sport historians only describes some minor aspects, and “the term *etymological* should therefore be replaced by the more general and more appropriate term *linguistic*” [19: 31].

Therefore, alongside etymology, which by no means can be ignored, all other sciences concerned with the role and place of the language of sport in a wider communication context should be taken into account.

Ethnolinguistics seems to be the most promising in the area of sport language research. It is a relatively new branch of science exploring the correlations between the language, history and ethnology of local, national and supranational communities. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ethnolinguistics is that part of anthropological linguistics concerned with the study of the interrelation between a language and the cultural behaviour of those who speak it [11: 583].

Thus ethnolinguistics of sport is a branch of science aimed at systematic research of interrelations between language as a product of sport and cultural patterns of behavior of sport participants (individual and collective), as well as of the influence of language of sport on general language and, indirectly, on universal culture.

Ethnolinguistics tries to provide answers to the following research questions: “Does language shape culture or vice versa? What influence does language have on perception and thought? How do language patterns relate to cultural patterns?” [11: 583]. And in the area of ethnolinguistics of sport these questions can be rendered as: What is the contribution of the language of sport to the universal, linguistic and cultural heritage and vice versa?

Finally the third, extremely useful branch of linguistics – ethnosemantics, sometimes identified with ethnographic semantics, is part of *structural semantics* and one its sub-branches known as *folk taxonomy*. Regardless of their methodological preferences, all these sciences are concerned with the study of references of some linguistic reality in a wider cultural context from the perspective of ethnography, linguistic-cultural structure or taxonomy. They are all highly useful in the linguistic and cultural analysis of sport.

The main research area of ethnosemantics is the scope and evolution of meaning in reference to the culture of a given community (professional, regional, national), other lexical items, objects and language users (or users of different languages, which is a subject of *comparative ethnosemantics*).

A good case in point is the English term *football* which can be approached comprehensively using methodologies of all the aforementioned branches of linguistics. The medieval word root of *football* has evolved in a complex way until the present day, entering many areas of culture. Its precise development is impossible to trace with the aid of traditional etymology only, but the meaning of football has been adopted and adjusted by practically all modern languages and cultures beside English.

The original English name consisted of two parts: *foot* and *ball*, which can seemingly render its etymological interpretation simple and straightforward: *ball* kicked with *feet*. However, this is the case with only a few “football” games such as modern association football and its historical predecessors played in English public schools, like *Winchester College Football* or *Harrow Football*. In the names of many other “football” varieties the element *foot-* seems at first class illogical, as the ball in them is mostly thrown, while the feet play merely an auxiliary role during play. A good example can be a medieval game known as *Shrove Tuesday Football*, during which two opposite teams numbering hundreds of players each, carried the ball from one city gate to another. Kicking the ball by such crowds in the narrow streets of medieval towns was simply out of the question. The question is then, why so many names of these games use so often the element *foot-* instead of, let’s say, *fist*, *palm*, *hand* etc. This is the case of the former name *aquatic football*, once very popular in Scots, which has been replaced by *water polo*. For obvious reasons, using the feet to kick the ball during

a water polo game is technically impossible. Try to play football in a swimming pool! In one of the Irish national games *Gaelic football*, the ball is passed mostly by fisting (although flicking up the ball with the foot is also allowed). A great number of ball games created in the 19th century, in which playing with both hands and feet was allowed, adopted the name *football* almost automatically, e.g. *rugby football*, *American football*, *Canadian football*, *Australian Rules Football*. In the famous extreme sports game of *ski football*, in which the ball is passed between skiers during a downhill run, kicking the ball is simply impossible.

On the basis of the above observations one might conclude that in its earliest semantic layer *football* could have originally signified, not a *ball* kicked with *feet* but a *foot-size ball*. The apparent inconsistency between names such as *aquatic football* or *ski-football*, and the playing technique without the use of the feet, may in fact point to the latter. Additionally, it can be supported by the use of the imperial measure of *foot* in England. Medieval sources show that traditional ball games, which ultimately gave rise to football, consisted mostly of carrying the ball, with some kicking involved. Rubber vulcanization was unknown in the Middle Ages, and balls used for playing were usually very heavy. Some games used balls made of animal bladders, but they were flimsy, leaky and often burst during the game. Until the first imports of natural rubber from Central America in the 15th and 16th century and the invention of vulcanization in later times, most playing balls had been made of either wood, packed hurds or wool covered with leather with a cartilage or fishbone core to ensure proper resilience of the ball, i.e. its capacity to rebound. Playing with such a large and hard ball, resembling rather the present-day medicine ball, was very brutal and often banned by royal or church edicts, or municipal regulations. In many of these legal documents appeared the Latin expression *pila pedalis* (foot-size ball) to denote team games with a large ball as opposed to some sports using small balls and played individually, e.g. *Royal Tennis* also known as *Court Tennis*, or French *jeu de la paume*. Latin passive participle *pedalis* explicitly signifies an attribute or an object of foot shape or foot size. A ball moved with a foot would have taken Latin participle *pedarius*, however, no medieval sources mention such a name.

Ball playing bans were proclaimed to the public by heralds or priests from the pulpit. Such public proclamations, written in Latin in chancelleries, had to be translated into the vernacular, for instance, as *ffootebale*, *fotebal*, *foteballe*, *fotebale*, *footte ball*, *fout baule*, *fut ball*, *fute ball* or *futballe*, *footballe* and many other different variants in Middle English, later giving rise to modern *football*. Such a translated version appears in a royal edict of Henry VI from 1428 written in English: “The king forbiddes bat na man play at be fut ball under the payne off” [15: 18].

The English term coexisted with its Latin original in the 15th century. In the 16th century, it became common in spoken English and literary works. In 1515 Alexander Barclay wrote in his *Eclogues* about “the sturdie plowmen driving the foote ball” [15: 18].

Playing the foot-size ball was also heavily criticized, e.g. in Thomas Elyot’s *Book Called the Governour*: “Foote balle wherin is nothinge but beastly furie and extreme violence, wherof procedeth hurte and consequently rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded” [15: 18].

Nevertheless, owing to insufficient command of Latin, in many Latin documents the expression *pila pedalis* was often erroneously translated into English as a “ball moved with the foot”. *The Book of St. Albans*, attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, links the term *pila pedalis* with ball kicked with feet, which is not entirely substantiated:

“[...] while this terme pila is take for a certain rounde instrument to play with, the wich instrument servys other while to the hande and then is calde in Latyn *pila manualis* as here. And other while it is an instrument for the foote and then it is calde in Latyn *pila pedalis* a ‘fote bal’” [35: 15].

It is rendered in Modern English in the following way:

[...] sometimes the term *pila* is understood as a certain round contrivance for playing with. This contrivance is sometimes for the hand and then is called in latin *pila manualis* as here; sometimes it is a contrivance for the foot and then it is called in Latin *pila pedalis* ‘a football’ [35: 15].

The Vocabula by David Wedderburn from 1633 contains a monologue about ball kicking called by the author “*pila pedalis*”. In 1666 four students of Oxford were suspended, because they

played *lusus pilae pedalis* too much and neglected their studies.

Despite the confusion between *pila pedalis* and *pila pedarius*, it can be assumed that there were two types of foot-size ball games known in medieval England: *pila manualis* in which the ball was thrown or hit with the hands, and a foot-size ball game in which the ball was kicked or thrown. The Latin and English names of those games were in all likelihood mixed up. At some point *football* simply started to signify a kicked ball, and not a foot-size ball. When the modern game of football was developed in England in the 19th century, and the balls started to be made with vulcanized rubber, the name football was applied to games in which the ball was, first of all, kicked.

After the English ball games became popular in continental Europe in the second half of the 19th century, the term *football* entered the majority of European languages. In Germanic languages the adaptation of the new compound was facilitated by similarities in the pronunciation of the stems *foot* and *ball* resulting in German *Fußball*, Danish *fodbol*, Dutch *voetbal* and Swedish *fotbol*. In Romance languages, the English original was generally modified following the rules of Romance pronunciation and spelling, however, ultimately, the name was adopted in French as *football*, in Spanish as *futbol*, and in Romanian as *fotbal*. On the other hand, in Italy, which boasted a strong tradition of local ball games, the former Italian name of *giocco di calcio*, or *calcio* in short, was kept, despite simultaneous adoption of the English term. It was never adopted in Hungary, when the native form *labdarúgas* is still used.

The Slavic languages have generally adopted the English term, with small spelling modifications, e.g. *futbol* in Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian or *futbal* in Serbo-Croatian. In Poland the name *football* appeared in the late 19th century, and denoted the same type of games like in England. In western and southern Poland the term *fusbal* was used, through German *Fussball*, which finally gave rise to modern *fubol*. The term commonly used for football in present-day Polish, however, *piłka nożna* (literally, “legball”), which appeared first as an inaccurate calque from English between 1900 and 1914. The precise loan translation into Polish would have been *piłka stopowa* (*foot* – Polish *stopa*), which sounds rather awkward in Polish. In fact, *stopa* has one more syllable than English *foot*, and the entire compound is much longer than the

English original. The imprecise calque from English, i.e. *pilka nożna* was widely adopted by the Polish press in the 1920s, and later by the Polish radio (the first Polish radio broadcast of a football match took place in 1929). After that *pilka nożna* became a standard term in Polish, and today both terms, *pilka nożna* and *futbol* are used interchangeably.

The name *football* in present-day Polish, retaining its original spelling, most often refers to various ball games from English-speaking countries other than the original association football, in which hands can also be used during playing. The long name association football in English was later conveniently abbreviated to *soccer*, by taking out the middle part *-soc-* from *as[soc]iation*, doubling the final consonant *-cc-* and adding the agentive ending *-er*. The term soccer is used in Polish as an exotism, usually written in italics, and it has never been Polonized into “soker” or “sokker.”

TRADITIONS OF LANGUAGE OF SPORT

The language of sport has been existing since antiquity. The names of ancient sports, their descriptions and reflections on them have been preserved in classical texts. Since time immemorial the language of sport has been a rich area of specialist linguistic communication.

There are nearly two thousand Greek sports terms and expressions, which can easily be traced in almost all European languages, e.g. *olympiake agones* which have been calqued in Polish as *igrzyska olimpijskie*, German as *Olympische Spiele*, French as *Jeux Olympiques* or English as *Olympic Games*. Also widely adopted have been such Greek terms as *athletismos*, *athletikos* (English *athletics*, *athletic*; Polish *atletyka*, *atletyczny*); *discos* (English *discus*); *diskobolos* (discus thrower); *gymnastike* (gymnastics); or the word *stadion* (stadium) denoting a sports facility or an ancient unit of length. The modern English names of multi-event competitions such as the *biathlon*, *pentathlon*, *decathlon* and *heptathlon* are identical with their Greek originals. Sports terms preserved in classical Greek include:

a) Names of particular sports and events, e.g. *stadion paidon* – one stadion sprint; *diaulos* – two-stadion sprint; *dolichos* – long-distance run. There is a plethora of names related to ancient wrestling, e.g. *palajsmosyne* in Homer’s

works, *palajasma* in Herodotus’, *gyiobares* in Aeschylus’, *pale* as a stadium event and *gyros pale* in Philostratus’. The same category includes *pankration* as a name for all-encompassing unarmed combat, *orthostadne* – standing wrestling, *kyllisis* (on-the-ground wrestling, literally, “wallowing in the dirt”), various ball games such as *episkyros* and *faininda*, *kolymbos* – swimming and diving skills, etc.

- b) Names describing particular combat and emulation techniques, e.g. *apognimos*, *apoternidzein*, *klimakidzein* in pankration; *katabasis*, *proelko*, *anabastasis* in wrestling; *symplekesthai* (“wrestling clinch”), etc.
- c) Names of sport functionaries, e.g. *pajdotribes* – gymnastics instructor; *paradoksonikes* – an athlete who wins in a vivid and beautiful manner; *eksathlos* – an athlete who is not permitted to take part in a competition because of his frail body.
- d) Names of animals, especially horses taking part with men in competitions, e.g. *paraseiros* – a horse harnessed to a chariot, *pareoria* and *epomidion* as types of harness.
- e) Names of sport equipment, e.g. *bater* – take-off board for long jumps; *balbis* – starting blocks in runs; *kampter* – turning post in a stadium race; *biga* – race chariot.
- f) Names of sports facilities, e.g. *stadion*, *paradromis* – open sand track; *gymnasion* – gymnasium.
- g) Training terms, e.g. *cheironomia* – shadow boxing; *korykomachia* punch bag exercises; *endromis* – athletes’ overcoats to keep the body warm before competition; *akoniti* – ancient walkover.
- h) Names of sports ceremonies, e.g. *kalistephanos* – wild olive branch used for wreaths for victors (literally, “crowning beauty”); *tenella kallinike* – archaic heroic folk lay sung for the victor; *epinikion* – song for the victor.

Classical Greek also abounds in sports phrases and compounds [consult 18]. For instance, *anabastasai heir hypsos* – lifting grapple ended in pinning the opponent to the ground. Athletes leaving the ancient gymnasium formed loose civic associations called *apo tou gymnasiu* (literally, “after having left the gymnasium”) aimed at maintaining traditions of Greek life including sports.

Similar lexical results can be obtained through analysis of medieval games and pastimes.

Let us remember that the term *sport* was conceived in the Middle Ages. Each type of folk and knightly sports practiced in Europe in the Middle Ages, Renaissance or Enlightenment yielded a great number of terms and expressions [8].

The plethora of names of particular medieval sports only is good evidence of this process, e.g. English games of *Haxey Hood* and *Northern Spell*, French *jeu de la paume* and *jeu de la long paume*, Flemish *kaatsen* and *gaaibol*, or Icelandic wrestling types of *hryggspenna* or *glima*. *Glima* in which the wrestlers use special waist belts – features names of eight traditional *bragth*, i.e. basic grips, and numerous terms describing garments and footwear known collectively as *glimoföt*. All in all, basic *glima* terms and expressions in Icelandic run into hundreds!

The sports lexical heritage in different languages still awaits thorough and large-scale linguistic investigation, especially on a comparative basis. It constitutes a vast area of European culture, which in many cases remains completely unknown. Poland is no exception: a study of Old Polish sport terminology only, reveals an astounding lexical wealth and diversity.

THE OLDEST SPORT VOCABULARY IN POLISH

After reading only a few selected Old Polish texts on sport, it is possible to compile a concise glossary of Old Polish sports terms. Thorough research of comprehensive corpora of Old Polish texts would result in a considerable dictionary. Let us take a look at some selected examples:

Like in other languages, Old Polish sports terms and expressions can be divided into:

- A) those originating in general Polish lexicon which have acquired a different semantic quality in the context of a sports game, e.g. *walka* (fight), *zwycięstwo* (victory), *kulak* (fist), *kres* (finish), *łapa* (a ball game), etc.
- B) those coined for the purpose of describing the character of a game or competition, which constitute the oldest layer of sports terminology in the Polish language. They include names of Old Polish sports, e.g. *chwyłka* (any game in which a ball is caught with the hands) or aforementioned *rochwist* and *czoromaj*.

As regards the source languages of Old Polish sports terms they can be divided into native (Polish) words and foreign borrowings. The former include *zapasy* (wrestling), *igrzyska* (sports games), *igrać* (play), *igrzysko* (playground); the latter – *rekreacja* (recreation, from Latin), *dank* (prize for victory, from German) or *metr* (fencing master, from French).

The oldest Polish sport terminology is related to medieval knightly culture, especially to knightly tournaments, e.g. *drzeweczko znieść*, (to handle a tilting lance in the lists, or during various lance games such as quintain) – *A jeśliby mógł i drzeweczko znieść, tedy i to nie wadzi z nim sobie poigrać* (If he could tilt a lance, one can compete with him) [39: 205].

An Old Polish competitor participating in horse races, but also later in foot races, was called *gońca*, e.g. *Kosmowski dworzanin, osobliwy gońca* (“Courtier Kosmowski, curious gońca”) or *inszy zasię gońcy, to naszymy Polacy* (“Pray, these gońcas are our Poles”) [20: 166].

A *gońca* took part in horse races. Thus, the knightly gear for non-combat purposes took the adjective *gończy* (for racing), e.g. *gończa zbroja* (racing armor) [20: 165].

Wziąć dank or *odnieść dank* meant to be victorious in a horse race; to score a victory was called *wziąć klejnot* (literally “to take the jewel”): *“Między wszystkimi, co gonili, największy dank odniósł i pierwszy klejnot wziął koniuszy książęcia pruskiego [...] Wtóry klejnot wziął Kosmowski, dworzanin, osobliwy gońca, który w gonitwie na zamku goniąc na ostre z tymże koniuszym, dank odniósł* [20: 165]. (Among all those who took part in the races the victorious was the equerry of the Prussian duke who took the first jewel [...] the second jewel was taken by Kosmowski the courtier, a fine racer who was triumphant competing against the equerry).

Like knightly tournaments, also horse races – known in Poland since the early Middle Ages – yielded a great number of Old Polish sports terms. Horse racing terminology was later transferred to other sports. For instance, modern Polish *meta* (finish line) was known as *kres* in Old Polish; and Old Polish *przypaść do kresu* (literally “to fall to the finish line”) has been replaced today by the phrase *dobiec do mety* (run up to the finish line).

Dwa konie z sobą wespół mieli
Przypaść do kresu [6: 107].

(Two horses alongside
Were to run to the finish line).

Przypadanie do kresu (falling to the finish line) was an example from one of the richest Old Polish semantic fields of sport vocabulary: human and animal motor function. For instance, the Polish adjective *pierzchliwy* (Eng. *timid*) meant originally “running lightly and quickly”, and is not part of present-day Polish sports vocabulary. It has been replaced by a similar active participle *pierzchający* (Eng. *fleeing*).

Teraz Pegasus, dawszy mi napoju
Słodkiego zażyć z wybitego zdroju,
Tknął mię kopytem, abym cisnął krzywe
Łuki, a pisał zawody pierzchliwe,
Jakim je kształtem tam odprawowali
Młodzieńcy z sobą, gdy się ubiegali [6: 110].

(Now, Pegasus having given me a sweet drink
From of spring water,
Nudged me with its hoof
To abandon the bow,
And took to something more swift
As activities practiced by the young ones).

The equivalent of modern Polish term from sports reporting, *biec pierś w pierś* (to run abreast), was *równać skronie* (neck to neck, literally “temple to temple”):

Wtym się bachmat sunie
I już z wałachem pruskim równa skronie [6: 11].

(Then the Tartar horse moves forward
And starts running abreast with the Prussian gelding).

To lead in a horse race was *otrzymać przód* (“to gain front” or “to gain forepart”): *Azaż z was ktory przod otrzymać może*. (Pray, which of you can gain the front) [6: 11].

A similar meaning was attributed to Old Polish verb *przodkować*, which has been replaced in modern sport language by the verb *prowadzić* (Eng. *to lead*): *Pospołu bieżąc z sobą przodkowali* (They were in the lead, running abreast) [6, 107]. The opposite of *przodkować* was *tyłu pilnować* (to be left behind, literally “to watch the back”):

Dalej, koniu, dalej!
Dość-eśmy dotąd tyłu pilnowali! [6: 107].

(Forge ahead my horse
We watched the back sufficiently long).

In one of the most interesting Old Polish sports, shooting a cap with a bow or crossbow, one can find such colorful expressions as *dać czapce po barwie* (hit the center of the cap placed on a pole, literally “hit the color of the cap”). The differences in defining sports situations now and then are mentioned in the memoirs of Father Jędrzej Kitowicz, e.g. *pilnować na piłkę* (“watch on the ball”): *Wszyscy tej strony gracze, ku której też piłka rzuconą była, z natężeniem oczu w górę i z gotowością rąk pilnowali na piłkę* (All players on the team looked up intensely and kept their eyes on the ball, ready to catch it) [26: 172].

Today a sportscaster would simply say *pilnuje piłkę* (he watches the ball) or in sports slang *szanuje piłkę* (“he respects the ball”). These examples illustrate the constant changes in expression and stylistics in general language and sport language alike.

A great part of Old Polish vocabulary (not only sports terms) are borrowings from Latin, e.g. *duellum* (duel). This term has been dropped from modern Polish, but has very similar equivalents in other European languages, e.g. English and French *duel*, Italian *duello*, or Spanish *duelo*. The Old Polish *duel* referred to any kind of duel: wrestling, boxing or fencing, as illustrated in a 16th-century text by writer and chronicler Mathias Ossostevicius Strykowski: *A drudzy nad duellem przywiedli rzecz swoję* (And the others came to terms about the duel), or in another excerpt, when a duel is initiated by Gediminas, the founder of the Lithuanian state:

Kazał Gedymin zawołać, kto by w sobie siłę
Czuł, aby się postawił na duellum mile [44: 99].

(Gediminas ordered that anyone who feels strength within
Appeared nicely at that duel).

Another Latin sports borrowing in Old Polish was *rekreacya* or *rekreacyja* (recreation). The Latin original signified, like in most European languages, some light exercises aimed at restoration of one’s vital forces. Old Polish *partya* or *partyja*, (Modern Polish *partia*, i.e. party) came from Latin *partia*. *Partia* has a number of meanings in present-day Polish, e.g. political party, game or round. In the Old Polish language *partia* signified a small troop of soldiers or a team participating in a sport game:

piłka używana była [...] w polu do wyrzucania jej
na powietrze jak najdalej i uganiania się za nią
całymi partyjami [26: 172] – the ball was used [...]

in the field for throwing it in the air, as far as possible and then pursued by all *parties*.

Today, Polish *partia* (older form *partya*) in its sports sense, is a long round in some sports such as golf, bowling, croquet, or in expressions like *partia szachów* (game of chess) or *partia warcabów* (game of checkers).

The aforementioned examples reveal the wealth of Old Polish sports terminology. At the same time, they signal the need to study them from the perspective of sports linguistics. It is astonishing that no one has ever undertaken this effort, in the name of so often declared care of cultural traditions of Polish sport.

THE IMPACT OF ENGLISH ON THE LANGUAGE OF SPORT

Before the international expansion of British sports in the 19th century, sports terminology can be described as functioning within particular national languages. Certainly, there were linguistic contacts between France and England, France and Spain, Poland and Germany; however, the range of these contacts was negligible. The expansion of British sports in European culture dramatically changed that state of affairs. Sport terminology became internationalized, mostly on the basis of the English language. Even an amateur look at sport terminology of any European country would reveal the same or similar forms of such lexical items as *sport, football, golf, curling, cricket, rugby, training, record, out, corner*, etc. The first wave of English sports terms entered the European languages in the first half of the 19th century, following European fascination with horse races and customary Anglomania. In Poland, journalists opposed the expansion of the English language, as they perceived in it yet one more form of denationalization – more dangerous than Germanization or Russification – since it was voluntarily accepted. In one of 19th century Polish newspaper we read: “No one is able to understand or even read these crazy English words. If all these Anglomaniacs would kindly translate this vocabulary into Polish it would have some sense. Meanwhile we do not understand why they wear upon their hats inscriptions in English when all that can be named in Polish. All these inscriptions not only on their hats but also in the printed programs of the race prove beyond any doubt that these people are

childishly reckless, that they do not respect their own traditions and that they completely disregard any serious work and care for the welfare of their own country” (in Polish original: “Tych wszystkich angielskich wyrazów nikt u nas ani rozumie, ani przeczytać nie potrafi. Żeby nareszcie panowie Anglomany przetłumaczyli na język polski te wokabuły – miałyby to sens jakiś. Nie rozumiemy, po co trzeba na kapeluszu nosić plakat z napisem angielskim, kiedy to wszystko da się nazwać po polsku. Samo zachowanie tych tytułów w programie, na kapeluszach – dowodzi mi dziecinnej lekko-myślności, braku poszanowania dla rzeczy swoich a najzupełniejszego wyparcia się wszelkiej pracy i troski o dobro swoje ojczyste”) [46: 247].

Horse racing was then followed by English rowing. After 1880 tennis started to gain popularity in the continent, followed by football and boxing. Even cycling, which did not originate in the British Isles, was deeply affected by British sport. Bicycles made by the Rover Company enjoyed a much better reputation than their French- or German-made counterparts. The name of the company came to signify bicycle in Polish (Pol *rower* – bicycle).

The new sports entailed numerous terms and expressions with no equivalents in Polish. This deeply upset some Polish language purists who even organized two contests to find Polish equivalents of different English names at the end of the 19th century. One of them was organized in 1899 by the editors of “Kolarz-Wioślarz-Łyżwiarz” (Cyclist-Rower-Skater) periodical. The outcome was ... nineteen letters from readers containing suggestions of possible Polish replacements for such words as *sport, sportsman* or *training*. Another periodical “Kolo” (Cycle) from Lvov published a poem mocking the meager results of the contest:

Sędziowie rozważywszy dziewiętnaście listów
Nadeszłych od tamtejszych zapewne cyklistów
Orzekli, że „sport” odtąd ma się zwać „ochotą”,
A wyrazy pochodne kształtować się oto
Na sposób: „sportman” – „ochotnik”,
„sportowy” – „ochoczy”,
„Sportmański” – „ochotniczy”.
Ktokolwiek przekroczy
Uchwałę tego sądu nie wart będzie miana
„Ochotnika” na kole, lecz nazwy „sportmana”,
Jako kary, że żyje w niezgodzie z ustawą.
Dalej, uchwała każe zwać „trening” – „zaprawą”,
Więc znów w powyższy sposób zmienia się
przesławnie

„Trenera” w „zaprawiacza” – „trening-budę”
w „wprawnię” [50, 11].

(The jurors, having discussed the content
of nineteen letters,
Received most likely from local bicyclists,
Declared that “sport” should be known
from now on
As “ochota”, and its derivatives as “ochotnik”
Instead of “sportman” (sportsman),
“Ochoczy” (willing to act) instead of “sportowy”
(sportive)
And “ochotniczy” instead of “sportmański”
(sporting).
Whoever defies the jurors’ their decision
Shall be punished by bearing the name “sportman”
Instead of “ochotnik na kole” (volunteer on wheel)
For not abiding the law. Then, the jurors decided,
“Trening” (training) should be called “zaprawa”
(workout),
And its derivatives should be rendered
As “zaprawiacz” for “trener” (trainer)
And “wprawnia” for “trening-buda, (i.e. gym)”.

To grasp the gist of the poem, whose rhymes and some humorous meanings become lost in the English translation, one should realize the semantic tongue-in-cheek clash between the English borrowings and the newly proposed Polish equivalents. The text of the poem was aimed at provoking a smile from Polish readers, which is quite difficult to express in English: *ochota* in Polish means “willingness” or “readiness” – it also had an earlier meaning of “hunting” (compare Russian *okhota* – hunting). *Ochotnik* means “a man willing to do something” or “hunter” (compare Russian *okhotnik* – hunter). The English equivalent of *ochotniczy* is “voluntary”, and of *ochoczy* – “cherfully ready”. The juxtaposition of these words was a mockery of snobbish willingness of some Polish people to practice English sports. The words *zaprawiacz* and *wprawnia* were clumsy neologisms coined to mock their possible use. The name *zaprawiacz* instead of English *trainer* came from the verb *zaprawiać*, which has numerous equivalents in English, e.g. to prepare, to spice, to season and to flavor. In consequence, this ambiguity revealed a *trener-zaprawiacz* as someone not only preparing athletes for competition, but also “seasoning” or “spicing them up”.

In spite of the “Koło” derisions the name *zaprawa* caught on in Polish in the sense of “basic training”, whereas the word *trening* in Polish came

to signify more advanced forms of training. Generally, the expansion of English sports terms into the Polish language continued, and with time many of them became Polonized in at least two ways. First, forms particularly irritating to language purists were modified to respect Polish phonology and spelling, thus *out* became *aut*, *goal* – *gol* and *sportsman* – *sportsmen* (looking like the English plural). The term *sportowiec* came to signify any athlete, while *sportsmen* became an amateur practitioner of sport, especially tennis or equestrian sports in contrast with, for instance, plebeian wrestling. The other type of the Polonization process were calques or loan translations, such as *piłka nożna* (inaccurate calque from English football, meaning “legball”), *spalony* (from English *off-side*, also known as *ofsajd*), *bramkarz* (from English *goalkeeper*, also known as *golkiper*; from Polish *bramka* – gate).

In 1964 Jacek Fisiak in his study of English terms in Polish sports vocabulary, identified 131 English borrowings [14]. In 1997, however, a student of mine, who completed her master’s thesis on English loanwords in Polish tennis terminology, found nearly 400 English terms in the semantic field of tennis alone [49]. *Smecz, kort, serw, wolej, net, kros, forhend, walkower* (smash, court, serve, volley, net, cross, forehand) are just a few examples of tennis terms in Polish. Some of them are also used in other games similar to tennis, e.g. *serw* or *wolej* in football and volleyball, but they entered the Polish language as tennis terms at the end of the 19th century, several years before football or volleyball terms. Even if we assume that some sports disciplines do not feature so many English borrowings as tennis (football has probably even more), and that not every sport has Anglo-Saxon origins (e.g. Eastern martial arts use borrowings from Asian languages), the number of terms of English origin in Polish sports will amount to at least a few thousand! Each loanword carries a part of one cultural reality into another; and lexical borrowing is not merely a linguistic process but a complex cultural phenomenon. Sport – also through language – turns out to be one of the most effective mechanisms of linguistic diffusion, which can be observed during mass media reporting of sports events, contacts between different athletes during international competitions, written correspondence, etc.

In the times of flooding the Polish language with foreign sports terms (not only English, but also

Eastern martial arts terms and expressions, and to some extent names from other European languages, e.g. French *petanque* or Italian *boccia*), the necessity of preservation of Polish terminology of traditional sports and games should be recognized. It is also the case of other countries in which the terminology of traditional sports disappears under the influence of other, more globally dominant cultures and languages. The traditional sports terms of different nations fade away as quick as indigenous and traditional games themselves. Before World War Two Polish scholar, Eugeniusz Piasecki, preserved the traditional Polish terminology by distributing questionnaires in Polish villages and small towns, in which he asked the respondents to describe local games and plays known to them. The questionnaire instructions emphasized linguistic accuracy: "Please, try not to miss any name, expression, song, poem, etc. and keep the recorded forms as close to the vernacular as possible, even if they may seem obscene" [38: 114].

SPORTS LANGUAGE OF THE MEDIA

The first regular sports periodical in the world was the English "Sporting Magazine", published from December 1792 and replaced in 1825 with "The New Sporting Magazine" It became an abundant source of sports terms. In the 19th century a number of sports magazines was published in England, e.g. "Boxiana, or Sketches of Modern Pugilism," "Pierce Egan's Life in London and Sporting Guide" or "The Sporting Review." The 19th century witnessed the onset of the specialist language of modern sports media. Under the British influence, the sports press started to be published in other English-speaking countries, continental Europe and Asia. Initially, it consisted of magazines published by sports associations, specializing in individual sports, e.g. French "Velo" or Polish "Koło" (The Wheel) or "Kolarz-Wioślarz-Łyżwiarz" (Cyclist, Rower and Skater). Then, next to specialist magazines appeared general sports magazines, for instance, the first all-sport periodical "Sport" in 1895. The most renowned European sports periodicals in the early 20th century included French "l'Auto" ("L'Equipe" after 1954), German "Der Kicker", Italian "Corriere dello Sport" or Polish "Przegląd Sportowy" (Sporting Review) [31].

In the early 1920s, the language of sports broadcasting started to emerge following the invention of the radio. The BBC began broadcasting sports programs in 1924. Roughly at the same time sports radio broadcasts were made in other languages in different countries. Polskie Radio began to broadcast sports news in 1926, and regular coverage of sports events in 1929 [29].

Another milestone was the emergence of television. The first TV broadcasts were made during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, where television images were transmitted via cables to 19 receivers situated in different public places. The first intercontinental satellite TV transmission was made during the Olympics in Mexico in 1968 [47].

Sports newspapers and magazines – published for nearly two hundred years and preserved in archives and libraries – and radio and television recordings, despite all their archival shortcomings, constitute the most quantitatively valuable linguistic source in most civilized countries. Many of these materials have never been used for linguistic research.

The question of sports language of the media becomes more and more significant due to the enormous media expansion. Sports newspapers and magazines are ones of the most popular. Sport occupies a great percentage of TV and radio airtime, and exerts a great influence on the listeners and viewers. For instance, sport news is usually reported during special sections of daily news services. No other area of culture or politics has such well-defined sections in the broadcasting media. The impact of the language of sports commentators on the audience is growing. A number of terms and expressions coined by sport reporters have entered the general language. For instance, Polish "*Szkoda, że Państwo tego nie mogą widzieć*" (I wish you could see that for yourselves) coined by one of the early Polish radio sportscasters Wojciech Trojanowski before 1939, or equally famous Jan Ciszewski's "*Sprawiedliwości stało się zadość*" (Justice has been done); or Howard Cosell's "*I'll tell you like it is*" in American English. The influence of the language of sport on stylistics and phraseology of general language also becomes more and more visible. How many times do we use the boxing expression *znokautować* (to knock someone out) outside boxing, or *strzelić gola* (score a goal) outside football? Something not according to the rules or unfair is *below the belt* (from boxing terminology); we compete with others

neck to neck (from horse racing); when we are in control *the ball is in one's court* or *have someone in our corner*; someone on the verge of defeat or collapse is *on the ropes* (from boxing), *taken out* (from football) or *taken down* (from wrestling). The most powerful and influential players in business or politics are *heavy weight partners* (from boxing and wrestling). To give total or desired satisfaction is to *hit the spot* (from shooting), and to be in control in some business is to *keep the ball rolling*. How many times do we use expressions like *first league literature*, *one-sided play*, *a good start* or *playing hardball*? A sharp dispute can be called a *fight with the gloves off*. Lidia Jurek-Kwiatkowska made a list of 265 phrases of sport origin (from baseball, cricket, boxing etc.) in English business language alone [25].

The expansion of phrases and expressions coined by the sports media is characterized by clarity, simplicity, expressiveness of sport situations thanks to which they can be related to real life professional or social situations, intelligibility and apt metaphors becoming iconic expressions in wider linguistic contexts. These aspects are gradually being studied by researchers [36].

It is impossible to list all research works dealing with the language of sport in the media. Their number is huge, however, they are published in different research centers and institutes and are not always widely available. One of the most interesting examples is an article *Terminologia y Lenguaje Deportivo del Fútbol* opublikowany published in “Cultura-Ciencia-Deporte” on the Spanish language of football [5].

In Poland, a pioneering work on the Polish sport language was *Język w sporcie. Z zagadnień komunikacji i kultury* (Language in sport. Problems of communication and culture) by Jadwiga Kowalkowa [27].

It can be easily noticed that the vast majority of terms and expressions of sport origin that have become part of general lexis came from some exceptionally popular sports characterized by expressive forms of competition, situations of direct conflict, fierce rivalry and goal achievement, e.g. boxing, wrestling, football, horse racing, car racing; American football in the United States and cricket in England. To some extent such sports also include tennis, track and field, shooting and cycling. The language of sport is replete with military references, e.g. *offensive*, *attack*, *defense*, *defender*,

shot, etc. The U.S. President Jimmy Carter dubbed sport “moral equivalent to war” [48: 33].

Wilcomb E. Washburn made the following observation concerning the relationship between sport and war: “While all efforts to transfer the values of discipline, sacrifice, and courage from warlike to peaceful pursuits seem fruitless, there is one area in which this transfer has been successfully made. That area is sports, and in particular the sport of football as it is played in America from high school to the professional level” [48: 33].

Another American scholar, Charles Fergusson, showed a few years ago that the language of sports media was strikingly different from other registers used, for instance, in radio broadcasting: “One or two sentences of a radio announcer’s report of a game in progress will usually be sufficient to identify the particular kind of talk being used, different from all other kinds of radio talk, such as straight news, sermons, soap operas, or talk shows. One clue to the identification is the subject matter and the specialized vocabulary of the sport, but the same topics and lexicon may also be used in after-the-fact news broadcasts, editorials, or interviews on talk shows. A more distinctive clue is the prosodic pattern, i.e., the features of tempo, rhythm, loudness, intonation, and other characteristic of voice. This clue is so powerful that it can often serve to distinguish not only sports announcing from other radio talk but even baseball from football announcing when the segmental phonetic characteristic and, hence, the actual words of the broadcast are muffled or masked” [13].

According to Fergusson, the most significant syntactic features of radio sports announcer talk are:

Simplifications, involving “the frequent use of sentences lacking certain expected elements, most commonly (a) sentence-initial noun phrase or noun phrase plus copula, and (b) post-nominal copula” [13, 158].

An example of type (a) simplification can be *had six homeruns* instead of *He had six homeruns*. An example of type (b) simplification is *guy who’s a pressure player* instead of *He’s a guy who’s a pressure player* [13, 159].

Inversions, which according to Fergusson are “one of the most characteristic features of SAT, setting it apart from most spoken English”. Inversions are “structures in which predicate precedes the subject, as in the present sentence” [13: 160-161].

An example of inversion can be *And here once again ready to go back to pass is Haden* (instead of standard English *Haden is once again ready to go back to pass* [13: 160-161].

Although inversions are also used in other registers of the English language, according to Fergusson and G. M. Green, whom he quotes, the language of sports announcers is “one of the few situations where inversions are used in speech with any appreciable frequency” [21: 584, quot. after 13: 160].

Result expressions, taking place when a sports announcer “wants to indicate that an event [...] leads to a particular state, which he then names” [13: 161]. Result expressions often use such structures as “for + noun” or “to + verb”, e.g. *He throws for the out* and *And he just keeps alive, reaching out to foul-tip one back* [13: 161].

Heavy modifiers, which are normally “rare in conversational speech”, e.g. *David Winfield, the 25-million-dollar man, who is hitting zero, five, six in this World Series* or *Left-handed throwing Steve Howe, who in the mini-playoffs or the playoffs just preceding this one, came out...* [13: 163].

Tense usage, involving very frequent use of Simple Present and the Present Progressive in rapidly changing situations during a game, where the commentary must swiftly and closely follow the action [13: 164-165].

Routines consisting of constant repetitions of certain language forms in reference to some relatively similar situations in a game. The main basis for application of routines is the high frequency of changing situations in a game, which limit linguistic creativeness to a minimum and force the announcer to use the same phrases many times to describe these situations [13: 165-168].

The distinctiveness of sports register as compared with other language registers is indisputable: “Structural analysis of the genre or form of sports announcing could provide an account of the sportscast, which is indeed a highly structured and well recognized genre of contemporary mass media discourse. Such broadcast start with background information about the game, the occasion, the teams, and so forth; conclude with interviews of players and coaches; and include components of direct reportage, comment, advertising commercials, and other elements in relatively fixed proportions and relatively fixed sequence. Subgenres of radio and television sportscast and

variations by different sports, by college vs. professional, and by other parameters are also distinctively patterned. The sportscast is a discourse genre as identifiable as the sonnet, the bread-and-butter letter, the knock-knock joke, the professional paper in linguistics, or any other of the hundreds of such forms of discourse in the total repertoire of communities of users of English” [13: 154].

SPORT LEXICOGRAPHY

One of the quantitatively (but not always qualitatively) most developed areas of sports linguistics worldwide is lexicography. The tradition of sports dictionaries goes back to *Sportsman's Dictionary* published in London in 1735. Numerous sports dictionaries published later, particularly in England, are not strictly “dictionaries” but rather sports encyclopedias containing definitions of different sports concepts, and – mostly British – individual sports disciplines. A good example is an unauthorized, modified *Sportsman Dictionary* from 1735 revised and updated by Henry James Pye and John Stockdale (later editions in 1778, 1780, 1792 and 1807). In 1803 *The Sporting Dictionary and Rural Repository of General Information upon Every Subject Appertaining to the Sports of the Field* was published in London. Thirty-two years later a sizable *A Dictionary of Sports, or, Companion to the Field, the Forest and the River Side Containing Explanation of Every Term Applicable to Racing, Shooting, Hunting, Fishing, Hawking, Archery etc. etc., with Essays upon All National Amusements* (London – Dublin 1835) was published. It included, for the first time in history of sport lexicography, a separate section on *Sporting Phraseology*. Finally, in 1858, Delabere P. Blaine published a very interesting work: *An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports*, which included numerous definitions of terms related to sport equipment and the course of play.

In Germany, the pioneering work in sports lexicography was *Gymnastik für Jugend* (Gymnastics for the youth) from 1793, and a work containing headword entries by Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts-Muths and Gerhard Ulrich Anton Vieth *Versuch einer Enzyklopädie der Leibesübungen* (An encyclopedic outline of physical education) vols. 1-3, 1794-1818). Both lexicons are mostly encyclopedic in character, however, the definitions and terminology in them can serve as

useful linguistic sources. Taking them all into consideration one may ask: “Where does a dictionary end and an encyclopedia begin?” [10: vii].

In Poland, the first such dictionary was *Gry i zabawy różnych stanów* (Games and plays of different social classes) by Łukasz Gołębiowski from 1831. Later, dictionaries and glossaries of sports terms appeared sporadically and were mostly mini-encyclopedias of sports and games aimed at their popularization, rather than creating professional linguistic corpora. Nevertheless, they can be quite useful for any sports linguist. A number of dictionaries of terms of individual sports, e.g. equestrian sports, sailing, archery or basketball, have been published in Poland. The majority of these publications have been, however, bi-lingual dictionaries of Polish terms and their equivalents in different foreign languages, not specialist dictionaries of the Polish language. One of notable exceptions is *Mały słownik łuczniczy* (Concise Dictionary of Archery) by Jerzy Januszewski and Marian Twardowski, providing explanations of sports terms in Polish [24].

The tradition of concise bilingual sports dictionaries in Poland was associated with demands for such publications on during big sports events. In 1955, on the occasion of the Sport Games of the International Festival of Youth in Warsaw, an eighteen-volume (!) dictionary of sports terms in was published, including entries and their equivalents in six languages (Polish-English-German-French-Hungarian-Russian) [42].

Concise bilingual sports dictionaries were published for national Olympic teams taking part in different Olympic Games. On the occasion of the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980 a series of mini-dictionaries of basketball, football, boxing, track and field, etc. were published with entries and their equivalents in five languages (Russian, French, English, German, and Polish).

A multilingual dictionary of equestrian terms was written by Zdzisław Baranowski, a renowned equestrian expert working mostly in Switzerland [3]. Baranowski published earlier *International Horseman's Dictionary* (1955) in the United Kingdom. One of the most significant Polish sports dictionary was Waław Petryński's *Słownik żeglarski angielsko polski* (English-Polish dictionary of sailing) [37].

Marian Kozłowski, a Polish basketball coach working for many years abroad, published in Poland an interesting dictionary of American basket-

ball terms, with explanations in American English [28].

The aforementioned examples show that the majority of sports dictionaries published in Poland have been dictionaries of foreign sports terms rather than domestic. On the international level, however, dictionaries of individual sports seem to be the most dominant type. There are hundreds of dictionaries of the world's most popular sports, which occasionally provide encyclopedic explanations of particular entries. Their authors are, in the majority of cases, journalists, former athletes and sports enthusiasts, rather than professional lexicographers. Many of these works lack proper lexicographic and linguistic methodology. It is impossible to list them all here, but a few valuable publications should be mentioned, e.g. Michael Rundell's *The Dictionary of Cricket* (1996), Ryan Gray's *The Language of Baseball. A Complete Dictionary of Slang Terms, Cliches, and Expressions* (2002), or series of French dictionaries of rugby: *Le Dictionnaire du Rugby* by B. Hourcade and B. Delpech (1998) or *Dictionnaire amoureux du rugby* (2003) by Daniel Herero. There are also dictionaries of sport sciences, mostly biological and medical, such as French *Dictionnaire des sciences du sport* (1987) or English *Dictionary of the Sport and Exercise Sciences*, Mark H. Anshel (ed.) (1991) and *Oxford Dictionary of Sport Science and Medicine* (1998). More and more often sports dictionaries are addressed to the young sports spectators and are aimed at explanation of complex terminology of situations during the game, e.g. *The Dictionary of Sports. The Complete Guide for TV Viewers, Spectators and Players* (1999). No such dictionary has yet been published in Poland, however, in 1992 the Polish weekly “Piłka Nożna” (Football) published a six-installment language guide for Polish viewers of foreign satellite channels, which explained English sports terminology [30].

The first lexicographic work which compiled a corpus of entries on all sports was *The Dictionary of Sports* by Parke Cummings from 1949, who thought that not only for specialists but also for the general public interested in sport “a sports dictionary specifications are not only helpful but a necessity” [10, viii].

Cummings's dictionary covers the terminology of sports most popular in the United States. It is not really a comprehensive study of all sports, and some entries are very concise. Some decades later a dictionary of terms from nine most popular

sports in the United States was published by Tim Considine titled *The Language of Sport* (1982) containing about 500 entries to each sport (baseball, basketball, soccer, American football, boxing, bowling, golf, ice hockey and tennis). An outstanding achievement in sport lexicography is the *Dictionary of Sports Idioms. The Idioms of Sports, Competition and Recreation* (1993) by Robert A. Palmatier and Harold L. Ray. Another fascinating publication is a dictionary of the most famous sports quotations from sports literature, memoirs and press *The Ultimate Dictionary of Sports Quotations* (2001) by Carlo de Vito. Other interesting lexical publications include *Lexiko archaioellenikon oron onomaton kai pragmaton athletismou* (The Sports Dictionary of Classical Greek Athletic Names and Terms) by Thomas Yannakis (2000), and published some time ago, but still a useful dictionary of sport in six languages by Romanian scholar Constantia Tudose *Dictionar sportiv poliglot* (Bucurest, 1973), or a similar *Sportszótár – Спортивный словарь – Dictionnaire sportif – Sportwörterbuch – Sports Dictionary* by Hungarian János Felelős Mestyan (Budapest 1952). The most recent achievement of sports lexicography is *Dictionary. Sport, Physical Education, Sport Science* (2003) published in Germany by Herbert Haag and Gerald Haag [22]. It contains entries in the English language, indexes in German, French and Spanish and a CD ROM with entries in other nine languages: Chinese, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian and Turkish. With lexical data in 13 languages altogether it is an unprecedented publication!

With the exception of the now outdated Cummings's dictionary, no other all-sport dictionaries in Poland or any other countries have been published. Just mentioned Herbert and Gerald Haag's *Dictionary. Sport, Physical Education, Sport Science* contains limited number of general entries on sport, but it is far from being all-embracing. Sport registers and jargons still require some thorough research in Poland. For example, one of the most neglected sports registers is the athletes' and sports fans' slang. It has been partially discussed in some general English slang dictionaries, e.g. in the classic but currently outdated *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* by Eric Partridge. To the best of my knowledge, no comprehensive sport slang dictionary has been published yet in any language. In many communities of sports fans slang is often the fundamental

means of communication. The Polish language has a number of colorful and often surreal and untranslatable slang expressions which originated among sports spectators. Unfortunately, these terms have never been registered by professional lexicographers, but occasionally came to the attentions of ... Polish poets. One of the most nonsensical slang expressions of Polish football fans, which entered the Polish corpus of idioms, is "*Sędzia, kanarki doić!*" (literally "Hey, Ref! Go, milk the canaries!"), which once attracted the attention of distinguished Polish poet Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński. In 1947, he wrote a humorous column on a certain football match:

The greatest tension was felt when a snoring man sitting behind us [...] suddenly woke up and shouted to the referee "*Kanarki doić!*" We suddenly realized (new times!) that literally, no one (out of 18,000 supporters) happened to bring a canary to the match. And then Hermenegilda made a gesture like Marie Antoinette, and took out of her suitcase two live canaries and handed them to the referee with a Cleopatra-like gesture. I will not report on the milking. You can find the description in any encyclopedia under "Milking" or "Canary" [16: 235].

Unfortunately, Gałczyński's humorous remark about encyclopedias is not true. Dictionary or encyclopedia entries on "milking the canaries" are nowhere to be found.

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